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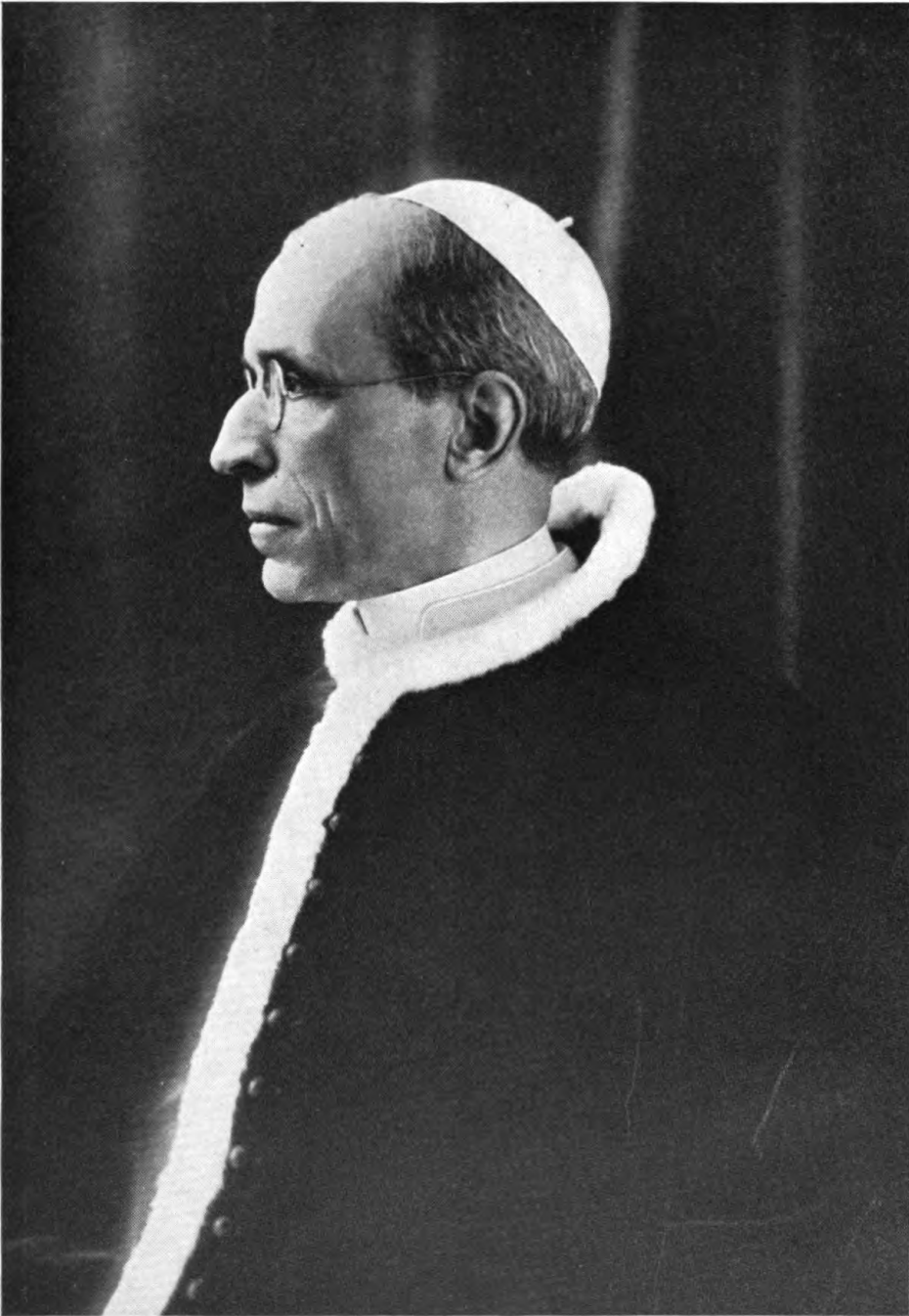
THEIR NAME IS PIUS

—
Five Great Modern Popes
1775-1939

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PIUS XII: 1939—

Eugenio, Cardinal Pacelli, born in Rome, March 2, 1876; elected to the papacy March 2, 1939, on his sixty-third birthday.

THEIR NAME IS
PIUS

Portraits of Five
Great Modern Popes

Lillian Browne-Olf

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TO THE TWELFTH PIUS
GLORIOUSLY REIGNING
WHOSE MOTTO
"PEACE WITH JUSTICE"
WOULD REDEEM THE WORLD

3 Nov 42 Brown 255

Acknowledgments

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Fervent thanks are due Miss Helen Louise Herbold for her splendid work of typing and proofreading the original manuscript.

Preface by the General Editor

Big with events that shook the world is the period of more than a century and a half covered in this book. The history contained in it is narrated by way of separate biographies, blending happily into one consecutive story, vivid, interesting, and important. It begins with the coronation of Pius VI in 1775, and ends with the death of Pius XI in 1939.

A foretaste of the times on which we are to enter is given us in the then recent suppression of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV at the menacing demand of the Bourbon princes. Meanwhile, in dark, sordid quarters of poverty and vice in Paris, the witches' broth was brewing, soon to overflow in the blood and turmoil of the French Revolution.

The Popes specifically dealt with in this modern period are those who bear the endearing name of Pius. Excluded only is Pius VIII because of the exceeding brevity of his reign. Passing mention is made of him. Other Pontiffs of the time — Gregory XVI, Leo XIII, and Benedict XV, the World-War Pope — are sufficiently limned in the broad sweep of the narrative that carries us on through the momentous happenings of these cataclysmic years.

Thus, out of the current of great world events, by the special Providence of God, emerge the heroic figures: Pius VI, seen in the blinding whirlwind of the French Revolution; Pius XII, standing fearless, face to face, with his ambitious captor Napoleon Bonaparte; Pius IX, steering the craft of Peter through the cresting waves and wild engulfing waters of the Italian Revolution; then, amid changed times,

Pius X, gentlest of Popes but valiant defender of truth, driving out of the House of God with Christlike zeal the barterers with Modernism, that latest synthesis of all the ancient heresies; and finally, Pius XI, greatest of that name in dealing with modern social problems, seeking to guide into right paths a civilization whirling along, unbalanced, in its headlong course from World War, into World Depression, and thence into Total War and barbarism. All this because men had turned from God and worshiped in His stead the idols of lust and greed, of state omnipotence and pride of blood.

Nor must we forget the reigning Pontiff, Pius XII, to whom this book is lovingly dedicated and to whom also its Epilogue has been devoted, with its pointed lesson. Like an angel visitant he appears on the blood-drenched earth, with Total War about him: by land, by sea, in the clouds above and in the depths of the waters beneath. His acts, his words, his prayers, all speak peace — yet a peace of justice and of charity between men and men, groups and groups, nations and nations, race and race.

Naturally the book divides itself into two parts. There is a distinct change of situation between the first three Popes and the remaining two. In the former instance we find the Pope himself harassed and hounded, fleeing from place to place, or dragged from city to city at the will of a conquering dictator. In the second, the struggle is no less keen, though physical violence is not actually done the Sovereign Pontiff; sacrilegious hands are not stretched out against him. Yet the powers of evil are equally active, in their promotion of false philosophies, modernistic errors, and organized propaganda of godlessness over all the earth. Russia, Mexico, Communist-controlled Spain, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy in its obstruction of the Papacy, have been blazing examples.

No doubt the present volume, written in dignified and

graphic language, touched with sentiment and color, but uniformly fair and balanced in all the statements it makes, will give to its readers a clear understanding of the characters and movements here described.

The writer, it may be noted, was not a Catholic when she began at firsthand her study of the Papacy. She was not a Catholic when, three years before this volume, she produced her *Pius XI: Apostle of Peace*. Persistent research and four long stays in the city of the Popes gave her a deep insight not only into the Supreme Pontificate but also into the history of the Church from its beginning. Her discovery of the obvious fact, so frequently overlooked, that whatever is best in European civilization is the expression of Christianity; that what Europe can claim of beauty, culture, and refinement in art is directly traceable to the Catholic Church — as witness any of the world's great art museums — struck her with terrific force. What had so often been said was now personally realized by her.

Direct preparation for the present volume itself were four extended periods spent in Rome, making careful study of the Papacy and rounding out details of research which form the basis of this book. Much of the work was done at the Vatican Library itself.

Owing to her long investigations conducted as a Protestant research worker in this specific subject, Mrs. Browne-Olf is particularly qualified to interpret the ways of the Papacy for non-Catholic readers. What particularly impressed her in the study of the modern Popes whose name is Pius, was the lesson learned here that their enemies, without a single exception, were also the enemies of Christianity and of civilization as we know and understand it.

There is a charm of character in each of these men that naturally wins our hearts; while their bravery, heroism, and long-suffering are equaled only by their gentleness and kindness and, above all, their zeal for souls. What makes them

like to each other, however different their individual personalities, is their common likeness to Christ. With St. Paul they might each, in full truth, have exhorted the faithful: "Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ" (I Cor. 4:16).

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D.,
General Editor, Science and Culture Series

St. Louis University,
July 8, 1941.

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Prologue

NO NAME in the annals of modern papal history deserves more universal acclaim than that of *Pius*. No name commands more respect or evokes more love. Truly it is a name to conjure with! When the name *Leo* is spoken, one solitary figure stands forth in shining grandeur — the thirteenth to bear the title. And when the syllables of *Benedict* are pronounced, the tragic face of the “War-Time Pope” arises above the battle smoke in lonely sanctity, like an austere John in the modern wilderness. But when the name *Pius* is uttered, a cluster of popes is presented to the mind. A galaxy of men of diversified temperaments, of varied talents, and even of spiritual genius, share the scene of the papacy.

Each of these Piuises has been destined to perform his pontifical office against a background of political storm and social stress. For the stage of Europe, ever since that climactic act of modern history, the French Revolution, was enacted, has been the theater of bitter strife, interspersed with interludes of peace. These truces have served as breathing spells to recoup the antagonistic forces that seem determined to encompass their mutual destruction.

When the French Revolution, which was in fact a World Revolution, burst upon the European scene, there were a few men of vision who foresaw its universal implications. Pitt saw them and declared to the Bishop of Arras who had emigrated to England to escape the Terror: “As a statesman of Great Britain, having at heart the disturbed state of Europe . . . I think a bond common to all should unite us. *The Pope*

alone can be such a bond . . . Rome alone can speak with an impartial voice free from all external preoccupation."

Yet few of his contemporaries grasped the import of Pitt's warning. They could not gauge the devastating forces unleashed in France which would flood the western world in the years to come. And Youth, always generous and innocent of the lessons of history, was swept along by magic slogans. *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, inflamed their excited minds like strong wine and all the young intellectuals of the day, in England no less than on the Continent, drank of the heady cup. Poets like Wordsworth, who in retrospect could write:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was very heaven. . . ."

expressed in lyric language the intoxication of that contagious "Springtime of Freedom!"

The papacy resisted and condemned the unbridled license, as it had viewed with tempered hope the noisy vindications of the Rights of Man. And how soon the fears of the Holy See were justified! From France the papal emissaries brought the news to Rome of the Reign of Terror let loose in Paris. The ill-educated aristocracy, more sinned against than sinning, were mown down like chaff and in the face of death rose to a height of nobility that must have atoned for their frivolous lives, while the Paris populace became daily more brutalized by the familiar sight of "Citoyenne Guillotine" performing her bloody carnival of death.

Not content with vengeance against the aristocrats, the maddened mob lusted for further victims. The Church was an enemy which decried such license — down with the Church and the Christian religion! Notre Dame was defiled and rededicated to the "Goddess of Reason" personified by a slut from the streets of Paris. Black Masses and vile blasphemies were performed by men of diseased imaginations,

even as in our own days in Spain, in Mexico, and in Russia. God was banished as an outlaw.

The orgy of "the feast of reason" spent itself as all orgies do. But the tares sown by the French Encyclopedists sprang up again and again in Europe; finding new soil in which to spread their noxious growth; debasing men's instincts and making them forget their divine destiny. From poisonous weeds the treacherous seeds took root, choking out the cultivated blossoms that had flourished in the garden of Christian charity.

We shall trace this insidious influence and study its technique throughout the reigns of five Piuses, against the period we know as Modern History — from the French Revolution to our own time. We shall see how tenaciously and monotonously it pursues its corroding course, teaching a false philosophy and leading its followers to their own doom, while the social organism is sapped by the dread disease; its fiber weakened, and its very survival imperiled. And now, under the lowering war clouds, men in our own day are asking if western civilization, sick unto death, can survive the chaos caused by the whirlwind that descends upon Europe and the world, and threatens all that men hold dear.

Once again the Catholic Church calls, as she has done throughout the ages in times of peril. Will that voice be heeded in time? Or are men set upon their own annihilation? Still the papacy rebukes, exhorts, and prays for peace and for unity among the children of men. God grant that it may not call in vain, and that stubborn men may yet listen to reason, before, as the present Pontiff, Pius XII, has warned, "it is too late!"

LILLIAN BROWNE-OLF

A stately shriven company;
Convulsion playing round . . .
Emily Dickinson

PART I

STORM-TOSSED PILOTS

Pius VI

Pius VII

Pius IX

Pius VI

1775-1799

WHEN, on the fifteenth of February, 1775, Giovanni Angelo, Cardinal Braschi, assumed the papal tiara and, in honor of St. Pius V took the title of Pius VI, the states of Europe presented a picture of outward calm. George III had been reigning King of Great Britain and Ireland for fifteen years and seemed to embody all the stolid qualities of John Bull which make for stability and permanency. In 1774 Louis XVI was proclaimed King of France amid general rejoicing, having married four years previously the youngest daughter of the Empress of Austria. Louis had appointed as Director-General the able Necker who, during the early years of his royal patron's reign, had brought the finances of the country into a semblance of sane control. Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa and brother of Marie Antoinette, had been proclaimed Holy Roman Emperor ten years prior to the accession of Pius VI, and had begun those reforms which brought about the abolition of serfdom and a wholesome reorganization of the system of taxation. Frederick the Great of Prussia, having augmented his kingdom in the three Silesian wars (including the Seven Years' War) and by his share in the first partition of Poland, was relaxing from his military labors and resting on his laurels. The remaining days of his long reign of forty-six years were pleasantly

passed in conversation with his literary friends, in playing his own compositions on the flute, and in writing numerous *Mémoires* and Treatises on the art of war.

1. *Society of Jesus Dissolved by Clement XIV*

Little did the contemporaries of Pius VI dream of the dire calamities of that social earthquake which was to upset thrones, shake the structure of society to its foundations, institute an orgy of bloodshed in the name of "liberty," and witness the heads of a king and a queen roll in the dust of the Place de la Revolution on the right bank of the Seine. Even the papacy seemed unaware that, by lending an ear to the specious pleas of princes and dissolving the Society of Jesus, Pius VI's predecessor, Clement XIV, had unwittingly opened the door, as it were, for further encroachments of nationalistic absolutism and for the consequent weakening of the Church, that great cohesive force which for fifteen hundred years, and often against terrific odds, had succeeded in welding Europe together.

For, in spite of the pagan influence of the Renaissance, the luxury of the Medici popes and the laxity of the clergy which had given a reformer of Luther's arrogance a pretext for rending the seamless garment of the Church, more disinterested reformers like Erasmus, Thomas More and John Fisher of England, Catherine of Siena and Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, and innumerable others, had devoted their lives to the purification and strengthening of the Mystical Body of Christ. Like a leaven, the influence of the Church had permeated the society of Europe and given it what is noblest and best in our cherished inheritance of civilization.

After the Protestant Revolt the mighty Company of Jesus had arisen under the great Ignatius, consecrated by personal discipline and dedicated to the papacy at the peril of persecution and whatever might befall. Reforming their own lives

and those of the clergy, they had healed the breach and transfused with their life's blood the gasping organism of society, spreading the Gospel to the Americas, to Asia and Africa, until it could be truly claimed that the Church's losses in the Old World were more than compensated by recruits in the New. Had these soldiers of the Church continued to function, how different the picture of Europe might have been during the pontificate of Pius VI remains a moot point. But, unquestionably, the suppression of the Sons of St. Ignatius by Clement XIV (which for four years he had hesitated to execute), gave succor to the elements of disunity in Europe, encouraging ambitious rulers in their continued depredations and paving the way for the loss of the temporal power of the papacy.

The revolutionary virus which the writings of such "philosophers of freedom" and enemies of Christianity as Voltaire and Rousseau, Diderot and Holbach, and the whole school of French Encyclopedists had injected into the veins of the weak members, might not have spread throughout the social organism had the Jesuits continued their mighty educational and reforming works.

The Society of Jesus had been approved by nineteen popes, praised by thirty more, honored and loved by many saints, among whom were St. Thomas of Villanova of the Order of St. Augustine; St. Pius V, Dominican and Pope; St. Louis Bertrand, apostle to the Indies; St. Teresa, reformer of the Carmelites; St. Charles Borromeo, cardinal-archbishop of Milan; St. Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory; St. Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva; and others too numerous to mention. From the year of its approval by Paul III in 1540 the society in the course of two hundred and thirty-three years had produced nine saints and had given to the world an infinite number of men of letters and had enriched libraries with immortal works. They had founded twenty-four professed houses, six hundred sixty-nine colleges, sixty-

one novitiates, a hundred seventy-one seminaries, and two hundred seventy-three missions. There were twenty-two thousand five hundred-odd Jesuits, of whom eleven thousand two hundred ninety-three were priests. Without allowing themselves any rest, without fee or reward other than spiritual, they labored unceasingly for the salvation of souls, and celebrated Mass in fifteen hundred and forty-four churches.

With the dissolution of such a mighty army, the right arm of the Church was crippled; until, as we shall see, Pius VII reinstated the Order. Bereft of this powerful ally, the reign of Pius VI of necessity suffered from the effects of Clement XIV's brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, suppressing the Jesuits.

One year after its issue, Clement XIV sickened and died¹ and the long reign of Pius VI began under the appearance of a tranquillity as short-lived as it was deceptive.

2. *The New Pope, Pius VI*

Handicapped at the outset, the gentle, cultured Pope, a man of winsome and upright nature, of fine sensibilities and of grand ideas, began his pontificate with reforms within the papal states. Without disapproving of what had been done by his predecessor, Pius VI befriended the former members of the suppressed Order, prescribed solemn obsequies for their General, Father Ricci, and had his body carried to the Gesù to lie beside his predecessors, the other deceased Generals. Then he released from imprisonment many of their suffering brethren and enacted new laws protecting them.

All the acts of the new Pontiff were watched with that mixture of curiosity and skepticism characteristic of the turbulent and capricious Romans who were so caustic in their pasquinades. They pointed out how all those who had

¹ It must be understood that Clement signed the brief for what he believed was the peace of the Church and concord among the Princes.

borne the title of Sixtus had ruined Rome. "*Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit,*" they warned, and they resurrected the ghosts of Sextus Tarquinius whose tyranny expelled the ancient Roman kings; of Urban the Sixth who had begun the great schism of the West, and of the Spanish Borgia, Alexander the Sixth, who had astonished Rome and the world with his crimes (which they never tired of making yet more lurid for the emulation of future Protestant historians). Pius the Sixth, they superstitiously averred, would only too well realize the presentiment suggested by his name. Never did prophecy prove more unfounded!

When, at the end of the prolonged conclave² (during which Spain, Austria, France, and Portugal interfered with their disgraceful intrigues) the College of Cardinals had been notified of the outcome, Cardinal Braschi, overpowered by the magnitude of his responsibility, had fallen on his knees and offered up his prayers in such moving words that the members of the Sacred College wept unabashed.

"Venerable Fathers," said the newly elected Pontiff, "your meeting is at an end; but how unfortunate is the result for me!"

In spite of themselves and their preconceived prejudices, the Romans were captivated by the presence of Pius VI. His majestic bearing, his exquisite manners, his sensitive face, his impeccable taste — all these exterior qualities his subjects frankly admired.

Long ago the favors of Benedict XIV had opened to Braschi the road to preferment. Success had attended his labors for Benedict, and he had been rewarded with a canonry of St. Peter's. Clement XIII had appointed him auditor of the camerlengo, and shortly after made him treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber. The rising prelate's talents were generally admitted, even by the envious who attributed his rapid fortune to the support of the Jesuits

² The conclave lasted nearly five months!

and their ecclesiastical friends. Clement XIV had bestowed upon Braschi the Cardinal's Hat which he had worn only two years when he was elected Pontiff. Those two years had been years of papal neglect and disfavor, for his enemies had prejudiced Clement XIV against the Cardinal of his own creation, and so the respect grudgingly accorded him was given to his *rank*, rather than to his *person*. To this undeserved neglect Cardinal Braschi submitted in silence.

"It is thought," said Cardinal de Bernis, privately, after having announced the election of the new Pope to the College of Cardinals, "that Cardinal Braschi will fill his high station with credit to himself. The public at least has always entertained a favorable idea of him; and nobody denies him information, piety, and the most rigorous probity, from which he has never swerved. While yet a young man he was honored with the esteem of that enlightened Pontiff, Benedict XIV, who opened to him the road to preferment. Although he enjoyed a high degree of favor during the pontificate of Clement XIII, no action was ever imputed to him that could justify a suspicion of fanaticism. Created a Cardinal by Clement XIV, whom some evil-minded persons later prejudiced against him, he submitted silently to the disgrace. . . . In the beginning of the conclave he beheld with unconcern the project of his election destroyed almost as soon as formed. In a word, the whole of his conduct indicates an honest man, full of courage, fortitude, prudence, and moderation." This characterization from so frank a source, is the best possible tribute to the character of the new Pontiff.

Holy Year, 1775, had been announced by Clement XIV in full consistory shortly before his death; but it was reserved to Pius VI to celebrate it. At the time His Holiness was fifty-eight years of age. His face was smooth and youthful in color. The Romans, who were accustomed to see their Supreme Pontiff bent with years, were filled with wonder

and admiration as they beheld the easy, graceful carriage of the new incumbent of the Chair of Peter. Through him the Church seemed to grow young again, and to anticipate a prosperous future. Everyone who watched him perform the ceremonies of his office, was struck by the handsome, youthful appearance of the Pope. This impression was felt, not only by the Romans, but was shared also by the foreign Protestant visitors to Rome.

Thus John Moore, an Englishman who had gone to St. Peter's to witness a ceremony in the spirit of profane curiosity, came away so impressed by the dignity of the papal blessing from the Loggia of St. Peter's, and the contagious spell of the Faithful kneeling all around him, that he confesses: "For my own part, if I had not, in my early youth, received impressions highly unfavorable to the chief actor in this magnificent interlude, I should have been in danger of paying him a degree of respect very inconsistent with the religion in which I was educated."

Many great personages, including most of the princes of Europe, were received by Pius VI during the early years of his long pontificate. To these illustrious visitors the Pontiff dispensed the honors of his court; and they gave their homage to the Pope. Between Frederick the Great and Pius VI there existed an almost affectionate regard. Frederick cherished the esteem of the Pope whom he believed a great public benefactor. "The only thing that vexes me is that all this good [the quasi-reforms of Joseph II of Austria] was not done under popes who merited humiliation; and that it should have been reserved for the worthy Braschi, the man who has drained the Pontine marshes."

The imposing work here referred to might well have baffled the stoutest heart. The draining of the marshes had been undertaken with more or less success by Augustus and by Trajan, and three centuries later by Theodoric I, King of the Goths in Italy, and by Popes Boniface VIII, Martin V,

Leo X, and Sixtus V. When Pius VI undertook to grapple with the ancient problem, there had been an interval of three centuries of neglect. Through his inspiration, too, the Appian Way was restored between Rome and Naples.

"To him is due," said de Prony, Napoleon's famous engineer, "the restoration of the Appian Way, the ancient bridge across the marshes, the superb canal beside the road, the vast storehouses of Terracina and a great many other edifices for civil and religious purposes. Every work of his had a monumental character, from church and palace to simple post-house. . . . I am convinced that Pius VI has acquired, by his improvements in the Pontine marshes, an immortal right to public gratitude and that if a perfect drainage is ever effected, a notable part of the glory will be due to that sovereign pontiff." These activities and the building of a splendid sacristy at St. Peter's were expressions of Pius VI's labors for the Eternal City.

Not a few foreign events took place in the early years of Pius VI's reign which were happy auguries for the Holy See. Thus, in the second year of his pontificate, a ministerial crisis occurred in Portugal. In the shake-up, Pombal, royal favorite during the reign of Joseph I, lost his power. The prisons were opened and liberty was restored to the many victims of the Marquis' terror. The papal nuncio's privileges were renewed, and the See of Lisbon recovered its chapter and revenues. The new order changed the lot of the suppressed Jesuits who had been imprisoned in St. Julian's tower in Lisbon. The new Queen, Maria I, moreover, paid to the Holy See a million eighty thousand crowns to support Portuguese Jesuits living in Italy on the Church's alms.

A further event that greatly rejoiced Pope Pius VI was the abolition of certain provisions of an Act of William III of England against Catholic bishops. So, too, almost all the rights of good Protestant citizens were restored to bishops and to lay Catholics of the Kingdom.

From Stockholm Gustavus III gladdened the papal heart by a letter full of respect, telling His Holiness that he (the Protestant King of Sweden) had granted the Catholics of Stockholm permission to build a church and conduct missions throughout the realm.

In the meantime Catherine II of Russia had steadily continued to protect the Jesuits in White Russia after the Brief of Extinction. The enemies of the Order, taking umbrage at her royal gift of asylum, complained to the Pope that his predecessor's brief was being flouted. Pius VI was reluctantly compelled to demand obedience. But the Empress stood her ground, saying that to suppress the Jesuits in her realm would deprive her subjects of educational advantages which could not be replaced. Her will prevailed!

Frederick the Great expressed a similar regard for the Jesuits as teachers. In writing to d'Alembert, he declared, "I have seen strange things come to pass. I have seen the Pope's soldiers wear my uniform; the Jesuits choose me for their General; and Voltaire write like an old woman." The Emperor's protection of the Jesuits was due to his high esteem for them; for, said he, "the Jesuits have given proof of their talents for education, and it is only by existing in a body that their task can be properly fulfilled. I am determined, then, that they shall so exist, upon condition of their submitting in other respects, to the ecclesiastical laws which the Pope may think fit to prescribe."

3. *Pope Visits Austrian Emperor, Joseph II*

Frederick's sharp criticism of Joseph II of Austria was further provoked by the unheard-of innovations this Emperor was introducing throughout his dominions in ecclesiastical discipline, and the problems he was creating for Pius VI. Among Religious in his domain Joseph II had suppressed convents and monasteries, seized their revenues, and forbidden orders to receive novices. To Protestants he

glaringly granted greater toleration. He prescribed the royal *placet* for bulls and briefs coming from Rome. Bishops were not freely permitted to confer Holy Orders. A multitude of usages, universally practiced by the Catholic Church, were arbitrarily abolished by law. Even the number of candles to be burned at Benediction were regulated by the Emperor, until Frederick the Great referred to him derisively as "Brother Sacristan."

Protests and supplications reached the ears of the Pontiff, and when the remonstrances of the Roman Court proved ineffectual, the Holy Father resolved that his presence might have more weight than his letters. He consequently made preparations to beard the lion in his den and go to Vienna. The two cardinals to whom he confided his intention showed the Pope how his motives might be misinterpreted, and Cardinal de Bernis openly opposed the step, fearing derision would be heaped upon the papacy by the freethinkers of the empire, and of Europe.

To these arguments Pius VI responded with true apostolic courage: "We will go whither duty calls, in the same spirit we should go to martyrdom, in the interest of religion, rejoicing to defend it. It is not lawful for us to abandon the barque of the Church amidst the most violent tempests. It matters little that a perverse world turn us to derision; the Gospel teaches us that we should even appear as fools for Christ's sake."

He, thereupon, wrote³ Joseph II of his intended visit, and although the Emperor replied that the reforms he had made were irrevocable, the Pope continued his preparations. Two weeks later he informed the Sacred College in consistory of the project. On the twenty-seventh of February he heard Mass in St. Peter's and prepared to set out on his journey with four carriages and two chaises. The Roman populace had gathered in the Piazza for the rare spectacle of seeing

³ February 9, 1782.

their Sovereign Pontiff start off on a long journey. On the fifth of March he reached his birthplace, Cesena, where his kinsfolk sat down with him at table. At Bologna the Infante Don Ferdinand I came to pay his respects and crowds gathered about the papal carriages. Through Cento the Pontiff approached Ferrara where the Emperor had sent a Hungarian Guard to conduct the distinguished guest to the Imperial palace, and to inquire when the Emperor might expect His Holiness in Vienna. Word was sent back to Vienna that the Pontiff would arrive on the eighteenth with Cardinal Carafa, legate of Ferrara, and Monsignor Mattei.

The papal party landed at Chiozza after midnight and was met by the procurators of St. Mark, Louis Manin and Peter Contarini, who attended His Holiness to the frontier of the Republic. As the barge glided past Venice, Pius promised to return to the Queen of the Adriatic.

Finally,⁴ the Emperor, accompanied by the Archduke Maximilian, arrived at Newstadt to conduct the Pope to Vienna. Pius embraced the Emperor warmly and, giving him no time for any act of homage, graciously engaged him in conversation, with his characteristic cordiality. All the way from Newstadt to Vienna they were followed by two immense lines of the Faithful and by eight thousand carriages. At Vienna the apartments of the late Empress, Maria Theresa, were put at the Pontiff's disposal. These were adjacent to the Emperor's and the two sovereigns could pass unnoticed between their apartments and hold private interviews. A gallery opened on a Court Chapel and here the Blessed Sacrament had been exposed since morning. At the moment when the Vicar of Christ, Pius VI, and the heir of Caesar, Joseph II, entered the chapel, the *Te Deum* was intoned.

The Holy Father was then presented to de Kaunitz, "our Grand Chancellor of court and state," by the Emperor. With a readiness and tact that betrayed neither malice nor feigned

⁴ March 22.

affection, Pius coolly acknowledged his chief enemy at the Emperor's court without a smile: "We are glad to see him beside your majesty."

All the eyes of Europe were on Vienna. The elderly Pontiff⁵ had risked a long wearisome journey, in very cold weather, and no less his reputation as a diplomat, to defend the rights of his Church.

While perfect courtesy and every mark of respect was paid to the Pope, whose winning ways had won him the affectionate title, *il persuasore*, there is a difference of opinion as to the tangible results achieved by His Holiness during his prolonged stay at Vienna. It is certain that some concessions were made by his host, the Emperor, although they were not major ones. Certain it is, also, that the Pope published, while guest of the Emperor, a very strong brief. It is written from Vienna⁶ and is a reprimand to the Bishop of Brünn who had carried out the law of the state in closing the Carthusian monasteries, "a law deplorable in fact, which displaces religious orders and expels priests regular from their monasteries." The brief further declares the bishop's action "unseasonable and full of danger," and protests that, "None of the human reasons . . . in regard to the Religious are valid; you must think only of conscience and salvation. Say this in the very terms that we employ. . . . You have our sentiment and must conform to it."

This brief of Pius VI, written under the circumstances it was, seems to indicate that the Pontiff's conduct while in Vienna was neither timid nor complaisant, however gracious his outward bearing toward his royal host. One might characterize Pius VI's talent for diplomacy as one of courage tempered by gentleness. That he did not accomplish all he had hoped by the hazard he had taken, shows him no less a statesman than a spiritual hero. He himself did not regret

⁵ Pius was sixty-five at the time.

⁶ This brief does not appear in the *Bullarium* of Pius VI.

the journey, for he wrote to his nephew, Luigi Braschi, from Bologna on his return to Rome: "We have obtained from the Emperor what we could desire; moreover we have suppressed the oath prescribed to the bishops in his states and have granted them faculty for matrimonial dispensations to the third and fourth degree . . . exacting, however, that they request our assent in such cases. We have obtained several modifications in regard to religious houses for both sexes, and religious toleration; in a word, our presence in Vienna has been very useful for the affairs of the Holy See, and we cannot but rejoice at our journey."

At the departure of the Holy Father from Vienna, after a full month at the Royal Palace, a vast throng of one hundred and twenty thousand came to witness the scene, as the Pontiff and the Emperor entered the same carriage. At Maria Brunn the distinguished travelers separated. The same night the Pope rested at the Benedictine monastery at Moelch. Then on to Munich via Lintz and Haag.

At Munich, "the little Rome of Germany," he was met by the Archbishop of Treves and remained in the city for a week, after which he proceeded to Augsburg, which had been visited by another Pontiff, Leo IX, seven hundred and thirty years before Luther converted the city to his creed. Yet Pius could see no lack of enthusiasm for his presence from the Protestants of the city.

Reaching Venice, the Pope was saluted by two hundred cannon and was given such a reception as the city had never witnessed during the regattas — nor even at the Marriage of the Sea. From Venice, via Padua and Ferrara, Pius proceeded to Bologna. En route ambassadors and diplomats met His Holiness until he approached Imola. Here he stayed at the house of his uncle, Cardinal Bandi, where his sister, Julia Onesti, awaited him. On the thirteenth of June, as he approached Rome, Pius removed his traveling clothes and clad himself in his pontifical robes. He had been away from

the City of the Popes three months and nineteen days.

In recounting before the Sacred College his experiences during his absence from Rome, the Holy Father saw pinned to his faldstool a folded paper which he immediately opened. It read: "What Gregory, the greatest of the Pontiffs, had established, Pius VI, last of priests, destroyed." Without showing the least emotion, Pius asked for a pen and, treating the slur as a petition, wrote a rescript: "The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. He who distributes heavenly crowns cares little for the perishable crowns of earth. Let us give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

Later, when Joseph II returned the papal visit, it was said by those who had opposed the Pontiff's journey to Vienna, that the Emperor's visit was more advantageous to the Holy See than had been that of Pius VI to the Emperor. But had the Pope not gone to Vienna, the Emperor would hardly have come to Rome. Even hostile historians admit that if the Pope and the Emperor had not personally met and liked each other, a serious rupture would have been inevitable between Rome and Vienna.

4. *Burdens of the Papacy*

Not only against the *Josephine institutions* did Pius VI defend his papal prerogatives. The Holy Father found the field of combat daily widening in his own household under the influence of men like Ricci, bishop of Pistoia, and Father Natali. Driven from Rome these insubordinates were welcomed at the University of Pavia by members of a proscribed sect who sought to bring about a schism in the ecclesiastical regime by introducing the same "democratic principles" they had promoted in the teaching of philosophy and were soon to attempt in the field of political government. One of the group most infatuated with these new doctrines was an ex-professor of canon law of the University of Vienna,

Eybel by name. He would have made of the Church a kind of republic in which the pope would exercise only the function of president, deriving his authority from the body of the republic itself and possessing no authority except to warn and exhort. All these men had been under the influence of the French appellants whose writings they were reviving and translating and spreading abroad. Eybel published a small work entitled *Quid est Papa?* — “What is the Pope?” which bore the imperial seal and was scattered far and wide, and translated into several languages. The author tried to prove that bishops in the early Church received no less power than the pope in the government of the Church. He exaggerated the rights of bishops and cited only the traditions that exalted episcopal dignity, skillfully omitting all passages that proved the supremacy of the papacy.

At first, believing the work too insignificant to be of any consequence, the Supreme Pontiff ignored it; but when he saw with what zeal it was being disseminated, and believing the center of unity was being degraded, Pius issued a Decree,⁷ *Super soliditate*, condemning the propositions as “false, scandalous, rash, injurious, schismatic, erroneous, and heretical.” Even the Emperor, Joseph II, who certainly had no such exalted notions of the prerogatives of the bishops, having himself assumed power over them greater than any pope had ever claimed, ordered the work of Eybel suppressed and the ex-ecclesiastics to proceed to Vienna and give an account of themselves. For in his decree the Holy Father had cited authority after authority to indicate how the Holy See had always been acknowledged and invoked. He quoted St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and others to show how they had all regarded as anathema whoever was not united to the Chair of Peter or refused to heed its decisions. So irrefutable is his logic, and

⁷ November 28, 1786.

so confidently clear is Pius VI's dogmatic judgment in this decree that it swept away all difficulties and was welcomed in the churches everywhere.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Pius VI's attention was focused on the struggle of the colonies of North America against the Mother Country. Coinciding with the years of his accession to the papacy up to the period with which we are dealing, the thirteen colonies along the Atlantic seaboard had successfully resisted Great Britain; and, with the valuable help of France, had achieved their independence and established the Republic. The Constitution of the United States proclaimed religious freedom, although discrimination against Catholics was slow to die out in various states. The Catholics of the United States were in these early days of the Republic's existence few and far between. Maryland and Pennsylvania had the greatest number and all the clergy. Most of the priests here had been Jesuits⁸ before the suppression and were now subject as secular priests to the vicar-apostolic of London. The *Ark* and the *Dove* had brought some of them to Maryland as early as 1634 when Lord Baltimore settled the first colony there. Father Andrew White and other missionaries had established a mission which had never closed. Attracted by Lord Baltimore's liberality, many Protestants flocked to Maryland but soon turned their privilege of asylum to persecution of the original settlers, depriving the Catholics of their civil rights and even outlawing their worship.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the Catholics ardently took up the cause of the colonies. Father John Carroll, a native of Maryland, former professor of St. Omer's College, and prefect of the Jesuit College of Bruges, Belgium, had returned to his native land when the Jesuits were suppressed on the Continent. With his cousin "Charles Carroll of Car-

⁸ Besides the Jesuits, the Franciscans had worked in Maryland for many years.

rollton,"⁹ Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Chase, he was appointed to urge the people of Canada to join the colonies against England. In 1784, on the recommendation of Franklin, he was appointed by Pius VI prefect-Apostolic of the Catholic clergy of the United States. Five years later Pius VI appointed him Bishop, and in 1789 Bishop Carroll founded Georgetown University.

With no other ruler did Pius VI have such intimate and affectionate intercourse as with Louis XVI of France. The cordial relationship between the Holy See and Versailles was threatened and almost destroyed by the Affair of the Diamond Necklace, which became the gossip of Europe. The conspiracy was the work of the unscrupulous Countess Lamotte-Valois, an adventuress who pretended she had the favor of the Queen at Court. She procured the necklace from the jewelers, Boehmer and Bassange. The latter, after the death of Louis XV (who had ordered the piece of fabulous value for his mistress, Du Barry) were financially embarrassed by the possession of the five hundred precious stones and were anxious to redeem their value by selling the strings to Marie Antoinette. Cardinal de Rohan, who had lost the Queen's favor, was induced to act as intermediary between the Countess and the Queen in the hope that he might be reinstated in the latter's good will. Through the letters, forged by the Countess, the Cardinal was tricked into purchasing the gorgeous ornament in installments for the Queen.

The deception of the Countess in forging the signature of the Queen, the impersonation of Marie Antoinette by Mademoiselle Oliva in the park of Versailles at midnight where she met the Cardinal who handed over the necklace to "the Queen," the involvement of a high prelate of the Church in the dramatic climax which took place on Ascension

⁹ So the last survivor of the Signers of the Declaration wrote his name on that historic document. He lived to be ninety-five years old.

Day when Cardinal de Rohan, in full pontifical robes, was arrested in the midst of a brilliant court and sent to the Bastille, reads like a highly colored piece of fiction. Although the Cardinal was declared an innocent dupe by the court which tried him, the whole unsavory affair gave a bad odor to one so high in the ecclesiastical life of France.

When the sordid business was laid before the Pope, Pius VI was so shaken that he became ill and was obliged to take to his bed. Intermittent fevers seemed to threaten his life. On recovering he submitted the whole affair for examination before a congregation of six cardinals and with his own hand wrote a letter to the King, Louis XVI, declaring that Cardinal de Rohan remained subject to the judgment of the Sacred College of which he was a member. These prerogatives the congregation of cardinals later denied on the ground that the Cardinal could not claim them because he had already accepted an incompetent tribunal and hence had forfeited his ecclesiastical privileges. Thereupon a pontifical decree, pronounced in secret consistory,¹⁰ suspended the Cardinal, depriving him of all rights and honors of the purple until he should appear before the Holy See to defend himself. Meanwhile, the parliament of Paris declared the Cardinal innocent. However, the King exiled him to his abbey, *la Chaise Dieu*, and deprived him of his high office of Grand Almoner of France and of his cross of Knight of the Orders. When the Cardinal was finally reinstated, the Holy Father was relieved of an odious affair, embarrassing in the extreme to the Holy See. But the resultant scandal in Paris greatly exaggerated popular rage which was already at high pitch, fanned by every wind of gossip, and which was soon to terminate in the Revolution and the Terror.

From the beginning of his pontificate Pius VI had waged relentless war on bad books. As early as November, 1784,

¹⁰ February 13, 1786.

he condemned a work entitled *Universal Profession of Faith of all Religions*, a book published anonymously, which the Pope described as "replete with the bitter gall which it contains and full of poison." The thesis of this book was that a man is accountable only for his actions, and that his beliefs are not important. In other words, a man may believe anything he chooses. Pius attacks this argument with devastating logic. Unless a man thinks rightly, how can his actions be righteous? Is not a man accountable before God and man for clean and sound thoughts? How soon will a man, without a sound basis of right thinking and belief, succumb to a philosophy which will be translated into external mischief? He exhorts the Faithful not to be "seduced by the loquacity of such a vain philosophy." This papal challenge to the idea that belief is a matter of mere personal whim or fancy must undoubtedly have been aimed, not only at the particular book that was the occasion of the protest, but also at all "philosophical writings" of the French Encyclopedists.

5. *The Tempest Breaks in France*

When, in 1787, the French Revolution began to put into practice the beliefs that had gained such popularity, not only in France, but in Europe generally, a terrifying example was given the world of how not only individuals, but whole nations can "be seduced" by unlicensed thinking and how potent for good or for evil belief and doctrine can be. For France, listening to the seductions of her "philosophers of freedom," anticipated Bolshevist Russia by one hundred and forty years in demonstrating how nations can be propagandized for destructive purposes. Under the guise of beguiling catchwords false philosophers have introduced chaos¹¹

¹¹ To the good deluded men who even today preach that the good life consists in *doing* as opposed to *believing*, the two titanic historical examples, Revolutionary France and Soviet Russia, should give pause for reflection. One may question the sincerity of those apologists of the revolutionaries who profess such a love for "humanity" in the abstract that they are willing to see millions of innocent men and women and children sacrificed in the process.

more than once in modern history. To the contention of the superficial historian who maintains that the terrific cost of such cataclysmic social upheavals is justified by the results, a dozen examples might be cited to show that needed reforms and political and social betterment can be and have been achieved without such wholesale destruction.

Certain it is that Pius VI in an Allocution to the cardinals showed clearly where lay the root of the evil that had "plunged France in an instant into ruin and tears." "At first," Pope Pius points out, "only a better organization of the political economy seemed to be in question." But soon this degenerated into an attack upon religion itself. By the acts passed in the National Assembly, "religion is attacked and disturbed; the rights of this Apostolic See are usurped; treaties and solemn conventions are violated; and as the first evils sprang from false doctrines, disseminated in poisonous books, it is deemed necessary to give a more prompt impulse to contagious opinions." The National Assembly passed a decree declaring that all men had a right to think as they chose in matters of religion and express their opinions on the subject; and that "*each was bound to obey only the laws to which he consented. . . .*"¹²

"The French nation," continues the Supreme Pontiff, "seems entirely seduced by this species of vain liberty, and is enslaved by this council of philosophers who insult and attack each other." Well the Holy Father knew that while duty compelled him to protest, to warn and to exhort, yet his words would not be heeded by "a mad population given up to every excess, reveling in fire, rapine and murder, the execution of citizens, and no longer human."

The year before Pius VI wrote these strong words, the Revolution had reduced the Church in France to a pitiable condition. The Constituent Assembly had imposed upon all

¹² Italics, when used in quotations, are always the author's unless otherwise stated.



PIUS VI: 1775-1799

Giovanni Angelo Braschi, born at Cesena, a city of the Romagna, December 27, 1717; elected at Rome on February 15, 1775.

ecclesiastics the oath to the new constitution. Mirabeau, in a characteristic tirade, had threatened with vacant offices all who refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the state over religion. The unswerving loyalty of the majority of French priests and bishops to Rome was eloquently demonstrated by the small number who succumbed to political pressure. Three fourths of the ecclesiastics refused outright to take the oath. Deprived of their salaries and pensions, forty thousand clerics chose exile to submission to the Assembly's demands. Many of these found asylum in the papal states.

Pius VI was a voluminous correspondent. His style, somewhat florid, as was characteristic and fashionable at the period in which he wrote, was, nevertheless, strong and clear. Four letters addressed to Louis XVI, King of France, are extant. In the first, dated June tenth, 1790, the Pope warns the King that if "deceived by false and captious words," he approves the decrees concerning the clergy, he will be leading the nation into schism and that religion will be cast into "the cruel chances of war." While admitting that "we have no other arms than the harmless weapons of our prayers," the Holy Father declares "if religion continues to meet dangers among you [the French people], the Head of the Church will raise a voice that must be heard. . . . Think not, our dear son in Christ, that a civil body politic can change the doctrine and discipline of the Universal Church; that it can despise and hold at naught the sentences of the holy fathers and councils; overthrow the hierarchy, decide aught on the election of bishops, the suppression of Episcopal Sees — in a word, trouble or deform at pleasure the whole structure of the Catholic Church." In this letter the Pope warns that the revolt of Avignon (over which the papacy still held temporal power) is not only a manifest wrong, but a dangerous precedent which in future may bode ill for the French nation, for how can France ever reclaim provinces that abandon *her* for the authority of a neighboring state,

“which might happen in the great perturbation of your kingdom.”

In a second letter Pius VI shows how the papal policy had been directed to oppose patience to the tempest arising in France and that “deeming it better not to display a just severity while minds were carried away by the fury of erroneous opinions,” he conceived that it was better “to prepare hearts, that they might, as troubles decreased, return to better sentiments and acknowledge the true principles of faith.” This papal silence and patience was not maintained through lack of straightforwardness, but must be interpreted as a policy for winning rather than repelling the Church’s enemies. “Religion, so long attacked by the poison of incredulous and perverse writings,” has ever been defended by the Holy See and the truth has never been dissembled, “even though it has not always been shouted from the housetops.”

In his third letter to the King of France, Pius reiterates his desire for conciliation. “Our attachment to your kingdom counsels us to paths of extreme moderation,” declares His Holiness. “We are the common father of all . . . your subjects are our children . . . you are the eldest son of the Church. . . .” Because of these reasons the Pontiff wishes to regard the misled people “as children deceived and hurried away by unthinking impetuosity rather than as rebels and refractory.” Pius’s course is clear to him for he maps out his policy as one that will meet these furies with patience — “We will meet the mobility and inconstancy of mind by meekness and temporizing,” trusting that without outcries, “religion itself, which is necessary for happiness in life, for order in society, will revive, enkindled anew in the hearts of those who will be recalled to duty by their anguish, after insulting religion and smiting it with insult.” This is the program which the Holy Father outlines for himself in his dealings with the new French disorder — discipline opposing chaos. Virtue, charity, constancy, fortitude, and above all an

immense silent patience must in God's good time break down the noisy violators of His laws.

But the fury of madness had not yet spent itself. Still drunk with the license they were misnaming "freedom," disorders increased, until the sorely harassed Pope issued a brief, *Caritas, quae docente Paulo*, in 1791, condemning those priests who had taken the oath and commending those who had resisted the temptation. In retaliation the Pope's effigy was burned in Paris and the papal possessions in France — Avignon and the county of Venaissin — were confiscated. The Pontiff's public protest against these indignities was answered in September, 1792, with the murder in cold blood of two hundred priests and three bishops in the Carmelite Convent in Paris, the wounded being clubbed to death.¹³ Not content with these "victories," the blasphemous revelers facetiously proposed that the red Jacobin cap be placed upon the head of St. Peter in the Basilica in Rome!

The act called "the Civil Constitution of the Clergy" passed by the Constituent Assembly, virtually annihilated the Church in France. In the papal reply to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld and the bishops who had signed the new constitution, the Roman Court published the most important document of Pius VI written during the period of the French Revolution. In it the Pontiff shows how the Assembly, while engaging in conspiracies against itself, yet has the temerity to rush upon the sanctuary. He refers to the consistory he had convoked in the month of March of the previous year in which he had informed the Sacred College of the plots against the Church and gave full expression to the "bitterness of our sorrow." One of the decrees, which he quotes in French, he denounces as "the abolition of pontifical primacy and of papal jurisdiction." This decree stated that the "new

¹³ There, today, a quiet monk will guide the curious tourist to the crypt of a chapel where he may see exhibited the victims' fractured skulls — gruesome testimony to revolutionary ardor!

bishops shall not apply to the pope to obtain his confirmation, etc." Pius makes a comparison between the acts of Henry VIII of England and those of the Assembly and shows how identical they are; in fact, he charges that the Assembly has imitated Henry VIII.

Pius cites with satisfaction the decision of the Chapter of Autun, in which they declare they cannot, without violating their consciences, take any part in the execution of the acts of the new constitution and especially in that portion of it which refers to the suppression of cathedral churches. In defiance of their own recreant bishop,¹⁴ they assert that the Chapter will continue its sacred and canonical duties and perform all its functions "until reduced to an absolute inability to fulfill them." His Holiness revives the ancient case of the judgment of Liberius in condemning the bishops who, through fear of the Emperor Constans, had signed an heretical creed, and had been warned: "If you persevere in error, you must be struck by the virtue of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church." He recalls to the recalcitrant bishops of France that the bishop, Saturninus, was driven from the See of Arles as an atheist by St. Hilary of Poitiers and reminds them that a council of ninety bishops wrote to their fallen-away brethren a letter telling them to repent "if they wished to be thought Catholics."

Pius closes the brief with the statement that its contents were drawn up "not from the mind of the reigning Pontiff, but from the purest sources of sacred doctrine," adding an exhortation to the bishops to persevere in their "steadfast resolution" and not to renounce their project "from fear of danger." The burden of the closing words is "*resist, resist!*" He incites them to courage in their course with the promise of his prayers for them. Telling them he has written the King to withhold his sanction, he warns the two bishops

¹⁴ Afterward known as *Talleyrand* under the First Consul and Emperor, Napoleon, whose power he was instrumental in consolidating.

who are consulted by the King what they must do to "disarm and appease the fury of those called the *Tiers Etat*."

In relinquishing the taxes due the papal office by ancient usage, in favor of France, Pius had hoped his liberality would effect an appeasement. Only the basest ingratitude resulted on the part of members of the Assembly who stirred up the revolt in Avignon. Yet, in spite of all these indignities and insults, says the Pope: "We have refrained from declaring the authors of the baleful civil constitution separated and cut off from the communion of the Catholic religion. . . . We ask and entreat you to declare and tell us what to do to conciliate minds." For, says the Holy Father, "distant as We are from France, We cannot know this." This doctrinal brief is considered one of the best Pius VI ever wrote. It was given at St. Peter's in the seventeenth year of his pontificate, and was accompanied by a personal letter to the King.

The French clergy who took the oath to the constitution included five archbishops and bishops. Pius names them individually in a letter of the thirteenth of April, and condemns their weakness. The constitution is characterized as "heretical, opposed to Catholic dogma, sacrilegious, schismatical, destructive of papal primacy, contrary to ancient and modern doctrine, and conceived to abolish the Catholic religion." In replying to a work issued by the intruded clergy defending their stand, Pius thus answers their declarations of fidelity to the Catholic religion:

This means of defence is known to us. . . . We have read what Photius wrote to the Pontiff, St. Nicholas; Luther to Leo; Peter Paul Vergerio the younger to Julius III. They *feigned* obedience, submission and union with the Apostolic See: by their doctrines they disavowed, and at the same time insulted, the Holy See and taught condemned errors.

6. *Reign of Terror Works Havoc*

Events in France followed each other in rapid succession. The Terror was in full force and by the year 1792 Louis

XVI was languishing in prison. Meanwhile the National Convention, succeeding the Legislative Assembly (which in turn had succeeded the Constituent Assembly), after abolishing all religious worship in France, turned their attention to Rome with the purpose of overthrowing the Holy See. Emissaries were sent to bear the message of revolution to the Roman populace. To carry through this mission Citizen Laflotte, sent by the French ambassador at the Court of Naples, arrived in the capital on the eleventh of January, 1793. With unheard-of insolence he proceeded to the papal palace²⁵ and presented to the secretary of state, Cardinal Zelada, a letter from the Neapolitan ambassador. This letter was virtually a command from the National Convention to the French consul to raise within twenty-four hours the tricolor of the Revolution over his palace door, and over the French Academy on Pincio, and that the French Republic be recognized by the Pope.

On receiving the letter, the Supreme Pontiff, Pius VI, dictated his reply in which he stated he could never accede to this demand which would be tantamount to a tacit approval of all the government in France had done in persecuting religion and trampling upon the rights of the Holy See. It was not for the Supreme Pontiff of Catholicism to recognize the government of a country which had burned his briefs and his picture only the year before. He could not forget the usurpation of Avignon and Venaissin, nor what had occurred in Marseilles when the papal arms were torn from the house of the pontifical consul, hung on a lamppost and broken and made sport of by the mob. Since the pontifical arms were no longer tolerated in France, the Pope of Rome must oppose the unfurling of the Republican flag in Rome. Such was the argument of Pius VI in his letter to the French ambassador at Naples.

The Romans, to whom the emissary of the French

²⁵ The Quirinal, at that time the dwelling of the popes.

ambassador was sent to stir up revolution, were infuriated. Papal troops were hastily armed to protect the two Frenchmen (who had no diplomatic immunity) from the wrath of the citizens. Laflotte and Basville, his accomplice, were warned not to provoke the people further. This papal precaution did not stay the madman, Laflotte, and his tool, Basville. They appeared, driving on the Corso, wearing the tricolored cockade, their coachmen similarly attired, and with two tricolored flags floating from their vehicle. The Romans, promenading in the sunshine of a Sunday afternoon, saw the spectacle and became so incensed that they simultaneously shouted as the foreigners rode by, "*Long live Religion! Long live Pius VI!*" There was a rush for the carriage. Laflotte lost his head and fired his pistol. This further infuriated the crowd. A pursuit began of the two Frenchmen who galloped off to find refuge in the house of the French banker, Moutté. The people were by now thoroughly aroused and kept up the search until Basville was discovered. An unknown assailant stabbed him in the belly before the troops could intervene. The Pope sent his own surgeon to tend Basville, but his wound was mortal. Before his death he confessed that he had been the dupe of Laflotte and begged the last rites of the Church which were not denied him. He died repudiating all he had done against the Church which forgave him. The papal soldiers protected Basville's wife and son, and also Laflotte. Pius supplied them all with money to return to Naples. Not content with these manifestations of moderation and charity, Pius VI printed an edict condemning the excesses of the Roman people as unworthy a nation brought up on precepts of morality which "inculcate peace, meekness, charity for our neighbor and pardon for our enemies."

Another papal edict followed this one which called upon the people to avoid all occasions of sedition and to respect private property, to wrong no man, and insult none, what-

ever his country, origin, or opinions. Full of the spirit of Christian meekness and charity, this edict gave the revolutionaries new cause for venting their venom. It was for them too pacific. They interpreted it as papal weakness. The malevolence of the Pope's enemies increased, until, following the advice of the Sacred College, he augmented the pontifical forces. The better to defend his temporal states, he placed them under the elderly general, Count Caprara, who was in the Emperor's service. Yet, for all this, the Pope did not join the league of powers against France. He was determined not to go to war. The French citizens of the Republic were to be treated as subjects of the allied powers even though he well knew that the Roman States were infested with dangerous emissaries whose avowed purpose was to foment trouble in the very seat of Christendom. Yet, in spite of everything, his own course as Universal Pontiff was clear to him. His master was Christ and he followed fearlessly whithersoever He led His servant.

During these trying days a French brigantine was driven on the shores of the papal state. The crew was without supplies and was found wandering in the forest of Corneto. The Pope ordered them relieved and saw that their vessel was repaired and reprovisioned. He clad the crew in warm garments and had them escorted back to their repaired vessel.

Ten days after Citizen Laflotte came to Rome to incite revolution, Louis XVI, King of France, was beheaded amid the frenzied shouts of the Paris mob. In an Allocution Pius describes the gruesome execution in detail. Then, in January of 1793, the sorely beset Pontiff summoned in an encyclical letter all the French ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, to the Roman States for protection. England, with rare generosity, offered asylum to all the priests and other exiles who could make their way across the Channel.

With customary Catholic prudence, Pius VI waits almost six months after the execution of his friend, Louis XVI,

before he replies and passes judgment upon the enemies of toleration and religion. After the official communications had been read and digested, the Pontiff announces that the customary Masses will be said at Rome for the repose of the soul of this Eldest Son of the Church. Knowing well what the revolutionaries' reaction to these ceremonies will be, Pius does not cringe from what he considers are the seemly and Christian duties imposed upon him — not as an act of defiance, but as the performance of an obligation. On the seventeenth of June the Pope pronounces before the assembled cardinals the Allocution he had drawn up. In it he gives eloquent expression to the human grief which he feels. "Why do not tears and sighs interrupt my words?" he begins. "Should not groans rather than words express the intense sorrow we feel when we announce to you the horrible spectacle of cruelty and violence which Paris witnessed on the twenty-first of January?" And he continues:

What was that judgment and for what reason was it executed? We will tell you in a few words. The sentence was pronounced by the National Constitution without a shadow of authority. . . . That Assembly, after abolishing monarchy . . . had attributed all power to the populace, who follow no wisdom and no counsel. . . . It obeys a vague, inconstant, deceptive impulse; it is easily led to crime; arrogant and barbarous, it exults in bloodshed; it revels in carnage and death; it applauds around the scaffold of the dying, and gazes on the spectacle with delight, as was done of old in the amphitheaters.

The Pontiff goes on to show how the accused became the judges, and how at the very doors of the hall where judgment was pronounced, men were summoned upon whom the King's enemies could count, in order that the number of *condemners* might be able to oppose a present majority that it was feared would vote for leniency. And yet, in spite of their artful illegal methods, declares the Pope, Louis was

sentenced to death by a minority.¹⁶ So great was the terror among the judges themselves that they were compelled to take another vote to "satisfy justice." Although this vote was declared regular, the conspirators themselves were the King's judges and executioners. Pius then speaks of the King's piety, "the ardor of his soul for the Catholic faith, his grief and repentance for having, in spite of himself, given his adhesion to acts opposed to the discipline of the true faith . . . Louis XVI of France could well say with James I of England that 'calumnies are proclaimed against me . . . not because I have committed any crimes, but because I am a king, and to be a king is the greatest of crimes.'" Pius then cites in some detail the case of the martyrdom of Mary Queen of Scots, concluding that in Louis' case, as in hers, the calumnies proceeded solely from a hatred of Catholicism. "Who can doubt," he asks, that "the King of France was put to death principally in hatred of the faith, and because he followed Catholic dogmas?"

The Calvinists in France had long since begun to plot the destruction of the orthodox faith. But "it was necessary first to prepare the minds, to fill the people with impious doctrines. These were incessantly diffused among the populace by books filled with perfidy and counsels of sedition; perverted philosophers were associated in this work. We ourselves, at the beginning of our pontificate, pointed out the detestable industry of such perfidious men."

Pius calls to the cardinals' memory how his encyclical of Christmas Day, 1775, the first year of his reign, had announced the danger of bad books, and how he had exhorted the bishops of Christendom to remove them from their midst. "Had the papal exhortation met with success," declares the Pontiff, "we should not now bewail the ruin which

¹⁶ The Convention was composed of 748 members, of whom 11 were absent. Just 369 votes were required to pronounce the death sentence. There were 366 votes in the affirmative; in other words, 371 voted to acquit the King.

menaces . . . kingdoms." Specifically, His Holiness points out one book printed in 1787 whose authors, Hugh Rosario and his collaborator, boldly asserted: "It is laudable to make way with a sovereign prince who will not follow the reformed religion, nor serve the Protestant party." Bad books multiplied in France, which was now reaping the bitter fruits they bore. "Eternal thanks, as the prime mover of the revolution," added the Pontiff, ironically, "was due to Voltaire." When these writings had filled the mob with delusions and lured them with promises, the specious name of "liberty" was invented and the mob was called upon to rear its standards. "Such is this philosophic liberty, whose aim is to corrupt minds, pervert morals, and overthrow all order in affairs and laws." Man was declared to be "born free and subject to the authority of none."

To the false and lying name of "Liberty" these vaunted patrons of the human race add another deceitful name, "Equality" . . . as though no one . . . could restrain, moderate, and recall the wicked to the bounds of right. Such a society [as the noisy philosophers preached] swayed by rash impetuosity and the clash of so many conflicting desires, falls into anarchy, and cannot escape a speedy dissolution: it is then with society as with harmony, when composed of various sounds. If it has not, as a soul, a suitable accord of chords and voices, it produces only troubled noises and deafening dissonances.

"Ah, France, France!" apostrophizes the Holy Father, "called by our predecessors *the mirror of Christendom, the immovable support of the faith*, how art thou now become our enemy!" In Louis he sees a martyr to the faith, who showed courage in persecution, and victory in torture. He closes with the announcement that obsequies are to be celebrated "in our pontifical temple in honor of Louis XVI, the Most Christian King." During the funeral eulogy pronounced by Monsignor Paolo Leardi, in the presence of the two aunts of the late King of France (the princesses Victoria

and Adelaide), the tears ran unheeded down the cheeks of Pius VI.

But the papal cup of woe was not yet full, though it appeared to be overflowing. It was a copious cup that seemed to have no bottom. Marie Antoinette and the Dauphin, her daughter and the King's sister, languished in the Temple Prison. On the second day of August the Queen was transferred to the Conciergerie. To spare her life the Pope wrote personally to Spain as that court had previously made handsome bribes to the assassins of the King. (Danton had indeed been asked how much he would take for the life of the King! Four million was proposed to Danton who then demanded gold. The bankers in Paris would not exchange the drafts for gold. Only eight thousand louis could be obtained. This Danton refused as insufficient, but sent the letter to the Assembly on the twentieth, and on the next day the King was beheaded.) The Republic had declared war on Spain on the seventh of March, yet Charles IV still tried to save Marie Antoinette. Believing the money for the life of the Queen could not be raised, the Assembly decreed her death in October of 1793. The ultimate indignity of publicly accusing the Queen of corrupting her own son was brought against her at the trial. "If I do not answer it is because nature refuses to reply to such a charge brought against a mother," sobbed the outraged woman, and "I appeal to every mother who hears me." Her appeal brought a rising tide of protest from the audience and a wave of sympathy passed momentarily through the hall. Yet the condemnation of the Queen followed two days of debate. Marie Antoinette prayed¹⁷ only for fortitude to meet her death as courageously as had her husband.

Funeral services were held in different churches in Rome

¹⁷ Her tear-stained letter, so full of motherly solicitude for her orphan children, cannot be read by the most sophisticated tourist to the Conciergerie without wet eyes and a tightening of the throat.

for the Queen, but the Terror which the Convention had unleashed, prevented public ceremonies.

By the winter of 1793, after beheading the King and Queen, the Revolutionary Assembly, now called the Directory, declared the Christian Religion officially abolished in France. Yet, in spite of Freedom's decrees, the practice of religion in France did not entirely disappear. Here and there loyal priests, at the risk of their lives, continued to minister to the Faithful. Even Robespierre, opposed by the violent protests of his fellow revolutionaries, reaffirmed in 1794 the existence of God and the immortality of the soul.¹⁸ But the conflict with Rome continued unabated.

On August twenty-eight, 1794, Pius published a bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, condemning eighty-five propositions of the Synod of Pistoia, where the bishop, Ricci, continued his destructive campaign against the primacy of the papacy. The entire Church approved of the papal bull which was in substance full of exact and precise dogma. Even the Gallicans accepted it as "a rule of faith and doctrine, from which it is not lawful to swerve."

7. *The Baneful Star of Napoleon*

The Executive Directory, which had succeeded the Assembly, now began in 1795 to threaten the papal provinces. From the beginning the ascending star of Napoleon Bonaparte foreboded evil for the Church of Christ. After distinguishing himself at Valence and at the siege of Toulon, the little Corsican had been made General of Brigade. In 1796 the Directory had appointed the General, whose astounding military genius was soon to stun all Europe, to the command of the army of Italy. His Holiness tried to negotiate and to ward off war from his realm. Spain had signed a treaty

¹⁸ In June of 1794, Robespierre presided with pseudo-pontifical pomp over "the festival of the supreme being," intended to erase all memory of the orgies of "the feast of reason."

with France. Pius likewise sought to conciliate the General by sending the Chevalier Azara to Milan with words of appeasement from the Holy See. But, on reaching that city, Azara had to return hastily to Bologna; for Bonaparte had already entered the city on the nineteenth of January, 1796, at the head of seven thousand men. After seizing Fort Urbino he had declared Bologna a free city, independent of Rome. As far as the papal states were concerned, this was insurrection. Without papal approval the Chevalier Azara and the Marquis Gnudi signed an armistice with Bonaparte. The terms were cruel — but the Congregation of State could do nothing but ratify them. After seizing without resistance, not only Bologna, but Ferrara, Ravenna, Imola, Faenza, and the Fortress of Ancona, the rapacious conqueror demanded of the Pope twenty-one million lire, five hundred priceless manuscripts, and one hundred masterpieces of art. In consistory with the cardinals the Pope set forth the dilemma of the Holy See:

The fate of Italy is to all appearances in the hands of the French; new victories daily assure their conquests. If the well-appointed armies of the empire had to yield to the impetuosity of the conqueror, and if the strongest powers are in his hands, what resistance or defense can this capital make? What success can we expect from the courage of our subjects? We should but shed innocent blood were we to think of defending it. Of two evils we must choose the lesser. . . . But if necessity compels us to submit to such hard conditions, duty requires us to fulfill them exactly.

As to the means with which these unjust obligations should be met, Pius refers to the treasures in the Castel Sant' Angelo held in trust for the most urgent necessities of the State. In the two centuries since Sixtus V deposited them there, never has a need arisen so desperate as the present one, asserts the Holy Father; for "*religiously faithful to treaties signed, we must pay the French the stipulated contribution. All the treasures in the world cannot restore the life of one single*

man. Let us then," the Pontiff sadly continues, "sacrifice a part, to avoid exposing to massacre millions of devoted subjects still left to us."

Thus the amount for the first installment was assigned from the treasure in the Castel Sant' Angelo. Pius sent his banker, Torlonia, to Genoa, to effect a loan of a million scudi. Gold and silver and precious vessels from sacred places were melted and sent to the mint. Private individuals made like sacrifices. The Senator of Rome Rezzonico, Prince Chigi, and the Marquises Massimo and Patizi, trusted citizens, received the deposits. The Pope donated his own plate to help meet the demands of the avaricious tyrant. Cardinals, prelates, princes contributed to fulfill the terms of the treaty. Prince Doria alone sent to the mint plate worth half a million scudi. This vast amount of wealth was offered to pay a hateful debt and is a lasting tribute to Roman honor.

Naturally the Pope hoped to secure by such a colossal sacrifice the appeasement which he so dearly desired. But when Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs, negotiating with Count Pieracchi (who had been sent to Paris to represent Pius VI), demanded that the Pope must first retract the briefs which had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France, before a treaty could be effected, the gentle Pontiff, on hearing this news, became violently ill. Yet, in spite of his serious condition, Pius called together the cardinals to confer with them and to seek their counsel. They unanimously declared such a demand could never be granted since it would overthrow religion. For the good of the Catholic world the Pope must suffer martyrdom before he could expose the Church to such indignities. Papal duty and honor were at stake. The maxims of the Church must be upheld even in the worst extremity. The Pontiff was so relieved by the cardinals' decision that he declared joyfully, "We find the martyr's crown more brilliant than that we bear on our head."

Fortified by the decision of the Sacred College, Pius VI, who suspected that the demand for retraction was merely a pretext for invading the Roman States, announced publicly that he would never pronounce his briefs on the affairs of France invalid or unjust. He declared they were in conformity with the decisions of the councils and the opinions of the Fathers; that the Holy See could never sanction the excesses committed in France during the past seven years; and he protested further that he would rather perish than abandon the rights and duties of Christ's Vicar. Pius VI was nearing his eightieth birthday when he made this declaration.

The Supreme Pontiff of Catholicism was utterly abandoned and given no aid by the Powers of Europe who were pre-occupied with their own immediate dangers.

Bonaparte, believing Pius would accede to all his demands, sent Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, who was highly regarded by the Pope, as his mediator, armed with a letter from himself to His Holiness. In this letter the General pressed the Holy Father to yield to the Directory's demand regarding the retraction of the briefs. This obstinacy of Bonaparte's was merely to humiliate the Pope and to gratify his own personal vanity. The Directory cared nothing for religion or clergy — old or new. Neither the old discipline nor the Constitution for the Gallicans interested them. They were aiming at a pretext for refusing peace and that they might go to greater lengths against the Pope. Through Cardinal Mattei, Pius sent his reply to Bonaparte which was in essence that the Pope in the cause of faith feared no danger and disregarded the menaces of the Directory. Cardinal Mattei, on his own behalf, warned Bonaparte:

General, the successes of your army have blinded you. . . . Not satisfied with shearing the sheep to the skin, you wish also to devour them. You insist on the Pope sacrificing his soul and that of the people committed to his care. You ask the entire destruction of the fundamental basis of the Christian religion,

the Gospel, morality, and Church discipline. The Holy Father, shocked at this insupportable pretension, has cast himself upon the bosom of God, to beg Him to enlighten His servant as to his conduct. . . . The Holy Ghost has without doubt enlightened His servant, and recalled to him the example of the martyrs. . . . After begging the Directory to grant him reasonable conditions, the Roman Court is compelled to prepare for war. Europe must decide who gives the provocation. Death, General, which you hold up to us as terror, is the commencement of eternal life. . . . Your army is formidable, but you know not that it is invincible. . . . Our trust in God does not permit us to believe that there is absolutely no peril for you or yours.

In his reply, dated from his headquarters at Verona, Bonaparte announces his determination to march on Rome, not to punish the Pope and his people, but only those who had ill-advised the Pope; and he adds: "Happen what may, Cardinal, I beg you to assure His Holiness, that he may remain in Rome without disquietude." Leaving Verona for Bologna, Bonaparte there easily repulsed the pontifical troops, who took flight on learning they were betrayed by some of their officers in the pay of the French. Forli and Cesena were also occupied by the French army. The Republican troops occupied Sinigaglia, Ancona, and advanced on Macerata. Nothing remained to the Pope but Sabina and the Roman Campagna. At the celebrated sanctuary of Santa Casa of Loretto, the commissars stole all the precious stones, gold and silver-votive offerings left by the Faithful, even including the statue of the Virgin which was carried off to Paris to be a museum piece. Meanwhile, precautions were taken to save the treasures in the Vatican palace, the Pio-Clementine Museum, the Monte di Pietà and the Castel Sant' Angelo. These were transferred to Terracina; preparatory, if necessary, to be sent to Sicily.

8. *Subjection and Seizure of Rome*

The troops of Bonaparte continued to advance on Rome.

A messenger was dispatched to the General to sue for peace. When the papal envoy did not return, his nonappearance was interpreted as refusal. To end the suspense, Pius sent a delegation to seek out the General. They were Cardinal Mattei; Duke Braschi, the Pope's nephew; Monsignor Caleppi; and the Marquis Massimo. They bore a papal letter in which Pius said: "Assured by the tokens of good will manifested in a letter to Cardinal Mattei, we have refrained from leaving Rome, and this alone will convince you of our confidence in you."

En route to the General's headquarters at Tolentino, the delegation overtook the papal courier carrying Bonaparte's reply to the first letter from Pius. This letter granted an armistice of five days. On the nineteenth of February the intolerable treaty of Tolentino was signed. Cardinal Mattei, in informing the Cardinal-Secretary of State, said simply: "The treaty is signed. The conditions are very hard, and in all respects like the capitulation of a fort, as the Conqueror repeatedly remarked. I have trembled till now for His Holiness, for Rome, for the whole state. Now Rome is saved, religion is saved, by the great sacrifices made."

By the terms of this ignominious treaty, the Holy Father renounced the sovereignty of Avignon and the Venaissin county, and ceded to France Bologna, Ferrara, and all of the Romagna. He promised to pay the tyrant an additional sum of fifteen million lire; to furnish eight hundred draught horses, eight hundred cavalry horses, and all the cattle required by the army of occupation; to surrender the five hundred priceless manuscripts and one hundred masterpieces of art stipulated at the armistice of Bologna. The papal palace was denuded and all the portable works of art were carted off to Paris. Only the murals of Raphael were left on the Vatican walls. The spoliation was complete.

Citizen Cacault, sent to Rome to see that the terms of the treaty were fulfilled, received two millions in gold and

silver ingots which he sent to Foligno in fifty-four wagons, together with the sixteen hundred horses stipulated in the treaty. The whole amount was redeemed by the Holy See and the generosity of the good citizens of Rome. But the demand of the Directory that the Pope repudiate his briefs was dismissed by Cacault as ridiculous. Thus Pius VI, to save a portion of his patrimony, fulfilled to the letter a cruel and ruinous treaty. Bonaparte united the two republics of Rome into one which he named the Cisalpine Republic.

But the appetite of the forces of irreligion knew no appeasement. They were determined to wreck completely the temporal sovereignty of the pope. A Director of the Republic wrote concerning the Pope to one of his co-Directors in Milan: "This ancient idol will be destroyed. Freedom and philosophy demand it. Politics alone can determine when and how. . . . It is the decision of the Directory that when the proper time comes, the Pope shall disappear from the scene and his religion with him." For how could the Church of Rome possibly survive the spoliation of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and the more than thirty million pieces of silver extorted from the papacy? "The old machine will simply fall to pieces," declared that arch-materialist, Napoleon Bonaparte.

To hasten the process, the Directory sent to Rome two generals, Duphot and Sherlock. It was their appointed task, as it had been Laflotte's and Basville's, to foment trouble with the end in view to make the people demand the expulsion of the Pontiff from the Eternal City. They began by demanding the liberation of all the prisoners who had revolted against the established order. Once freed, these evil men were given money so that by the end of the year 1797 the conspirators could count on a thousand traitors within the city. They were soon insulting private citizens and even trying to provoke the papal troops. At a banquet in the Villa di Medici, three hundred of these intoxicated

ruffians, presided over by Sherlock and Duphot, waved their cockades and shouted *Vive la Liberté!* Troops dispersed the madmen. They soon reassembled at the Corsini palace across the Tiber. This was occupied by the French Ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte. From the palace they proceeded to the Campidoglio to plant the tree of liberty. Again the government troops were sent to disperse them. This they tried to do by urging them to move on; but the assailants, believing the troops would not fire, surrounded the soldiers, forcing them to defend themselves. The rioters fled to the palace of the ambassador. They filled the court, the corridors, and the library of the palace. Some of them began firing from the windows at the armed troops. In the fray the sub-lieutenant, Durani, was wounded and died two days later. General Duphot, who was engaged to the sister of Joseph Bonaparte, rushed down the staircase, waving his drawn saber in the manner of Grand Opera, and threw himself upon the troops, calling upon the insurgents, who emulated his example. The wild man was shot and instantly killed as he was beating down a soldier with his saber.

Evidently fearing more trouble, Joseph Bonaparte, who had been protected from the popular fury, decided to leave Rome and return to France. When Pius learned of the affair and of the Ambassador's decision to report to Paris, he was in his private apartment convalescing from an illness. The news brought on a relapse that almost proved fatal. He ordered the theaters closed and prayers said in all the churches. The death penalty was proclaimed against anyone who insulted a foreigner.

The distress of the Holy Father was only too well founded. He had to vindicate himself of implication in the sorry business. An authentic juridical statement was drawn up, inserting the most trifling details, to convince the Directory that the pontifical troops were within their rights in discharging their duties against an unprovoked attack of ruffians.

As he had feared, these papal precautions and explanations were unheeded by the Directory. The ruin of Rome had long been plotted. It needed only this pretext to start it in motion. Duphot was declared to have been assassinated! French national honor was compromised! Vengeance was demanded. The Marquis Massimo, papal representative in Paris, was the first object of the Directory's revenge. His papers were confiscated but, though a thorough search of his apartments was made, nothing was found upon which the Directory could focus their attacks.

Alexander Bertier, who had succeeded Bonaparte as general, was ordered to declare war upon the Pope. He sent word to Rome that innocent Romans had nothing to fear. Only those guilty of Duphot's death would be punished. Pius ordered the papal troops to retire without resistance and the republican force advanced. Before Bertier entered the capital, the revolutionaries in Rome, encouraged by the approach of French troops, tried again to stage a revolution. This was on the third of February, 1798. The seditious uprising was suppressed by the papal troops while Bertier was at Ancona. But the Pope thought only of saving the citizens and averting bloodshed. He delegated the Cardinal-Vicar, della Somaglia, Prince Giustiniani, and two prelates to meet Bertier; but before the delegation could contact the General, Prince Pignatelli overtook Bertier and tried to dissuade him from refusing to meet the papal delegation. But Bertier remained adamant and replied to the Prince that he could not treat with Pius until the French army was in the Piazza of St. Peter's.

Bertier guaranteed, in the name of the French nation, that the Directory had ordered the government, religion, property, both private and public, to be respected. The French army proceeded to La Storta, ten miles from the gates of Rome. Thither came the Chevalier Azara sent by His Holiness to make a last appeal. Bertier merely repeated

the same words to him, but this time added that if the Pope resisted the French advance, he would not answer for the consequences; for he had orders to take the City and all the Pontifical States by force. After arranging for the orderly entrance of the troops into the city, Azara returned to Rome. Pius published an edict beseeching the people not to resist, and relayed the General's promise that the French did not come as enemies.

Although the aged Pope was urged by the cardinals to abandon Rome and flee to Naples, he replied: "We are thoroughly convinced that General Bertier, bound to carry out the instructions and orders of the Directory, will not maintain the promises so publicly made; yet our honor and our character require us to give him seeming credit."

The General and his staff encamped on Monte Mario, facing St. Peter's. He waited there to be "invited" into the capital by his friends and adherents. This "invitation" was duly made by the same persons who had stirred up the initial sedition. These traitors gave the General the semblance of performing the liberation of the Roman people from the papal yoke! Bertier took up his quarters in the Pope's palace at Monte Cavallo. At first he made a pretense of preserving discipline, and even ordered the trees of liberty which the rioters had planted in many piazzas, cut down; and he expelled Lauters, the inspector of artillery, for profaning St. Peter's with unseemly acts and sacrilegious words.

Only gradually did the ecclesiastics realize how their power in the government was being usurped. But as Bertier felt reassured, things began to change for the worse. A contribution of one million, two hundred thousand scudi¹⁹ was imposed upon the citizens by the troops in the occupied city and three thousand horses were requisitioned. Prince Pallavicini sent his entire stud. All property belonging to the

¹⁹ Approximately five and a half million dollars.

English, Portuguese, and Russians, was confiscated as being the property of the enemy. The French demanded a complete change of government, and Bertier waited only for an overt act which would give the appearance of justification to the illegality. On the fifteenth of February, 1798, on the occasion of Pius VI's twenty-third anniversary of his pontificate, when Pontifical Mass was being celebrated in the Basilica of St. Peter's in the presence of all the cardinals and the entire papal court, a mob of four hundred revolutionaries carried an enormous tree to the Campidoglio, and to the accompaniment of shouts of liberty, they planted it in front of the statue of Marcus Aurelius. To make the demand for "liberty" appear authentic, with Bertier's connivance they called in five lawyers to legalize the revolution. Then, in pomp and circumstance, General Bertier rode at the head of four hundred dragoons to the martial strains of a band. He harangued the crowd,²⁰ proclaiming the freedom of Rome and the creation of the Roman Republic.²¹ Rome on the Tiber should emulate Paris on the Seine.

Within a week the new government had defaced the city of Rome and the pontifical states. Masons were set at work demolishing the monuments of history, even those dating back to the days of the old Roman Republic which the innovators were pretending to revive! All titles were taboo. Only the title "Citizen" (which had so distinguished itself during the Terror in France!) was allowed. Yet the Republic of ancient Rome, which they were aping, had its knights, senators, and nobles. All Romans were required to wear the tricolored cockade.²²

Until Bertier declared a Republic in the public square of Rome, the Pope enjoyed all of his customary spiritual power.

²⁰ The spirits of Cato, Pompey, Brutus, Cicero, and Hortensius were invoked by the pompous general.

²¹ This make-believe "republic" lasted eighteen months.

²² The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius and the Archangel Michael on the Castel Sant' Angelo were defaced with the tricolored cockade!

But once the new order was installed, the torments of the Holy Father really began. The Swiss and Roman Guards protecting the Pope's person, were disbanded by the new fake government. It needed only a vicious character to approach His Holiness to place the crown of thorns on his weary head. This man was found in the person of a Swiss Calvinist, Haller, the son of a celebrated physician and commissar of the Republican army. Wearing his hat as he entered the papal palace, Haller found Pius surrounded by his cardinals. At that moment General Cervoni went to present the Pope with the cockade. Cervoni urged Pius to show himself to the people with this Republican symbol. He told the Pontiff that if he put it on voluntarily, a pension would be assured him for life. Pius VI arose in all the majesty of his office and with firm voice and serene countenance, he replied: "We know no insignia but those with which the Church invests us. You have all power over our body, but none over our soul; a staff and the coarsest garment will be enough for him who must soon expire, in defense of the faith, on a bed of ashes."

Thereupon the envoy, unmoved by these sublime sentiments of the Pope, assumed pity for papal folly, and proposed to His Holiness that he resign all temporal power as the only means of retaining spiritual authority; and once again he dangled the bribe of three hundred thousand lire as the price of life and liberty. "Our power," replied the venerable Pontiff, "by virtue of a free election, comes from God, and not from men; and for this same reason we cannot, nor should, renounce it. We approach our eighty-first year. We have nothing to fear from your hands. We permit our body to be subjected to every violence, indignity, torture, according to the will of whoever wields the power. But believe it well, our soul is still so free, so strong, and so full of courage, that it will face death a thousand times rather than offend honor and our God. Withdraw!"

9. Pontiff Dragged into Exile

A persecution of the cardinals was begun by the new police. Many of them left Rome. The Pontiff's kinsmen were all removed so that he was left isolated among his enemies. Bertier sealed up the doors of the Museum and the Gallery, also of the Vatican, Quirinal, Castel Gandolfo, and Terracina. Everything was confiscated, not for the newly created Republic of Rome, but for the French Republic. Even Pius's private library was not spared. The books which the Holy Father had intended to leave to his birthplace, Cesena, were carted off and sold at a sacrifice. On one occasion the commissars entered the private apartment of the Pontiff and forced him to witness their search for treasures which they believed were hidden away. Haller, seeing an urn, asked Pius what it contained and when told "Spanish snuff" the ruffian tried it, liked it, and appropriated what had been the gift of the King of Spain. The cupidity of the republicans knew no bounds.

The papal arms and inscriptions were all effaced. The last cruelty was to exile the Pope. But first, Haller again appeared, hat on, in the dining room where Pius was dining with a few domestics. "I have come to take all your treasures which the Roman Republic has orders to deliver to me," the insolent creature began. "We have already surrendered all we had to purchase the peace of Tolentino; we have nothing else to give you, and you know it better than we," replied the weary Pope. "You have two rings. Give them to me," said the greedy thief. Pius drew from his finger one of them and explained it was his own and he could give it away, but that the other was the Fisherman's ring which he was not at liberty to part with. "It belongs to our successor." On threatening to employ force, Pius handed even this symbol of his office to his tormentor, but as it had no intrinsic value, Haller returned it to the Pope who replaced it on his finger.

On reaching the antechamber, Haller commanded the prelates there to inform the Pope he must be ready at six o'clock in the morning to set off. One of them answered: "We cannot and will not be the instruments of your cruelties to our sovereign. Go yourself and impart the sad news."

Haller then re-entered the Pope's apartment and bade him be ready to leave the palace at dawn. The Pontiff replied to the commissar: "We are more than eighty years old; we are broken by age and infirmities. We do not know whether we can endure the hardships of travel. Our duty requires us here and we cannot without crime abandon our ministry to our people. We will die here." "As for dying, one can die anywhere," Haller gruffly answered. "If you do not go willingly, you shall go by force." Pius entered his cabinet, knelt before the Crucifix, and found in prayer the fortitude he sought. He came out with a calm expression and said tranquilly, "God wills it: His holy will be done. Let us resign ourselves to His just decrees." Pius's remaining hours in Rome were passed in putting his affairs in order.

Soldiers were sent to the Palazzo Quirinale on the twenty-eighth of February to drag the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom from the throne of Peter which he had occupied for twenty-three years. Deprived even of the privilege of saying Mass, the infirm old man was hustled along by the brutal Haller as he painfully descended the stairs. On entering his carriage, an ungrateful subject whom he had released from exile, shouted in his ears: "See, tyrant, your reign is over." Pius looked into the face of his malefactor and quietly replied: "Were we a tyrant, you would not now be alive."

The Pope was permitted to take with him on his uncharted journey Monsignor Caracciolo and his secretary, Giuseppe Marotti, who, before its suppression, was a member of the Society of Jesus. "Do you feel courage enough to accompany us to Calvary?" Pius asked Marotti sadly. "Holy Father," he fervently replied, "I am ready to follow the

steps and the destiny of my sovereign, the Vicar of Christ." "We trusted that a son of St. Ignatius would not refuse us," said the Pope. Marotti kept his promise and never left the Pontiff's side until death separated them.

Then began that long pilgrimage which was to continue until the final station of the cross was reached at Valence. At Ponte Centino Pius was met by his nephew, Duke Braschi, who had been stripped of all his possessions. At Siena the Pope entered the Convent of St. Augustine. All the way from Rome the French tried to keep the Pontiff's whereabouts a secret, but the news of his approach, by some miracle, seemed always to precede him. Along the route the Faithful lined the roadways and with extended arms, begged the papal blessing. All Siena poured out to meet the Pope, imploring his blessing. Pius appeared at the door of his carriage. With his finger on his lip, he besought them to make no demonstration. No eye was dry as he blessed them. When the Grand Duke, Ferdinand III, learned that the Pope was in Siena, he tried through his major-domo, to make him comfortable. He sent messengers to Vienna, Spain, and France asking for advice as to the course to be followed under the strange circumstances. When these evidences of reverend esteem were shown him, Pius was touched deeply and said gratefully to Manfredini, Ferdinand's major-domo, "Our misfortunes begin to make us believe that we are not utterly unworthy to be the Vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter. The position in which you see us recalls the primitive ages of the Church, the years of its triumph." At Florence the English minister came to pay his respects to the Pontiff.

Meanwhile, in Rome, the people, observing how their Pontiff had been spirited away from them and how all their loudly proclaimed "liberty" was in reality a general spoliation for the greed of a few leaders who had instigated the revolt, began to utter outcries of rage. On the twenty-fifth of

February, just three days after the Pope had been carried off, a frightful uprising occurred. The prelates who had remained in Rome were accused of stirring up the people. Cardinal della Somaglia, who had gone from place to place exhorting the people to peace, was thrown into prison without a shred of evidence.

In all but two cases the cardinals displayed conspicuous courage and loyalty to their cloth. Cardinal Antonelli gave eloquent expression to this loyalty when, accosted by a soldier, he was told to renounce the purple. The prelate asked the soldier if he, after enjoying his military prerogatives for years, would renounce his service and uniform just as the enemy approached. "Learn to know better those who have sworn, at the feet of the Head of the Church, to defend the Roman purple to the shedding of their blood. The great moment of trial has come and we hope with God's grace to be faithful to our vocation unto death."

Because of his refusal to take the oath required of him by the Director Containi at Milan, Cardinal Mattei was driven from his archepiscopal residence at Ferrara.

Pius VI, on hearing this sad news, wrote to the Archbishop of Fermo, Monsignor Minucci: "The present time requires assurance and courage; and six cardinals,²⁸ taken as hostages and transferred to Civit  Vecchia, have shown it, and still show it, for they do not know their destiny. But they are honored and applauded by all wise men."

While Pius was at Siena a terrible earthquake destroyed a great part of the city, including the magnificent cathedral, a marvel of Gothic architecture. At the Augustinian Monastery only the apartment occupied by the Pope was spared. All the churches were so damaged or destroyed that Mass could not be celebrated in any of them. Pius ordered an altar

²⁸ Cardinals Doria, Borgia, Roverella, della Somaglia, Cardandini, and Antonelli. Among the other prelates who were taken to Civit  Vecchia were Consalvi and the Governor of Rome, Monsignor Crivelli; Barberi, Celano, Borromei, and several others.

erected in the principal piazza and the Pontiff himself gave the papal benediction to the citizens assembled there.

On the first of June the Pope was ordered by the Directory to leave Siena and was conducted to Certosa, two miles outside Florence. Here, as at Siena, Pius held a little court.

It was at the Carthusian Monastery of Certosa that the Pope drew up a bull to protect the Church from a schism when it should become necessary to elect his successor. This bull of Pius VI was secretly conveyed to the cardinals of Naples and Venice. In it the exiled Pontiff suspended the ancient usage of conclaves and urged all possible expedition for the assembling of the cardinals, advising them at his death not to wait for the expiration of the ten days which at that time was prescribed by custom.

When Pius had arrived at Florence from Siena, he found there many dethroned princes — victims of Bonaparte's aggression. Among them were Charles Emmanuel IV, King of Sardinia, and his wife, the sister of the late Louis XVI and of Princess Elizabeth who had met her death at the guillotine shortly after the Queen's execution. The interview of the ex-monarchs and the exiled Pontiff was moving. As the venerable Pontiff stood at the door of his room supported by his attendants, the King and Queen fell weeping at his feet, saying to His Holiness: "We forget, at this moment, our own too-well-deserved miseries; because we enjoy the presence of the common Father of the Faithful."

They urged the Holy Father to go to Sardinia with them, promising him all loving care in his failing health and the dignity due him. But Pius sadly shook his head: "It would be impossible, even if our tottering health permitted it, to follow you to Sardinia. You do not know the views of the Directory in our regard; we must be the victim of our persecutors. . . . This government, which now has us in its power, cannot let an old man of eighty escape; for they regard him as one of their greatest trophies. . . . Our

sentence has been passed, and death alone can terminate it.”

While Pius was at Certosa he sent two briefs to Rome, dated January sixteenth and twentieth. Monsignor Passeri, to whom they were addressed, was banished before the briefs arrived; and in his absence Monsignor Buoni published them on his own authority and under his own name, indifferent to his fate at the hands of the government. All the professors of the Sapienza and Roman Colleges had been ordered to take an oath which Pius's briefs declared illicit. Most of the professors refused to take the oath; but the Pope, to appease the civil authorities, to spare the professors' persecution, and to preserve their liberty and livelihood, had proposed another oath which did not offend religion. This the government refused to accept. Finally, some of the intimidated professors signed the government's original oath. Then the Pontiff issued a third brief, signed with his own hand, warning the professors of their error in accepting any authority other than that of the Holy See.

At this stage a messenger arrived at the monastery to petition the Pope in this matter; but Pius, though submissive to civil authority as far as his own person was concerned, showed a firmness in regard to his Church which was entirely in conformity with papal responsibility throughout the ages. Six of the professors sent in a retraction. Others took the oath with reservations; but later, at the threat of excommunication by Pius, they also retracted. Thus the Pontiff of Catholicism, though a prisoner of the State, continued, even in exile, to exercise his papal dignity and authority over his people.

10. *Stations of Cross and Death*

Then began those Stations of the Cross: after Siena and Certosa, Parma, Bologna, Tortona, Turin — on a stretcher over Mont Genève, where Pius reminded his attendants of the great St. Bernard who in the tenth century founded a

hospice for travelers in which his followers still gave them shelter. He regretted that he could not go to them and receive their warm hospitality. "We would have conversed so pleasantly with them. We would have caressed their dogs," sighs the sick old Pontiff, wistfully. Roads that were almost impassable were traversed by the papal party. But no word of complaint was uttered by their sacred charge. He, at whose feet princes and emperors had knelt, displayed the same dignified simplicity as he had ever shown when he was carried on the *sedia gestatoria* down the aisles of St. Peter's amidst the exultant shouts of the multitudes.

On to Briançon His Holiness was driven. Then, in a jolting cart over a wretched road to Savines, to Gap, Cors, Lamur, Vezille, to Grenoble — sick unto death to a fortress in Valence, the culmination of his Way of the Cross. All along the route of the Pontiff's agony the acclaim of the people made of it a triumphal procession. He went to his Calvary like a conqueror. Never from the throne of Peter had Pius VI appeared so great. From the carriage window he smiled upon his faithful children who begged his blessing which he never failed to bestow. His majestic meekness touched the hearts even of his tormentors. His attendants were frequently changed by the suspicious authorities for they were completely won over by his sweetness and humility. It is recorded that at Cors, at the sight of the Pope, a prosperous Calvinist farmer, watching the religious homage of the people toward the dying Pontiff, exclaimed: "What firmness, what ardent courage, light up the countenance of this august old man! what goodness, what virtue!" At Grenoble, which was reached on the sixth of July, although the papal party arrived at night to avoid any demonstration, the people were there, like a vast army, kneeling in the darkness as the carriage passed through the silent crowds. As soon as the carriage had entered French territory, Pius spoke in that language to whomever he addressed. The soldiers themselves,

disregarding orders, began to pull the curtains of the carriage aside as he entered the town, saying to the people who were trying to get a glimpse of His Holiness, "Look well: there he is, dressed in white, on the right." A French Cardinal watched with holy satisfaction the homage of the people, exclaiming: "The deep roots of religion are not so easily torn from the hearts and minds of a great kingdom." But already the people were withdrawing from the government which had deceived and disillusioned them and was soon to expire from its own excesses.

It was proposed to hustle the Pontiff off to Dijon — at his own expense. They were to turn aside from Lyons, which was famed for its devotion to the Church. Hearing they purposed to continue his torments by yet another journey, Pius said to his faithful prelates attending him: "They will not spare us. We cannot die in peace in our prison. This does not suffice to satisfy the Directory. Let them load us with fetters, if there is aught to be dreaded from a broken old man who cannot escape them. But at least let them grant him the favor of spending calmly the few hours he has yet to pass in life."

Although the Directory clamored for his departure from Valence, his physical condition was by now most appalling. The contemplated journey was to be in reality a judicial murder of the Pope, Pius VI. All hope of this last torture was snatched from his tormentors by a paralysis of the legs; although even now he rallied. When his commanding officers told him to show himself to the people, who appeared on the outbreak of a revolt, Pius, carried in the arms of his attendants to the balcony, dressed in full pontifical robes, looked down upon the Faithful, and roused himself to one last effort, crying out in a loud sepulchral voice, "*Ecce Homo*," as he gave his last benediction.

He now called his confessor, received the Viaticum, and dressed in his sacerdotal vestments, sat upright while he

made his profession of the Roman Catholic faith. Placing one hand on his heart and the other on the Gospel, he recited with Monsignor Caracciolo, the profession in a clear voice. After this final act, he prayed that God in his mercy would restore the Chair of Peter to Rome; and for France he besought God, the Father of nations, to grant a return of religion, prosperity, and peace. When Monsignor Spina asked him if he forgave his enemies, Pius looked at the Crucifix he held in his hand and replied calmly, "With all our heart!" But indeed he had always blessed and forgiven them! There was never a more Christlike and serene departure from this earth than the flight of the soul of Pius VI from the wasted body, worn out by cruel torments.

Pius VI died at half past one on the night of August twenty-eight. He was almost eighty-two years old, and his pontificate was the longest since St. Peter's — over twenty-four years. Thus *Peregrinus Apostolicus*, the first pope in centuries to die in exile, passed on to his reward. Forgiving his enemies, his heart at peace, he left this mad world. Throughout the entire period of his reign he showed the same wise qualities that never flagged. His conception of the art of government was noble and exalted. The misfortunes that assailed him were ascribable to circumstances. No Pontiff, not even one possessed of the firmness of Sixtus V or the wisdom of a Benedict XIV, could have steered the barque of St. Peter more successfully through the tempests that tossed against it, until, to all human appearances, it was submerged and wrecked.

No acts of papal despotism ever engendered the rebellion of his subjects during his long pontificate. The government of Rome was not severe. Foreigners might point to errors of laxity (and what government is above criticism?) but Pius VI's own subjects were wont to reply to these criticisms: "Yes, the mildness of our government makes us love it, defective as it may appear to you, and we should dread the

consequences of change. If we had a secular government we should have burdensome taxes; we should be a prey to extortion. Look at the people of Modena and Palma! See how they are oppressed! No! none but the enemies of public welfare can desire a change; for nowhere is there greater comfort."

Pius VI's personality, against the tempestuous background of his pontificate, shines resplendent like a fixed star across a political sky blackened by heresy, cruelty, and bloodshed.

The Pope's few possessions were confiscated by the French Republic. Such were the great Conqueror's orders. "There is no more Pope," exulted the Church's enemies. "He who opposed our course lies in an ignominious grave." "*Pius VI: in sede magnus, ex sede major, in coelo maximus,*" eulogized the Faithful. Encased in a leaden casket, inside another of wood, clad in his pontifical vestments, the body of a great modern Pope lay at rest in a government chapel in Valence with the simple words inscribed on his coffin: "*Body of Pius VI, Sovereign Pontiff. Pray for him.*" His heart was enclosed in a separate urn. However, Morotti, his faithful servant and worthy follower of St. Ignatius, wrote another epitaph which was hidden in a leaden pipe from the eyes of the Directory:

Here lies Pius VI, Supreme Pontiff, formerly Giovanni Angelo Braschi, of Cesena. He surpassed all others in the length of his pontificate, and ruled the Church twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days. He died most piously at Valence, August 29, 1799, in a Citadel where he was detained as a hostage by the French. He was eighty-one years, eight months, and two days old. A man illustrious for his admirable firmness of soul, in enduring the greatest toils.

Bonaparte, returning from Spain, had been made First Consul on the ninth of November. For motives known only to himself, he published a decree which stated that the "Directory had sought to crush and trample underfoot the venerable Pontiff whose elevated dignity was entitled to

more luminous testimonials of public consideration." New funeral honors, at the Consul's orders, were given the dead Pope. Much pseudo-pomp and circumstance was ordered by the First Consul, in the name and under the aegis of the French Republic. The announcement of the ceremony rings hollow like a counterfeit coin.

But it was not until two years later, after the Concordat of 1801 had been effected by Consalvi, that the body of Pius VI was finally permitted to be transported back to Rome by order of Bonaparte, "with all suitable dignity *but without pomp.*" This permission was written by Talleyrand but the italicized words were added in the hand of the First Consul. Fake French ceremony was permitted; but the authentic ritual of the Church was prohibited by these petty men.

Nevertheless, all over the Catholic world funeral ceremonies were performed for the repose of the soul of Pius VI. Even England, separated from Rome for two hundred and seventy years, permitted Monsignor Erskine to celebrate Solemn High Mass in St. Patrick's Church. St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon — all paid tribute to the lasting memory of a great and holy Pontiff.

In the Basilica of St. Peter's, facing the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, Pius VI kneels in stone, fashioned by Canova; praying, we may believe, for his persecutors. The resigned majesty of the pained countenance which in life had witnessed his very garments divided and bargained for, as were those of his Master whose Vicar he was, recalls to the spectator who ponders his sufferings the living Pontiff's ringing words as he cried out to his tormentors in anguish of spirit: "Destroy, if you will, the dwellings of the living, the tombs of the dead; the Catholic faith is eternal. This faith, which existed before you, will live after you; and its reign shall last until the end of time."

Pius VII

1800-1823

PIUS VI, in captivity at the Carthusian monastery outside Florence, had foreseen and provided for the Church's day of deliverance. On November thirteenth, 1798, he had decreed "in view of the turbulent times, the conclave to name our successor shall convene wherever the majority of cardinals can most conveniently assemble." Thus the election of the new pope was held under the protection of Austria in the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio's in Venice. Ercoli Consalvi, who was later destined to play such an important role under the elected candidate, was appointed secretary of the conclave.

Although the critical conditions demanded a speedy election, the proceedings dragged on interminably; from December first to March fourteenth, due to Austrian intrigues. Finally the choice fell to Cardinal Chiaramonti, Bishop of Imola. The newly elected Pope took the name of his persecuted predecessor and personal protector, and became known as Pius VII.

1. *Monk, Bishop, Cardinal*

Pope Pius VII came of a noble family. From his father, Count Scipio Chiaramonti, he inherited his title of nobility and from his mother, the Marchesa Giovanna Ghini, he

imbibed a longing for holiness, an inclination which found expression in retirement to the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria del Monte not far from his birthplace of Cesena. The lad was only sixteen years of age when he entered upon his novitiate and submitted to the strict discipline of monastic life. Although accustomed to every comfort at home, this strange youth made deliberate choice of a hard routine on the level of a peasant's life. From a worldly point of view this choice deprived him of every likelihood of advancement. He became simply Dom Gregory.

Beginning so young, Dom Gregory mastered the monastic course of philosophy and theology at an early age. He was made public professor in the college of his Order at Parma. At thirty he was lector of theology in the monastery of St. Callixtus in Rome. For six years he held the chair of canon law. Pius VI befriended Dom Chiaramonti and conferred upon him the honorary title of *Abbate* when he was professor of the academy near the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Because of the Abbate's protest against the severity of his titular Superior's discipline in the monastery, Pius VI called Chiaramonti to the Papal Palace to defend himself. His simple sincerity and frank earnestness captivated the Pontiff who was as much impressed by the young monk's scholarship as by his genuine piety. His chief antagonist, a Spanish monk, was so affronted by his papal reception that he swore he would have Chiaramonti banished from Rome. Pius VI, replying to this threat, said that the persecuted brother would indeed leave Rome, but for a promotion of which his enemies would soon learn. This was the bishopric of Tivoli, a promotion which presupposed elevation to the purple. Later, at the death of Cardinal Bandi, uncle of Pius VI and bishop of Imola, the Pope created Chiaramonti Bishop of Imola and in 1785 raised him to the cardinalate.

At Imola the Cardinal served his flock for over ten years and was there when the papal states were invaded by the

victorious armies of Bonaparte. On the third of February, 1797, Imola, Forli, and Faenza were occupied and in a few days Ancona was taken. Arriving at Ancona, Bonaparte reproached the vicar-general for the flight of the bishop of that city. "The bishop of Imola, equally a cardinal, did not take flight. . . . He is at his post," commented the general.

Terror had indeed seized the papal states at the approach of the Conqueror. Imola besought her Cardinal for a *modus vivendi* during the occupation. Holding up the example of the sacking of rebellious Lugo, Cardinal Chiaramonti urged the Faithful of his diocese not to resist, but to let the practice of "the virtues learned in the school of Jesus Christ" be their guide and to let these "be the solid foundation of our democracy."¹

This acquiescence to authority acquired by force was brought against the Cardinal at the conclave but was overridden by the realization that the sacking of Lugo had followed the opposite course of resistance. Indeed, it was remembered that the good Cardinal himself had gone to intercede for the inhabitants of Lugo and had humbled himself before the French general, Augereau, pleading for them on his knees and refusing to rise until his boon for the citizens of the plundered city was granted. But a new danger had arisen for the Cardinal. The Austrians, backed by England, were momentarily masters of Emilia, and were approaching Imola. To save his people, once again the Cardinal had urged submission to overwhelming force. When, however, the Austrians retired, he was accused of sedition by the Directory. Still again the Cardinal went into the lion's den and presented himself to the French general, whom he won over. But now the Republican magistrates denounced the Cardinal to the authorities of Bologna as

¹ "Bishop Chiaramonti rose above the passions of the day and wisely admonished the frenzied Republicans that Virtue is the foundation of a republic and that the Christian religion itself demands fraternity." — *Ranke*.

having favored the Austrians! This time the French general declared that the Cardinal should be punished and his See destroyed.

Once more we behold Cardinal Chiaramonti pursuing the same course. Leaving the city by night, he comes face to face with General Macdonald. Like Leo the Great before Attila the Hun, and with the perfect *sang froid* of the fearless apostle, he severely reproveth the general for the planned spoliation of Imola. Thus Cardinal Chiaramonti saved his city from destruction and ruin.

2. *Tiara and Trials*

It was from Imola that the Cardinal was called to Venice to attend the conclave to elect the successor of Pius VI. After the prolonged stalemate in the voting, Monsignor Consalvi proposed to the assembled cardinals the name of Chiaramonti; feeling, he assured them, that the Bishop of Imola possessed the highest qualities necessary for the administration of the Church in these critical times.

The new Pontiff entered upon his temporal inheritance in utter destitution. The future for the papal states was dark and dubious. True, the Republic of France, bought at the price of ten years of revolution and the Terror, was at an end — in fact, if not yet in name. The era of despotism with Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul had begun. The armies of the Conqueror were daily achieving new victories and abolishing old boundaries. In view of the possibility that the states of the Holy See might be erased from the map of Europe, Austria decided, after vainly trying to have her own candidate elected at the conclave, to give no recognition to the temporal sovereignty of the new Pope. Cardinal Herzan, Austria's envoy to the conclave, invited Pius to visit Vienna, hoping de Turgut, Minister under the Emperor Francis II, might influence papal policies in favor of the empire's purely nationalistic designs. Papal appointment of

Cardinal Flangini as secretary of state was also proposed by the Viennese cardinal.

With the gentle firmness that formed so striking a characteristic of his personal charm, Pius VII refused these overtures and began making preparations to return to Rome for which his heart longed with genuine papal yearning. Commenting upon Austria's claims concerning the appointment of his future secretary of state, Pius remarked that the request was a strange one since he owned no state; for at the time the Neapolitans held Rome under King Ferdinand of Naples and the Austrians held the northern portion of the papal states. On June fourteenth, 1800, however, Bonaparte's victory of Marengo gave Rome back to the papal states, including the territory as far as Fano. This occurred just one week before Pius VII arrived at Ancona, en route to Rome.

Meanwhile the Pontiff had appointed Ercoli [Hercules] Consalvi as his pro-secretary. He would wait until he was at Rome, free from foreign influence, to name his chief officers. The Austrian cabinet, frustrated in its selfish maneuvers, was not yet beaten. The Marquis Ghislieri was now sent as ambassador extraordinary, having been previously coached by de Turgut to seek out the new papal pro-secretary to whom he promised, in the name of his master, to cede Lombardy back to the papal states if the three legations² were voluntarily given up to Austria. In other words, the Pope should agree to dispose of papal territory as if it were his own! This shameless bargain was naturally rebuffed by Consalvi who answered that Pius VII would never accede to such a proposal, although he would convey the message to His Holiness. Upon the Pontiff's refusal, Ghislieri then proposed that Austria should cede the legation of the Romagna as well as Lombardy if the Pope would acknowledge the Emperor's right to the other

² Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna.

two. This was, however, "the Emperor's last word," accompanied by threats of Ghislieri. The threats were ignored by the Pope, but he wrote two letters; one to the Emperor and the other to his Minister, in which he clearly set forth his own rights regarding the invaded provinces. Then he bade Consalvi write an official letter to the Marquis de Turgut. No answer to these communications was ever forthcoming. Consalvi always believed that de Turgut intercepted the letters so that they never reached the scrutiny of the Emperor. Consalvi writes in his *Mémoires* that the minister and not the master was the instigator of the contemplated papal spoliation.

Wearied by the constant importunities of Ghislieri, Pius VII spoke frankly to the ambassador. "Let His Majesty look to himself. Let him take care not to appropriate to his wardrobe clothes not his own, but belonging to the Church. He would not enjoy them. They might introduce rust and spoil his own clothes, i.e., his hereditary states." Ghislieri vented his wrath on Consalvi to whom he quoted the papal words. "The Pontiff is new at his trade. He proves he knows nothing of the might of Austria. Very great events would have to transpire before the hereditary rights could be touched."

The Battle of Marengo provided the "great events" which decided not only the fate of Italy but that of Austria as well. But Austria enjoyed a temporary revenge upon the Pope whom she was unable to bend to her will. To preclude demonstrations of loyalty to the new Pontiff, she forbade his traveling through the disputed territory and provided a miserable frigate, the *Bellona*, for the papal party; seeing to it that Ghislieri was aboard, ostensibly as the Emperor's host to the Pope, but in reality to act as his jailor. The party landed at Pesaro where, in spite of no port, they managed to disembark. Here they had to remain twelve days before they could proceed to Marengo. Pius's prophecy was fulfilled

sooner than he had expected. For, as a result of this battle, Austria lost not only her stolen property, but even a vast territory of her hereditary states. Northern Italy, including Lombardy and Liguria and the strip as far as the Adige, became French possessions.³

3. *Pope Re-enters Rome*

It was on the third of July, 1800, that the Sovereign Pontiff entered Rome⁴ amid general rejoicing. It was a Rome despoiled by vandalism, plundered of its most precious possessions, its inhabitants impoverished by the exactions of the French commissars. Famine and misery were "the gifts of freedom" from the French occupation. Indeed, paying tribute to the despoilers seems to have been the chief duty of the Roman Republic.⁵

Viewing such a Rome, Pius VII entered upon his wasted inheritance without a single act of vengeance or a retaliatory sentiment. One of his first acts was to appoint Consalvi papal Secretary of State. He could not have made a wiser choice as future events amply proved. The two men complimented each other. The Pope had been a Religious and for many years had been removed from the stress and strain of public affairs. He knew nothing of diplomacy and politics; although, as we have seen, the natural charm of his presence and his personal uprightness and frankness, had a tonic value which is often an effective weapon for disarming the machinations of the worldly.

Consalvi, a deeply religious man and utterly devoted to the papacy, was also what is called "a man of the world"

³In four years' time, at the crowning of Napoleon as Emperor in Paris, Francis II ceased to be Emperor of Germany; thus, after a thousand years, ended the Holy Roman Empire.

⁴In a few months after Pius VII's return to his capital, the Neapolitan troops withdrew from Rome.

⁵The Austrians and the march of the Russians had brought the Republic to an end, but had not mitigated the plight of the inhabitants. The Neapolitan occupation had proved not much better than the French.

inasmuch as he was thoroughly familiar with and on his guard against, the questionable methods of political aspirants. But, added to his political acumen, he had gifts of patient reserve and persuasive tact that had earned him the title of "The Siren" in Rome. He possessed the rare gift of knowing how to sift essentials from nonessentials. He could be compromising about the latter, but adamant where the former were involved. Added to his ability, he was endowed also with a distinguished presence, perfect address, and gracious manners. He was, moreover, a man of strong convictions and did not hesitate to expose himself to personal danger where a principle was at stake. Many times, during the revolution in Italy, he was arrested and imprisoned. Indeed, Consalvi united in his person qualities that make him almost unique among diplomats and he has not unjustly been called one of the foremost statesmen of the Holy See and a crowning glory of the Church. As a man he was universally respected and often secretly envied by his conscienceless enemies. Throughout his life he remained pure and disinterested in personal preferment. Born in Rome in 1757, he was educated at the famous college of Cardinal Henry of York at Frascati and finished his studies at Rome in 1781. Since 1782 he had been auditor of the Rota.

Bonaparte, from the beginning of his First Consulship in 1799 had seen, with one of those flashes of genius so characteristic of himself, how indispensable was the Church for bringing peace to distracted France and he knew instinctively that the stable society is reared upon a religious basis. France, he said, had learned in the stern school of suffering that religion is the firm anchor to provide peace and security to the people, the vast majority of whom were, by instinct and tradition, Catholic. But the Catholicism he wanted for the France he meant to dominate must be of his own molding! Although born and baptized a Catholic, it is doubtful if he was ever a practicing one. Otherwise he would have known

before he attempted it, how utterly opposed and inconsistent his idea of a Gallican Church was with the idea of Catholicism whose very name signifies *universal*. Exclusive nationalism and Catholicism can no more mix than oil and water. They are nontransfusible elements!

During Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, his address to the muftis⁶ reveals how shallow and brazenly opportunist his religious pretenses were.

Glory to Allah! [he apostrophized]. There is no other God but God. Mohammed is his prophet and I am his friend. Muftis! the divine Koran is the delight of my soul and the object of my contemplation. . . . Favor the commerce of the Franks in your country. . . . Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the English, accursed among the children of Jesus! Such is the will of Mohammed. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot till you ascend to the seventh heaven and are seated by the side of the black-haired houris who are endowed with perpetual youth and maidenhood.

These two men, Ercoli Consalvi and Napoleon Bonaparte, were destined to be antagonists upon the political arena of Europe for more than a decade.

The first public acts of Pius VII were those having to do with free trade and the coinage. Due to the scarcity of grains, there was literally a panic in central Italy in 1800, the year of the Pope's accession. Pius issued a decree permitting free trade in corn. The exclusive privileges of the bakers' corporation were abolished, so that anyone might bake and sell bread. Duty was taken off oil and its free importation was permitted. The following year these measures were extended by the same decree which is known as the "*Decree Motu Proprio* on Provisions and Free Trade," under the date of March eleven, 1801.

⁶ Expounders of Mohammedan laws. One wonders if they divined behind the fair words the crafty intent. There must have been some among them who smiled in their beards and knew the Conqueror spoke with his tongue in his cheek.

Because of the complete spoliation of the papal states the treasury was empty. It took two years to complete a new system which involved the pooling of all municipal debts in the debts of the state. To meet these debts the state undertook the administration of the real property of the municipalities as security for itself. This policy was directed by Consalvi. It was a deliberate policy to circumvent the farming out of internal resources. Another inheritance of the revolution was the depreciation of the coinage. Artificial values had been placed upon copper coinage since 1793; then the customary device of raising them by public authority was resorted to. Commercial confidence had been destroyed before Pius VII and his able Secretary of State undertook to grapple with the situation. Many schemes were proposed but as they would have entailed heavy losses to the holders of the debased currency, they were all emphatically rejected. As an alternative, a just value was assigned to the currency. The money was then taken in by the government and the mints at this fair rate. No more was allowed to be issued. All the base coin was called in by the fifth of October, 1803, the government bearing the loss. A million and a half dollars was paid out in silver. Not a coin of the inferior metal was left in circulation. "From that day until the late republic no country in Europe had a better or more abundant silver circulation than the papal states."⁷

Five days after the victory of Marengo, which laid Italy at the Conqueror's feet, the First Consul made known to the Bishop of Vercelli, Cardinal Martiniana, what were his intentions regarding the Holy See. He declared that he meant to live at peace with the Pope and to that end he would treat with His Holiness regarding the restoration of religion in France. A few days later the Cardinal wrote the Pope of Bonaparte's intention, which, uttered during pressing military affairs, seemed so spontaneous and sincere that

⁷ Cardinal Wiseman's *Recollections*.

it was welcomed by the Cardinal and the Pontiff with genuine joy. Pius wrote the Cardinal in reply that he could not receive more agreeable news and asked him to convey to the First Consul his readiness to begin negotiations regarding "an object so honorable, so suitable to our apostolic ministry, and so conformable to the wishes of our heart."

For the purpose of conducting such important business through his most capable aid, Pius created Consalvi a cardinal on the tenth of August. Monsignor Spina, who had been one of Pius VI's companions in captivity, was sent to Paris by the Pope with a brief dated the thirteenth of September announcing to the French bishops the papal expectations. Bonaparte sent Cacault (whom we remember as his emissary under Pius VI at Tolentino) as his minister plenipotentiary, without credentials, to Rome. The "corrected Republican" was now nearly sixty years of age and had seen and learned many things. The Pontiff received him on the ninth of April. Cacault had been advised by his Chief "to treat the Pope as though he had two hundred thousand men," which, to the First Consul's military mind, meant, "as a man to be respected."

At first all went well, but Ghislieri, the Austrian Minister, sought to persuade the Pope that the French could not be trusted. The negotiations were protracted until Bonaparte lost patience and ordered Cacault to leave Rome for Florence, if the Concordat was not signed within five days. In despair Cacault went to Consalvi and without subterfuge read the dispatch to him and asked his cooperation. He pressed the Cardinal to go to Paris at once. Knowing Bonaparte's vanity, his minister felt the Cardinal's arrival would flatter him, and frankly told Consalvi so. Then Cacault requested an audience with the Pope.

Pius was impressed by Cacault's advice that he should *not* sign the Concordat in five days as the First Consul had

stipulated; advice which, under the circumstances, was most unusual. Cacault declared that he was taking all the responsibility upon himself; indeed, that he was acting more, perhaps, in the interest of the Holy See than in his own. His appeal to the Holy Father that he send Consalvi at once to Paris to negotiate with Bonaparte personally, was based, he said, upon instinct. The First Consul's counselors try to dissuade him from his course; they have his ear. Let Consalvi show him how profitable for France the Concordat will be.

4. *Concordat with Napoleon*

Pius was persuaded that Cacault spoke the truth. On the sixth of June the two men set off; Consalvi for Paris and Cacault for Florence, traveling in the same carriage as far as Siena. Consalvi did not go with the confidence of the unwary. He foresaw his role and undertook his mission with no illusions. On the eve of his departure from Rome, he wrote to the King of Naples: "The good of religion requires a victim. I am going to see the First Consul. I am walking to martyrdom."

The motives of the men involved in effecting a concordat between France and the Holy See were as far removed as the antipodes. Bonaparte, driven by dreams of insensate ambition, needed the support of the Church for their realization. He was intoxicated by delusions of grandeur. The Concordat was for him an important rung in the ladder to Empire.⁸ To Pius VII it represented the restoration of religion in France after a decade and more of alienation from Rome and enmity toward the Holy See. The Catholic religion, as the religion of the State, had been extinguished. Most of the bishops were in exile. The churches were stand-

⁸Lafayette early sensed Napoleon's ambition to be crowned Emperor and told him to his face: "You might as well admit it. The flask of holy oil shall be broken upon your head. That is what you desire."

ing empty and profaned. The clergy were scattered or dead. Ecclesiastical schools had disappeared. Pius VII envisioned the re-establishment of the hierarchy in France and the removal of the constitutional clergy that had so plagued the pontificate of his predecessor. These had been the hopes of the Holy Father when he sent his Secretary of State to negotiate with the First Consul in Paris.

Bonaparte's reception of the Papal Legate was one of studied theatricality. Instead of being met in a manner befitting his station as the Pope's representative and as an equal, the astonished Cardinal was conducted by the Master of Ceremonies to the Tuileries where the "most splendid and dazzling royal pomp" of a brilliant court was in progress. There was, of course, design in all this clever stage setting. Bonaparte meant to bedazzle the Pope's plenipotentiary by this display of magnificence. As Consalvi was conducted by Talleyrand toward the First Consul who was surrounded by ambassadors and ministers, all eyes were fastened upon the host and the papal guest. With characteristic bluntness the Great Man spoke: "I know what brings you to Paris. I wish the negotiations to begin at once. I give you five days, and I warn you that, if at the end of the fifth day matters are not arranged, you must return to Rome. In that case, I am already determined on my own course." But when he noted that his threats and vulgar display did not faze the Cardinal or ruffle his calm demeanor, with an equally swift change of strategy, Bonaparte turned toward his guest. Eyeing him with unconcealed admiration and ignoring all the others, the First Consul conversed with the Papal Legate for half an hour on matters relative to the Concordat.

With utter self-abnegation Consalvi gave of himself and of his time, knowing no rest in his endeavor to carry the negotiations to a successful conclusion and at the same time to safeguard the interests of the Holy See against the wiles of Bonaparte. Yet, instead of the stipulated five days, twenty-

five were consumed in conference between the Abbé Bernier, who represented Bonaparte's interests, and Consalvi with the Cardinals Spina and Caselli. Meanwhile, the Spanish and Austrian interests were urging a concordat at almost any price. In spite of their pressure Consalvi was determined to go no further than his papal instructions, while bending every effort not to break off negotiations nor jeopardize the Concordat.

The outcome of all the conferences was not what Pius VII and his minister could have desired. The First Consul was immovable in his demand that the exiled bishops should be deposed. Under his repeated threats of breaking off negotiations altogether, Pius VII, for the good of religion in France, agreed to accede to Bonaparte's demand, and to do what no Pope had ever done — request an entire hierarchy to retire from the Episcopate. The only concession Consalvi could wrest from the First Consul in this matter of deposing the loyal bishops, who under Pius VI had accepted exile rather than sign the civil constitution, was that the Holy Father should himself write the Brief of Deposition.

On the thirteenth of July, 1801, the Concordat was brought to Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli for their signatures. The meeting of the signatories was at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. When the document was presented to Consalvi, the suspicious Cardinal asked that it be unrolled so that he might see what he was signing. Examination of the papers revealed that they contained many points rejected by the Pope and understood to have been disposed of. Consalvi's refusal to sign meant the reopening of negotiations. Since the First Consul had arranged an important function at which the signing of the Concordat was to be announced the very next day, the diplomats worked from four in the afternoon until four the next evening to get the revised document ready. The dinner was at five o'clock and the cardinals, Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli, must attend in spite

of lack of sleep all night and twenty-four hours of grueling labor.

Consalvi writes in his *Mémoires* concerning the greeting he received from Bonaparte on this occasion.

As soon as he saw me, he called out in a mocking tone: "So you wish to break with me, Monsieur le Cardinal! Well, let it be so! I have no need of Rome. I can act by myself. I have no need of the Pope! If Henry VIII, without a twentieth part of my power, was able to change religion in his country, how much more have not I the same power and will? Rome shall feel the losses she has caused; she shall mourn over them, but it will be too late. You may go; indeed, it is best that you go. You have broken off negotiations with me by your own will. So be it, since you wish it! When will you go?"

To this torrential outburst Consalvi replied with perfect calm and self-control. Was the First Consul just in treating legitimate diplomatic sagacity as willful obstinacy? The concession was impossible. Why demand the impossible? Principles were involved. These required careful consideration.

Consalvi's restraint prevailed. Bonaparte agreed to a new discussion, but he was determined that the disputed article should stand. This read: "Worship shall be public, but conformable to the regulations of the police." Spina and Caselli would have signed from sheer weariness; but not so Consalvi! He fought alone and doggedly resisted for twelve hours longer the phrase "conformable to the regulations of the police." Joseph Bonaparte agreed to be the bearer of the revised Concordat which defined the disputed phrase as meaning that public order and security were to be maintained but that no interference with the free action of the Church was intended. When the Great Man saw the changes that Consalvi's initiative had inserted, he petulantly tore the Minute into small bits. It hurt his pride to follow another's lead. Nevertheless, his desire to conclude the Concordat outweighed his injured self-esteem. On reconsideration, Bon-

aparte agreed to yield. For the Concordat would re-establish relations with the Holy See. He, Bonaparte, as the dispenser of this boon and the object of grateful acclaim, would place himself in a strategic position with Rome. What dreams of future grandeur prompted his apparent compliance lay as yet hidden within the recesses of his own restless mind. His brother, Joseph, bore the glad news to the anxiously awaiting Cardinal.

Finally, after so many pitfalls and delays, the Concordat was signed by both parties on the fifteenth of July; Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli for the Holy See; Joseph Bonaparte, Cretet, and the Abbé Bernier for France.

Now that his work was accomplished, Consalvi was eager to return to Rome. While making his preparations, the First Consul called him unexpectedly for an audience. In the most casual manner he revealed to the dumbfounded Cardinal that he was obliged, for purposes of policy, to choose some of the new bishops from among the constitutional clergy. Against this scandal, which would destroy much of the good effect of the Concordat (since it would introduce schism), Consalvi strongly protested. He insisted that no constitutional bishop could be acceptable to the Holy See unless he publicly retracted his errors. Although he had promised more than once that they should be given up, Bonaparte now showed all too plainly that he meant to do nothing of the sort.

On the eve of the Cardinal's departure for Rome, a diplomatic reception was held at which Consalvi held first rank. Was it sheer perversity or some subtler motive that prompted the First Consul's studied rudeness toward his distinguished guest? Not once did he recognize the Cardinal nor speak with him during the entire evening! Eyeing him from across the hall, while conversing with lesser men, Bonaparte apparently wished to show to all present in how little esteem he held the Holy See now that he had obtained

all he had wished from its representative. Yet, as the imperturbable statesman was about to enter his carriage the next morning, Bonaparte's tool, the Abbé Bernier, put in an appearance to inform the departing Cardinal that his master wished to know what the bull, which must be published with the Concordat, would contain. The Cardinal patiently explained that a bull is not the work of a few hours and that he was not authorized to write it. It was the twenty-third of July when Consalvi finally left Paris.

Upon his arrival in Rome, the Holy Father gave his Minister a warm and hearty welcome, and immediately called the cardinals in consistory for counsel concerning the Concordat. The two points that provoked their dissent were those concerning public worship and the promise that the Church should not claim alienated possessions. After listening attentively to the cardinals' arguments, Pius VII spoke. All they had pointed out was too true, said the Pontiff. The liberty of the Church was limited and circumscribed by the surrender of the papal territory; but he was chiefly concerned about Her spiritual sovereignty. The re-establishment of the Church in France, the ministry of the clergy among the Faithful; these were the objects that outweighed all material considerations with Pius VII. Thus the Pope ratified all that had been done by his Secretary of State while acting as his minister plenipotentiary in Paris. One month after the signing of the Concordat by his representatives, papal approval was sent by courier to the Tuileries.

5. *Fate of Concordat*

Consalvi's absence from Paris necessitated the sending of a Papal Legate to France. Bonaparte requested that Cardinal Caprara be selected for the task. This choice indicates his keen insight of men. He chose an ecclesiastic who, as Nuncio to Austria under Pius VI, had managed to retain the good

will of both the Emperor, Joseph II, and of his Minister, de Kaunitz. Concession and compromise were the chief assets of Caprara, and Bonaparte knew his man. Once in Paris, surrounded by a Court that vied with that of Louis XIV in splendor and magnificence, the Cardinal's role was pathetic. Stormy sessions at untoward hours wore the Legate down. The Holy Father's instructions to resist the reinstallation of the constitutional bishops were of little avail before the frown and threats of the Great Man. Biting sarcasm cut short the futile protests of Caprara. The curt ultimatum that he would take matters into his own hands proved Bonaparte's power to intimidate a weak adversary. The contest was too unequal; the result, a terrified acquiescence on the part of the poor Cardinal who was ill equipped to cope with unscrupulous genius. Point by point was surrendered until nothing was left of the very specific instructions and intention of the Holy Father regarding the constitutional bishops. Eight bishops and two archbishops were to be nominated from their number, the First Consul announced. Meanwhile, the Pope was deceived by the letters from his Legate concerning developments in Paris.

The proclamation of the Concordat was staged for Easter Sunday, April 18, 1802, at Notre Dame. Several of Bonaparte's generals wished to absent themselves from the ceremony, but the First Consul insisted upon their presence. All the sumptuous pomp that had become a memory in Paris was resuscitated. The old Court carriages bore gorgeously dressed occupants from the Tuileries; among them, of course, were Josephine and her entourage; officers bedecked with gold braid and medals; all the ecclesiastics in their full regalia. One can imagine the heavy heart that beat under the scarlet robes of the Papal Legate as he entered the portal of the Cathedral of Notre Dame.

The Holy See had indeed paid dearly for the great gain of the Church's rehabilitation in France! Of the eighty bish-

ops who had been asked to resign, forty-four obeyed. The others formed the *petite l'église*; in reality a schismatic branch of the Catholic Church. And Caprara had administered the oath of recantation so leniently to the constitutional bishops that some of them openly boasted they had not really recanted. By the terms of the Concordat the First Consul appointed the bishops, a right formerly exercised by the King of France; but the canonical investiture was granted by the Pope. The government was to pay the salaries of the clergy. These proved woefully inadequate. In reality the clergy of France became utterly dependent on the State.⁹ These concessions were all extremely dangerous for the Holy See.

The Concordat was judged differently by its opponents; but was disliked equally by freethinkers and loyal Catholics. In Italy a rhyme was bandied about which compared Pius VII's concessions with Pius VI's unbending refusal to compromise the Church. It ran: "Pius VI sacrificed his throne to save the faith; Pius VII surrendered the faith to save his throne." But this was obviously unfair. Pius VII made tremendous sacrifices to a Colossus who was bestriding Europe and before whom temporal powers trembled, not to save his personal ascendancy as future events abundantly proved; but that the Faithful of France might have the consolations of their religion. Nevertheless, the papal instinct was proving all too accurate as when, on receipt of a letter from the archbishop of Narbonne as early as September twenty-seventh, 1801 (in which he and thirteen other bishops declined to accede to the request of the Holy Father and resign), Pius VII had remarked to Consalvi: "We are entering upon a sea of affliction."

⁹ The evil effects of this dependence has never been wholly eradicated in France. Even today one is impressed by the patriotic fervor of French priests. Listening to a discourse at St. Etienne's on Armistice Day in '31, and only recently at Sacre Coeur on Mont Martre, the author could not but feel that the allegiance of French priests to the State vies with their loyalty to the Church of Christ.

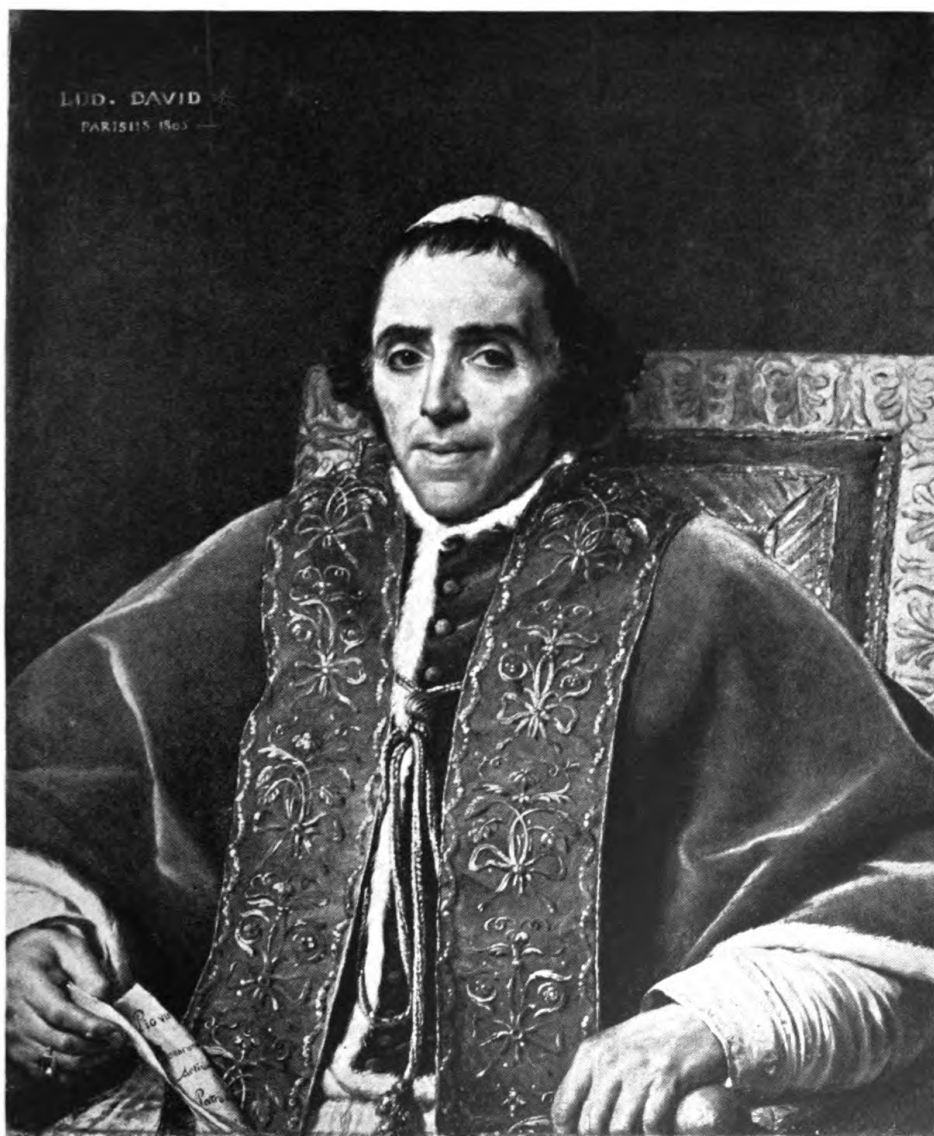
The Organic Articles¹⁰ which were attached to the Concordat by Bonaparte, and against the will and knowledge of the Pope and Consalvi, enhanced the First Consul's power enormously. This was one of Napoleon's tricks, inserted after the Treaty had been signed by both parties, but published with the Concordat as if it formed a part of the document. These sweeping laws enacted by the Head of the State annihilated the spirit and purpose of the Concordat. They were as despotic as the ukase of a Russian Tzar. By them papal bulls and briefs must obtain State sanction; as also papal legates and councils — even ecumenical councils! The professors in the seminaries were obliged to expound these Gallican doctrines; and "the Church in France was practically rendered as independent of papal authority as the Protestant establishment in Great Britain."¹¹ Civil marriage was introduced. Ecclesiastical marriage was optional. In short, the State was in all vital matters superior to the Church. Against these Articles Pius VII protested vigorously for three years. One of the motives for consenting to go to Paris to crown the Emperor was the hope of righting these injustices.¹²

Bonaparte's policy toward the Holy Father was dictated by an unholy desire to use the papal influence for his own advancement. He was extremely jealous of papal prestige whenever powers he despised tried to abase it. He made small

¹⁰ "Not only did those Articles inflict a complete captivity on the Church, but the educators of the clergy were enjoined to teach what is false. To this Bonaparte added the falsehood of representing these Articles as *Organic Articles of the Convention made with Pius VII*. For three years after the publication of the Concordat, Pius VII spared neither labor, trouble, nor fatigue to bring about either the revocation or the revision of the Organic Articles, and the retraction of the constitutional bishops." — Mary H. Allies, *Pius the Seventh*.

¹¹ Alison, Sir Archibald, *History of Europe*.

¹² "C'est pourquoi, dès du'il reçut l'invitation de se rendre à Paris . . . il posa pour condition de sa bonté et pour objet principal de son voyage la révocation ou la correction des lois organiques, ainsi que la soumission ou l'abandon de ceux qui adhéraient au schisme." *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi*, Vol. I; p. 435.



PIUS VII: 1800–1823

Barnaba Luigi, Count Chiaramonti, born at Cesena,
August 14, 1742; elected at Venice on March 14, 1800.

concessions to the Holy See as tokens of greater generosity. On the twenty-second of September he restored the city of Pesaro to the pontifical government, as he had already done in the case of Benevento.

6. *Pope Invited to Crown Napoleon*

At the request of the First Consul Pius VII created three cardinals for France, which, as Bonaparte pointed out, had not had a cardinal appointed for a period of fifteen years. Spain and Portugal waived their rights for the cardinalate "for the good of religion in France"; but Austria refused to accede to the same papal request. The Archbishop of Lyons, Joseph Fesch, an uncle of Bonaparte, was one of the three appointees for France. Of him we shall hear more later. Almost at once Bonaparte recalled Cacault, his ambassador at Rome, and gave this important post to Cardinal Fesch. A short time prior to this appointment the Duke d'Enghien had been arrested on foreign territory at the First Consul's orders. For the actual ruler of France was now virtual arbiter of Europe as well. His position as First Consul of a weak Directory was no longer suitable to an intellect of his vast designs. Courted and fawned upon by the states of Europe, proffered the crown by England at the negotiations of Amiens, it is small wonder that Bonaparte eagerly accepted the estimate other statesmen were according him. But his ambition had loftier aims than mere kingly power. He envisaged himself as another Charlemagne. Like the great Frankish Emperor, he would receive his investiture from the successor of St. Peter, and gain for his new dynasty a prestige far more glamorous than any Capet ever possessed. A compliant Senate supinely acceded to his ambitious designs, and proclaimed him Emperor. Through Cardinal Caprara, Pius VII was invited to Paris to anoint and crown him. Cardinal Fesch was on hand at Rome to promote his great nephew's splendid aspirations. The new

French cardinals of the Sacred College pressed His Holiness to accept the invitation to Paris.

The distress of Pius VII was very real. It was not the recognition of a new *de facto* government that made the Holy Father shrink. This was an obvious and customary course that entailed no difficulties. It was the implication and interpretation that such a step would receive abroad. For was it not tantamount to investing the new dynasty with religious sanction? Pius VII saw himself borne along on an impetuous current. Shipwreck seemed to loom on the distant horizon. In his dismay he called upon his faithful Consalvi. Under the seal of confession the Cardinal consulted with twenty of the most influential members of the Sacred College. The replies to the question as to whether the pope should accept the Emperor's invitation to come to Paris and crown him were not unanimous. Fifteen of the cardinals voted affirmatively: five of them were irrevocably opposed to the proposal. One advised the Holy Father to wait until Napoleon had proved his worthiness by restoring to the Church at least her spiritual rights. All of the cardinals expressed their fear that the other powers, especially the houses of Austria and Bourbon, would be jealous and resentful of this appearance of partiality. Yet, viewing realistically the position of Pius VII in Rome, one must admit that his very existence in the Eternal City was dependent upon the will of Napoleon. And might not much good come to the Church by such an unprecedented step? For if the Holy Father decided to accept the Emperor's invitation, it should be under very specified conditions. Napoleon must not expect him merely to perform the act of consecration; he must treat of the great religious injustices already referred to. These must receive a full review. The rebellious bishops must submit or be removed. The Italian Concordat (ardently desired by Napoleon) must be executed without any organic articles attached. The ceremonial at Notre Dame must be

pontifical. The Holy Father would not receive Madame Talleyrand nor recognize her scandalous marriage to the former Bishop of Autun.

As was anticipated, the Powers protested against the crowning of the upstart Emperor by the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom. But, in rendering judgment, it must be remembered that neither before nor since have the Great Powers of Europe ever evolved any means or given any assistance whereby the Holy See might be free from the aggressions of a powerful neighbor. Ever since the General had entered Italy, the Pope had remained in Rome by French sufferance.

In a brief His Holiness congratulated Napoleon on his accession to the Imperial throne; and he concluded the papal document with words of fatherly exhortation:

We beseech and conjure and exhort you in the Lord, now that by God's providence you have reached the high degree of power and honor, to protect the things of God, to defend His Church, which is *one and holy*, and to use all your zeal to remove therefrom whatever may injure the purity, preservation, beauty, and liberty of the Catholic Church. You have already made us conceive great hopes; we confidently expect that you will realize it as Emperor of the French. We grant with our whole heart to your imperial majesty, your august spouse, and all your family, our apostolic benediction.

Given at Rome, at Santa Maria Maggiore's, under the ring of the Fisherman, the second of August, 1804.

The Emperor wrote a deferential and disarming reply in which his colossal egotism is veiled by protestations of loyalty to "Holy Mother Church" and concern for the moral welfare of the French people.¹³

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1804, the Pontiff called the cardinals in consistory. As in the case of Pius VI when he was about to set out for Vienna, Pius VII addressed to the cardinals an Allocution, declaring his intention of going to Paris, and reviewing his motives, the purity of which

¹³ See Appendix A.

cannot be gainsaid.¹⁴ For the Pontiff declared he believed that the Emperor wrote in good faith and intended to increase the advantages of the Church. He announced that the interests of the Holy See should not suffer in his absence; and to that end he invested Cardinal Consalvi with all power to direct political affairs in Rome.

7. *Coronation of Napoleon*

At dawn on the morning of November the second, 1804, the Holy Father left the Quirinale and proceeded to St. Peter's to hear Mass. It was observed that he remained long at prayer. At nine o'clock he passed through the Angelica Gate. For three miles the Faithful lined the roadside. Pius and Cardinal Antonelli, his companion, were moved to tears by the devotion manifest along their route. Cardinal Maury met the papal party at Radicofani and begged the Holy Father, while in Paris, to visit the Carmelite Church and to say Mass for the many priests who had been martyred there during the Revolution. Here, also, the cortège was augmented, for the contingents had set out at different hours. It included Cardinals Antonelli, di Pietro, Caselli, Braschi, Borgia, and de Bayanne. Cardinal Fesch, Minister of France, was of the party and relieved the fatigue of His Holiness' journey. There were numerous prelates in the suite: Testa, secretary of Latin letters; Father Fontana, secretary of the Propaganda; Devoti, secretary of briefs to princes; the Pope's major-domo; and several others, including a surgeon and physician and fifteen other attendants.

At Florence, a gracious welcome was extended to the papal party by the queen of Etruria¹⁵ who had arranged sumptuous

¹⁴ "Ayant donc obtenu ces sécurités en al forme plus solennelle, le Pape dans le seul but de favoriser la Religion, — *nella sola vista del bene della Religione* — foula aux pieds tous les obstacles qui s'opposaient à son départ. Il ne s'inquiéta ni des rigueurs de la saison, ni de son âge avancé, ni de sa santé si faible, ni des incommodités d'une course rapide, et il se dirigea vers Paris." *Mémoires du Cardinal Consalvi*, Vol. I, p. 437.

¹⁵ Napoleon's favorite sister, Eliza.

apartments to provide for their comfort. Thence the Pope and his entourage proceeded to Turin, via Modena and Pistoia. At Turin Pius was received by Cardinal Cambacérés; the Senator Amboville; and the master of ceremonies, Salmatoris, who had been sent on to present the homage of Napoleon. It was the twenty-fifth of November when the exhausted Pontiff,¹⁶ who had traveled nearly sixty miles a day, finally reached Fontainebleau.

When the party approached the Cross of St. Hérem, the Emperor came galloping on horseback from a hunting expedition and greeted the Pontiff. Six of His Majesty's carriages followed. Into the first the Emperor entered, and sat on the left, reserving the place on his right for His Holiness. At the entrance of the Chateau a salvo of artillery was fired as the party, escorted by Mameluke soldiers¹⁷ proceeded between a double row of troops. At the foot of the Chateau's beautiful escalier stood Cardinal Caprara and the officers of the household. The Emperor's face beamed with unconcealed joy. It is recorded that His Holiness' countenance was clouded as by a veil. Together the uncrowned Emperor, Napoleon I, and the Supreme Pontiff, Pius VII, ascended the lovely staircase. At the landing the Holy Father was conducted to his apartment where he took a few moments' rest.

After a courtesy call on the Emperor and a return visit from him, the Holy Father, disregarding formality, called upon the Empress Josephine, and then received the ministers in his own apartments. To them he expressed his surprised satisfaction at what he had witnessed en route to Fontainebleau: "Blessed be heaven!" he exclaimed, "we have crossed France amid a kneeling population. How far were we

¹⁶ This unholy haste was resented by Consalvi who declared "They made the Pope gallop to Paris like a private chaplain who had received orders from his patron to say Mass."

¹⁷ Descendants of white slave-kings of Egypt (of Turkish origin from Asia Minor) whom the General had brought back from his Egyptian campaign.

from believing such to be the state of your country!"

Two days later, on the thirtieth of November, a delegation of senators came to pay their respects to the Pontiff. One of them, de Fontanes, famed as an orator, paid eloquent tribute to His Holiness, who smilingly complimented him upon the purity of his style; bestowing upon him that benevolent gaze of ineffable sweetness which Sir Thomas Lawrence caught in his portrait of Pius VII more than a decade later; eyes afire with profound sanctity, the large generous mouth and the noble unwrinkled forehead crowned with abundant black hair which, in spite of his seventy-seven years, still showed no sign of graying. We can see him now at sixty-two, alert and graciously listening, his body relaxed while grasping with strong hands the arms of his chair, as the words of fluent French roll on in agreeable cadences:

. . . Rome beholds on the throne of St. Peter the luster of the apostolic virtues of the primitive ages. . . . This august religion comes to consecrate with its presence the new destinies of the French empire, and assumes the same guise as in the age of Clovis and Pepin. All changes around it. She alone changes not. She beholds the families of kings vanish like those of individuals: but on the ruins of crumbling thrones, and thrones that rise, she ever admires the manifestation of the eternal designs, and obeys them. Never had earth a more imposing spectacle. Never have nations received a more solemn lesson. We are no longer in the days when the ecclesiastical and civil powers are at war. Both join in repulsing these fatal doctrines that menaced Europe with a total subversion. May these yield forever to the double influence of religion and policy combined.

On the very same day, Pius VII received a deputation of eighteen tribunes. The president, de l'Aude, strikes a more practical note, complimenting His Holiness upon his achievements as Supreme Pontiff of Rome. He enumerates the reduction of expenses in the apostolic palace, the moderation in taxes, the encouragement of agriculture, the draining of marshes, the establishment of free trade and

sound money, the advance of production, liberality to the poor, and promotion of art.

Listening to this just and accurate appraisal of his achievements, Pius VII replied simply that his measures had been directed by his zealous ministers and that he meant that his policy should ever be directed for the welfare of his people.

The same evening, November thirtieth, the Emperor placed in His Holiness' hands a written statement from Lecoz, bishop of Besançon, who represented the constitutionalists who had not really submitted to papal authority. The quick eye of Pius detected a subtle change had been made in the phrase "submission in the *ecclesiastical affairs* of France" to read "in the *canonical affairs* of France." Time pressed. Yet, in spite of this eleventh-hour ruse to circumvent the will and purpose of the Holy Father regarding the genuine recantation of the constitutional bishops, which he insisted must be the condition of their reinstatement and presence at the ceremony on the morrow, Pius wrote the Emperor a sharp protest:

We know too well the malice of this change, and cannot accept it. We deem it right so to inform your majesty at once, as time presses, and no concession has yet been made by this small number of men, obstinately refractory. We know the piety and high wisdom of your majesty sufficiently to be assured that you will condescend to take steps that we shall not be compromised, and that nothing shall trouble or sully the august and holy function of tomorrow.

His quick wit and prompt action saved the day for the Pontiff and his victory over Napoleon was, in this instance, complete. Yet, it has been suggested (with how much truth who can say?) that this triumph of Pius VII over the Emperor crystallized the will of the monarch to crown himself at the ceremony of consecration, an idea which previously he had only flirted with.

At nine o'clock on the second of December the Pontiff left the Tuileries for Notre Dame. Attired in full pontifical robes and wearing the tiara, Pius VII made his entrance into the cathedral, escorted by his assistant cardinal deacons; Braschi, nephew of Pius VI, and de Bayanne, who supported the papal cope. Beside him strode Cardinal Antonelli, his assistant cardinal-bishop, followed by Cardinal Caselli, cardinal-deacon of the gospel. Facing the Emperor's throne in the front nave sat Senator Cacault, who felt His Holiness' eyes upon him more than once. The Pontiff, seated on his throne, said *Tierce*.

Napoleon and Josephine left the Tuileries at ten o'clock. Immediately upon their entrance into the cathedral the ceremony began. To the formal papal question whether he would promise to maintain peace in the Church of Christ, Napoleon replied in a firm, confident voice: "*Profiteor.*" Napoleon and Josephine knelt at the altar while Pius prayed that the Emperor would be protector of widows and orphans; that he would destroy infidelity that hides away, and that which shows itself in its hatred of the Christian name. This prayer was followed by the solemn words: "The scepter of thy empire is a scepter of equity and justice," after which Napoleon arose hastily, took the crown from its velvet cushion, and solemnly placed it upon his own head. This significant act was repeated as he set the diadem upon the kneeling Empress's head. Then the *Te Deum* burst forth in a blare of glory from the orchestra of five hundred musicians. Thus ended the historic crowning of Napoleon Bonaparte at Notre Dame on December the second, 1804. A new day had dawned for France and Europe, consummated by all the pomp and ritual of the Catholic Church and the imperial will. Napoleon Bonaparte, Corsican, Little Corporal, Invincible General, First Consul, Emperor of the French! To what dizzier heights could mortal man attain?

News was brought the Holy Father in Paris of the disaster

of the overflowing of the Tiber in Rome on the night of January thirty-first, 1805. The Ripetta quarter was completely inundated; another river was formed by the flood in the Campagna. The destruction to the crops, the houses, the cattle, and the inhabitants was serious. Many of the people of the region, as well as their livestock, were drowned; many more were marooned. Cardinal Consalvi set an example to other responsible Romans by going in person to the devastated area and distributing bread from the boat in which he was rowed. Ecclesiastics and laymen contributed to the relief of the contadini who were cut off from the city. Among others the Borghese family were untiring in their efforts to relieve the distressed who were homeless and destitute.

8. *Napoleonic Ambitions*

The sad news from Rome confirmed the papal resolution to return to the Eternal City as soon as possible. But first, at Napoleon's request that he present a statement of the demands of the Holy See, Pius had one drawn up. This was presented to the Emperor who in turn referred it to his Minister of Religion, Monsieur Portalis. In the informal discussions between the Pontiff and the Emperor, the latter woefully misquoted history. Gesticulating with vivacity Napoleon kept repeating: "You see what your Clement XI did to Louis XIV — your Clement XI was a very adroit man," and so on. In recounting this conversation, Pius said: "To all his 'Your Clement XI' we were disposed to reply: 'Your Louis XIV, nevertheless, wrote thus at another time.'" Yet, although Pius VII knew his history of the epoch in question, he refrained from angering the Emperor. "For," says the Holy Father, "we could not inflame Napoleon, which a minister of religion should avoid; nor mortify him, which charity forbids. . . . Napoleon on being corrected, would have become indignant; he would have upset everything

in his way, summoned Portalis, and treated him roughly — and we esteem Monsieur Portalis. He receives the bishops honorably.” And yet, without any attempt at vanquishing him in argument and confounding him with accurate historical data, Pius VII impressed himself upon the Emperor. His dignity and mildness, the sincere and tender expression of his eyes, the sweet smile, his gentle firmness, captivated the Emperor, as Napoleon from the first, in spite of his all-too-apparent faults, had fascinated the Pontiff.

Concerning the temporal power, Pius VII, comparing the Emperor to Charlemagne, asked for the restitution of his patrimony.

May it then please your imperial majesty, in order to perfect the parallel, to add here the imitation of the celebrated spontaneous act, whereby Charlemagne restored to St. Peter all that he had recovered, by his glorious arms, of the gift already made by his father, Pepin, but which had been invaded by the Lombards, whom he conquered. . . .

It will be another trait of imitation of the constant zeal which Charlemagne displayed in defending, and even extending on every occasion, the rights and prerogatives of the Holy See, if your majesty . . . will assure the Holy See his powerful protection, and obtain the admission of an envoy on its part — not to interfere in temporal negotiations, but to guarantee, by an efficient mediation, the rights and possessions of the Holy Roman See.

In answering this papal request Talleyrand, who was commissioned to draw up the reply, showed himself an astute diplomat. Polite, even flattering as regards Pius VII's *person*, nothing was granted to his *office* as Supreme Pontiff. Napoleon made brave promises “to consolidate and extend the domain of the Holy See, if God shall grant me the ordinary years of man.” He would make it his happiness and joy “to support it with unsurpassed constancy.” This phrase “consolidating the domain of the Holy See” referred to his proclamation to the Senate of his new Kingdom of

Italy over which he meant to be crowned at Milan. Shortly after Easter Pius was invited to participate at the Emperor's new coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy worn by Charlemagne — to symbolize Napoleon's might. To this request Pius VII turned a deaf ear. The thought of a splendid Easter ceremony at Notre Dame could not be countenanced by the Emperor as it would have overshadowed the recent coronation ceremonies. To the end of his days Napoleon was jealous of the spiritual power of the Church and the exalted authority of her ministers. The Emperor could not abide the triumph of Pius VII surrounded by his Faithful. He, Napoleon, Emperor of France, must ever be the central orb whose effulgence should radiate upon his satellites.

Yet, while begrudging these legitimate triumphs, Napoleon was contemplating keeping the Pope in France! Against such a contingency the papacy was forearmed. When the Holy Father learned of the Emperor's intention regarding his residence in France, he became alarmed and issued a statement:

It is rumored that we are willing to remain in France. All possibilities have already been met. Before leaving Rome we signed a formal abdication which would come in force in case of our imprisonment. The document is beyond the reach of the French. Cardinal Pignatelli is in possession of it at Palermo; and when your plan is signified to us, he who is now in your power will be nothing more than a poor simple monk called Barnaba Chiaramonti.

Thus, before leaving Rome, the Pontiff had forestalled an untoward ending of the mission.

At least one beneficent resultant accrued from the Pontiff's concession in going to Paris; an intangible, imponderable one, but real, nonetheless. The benevolent influence of the papal presence can never be gauged by ordinary standards. It is only experienced. Added to the power of the papal presence, the sweet dignity that formed the unique quality

of Pius VII's personality, the smiling countenance that no insult could sour, lured like a magnet those whose hearts were truly Catholic. Pius VII did not wholly regret his mission to Paris for there was the compensation of the retraction of the constitutional bishops and the personal contact with the Emperor which might yet bear more glorious fruit.

And if the lack of courtesy which Napoleon once again displayed in preceding the Pontiff as they left Paris — the Emperor en route to Milan for his coronation, and the Pope for the Eternal City — Pius was more than compensated by the crowds of the Faithful whose heartfelt homage could leave no doubt he had captivated their imaginations and wills. Without bitterness, Pius wrote to Napoleon telling him of the gratitude he felt at the honors tendered to him by the troops and local authorities throughout France, concerning which "we assure you that we shall preserve a lasting remembrance."

Once in Italian territory, religious ceremonies succeeded each other from city to city. When the Pontiff reached the Ponte Molle he asked to be driven direct to St. Peter's. Here Pius VII returned fervent thanks to God for his safe return home, after an absence of over six months. While kneeling he became oblivious of the presence of the throng of spectators. The Vicar of Christ was alone with his God. Shadows lengthened in the vast basilica. Finally, Cardinal Consalvi arose and touched the kneeling Pontiff on the arm, asking him if he felt faint. Recalled to himself, Pius pressed the Cardinal's hand and thanked him, saying his forgetfulness of the people was due to his intense joy. This spiritual exaltation so exhausted the Holy Father that he was conducted to his apartments without granting the contemplated audience. After sundown the palaces of the city were aglow with the flaring Roman torches, announcing the gladness all felt for their Spiritual Sovereign's return to his throne.

Not for long was Pius's mind at peace. From an unexpected quarter came new trouble. The marriage of Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the Emperor, to Miss Patterson of the United States, had repercussions farther reaching than its significance would seem to warrant. The ceremony of the marriage of the young midshipman to the fascinating American lady had been performed by none other than the Rev. John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of December, 1803. Napoleon was furious that his brother, who was a minor, should presume to marry without the imperial consent. Was he building a family dynasty for this? Immediately, upon Jerome's arrival in France with his young bride, the irate Emperor packed the girl back to America on a frigate. A letter to the Pope outlining the incidents, demanded a papal annulment of the marriage. After going into the matter, the Pontiff was obliged to inform the Emperor of his utter inability to comply with the royal wishes. That the girl was a Protestant in no way invalidated the marriage according to canon law. "Marriages between Catholics and Protestants, although abhorred by the Church, are nevertheless recognized by her as valid," explained His Holiness, and Pius goes on to explain: "Were we to usurp a power that we do not possess, we should render ourselves guilty of the most abominable abuse of our sacred ministry before the tribunal of God and before the whole Church."

This refusal on the part of the Pontiff to accede to Napoleon's demands was resented and punished by the Emperor who was in Milan, where he was taking religious matters into his own hands. Against this usurpation of ecclesiastical power, Pius VII protested strongly. But the Emperor replied that he had done all for the best and that the Church would gain by his acts. The Holy Father, in replying, tactfully stated that he felt joy at the religious sentiments expressed by Napoleon and that he would gladly comply with the Emperor's wishes that a concordat between

the new kingdom of Italy and the Holy See be speedily effected; but he warns the Emperor that although he knows no statecraft and that the maxims of the Gospel and the laws of the Church are his only guide, nevertheless, it is impossible to admit discussion on topics where the ordinances recently enacted "without our mutual consent" are in direct opposition to the articles of the concordat. For "by consenting to these ordinances . . . we should draw upon ourselves the public reproach of having been a negligent guardian of the rights of the Church . . . and your majesty, even in the eye of public opinion, would lose the reputation of firmness and fidelity to your promises."

9. *Aggressions of Napoleon*

Events of dire consequence to the Holy See accumulated and multiplied. Napoleon resented the papal courtesies to Lucien Bonaparte who had incurred his imperial brother's anger. War broke out between Austria and France in 1805. Before marching to Vienna, Napoleon ordered Ancona to be occupied. This order brought from Pius VII a bitter letter to Napoleon, in which he frankly expressed his disillusionment in the Emperor's good faith.

We frankly say to your majesty, with all the ingenuousness of our character, that the order which you have given General Saint Cyr to occupy Ancona with French troops . . . has caused us no less surprise than grief . . .

Truly we cannot dissemble that it is with lively sensibility that we behold ourselves treated in this manner. . . . Our neutrality, recognized by your majesty as by all other powers, and fully respected by them, gave us a special motive to believe that the sentiments of friendship which you professed in our regard would have preserved us from this bitter displeasure: we perceive that we are mistaken.

. . . in regard to the present invasion . . . our duty to ourselves and the obligations we have contracted with our subjects, compel us to call upon your majesty to evacuate Ancona. Should you refuse, we do not see how we can conciliate any further inter-

course with your majesty's minister at Rome, such intercourse being in opposition to the treatment which we would continue to receive from your majesty at Ancona.

With the victory of Austerlitz Napoleon acquired Venice for his Italian kingdom, new glory, and desired peace. On January the seventh, 1806, a letter dated from Munich reached Pius in which the Emperor complains that ever since the Holy Father's return to Rome he has received nothing but refusals at the Pontiff's hands. It is a letter full of arrogance and pretension and inflated with vanity.

I consider myself the protector of the Holy See, and as such I occupied Ancona. Like my predecessors of the second and third race, I deem myself the eldest son of the Church, as alone bearing the sword to protect and shield it from being sullied by Greeks and Moslems.¹⁸ I will certainly protect the Holy See in spite of false steps. God is judge who has done most for religion of all princes that reign [!].

In a lengthy letter Pius answers with these sad words:

If the state of tribulation to which God has reserved us in our dolorous pontificate must reach its height, if we must be deprived of a thing so precious as your majesty's friendship and good will, the priest of Jesus Christ, with truth on his lips and in his heart, will bear all with resignation and without fear; tribulation itself will give him the reward of his constancy.

To this expression of resignation and fortitude, Napoleon pens one of his most insolent epistles, in which he says:

I have received Your Holiness's letter of January the twenty-ninth. I share your pains; I conceive that you must have difficulties. You can avoid them all by walking in a straight road, and not entering into a labyrinth of politics and considerations for powers which, under a religious point of view, are heretics, and out of the Church; and in a political point, are remote from your States, unable to protect them, and capable only of doing evil. *All Italy must be subject to my law. . . .* Our conditions must be that Your Holiness will have for me in temporals the same

¹⁸ Compare footnote page 67.

regard that I bear you in spirituals; and that you abandon useless conciliations toward heretics, enemies of the Church, and toward powers which can do you no good. Your Holiness is Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor. *All my enemies must be yours.*

In conclusion Napoleon declares that no agent of the King of Sardinia, no Englishman, Russian, or Swede, can be permitted to reside at Rome or in any of the papal states; that no ship belonging to these powers shall enter the papal ports. With the most crass hypocrisy and perversion of logic the Emperor pompously asserts that he is responsible to God who has used his arm to restore religion. As if he were the Supreme Pontiff himself, he asks how he can compromise religion by delays of the Court of Rome, where, "for worldly interests" souls are allowed to perish (!). In short, the first Emperor of France assumes all power over the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy See, the civil over the spiritual, the head of the French government dictating to the ruler of all Catholic subjects!

Replying to this brazen effrontery, Pius VII declares he would be guilty before God, before the Catholic world and future ages, if he did not, in the most free and open manner, meet these claims and complaints with explicit and frank sentiments; for, says the Holy Father, "We see but too clearly, by the shock that has reached us, that the sentiments manifested by your majesty menace the dignity of the Holy See, and the most unalterable and respected rights of free sovereignty." Regarding the demand that the ports of the papal states be closed to the powers above mentioned, Pius declares this would involve his states in open hostility with them.

Your majesty must allow us to answer you with precise distinctness, that it is impossible to yield to this demand, not from any views of temporal interest, but on account of essential duties inseparable from our character.

We, Vicar of that Eternal Word who is not the God of dissension, but the God of concord, who has come into the world to

drive out enmities, and to announce peace to those that are afar off and those that are near . . . how can we deviate from the lessons of our Divine Founder? how contradict the mission to which we have been destined?

Declaring that it is not his will, but the will of God that prescribes to the papacy the duty of peace toward all, without any distinction of Catholic or heretic, neighbor or stranger; nay, even toward those from whom evil may be expected, Pius solemnly asserts that he will never differentiate between Catholics or heretics when it comes to dispensing justice or withholding injustice. Only the necessity of defending imperiled religion against hostile aggression has ever justified his predecessors in departing from a state of peace. "If any of them, through human weakness, has departed from these maxims; his conduct, we say frankly, can never serve as an example for ours," continues the Holy Father. Were he to concur in Napoleon's demand and forfeit the friendship of these nations, how, asks the Pontiff, could he stifle his own interior voice of conscience? The resentment against the Supreme Pontiff would be all the stronger, because it would be deserved, argues Pius. Then, in all humility, and as it were, throwing himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, Pius assures him that with him these are not personal matters, but purely those of his office as Supreme Pontiff. "Far from all desire of domination and personal interest, it is not our cause that we defend; it is that of the Roman Church and of the See on which we are placed. Before ascending the throne, we swore to maintain these rights and defend them even to the shedding of our blood."

Finally, with the holy pride of his office, he answers the arrogant assumption of power that Napoleon makes of his position as Emperor:

Your majesty lays down the principle that he is Emperor of Rome. We reply with apostolic freedom that the Sovereign Pontiff, who has been such for a great many centuries, so that no

reigning prince counts an antiquity equal to his; the Pontiff, become sovereign of Rome, does not recognize, and has never recognized in his states a power superior to his own. No emperor has any right over Rome. You are immensely great; but you have been elected, consecrated, crowned, recognized, Emperor of the French, not of Rome. There is no Emperor of Rome; nor can there be unless the Sovereign Pontiff is stripped of the absolute domain and empire that he alone wields at Rome. There exists, indeed, an Emperor of the Romans; but that title is recognized by all Europe and by your majesty himself, in the Emperor of Germany. This title cannot belong at once to two sovereigns; it is only a title of dignity and honor, which diminishes in nothing the real and apparent dignity of the Holy See.

It is a temptation to quote at further length from this papal letter to Napoleon. It is so full of meat, so irrefutable in its logic, expressing so bountifully the unassailable position and moral eminence of a power, weak in arms and material force, but strong in the impregnable things of the spirit. When Pius VII reminds the Emperor that the comparison he draws of himself with the great Charlemagne is historically faulty because Charlemagne recognized and confirmed the papal domains and even increased them by new donations; that, furthermore, he never pretended to any right of domain or superiority over the pontiffs as temporal sovereigns; the Pontiff removes from under his feet all the absurd claims upon which the Emperor of the French and the King of Italy has built his astounding pretensions. During the ten centuries that have elapsed since Charlemagne's time, the Holy See has known no other relations with his successors than those existing between all absolute and independent sovereigns. Pius tells Napoleon that the Emperor is too enlightened not to know that the truths the Pontiff is expressing are incontestable, and admit of no exception; and he concludes his forceful epistle with these words:

You say that your enemies should be ours. This is repugnant to our divine mission, which knows no enmities, even with those who are removed from the center of our union. Whenever your

majesty is at war with a Catholic power, must we be at war with the same power? Charlemagne and every prince-advocate of the Church professed to shield it from, not to drag it into, war. Your proposition tends to make the pontifical sovereign a feudatory, a liege vassal of the French empire.

In regard to Jerome's marriage, Pius VII stands his ground and reiterates his declaration of validity.

Joseph Bonaparte, who had entered Naples at the head of an army, was proclaimed King of Naples. Rumors were rife that the Holy See was to be transferred to Avignon or Paris; that the papal states were to be divided between Italy and Naples; the *Code Napoleon* was to be established at Rome; and the marriage of the clergy authorized!

Affairs had taken such a serious turn that immediately after the office of Holy Week was concluded at the Quirinale palace, a meeting of prominent cardinals comprising Di Pietro, Litta, Pacca, and Consalvi assembled at the house of Cardinal Antonelli to deal with all contingencies. Cardinal Consalvi addressed the cardinals, telling them that he had been informed by the apostolic legate at Paris that there was reason to fear that the papal states were to be seized in the name of Napoleon. In Pius VII's name and by his request, he asked the cardinals to give their opinions of what measures should be taken in the event this lamentable invasion should occur. Three resolutions were passed by the assembled cardinals. First, in case of a vacancy of the Holy See, a papal bull should be prepared to modify the decrees relating to the election of pontiffs. Second, a manifesto protesting against the usurpation of the dominions of the Holy See, should be published and sent to all the foreign courts of Europe — a manifesto already in the making in the Secretary of State's office, Cardinal Consalvi announced. And lastly, the Pope should proclaim to the world by a brief all the scandalous innovations against the sacred rights and practices of the laws of the Church and publicly censure their instigators.

Meanwhile, Napoleon had recalled Cardinal Fesch and made M. Alquier his successor at Rome. Although he had caused the foreign sovereigns to restore Benevento and Ponte Corvo to the papal states, the Emperor, with characteristic disrespect for the rights of decency, now made them principalities. Over Benevento, Talleyrand was made Prince, and Bernadotte was created Prince of Ponte Corvo. Against this brazen seizure Pius realized he must protest in no uncertain terms. He prepared a Bull of Excommunication which was, however, secretly printed and later suppressed; the Pope contenting himself for the time with the message sent to Napoleon by the departing Cardinal Fesch. "Repeat to him that we will not enter into any confederation; that we will be independent because we are sovereign; that if he does violence to us we will protest in the face of Europe, and make use of the temporal and spiritual means that God has placed in our hands."

To this oral protest Fesch replied to Pius that the Pope had no right to use his spiritual authority in the present affairs of France with Rome. Pius sharply demanded by what authority Fesch drew his opinion. The Cardinal's reply is not on record.

To Alquier, Pius VII frankly complained that the Emperor felt no compunction in breaking solemn promises made to him. Threats made in letters plainly suggest that unless he, Pius VII, consent to become a part of the Empire he will no longer be regarded as Sovereign Pontiff. It was on this occasion, also, that His Holiness declared Cardinal Consalvi was unjustly blamed at Paris for papal policies. The Pontiff then decided upon a drastic and, as it proved, mistaken course, declaring his intention to appoint a successor to Consalvi¹⁹ to prove to the Emperor that papal policies would not change. French troops occupied all strategic points of the

¹⁹ The retirement of Consalvi during this period was in conformity with the Cardinal's own request.

papal domains. The Pope told the French minister that if they advanced upon Rome he would refuse them entrance into Castel Sant' Angelo. Although he would employ no force, the Emperor's soldiers would have to batter down the gates with artillery. Europe should see how the Pope of Rome was being treated, while defending papal honor and conscience. "If our life is taken, the grave will honor us, and we shall be justified in the eyes of God and the memory of men."

Alquier reiterated Napoleon's demand that the papal ports be closed against England, whenever France was at war with that country, and that all the fortresses should be occupied by French troops if an army landed in Italy or threatened to do so. This demand Pius VII stoutly refused, saying "His majesty can, when he will, execute his threats, and deprive us of all we possess. We are resigned to all, and ready . . . to retire to a monastery or to the Catacombs of Rome, after the example of the first successors of St. Peter."

By the cleverest intrigues Napoleon persuaded Francis II to renounce the elective imperial crown and be known by the title of hereditary *Emperor of Austria*, thus nullifying at a stroke one of the Pontiff's chief weapons of defense. So ended the Holy Roman Empire which for a thousand years had persisted, at least in name, despite many reverses. The victory of Jena laid Prussia at the Emperor's feet. From Berlin came the famous Napoleonic decree which declared England in a state of blockade. Demands were renewed to the Pontiff to close his ports. Against these threats Pius VII was unyielding. He then replaced his able Secretary of State, the devoted Consalvi, by Cardinal Casoni, but gave him only the title of pro-secretary.

10. *Occupation of Rome*

At the end of the year 1807, Pius VII sent his felicitations to Napoleon who was visiting Milan; but from that city the

Emperor ordered the occupation of Rome, "as a temporary measure." On February second, 1808, the troops entered the Eternal City. The powers of Europe were at once notified by Cardinal Casoni. Pius, in audience with the French ambassador, Alquier, and General Miollis, declared himself a prisoner as long as the French troops remained and that all negotiations were at an end. He shut himself up in the Quirinale. All religious festivities were forbidden in the city by the new pro-secretary, Cardinal Doria.

The French now showed their true colors. The cardinal-secretary was forced to leave Rome. Shortly after the governor of Rome, Monsignor Cavalchini, was kidnaped and his letter to the Pope suppressed. Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino were occupied by the imperial troops. Because the Pope consistently refused to declare war on England or join the Kings of Italy and Naples (Napoleon and his brother, Joseph) to defend the peninsula, these possessions were declared irrevocably reunited to the kingdom of Italy.

Cardinal Gabrielli, the latest Secretary of State, was seized in the papal palace and removed. It appeared to be Napoleon's intention to hold the Pope a prisoner; and, if he should die, to control the election of his successor.

In midsummer Pius assembled the cardinals in consistory and read to them the Allocution, *Nova vulnera*, in which he protested against all the violent acts committed against the Holy See, declaring his own willingness to lay down his life for his flock. He implored the Emperor to "remove the evil from the house of Israel and to cease to give ear to the counsel of perfidious men" who, under the pretext of augmenting imperial power, "were hurrying him to eternal perdition."

Among the last affairs to receive the attention of the Holy Father were those of the United States. The diocese of Archbishop John Carroll (who had been created Bishop by Pius VI) was one of the largest in the world. It comprised

all the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi, except Florida and Louisiana. Pius VII divided this vast diocese and established the sees of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, making Baltimore a metropolitan see.

To the hazardous post of secretary of state, Pius now appointed Cardinal Pacca. Shortly after his appointment, on an evening in August, 1808, a stranger called on him, introducing himself as a Franciscan, come to Sicily, at the risk of his life, in an English frigate. His plan for the Pope's escape from Rome was conveyed to Pius by Pacca. His Holiness told his Secretary he would never of his own free will fly from Rome, so the courageous Franciscan was compelled to return to England alone.

In September an attempt was made on Napoleon's part to remove the Secretary of State himself from the presence of the Pope. To the demand that he prepare to leave Rome, Cardinal Pacca replied that he acknowledged no authority in Rome save that of the Sovereign Pontiff and he refused to be intimidated. Major Muzio, emissary of General Miollis, refused to allow Pacca to leave the room but permitted him to send a note to the papal apartments.

Of a sudden the door burst open with great violence. Like an avenging angel the Pontiff entered the room. Cardinal Pacca hurried to his side amazed at beholding "a phenomenon I had heard of, but had never witnessed." The thick black hair of the Holy Father literally stood on end, as, blinded by righteous wrath, Pius, not recognizing his own cardinal and secretary, cried out in a loud voice as to a stranger, "Who are you? Who are you?"

"I am the cardinal," Pacca said, kissing the Pope's hand.

"Where is the officer?" demanded the excited Pontiff.

Pacca pointed to the officer who was standing at a respectful distance. To him Pius addressed himself:

"Tell the general that we are weary of suffering outrages and insults from a person who still professes to call himself

a Catholic. We perceive the drift of these acts of violence is to remove from us, one by one, all our ministers; and to deprive us of our apostolic functions and the rights of our temporal sovereignty." Turning to the Cardinal he bade him disobey the general's orders, to follow him to his apartments and be his companion in captivity. Then he informed the officer that only by breaking down the doors of his chambers could he effect his purpose. Taking the Cardinal by the hand, Pius said gently, "Signor Cardinal, let us be gone." Together they ascended the grand staircase and as they proceeded to the papal apartments, the crowd of attendants who had hurriedly assembled because of the commotion, cheered the Pontiff lustily.

Pius VII was now determined to make use of all the means at his disposal to preserve the spiritual rights of the Roman Church intact. "We see plainly that the French have a mind to force us to speak Latin and speak Latin we will!" declared the Holy Father to his pro-auditor, Monsignor Alliata.

A new Bull of Excommunication was drawn up by the General of the Barnabites, Father Fontana, and received the papal signature, but its publication was still delayed. When Napoleon heard the rumor which he had dreaded, yet derided, he disdainfully and boastfully wrote to Eugene Beauharnais: "Is he ignorant how times have changed? Does he fancy his excommunication will make the sabers fall from the hands of my grenadiers?"

11. *Excommunication of Napoleon*

On the seventeenth of May, 1809, there issued from the imperial camp in Vienna a decree uniting the papal states to the French Empire. Rome was proclaimed a free and imperial city. The pontifical states were to be reorganized under a constitutional regime on the first of January, 1810.

On the tenth of June a note was handed to Cardinal Pacca. He knew at once, he writes, "that the fatal day had arrived."

At ten o'clock in the forenoon the papal standard over Sant' Angelo's was lowered and the French flag hoisted in its place. Later in the day the blare of a trumpet announced to the populace of Rome that the papal dynasty was at an end. Hastening to the Holy Father's chambers, Pacca entered and simultaneously both Pontiff and Cardinal uttered the identical words: "*Consummatum est!*"

Soon the Cardinal's nephew entered the Pope's chambers with a printed copy of the imperial decree. The evening shadows had darkened the room. Together the Pontiff and Cardinal went to the window to read the ominous order by the fading twilight. Outside the cannon thundered. Pacca tried to control his voice, fraught with emotion, as he read aloud the fateful words. Listening in silence, Pius VII affixed his signature to a public protest which that same night appeared on the walls of the basilicas. Cardinal Pacca then urged the publication of the Bull of Excommunication which was held in reserve to be released in case the papal palace should be stormed and the Holy Father exiled, or in the event of the Pontiff's deposition.

"Let the Bull, *Ebbene, le dia corso*, be issued," Pius consented, "but let those who execute the order look to themselves. Above all, let them avoid discovery, for they would be shot, and we should be inconsolable."

The next morning, in spite of French vigilance, the Bull *Quum memoranda illa die*, was found affixed to the walls of St. Peter's, Santa Maria Maggiore's, and San Giovanni in Laterano's. In it the Pontiff enumerates the indignities the Church has suffered, the violation of the Concordat, the usurpation of authority, the destruction of the Holy See's temporal power. This bull closes with fatherly words of counsel to his flock:

Notwithstanding the necessity imposed upon Us of using the spiritual arms of anathema, We may not forget that We, though unworthy, occupy on earth the place of Him who, even in His

acts of justice, is mindful of His mercy. For this reason We desire and command our own subjects . . . and all Christian people, in virtue of holy obedience, not to make these presents an excuse for inflicting injury, bad treatment, or damage, on the person, property, or good name of those who fall under Our censure. For in chastising them with the kind of punishment which God has put in Our power, and in repaying thus great and crying injuries against God and His Church, We seek only one thing; to draw back to ourselves those who afflict Us, to make them share Our sorrows, if God gives them the grace of repentance, so as to enable them to see truth.

Nine days after the Bull of Excommunication reached Napoleon he wrote to Joachim Murat:²⁰

. . . Roman affairs must be vigorously prosecuted and no sort of resistance shall be tolerated. If my decrees are not met with submission, no place is to be respected, and under no circumstances is resistance to be suffered. If the Pope . . . preaches revolt and makes use of his position for printing circulars, *let him be arrested* . . .

Rome was in a state of insecurity and suspense; her streets were filled with French troops; rumors were flying abroad; and no one knew what the morrow portended. On the night of July fifth, 1809, Cardinal Pacca remained awake, listening to the tread of marching soldiers, watchful and waiting for he knew not what. It was dawn before he retired. The noise of the city had subsided. A hush pervaded the Quirinale. But this was the calm that precedes the storm. Watching for the disappearance of the last sentinel, General Radet gave the signal of attack at half past two.

12. *Pontiff Dragged from Own Apartment*

There were three divisions of troops who were ordered to invade the palace from separate points. To Baron Radet was commissioned the task of confronting the Pontiff in his private chambers. A miserable underling, who had been

²⁰ His companion in arms at Marengo, Austerlitz, and at Jena, and recently proclaimed Joachim I, King of the Two Sicilies, by Napoleon.

dismissed from papal service for theft, directed the General to the Pontiff's apartments. Soon the din of armed force, rattling of sabers, smashing down of heavy doors, and cries of the French soldiers aroused the Cardinal who had only just retired. Immediately he sent his nephew, Tiberius Pacca, to the Holy Father. When young Pacca entered the chambers, he found Pius already up, dressed in his mozetta and stole, and standing perfectly still, waiting.

Louder and louder resounded the blows and shouts as the soldiers battered down door after door. Nearer and nearer came the troops, until they penetrated into the very privacy of the Pope. Seated on a sofa behind a table, surrounded by his Cardinal-Secretary and chief members of his household, Pius awaited his enemies. "Now I have my true friends around me," he said smilingly as Radet threw open the door and stood before him. The soldiers formed a semicircle around the General. Eighteen officers had entered the room and they stood in an attitude of respect, with bared heads and drawn swords. For more than five minutes absolute silence was maintained. Not a word did the Holy Father utter. With the greatest embarrassment Radet managed to explain that he had "a painful commission to fulfill," imposed upon him by the obligations of his position.

"What do you want of me? Why do you come to disturb my rest and my abode at this untimely hour?" asked Pius.

"Most Holy Father," replied the General, "I come in the name of my government to ask Your Holiness . . . to renounce the temporal power. If Your Holiness consents, I do not doubt that all may still be arranged and the Emperor will treat Your Holiness with the greatest consideration."

"If you think yourself obliged to execute these orders of the Emperor because of your oath of fidelity and obedience to him," answered the Pope, "consider how much more we ought to defend the rights of the Holy See, to which so many oaths bind us. We cannot give up what is not ours. The

temporal power, of which we are only the administrator, belongs to the Church. The Emperor may tear us to pieces, but he will not succeed. After all we have done for him, is this what we might have expected?"

"I know that the Emperor is greatly indebted to you," replied Radet, in confusion.

"He is indeed, and more than you can know. What are your orders?"

"Most Holy Father, I regret my instructions, but I have orders to take you away with me."

To this the gentle Pontiff replied with the tenderness of one who wishes to mitigate the difficulty of another, "Truly, my son, this order will not bring you God's blessing." Then he adds with all the meekness of spiritual victory over self: "Perhaps I have been guilty before God in the condescension I have shown the Emperor and He wishes to punish me. I resign myself in all humility."

By order of Miollis the Pontiff and his Cardinal were forced to depart with Radet. Taking with him on his unknown exile only his Crucifix and breviary, the weak and ill Pilgrim, assisted by Radet, seated himself in the waiting carriage with Pacca beside him. In spite of the intense heat of a July day the shades were drawn to prevent recognition. Pius VII was always a poor traveler. Yet, his sweet serenity did not forsake him. In a spirit of drollery he suggested to the Cardinal that they count their money. Pius could joke about the joint sum which, in our coinage, amounted to less than fifty cents. This unconcern for worldly goods he had shown when, on leaving the Papal palace, Radet promised him his possessions would not be touched. "He who cares not for his life, cares less for his possessions," the Holy Father had answered with a smile. With something of his old monastic pride in Lady Poverty, Pius VII now referred to himself in St. Jerome's phrase, as *Vir ditissimae paupertatis* — a man of most rich poverty.

From four in the morning until eleven at night, the Pontiff was driven with only a short stop at midday at an ill-kept inn. The night was passed at another wretched lodging-house. During the long hours the Holy Father suffered intensely from fever and spells of vomiting. Not until the eighth of July did they arrive at Certosa. Here Pius VII was conducted to the very room which Pius VI had occupied in his captivity ten years previously. What thoughts must have passed in swift review before his sleepless eyes! What portents of the future for his Church and its Shepherd! Yet, we may believe, the prayer he offered up to his Father was one of trustful submission to His inscrutable wisdom.

Though utterly exhausted, a night's rest was denied. In two hours Pius was forced to prepare to continue his journey without the comfort of Pacca's companionship.

Accompanied by Colonel Mariotti and three monsignori, the Holy Father was driven through Genoa and Alessandria, over Mont Cénis, arriving at Grenoble on the twenty-first. On to Valence, so full of memories of his predecessor, the pilgrimage was continued to Avignon, where a throng of ten thousand persons knelt to receive a captive pope's blessing. On the fifteenth of August Pius VII reached Savona. Here once again he was urged to renounce his temporal power and consent to reside at Paris.

The decree of the Senate uniting the Patrimony of Peter with the French Empire was passed on the seventeenth of February, 1810. Napoleon had elaborate plans of making Rome the permanent residence of the French Crown Prince who was to assume the title of "King of Rome." The Pope would swear allegiance to the Emperor and reside alternately at Paris and Rome. All popes in future would sign the Gallican Articles. The papal court was to have its headquarters in Paris. (Before the end of 1809 the cardinals had been forced to come to Paris to be watched.) The death of Pius VII was reckoned upon in these imperial calculations.

The Emperor's marriage to Marie Louise of Austria was celebrated on April the second, 1810, in the presence of twenty-nine cardinals.²¹ Thirteen cardinals deliberately absented themselves, thus inviting imperial revenge. Against Cardinal Consalvi, who had resided at Paris since his resignation as Secretary of State, Napoleon's anger was vented. He declared he would have the Cardinal shot for "wishing to make my offspring illegitimate." The rebel cardinals were robbed of their income and exiled to different cities. Consalvi was sent to Rheims. It was while he was in exile there that he wrote his famous *Mémoires* to which historians are so greatly indebted.

13. *Pope a Prisoner of Napoleon*

Pius VII was a virtual prisoner at Savona. He declined the offer of a court and income. "I am an old man and need nothing. The alms of the Faithful are sufficient for me. There have been popes poorer than I." Napoleon could not break the papal will. Pius VII insisted upon living like a monk. Most irritating of all to the Emperor and jeopardizing the entire ecclesiastical structure he had reared so carefully, the excommunicated Emperor's appointees to the bishoprics were refused canonical installation by the Pope. This was the one weapon left to Pius VII and revealed him still the reigning Pontiff. There was no time limit in the Concordat regarding this papal privilege. Even Cardinal Fesch, the Emperor's uncle, refused outright to accept the archbishopric of Paris at Napoleon's hands.²² Refusing to unbend, Pius was subjected to new indignities. It was determined to break the papal resistance. His books, pen and ink — even his

²¹ The subservient cardinals were called Red Cardinals, while the "rebel cardinals" (loyal to the Pope) became known as Black Cardinals, because they were *decardinalized* for refusing to acknowledge the Emperor's divorce of Josephine.

²² This was afterward accepted by Cardinal Maury.

breviary — were taken from him. When the Fisherman's ring was demanded of him, Pius VII broke it with his strong fingers and handed the pieces to his jailor. Isolated from all his ecclesiastics, deprived of their counsel, Pius prayed that his reason might be spared. He feared the fate of insanity would befall him.

The diocese of France became orphaned, for the Faithful refused to acknowledge the false shepherds forced upon them. Napoleon raged. The prisons were crammed with rebel clergy. An imperial synod met, at Napoleon's command, to legalize his religious policy, on April twenty-fifth, 1811. Three servile bishops went to Savona to warn His Holiness of the convocation of the council and the suspension of the Concordat unless Pius ratify the imperial appointees within three months or grant permission to ratify them in the papal name to the metropolitans. The lure of a bribe to return to his beloved Rome was offered Pius if he would take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor; otherwise, the Pontiff must reside at Avignon and recognize the Gallican Articles. As a result of all this pressure and persecution, Pius VII was seized with a fever. Suffering from insomnia, goaded by exhausting conferences, weakened in will as well as in body, crying out in anguish and in a delirium of desperation, the Pope finally gave *verbal* consent to confirm the bishops selected by Napoleon six months after their appointment. As soon as the traitor bishops had wrested this concession from His Holiness, and had left the papal presence, Pius VII, overcome with remorse, fell into a coma.

Pius VII's exile at Savona ended as it had begun, in depression and solitude. Being apprized of the presence of English cruisers intended to convey the Pontiff to Spain or Sicily, the Emperor commanded the Pope be removed from Savona to Fontainebleau. This, at least, was Napoleon's alleged reason for spiriting Pius away. There was the added reason of wanting the Pope on hand when the Conqueror

should return from Russia, eagles aloft in victory, the crowning glory of his fabulous military career realized. For how could Pius VII deny anything to one so manifestly under the protection of Providence? Two carriages were provided for the Pontiff and his suite under the protection of Prince Borghese who was commanded to use all expedition, stopping only at Mont Cénis in traveling the entire length of France. It was on the ninth of June, 1812, that the imperial order (sent by the Emperor from Dresden as he was en route to Moscow) arrived at the episcopal palace at Savona. The Holy Father was taking a siesta. He was at once aroused, told to make ready to depart for France, and ordered to travel incognito. The papal cross was removed from his white shoes; the pectoral cross from his breast. He wore the hat of an ordinary priest. A gray overcoat covered his form. The carriage was waiting outside the city limits and the Pontiff was obliged to walk beyond the walls.

Before reaching Mont Cénis Pius became seriously ill. When he was brought into the monastery it appeared that he had come there to die. A physician was hurriedly summoned who was able to alleviate his suffering. Upon an improvised couch placed in the carriage the Holy Father lay for the remainder of the journey. With brief stops for relays, after ten days of misery, the Pope was brought to Fontainebleau on the nineteenth of June. His first night was passed at a humble cottage outside the closed gates while the concierge prepared for His Holiness at the château.

Once installed, Pius VII entered upon a new regime. His spirit was troubled by the ease and splendor of his worldly surroundings. Occupying the same rooms as at the coronation, his days passed in utter loneliness. In a spirit of protest against the luxury of his environment, Pius chose a regimen of personal poverty. He was the Emperor's vassal. As such he refused the horses and carriages put at his disposal. The imprisoned Pontiff said Mass in an improvised chapel

adjacent to his bedroom, rather than in the château's chapel. He was seen mending his own clothes and it was contemptuously observed that "he never opened a book." The library of Fontainebleau, replete with memories of Diane de Poitiers and Gabrielle d'Estrees, hardly furnished suitable reading for a Sovereign Pontiff. A course of canon law and the works of St. Cyprian were provided His Holiness at his request. While he received all visitors with characteristic dignity and patience (with the sole exception of the deserter, Cardinal Maury) there was a significant reserve in the papal courtesies.

Meanwhile Napoleon was punishing noncompliant pastors by removing young seminarians from their studies for his battlefields. No exemption was permitted. The Sisters of Charity fell under the ban of imperial displeasure because they refused to accept his choice of a Mother Superior. The bishops of Tournai, Ghent, and Troyes were in solitary confinement in prisons of Vincennes. Cardinal Pacca and other prelates were imprisoned in the Alps. Confusion reigned in the Church of France.

But already the brilliant star of the invincible Conqueror was waning. The beginning of the end was at hand. What a magical sword had achieved on every field was frustrated and rendered impotent by "an Act of God." In Russia and Poland fire and ice were wrecking the phenomenal prestige won on so many battlefields. The sabers had indeed fallen from the hands of his grenadiers!²³

With his army shattered, his prestige in tatters, Napoleon crossed Germany, hearing protests and recriminations against

²³ Within two years after Napoleon had posed the question as an absurdity beyond human credence, Pius VII had excommunicated the Emperor; in less than four the arms did fall from the frozen hands of his gallant soldiers; within a year after extorting from Pius VII at Fontainebleau a renunciation of the rights of the Church over the Roman States, Napoleon, at *Fontainebleau*, was to sign his own abdication of all his dominions; within four years after sending Cardinal Pacca to the Alps, the Great Man himself is doomed to exile at St. Helena!

his treatment of the Pope. The Poles especially complained loudly. On the eighteenth of December, 1812, Napoleon entered his capital as a fugitive.

Nothing was final to Napoleon, however. All was not lost. The Russian debacle spurred him on to counteract without delay the threatened insurrection of his officers and the rumblings of discontent among the people — rumblings whose echoes had dogged the march of the defeated Monarch all the way from Moscow. To pave the way to bolster up his badly battered prestige in the eyes of Catholic Europe, it was necessary to effect a reconciliation with the Pope. He who in the heyday of his prosperity could ignore Pius VII's letters once he had him in his power; now, in his hour of adversity, sought once more to court papal favor. Assured by the traitor bishops that Pius wanted peace, the Emperor sent imperial New Year's felicitations to Fontainebleau from Paris. On the nineteenth of January Napoleon betook himself to Fontainebleau. Bursting in upon the Pontiff with his old impetuosity, he embraced and kissed Pius as though nothing had happened to mar their friendship!

14. *A Moment of Weakness*

For five days the Emperor remained at Fontainebleau having daily conferences with the Pope and urging a new concordat. Pius VII pleaded in vain for counselors of his own choosing whom he could trust. Preliminary articles were drawn up. The Pope's signature was wrested from him after long hours of exhortations and promptings by the traitor bishops. Pius VII was seventy-four years of age when he signed the Articles for a new concordat for which he has been blamed by some writers. He was isolated from all those upon whose loyalty to the interests of the Holy See he could rely. Not a soul upon whom he might lean in his weakness was on hand at the signing. Only the traitor bishops and the Emperor and his consort, Marie Louise, were present.

While Pius hesitated, pen in hand, Napoleon fastened his eyes upon the Pontiff, lest he lose his prey; fearing, at the final moment, the Holy Father might retract the extorted consent. Before the ink was dry he seized the paper for immediate publication.

By the terms of the Articles the Pontiff agreed to confirm the bishops appointed by the Emperor in France and Italy within six months after naming them. The Pope was to fill ten bishoprics in France and Italy. For the papal domains that were alienated, the Holy See was to be indemnified by payment of two million francs annually. Those not alienated were to be administered by a papal representative. Such was the price Pius VII paid for the release of his loyal cardinals from their captivity.

The New Concordat of Fontainebleau was published throughout the Emperor's realm and *Te Deums* were ordered sung in all the churches. But at long last Pius VII was surrounded by his liberated cardinals, among whom were the invaluable Consalvi and Pacca. With them he at once consulted concerning the terms of the Articles. To Cardinal Pacca²⁴ Pius unburdened himself, telling him that he had no sooner signed the document than he was filled with inexpressible remorse. "In the end we committed a blunder," the Pope confessed. "I have no rest, day or night. I can scarcely eat enough to sustain life. I shall die in a frenzy like Clement XIV. We have sinned against conscience. Those cardinals dragged me to the table and forced me to sign." Pacca was shocked by the broken aspect of Pius VII. There was a lack of energy in his movements and a look of fixed rigidity in his eyes.

²⁴ Cardinal Pacca's return from captivity was the occasion of popular acclaim. In a packed church an eloquent preacher addressed himself to the Cardinal: "We kiss your chains! We acknowledge you as a confessor of the Faith, who has suffered for the cause of Jesus Christ"; and he concluded his remarks with the exhortation to "hasten to the imprisoned Pontiff and tell him in the name of the people of our union and obedience to him."

The loyal cardinals unanimously favored a revocation of the Concordat. Their presence seemed to give the Holy Father new life. To his pathetic query: "Can a remedy be found?" Pacca's reassurance came like balm to the troubled, aching heart. In their presence his old initiative reasserted itself. He refused to accept the first payment of the imperial allowance, and to grant the Bulls of Confirmation.

Although the loyal black cardinals were closely watched by the Minister of Police and his spies, they nevertheless met in the home of Cardinal Pignatelli who was too ill and infirm to arouse any suspicion. Consalvi urged an unequivocal retraction. It was agreed that Pius VII should frankly repudiate the Concordat and write the Emperor of his decision. In order to circumvent its being ignored (as Napoleon had done in the case of the Bull *Quum Memoranda*), a copy of the letter was to be given to each cardinal with the injunction to publish the retraction. It was felt imperative that the Pope should write the letter with his own hand. This presented almost insurmountable difficulties. His desk was subject to search by spies who had secret keys and who entered his very bedroom during Mass. Pius's physical infirmity was so great that it was an exertion to hold a pen in his hand. Yet these tremendous obstacles were overcome by almost supernatural ingenuity. Day by day, immediately after Mass, Pius VII worked on the letter, the completed portion of which was then given into the safe hands of Consalvi and di Pietro, who carried it in the folds of their cloaks and deposited it in Cardinal Pignatelli's apartment. In the afternoon Cardinal Pacca performed the same feat when he arrived for his daily visit. The anxiety of the cardinals arriving and departing from the château can be imagined when it is remembered that they never knew when they might be stopped en route to be searched! Yet, so successful was the ruse that the Minister of Worship wrote to reassure the Emperor that all was quiet at the

château and “there seems to be no intention of interfering with the existing state of things *by any correspondence* [1] for the cardinals are divided among themselves and show no eagerness to pay their respects to the Pope.”

15. *A Glorious Retractation*

The text of retractation was at last completed and Pius VII himself presented it to the chamberlain, la Gorse, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1813. It read in part:

“Sire: However painful to Us the avowal We are about to make to your Majesty — however painful to you — fear of God’s judgments . . . should induce Us to triumph over human considerations and forget the anguish that oppresses Us. We declare to your Majesty, as in duty bound, as Our dignity and Our position dictate, that since the 25th of January, when We appended Our signature to articles that were to serve as a basis of a future treaty, We have felt the greatest remorse and the deepest contrition. We immediately recognized Our error. The more We reflect, the more We are convinced that the concession into which We allowed Ourselves to be drawn was evil. The hope of thus ending the troubles of the Church and the desire of pleasing your Majesty moved Us. We thought Our act of concession might counter-balance the harm to the Church of Our signature. To Our grief and surprise, in spite of your Majesty’s pledged word, We found these articles, which were supposed to be the basis of a future treaty, published under the title of Concordat. Writing to your Majesty seems to Us the most respectful form of remonstrance. In the presence of God, who will soon require from Us an account of the power delegated to Us as Vicar of Christ, for the government of the Church, we declare, in all Apostolic sincerity, that Our conscience is absolutely opposed to the articles contained in the document. . . . We repeat to your Majesty the words of Our predecessor, Paschal II, in the brief to Henry V, in whose favor he also made a concession which justly caused remorse to his conscience. With him We say to you: “As our conscience condemns the document, so do We; and with God’s help, We desire that it be entirely annulled, so that no pernicious results may ensue for the Church and no prejudice for Our own soul.”

With a courage and submission to God's will achieved only by superhuman strength, the Holy Father closes an Allocution to his cardinals by completely and publicly acknowledging his error. Humbly he cries:

Blessed be God, who has not withheld His mercy from Us. It is He who chastises and who quickens. He has willed to humble Us by a salutary confusion, and at the same time has sustained Us by His almighty hand, giving Us the necessary assistance for Our duty in this trying circumstance. As far as We are concerned, We cheerfully accept this humiliation for the good of our soul. To Him be now and forever all honor and glory!

To the Napoleons of this world these brave words are never understood. Only to those who believe that he who conquers himself is greater than he who taketh a city, do they spell victory in that hard climb up the mystical mount of the spirit in whose rarefied atmosphere the soul of man manifests itself in its most baffling and transcendent glory!

As was to be expected, Napoleon tried to keep the Pope's letter a secret, for as he wrote to M. Bigot, he wished to be able to say "either that I have or have not received it, according to the turn which circumstances may take . . ." but this time, in spite of his clever maneuvering, his servile bishops refused to plead again with Pius to maintain the Concordat, and so render null and void his brief which they had read but which (presumably) Napoleon had not seen. Only Maury consented to go to Fontainebleau to try by his eloquence to effect papal acquiescence. Pius VII severely upbraided the traitor cardinal for his pains. As a last resort Napoleon had recourse to closer imprisonment of the Holy Father. He forbade the ceremonial visits of the cardinals. Cardinal di Pietro, who had distinguished himself as having contributed to the Bull *Quum Memoranda* and to the Brief of Retracting, was singled out for Napoleon's special wrath. Forced from his bed on the night of the fifth of April, he was exiled to Auxonne. Then the Emperor

proceeded as if the Concordat were in full force and nominated twelve bishops to fill vacancies, offering amnesty to those who had suffered imprisonment if they would consent to imperial appointment. But his bribe of liberty was met with obstinate opposition. Refusal to comply was almost unanimous. The good bishops preferred imprisonment to freedom on such dishonorable terms. Rather than accept an unlawful administrator, all the students of Tournai Seminary were dismissed. The school was deserted by faculty and students. The seminarians of Ghent chose conscription to becoming schismatical priests. Those too weak to become soldiers accepted imprisonment. Confusion and chaos reigned in the Church under imperial oppression. But the Concordat rejected by Pius VII could not be enforced by imperial decree.

On his deathbed the bishop of Nantes, Monsignor Duvoisin, wrote to Napoleon entreating him to restore the Holy Father to liberty. The entire body of the French clergy now hoped for but one event—the fall of the Empire. Cardinal Fesch, uncle of the Emperor, had for some time predicted his imperial nephew's downfall. From his exile at Lyons, he had spoken plain words to Madame Bonaparte, Napoleon's mother: "I foresee the moment when he will be borne down and annihilated. *All who touch the Holy Ark experience the same fate. . . . My nephew is lost, but the Church is saved; for if the Emperor had returned in triumph from Moscow, who knows what he might have done?*"

16. *The Pope Is Free*

Napoleon's star was indeed burning out. Russia, Prussia, England, and Sweden were forming a new coalition²⁵ to which even the Emperor Francis added the invaluable support of Austria against his imperial son-in-law. Austria's deflection from the orbit of Napoleon's domination of

²⁵ The sixth to be formed against Napoleon.

Europe was followed by the devastating defeat of Leipsic in the month of October. In this battle eighty thousand lives were sacrificed. It resulted in complete disaster for the Emperor and his hold upon Germany was broken. All the puppet sovereigns, imposed by imperial ukase, were ousted overnight; and the nations of Europe called back their hereditary princes.

Meanwhile, Pius VII possessed his soul in patience. Never again was he to lose control of his powers of perception and his clear vision. Ever since the revocation of the Articles of the Concordat he had taken on new life. He slept and ate normally. His eyes shone with their accustomed luster and the habitual, sweet smile played upon his mild countenance. When he was apprized of the temporary success of Lutzen by Marie Louise in a letter dispatched from Paris, he found irony in her assumption that she was sure the imprisoned Pope "would rejoice at the intelligence." In his answer Pius courteously addressed the Empress, but he used the occasion to protest vigorously against his treatment at the Emperor's hands and against the arrest of Cardinal di Pietro. At the same time Pius VII wrote a strong Allocution to his cardinals (but intended for the Universal Church) against the insertion of the Concordat of 1813 in the *Bulletin des Lois*.

The Congress of Prague met in July, 1813, and supplied the Pontiff with the motive of appealing to the Emperor of Austria for a restoration of the temporal power. The wily Emperor of France had been notified that the powers would demand the return of the alienated states to the Holy See and he sought to circumvent such a return and save his face by himself opening negotiations with Pius VII and offering the Pope's safe conduct to Rome as a bait. After long consultation with Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca, Pius agreed that no treaty signed with Napoleon could, under prevailing conditions, be permanent. Only two weeks later Joachim

Murat's attempted seizure of the papal states changed Napoleon's mind. Of the two evils, the voluntary return of the papal states to the Holy See was far less humiliating than their seizure by Murat. A letter dictated by Napoleon was sent by Monsignor de Beaumont in person to Fontainebleau:

Most Holy Father: I approach your Holiness to inform you that as the King of Naples has joined the coalition which apparently aims at ultimately reuniting Rome to his States, his Majesty the Emperor and King, judges it expedient for the Empire and the Roman people to restore the Roman States to your Holiness. *He prefers seeing them in your hands rather than in those of any other sovereign whoever he may be.* Consequently I am authorized to sign a treaty by which peace would be re-established between the Emperor and the Pope. Your Holiness would be recognized in your temporal sovereignty, and the Roman States, as incorporated in the French Empire, would be restored to Your Holiness, or to your agents. The fortresses would be included in the restoration. This convention would be restricted to temporal matters, and would treat with the Pope as Sovereign of Rome.

To this tempting offer Pius VII replied with true papal dignity by calmly refusing *the condition of the restoration* of the Patrimony of Peter. The restitution of his States was an act of justice — not subject to a treaty arrangement. It would appear as the result of an act of violence to accept as a gift from the Emperor's hands what in justice belonged to the Pontiff of Rome. Ardent as was his desire to return to Rome, its accomplishment was in the hands of God. Perhaps "my sins have made me unworthy of seeing Rome again, but my successors will entirely recover the states which belong to them," the Holy Father said, humbly.

Frustrated in his scheme by papal refusal, Napoleon would not permit the Powers to bestow upon the Holy See what he was no longer able to bestow himself. As Monsignor de Beaumont left Fontainebleau, on his way from the palace three carriages passed him. They contained Pius VII and

the identical escort that had accompanied him two years previously from Savona. A prisoner he had come to France and a prisoner he returned—he knew not whither. Napoleon's fertile mind, in spite of his absorption in the French campaign, took cognizance of every eventuality. If fortune smiled upon his banners, the Pope was to be taken to Savona; if, however, success did not favor him, the Holy Father was to be taken direct to Rome; and he, Napoleon, would have the merit of magnanimity! Only defeat could wrest justice from the grasping hands of one who had never learned to be generous for the grace of the virtue itself.

Pius VII was beyond the reach of petty maneuvers. He did not lose his accustomed majestic serenity. He felt he was exchanging one prison for another. Calmly he offered up Mass on the morning of January 23, 1814, at Fontainebleau. Calmly he bade his cardinals a last farewell. It seemed extremely doubtful if he should ever see them again this side the grave. He exhorted them to be faithful to the Church. "Be mindful of your Mother's tears," he pleaded with them. Above all else, they were to reject *any* proposal relating to a treaty. This was his "firm and steadfast will." The Sacred College was in tears as Pius VII left the château of Fontainebleau.

Hardly had the carriage left the grounds than war was brought to the very portals of the palace. One last and fatal mistake was made by the Emperor. He refused outright, as beneath his dignity, the offer of the powers to accept the France of Louis XIV as his kingdom. By the middle of March Napoleon realized the current was too strong against him. Wrung from him by necessity, Napoleon published the decree of the Pope's restoration of temporal sovereignty. When the Pontiff and his escort reached Savona, to all appearances a prisoner with his jailors, the long-awaited deliverance came. "Your Holiness is free, and can start for Rome tomorrow."

For the first time since 1808, Pius VII was once more the acknowledged Sovereign Pontiff of Rome. The chains had fallen. On the morning after the glad news arrived at Savona, Pius said Pontifical High Mass at the cathedral. Through Cesena, Ancona, Loretto, the Pontiff passed en route to the Eternal City. While at Cesena, Murat sought and was granted an audience with Pius VII. He pretended he did not know the Pope's destination. When informed that the Pontiff was on his way to Rome, Murat presented a document purporting to come from certain Roman noblemen, asking of the Allies that Rome be governed by a secular prince. Pius VII took the proffered paper and, without opening it, threw it into the flames of a burning brazier near by.

At Ancona, Pius received a tremendous welcome. Bells pealed, cannons roared, as the papal carriage, drawn by the citizens, proceeded on its way. Under the title of *Regina Sanctorum Omnium*, Pius crowned the statue of Our Lady at the cathedral. The Marches of Ancona, claimed by Murat, were, at Pius's request, referred to the Allied Sovereigns by Consalvi. The Cardinal had left Fontainebleau shortly after Pius's departure, for Paris, where he learned the plenipotentiaries had gone to London. The prudent Cardinal had immediately followed them there and saw the Prince Regent (later George IV), who presented Consalvi with a blank cheque to be presented to and filled out by the Pontiff who, for England's sake, had suffered so very much.

Pius VII's triumphal entrance into the Eternal City must have recalled to his mind his humiliating departure. On the Feast of Our Lady, *Auxilium Christianorum*, a day dawned such as Rome had never witnessed. In the procession walked Charles IV of Spain and his Queen and the Infanta; Don Francesco, the ex-king of Sardinia; the Queen of Etruria! But for the Romans, so long orphaned of their Holy Father, all eyes were riveted on one face — that of a venerable old man, bent by sorrow, eyes filled with tears, yet radiant with

this foretaste of paradisaical joy as he blessed his kneeling Faithful. Through the Porto del Popolo young men and girls, clad in white, bore palms which caught the golden rays of a brilliant sun. It was a triumphal procession reminiscent of its prototype in Jerusalem, and the song was the same glad cry: "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord!" At Monte Milvio thirty young noblemen unharnessed the horses and themselves drew the papal carriage to the very steps of St. Peter's. But when the Holy Father stood and blessed the throng from the door of the basilica, there was a hush too deep for words.

The day following his return, a Roman noble who had signed his name to the memorandum presented to the Pontiff by Murat, craved forgiveness of the Holy Father. Pius VII, great in triumph as in chains, replied with his customary humility: "Do you think that we are above reproach? Let us forget what has passed."

Strange workings of Providence! Marvelous victory of God's justice! "Poetic justice," unbelievers would call it, but history records no example more salutary for ambitious men than the sequel of Pius VII's triumph. It was on the twenty-fourth of January, 1813, that Pius signed the abdication of his temporal power at Fontainebleau. Fifteen months later, on April the twenty-eighth, 1814, in the very same room of the same palace of Fontainebleau, yes, at the very same table! — Napoleon, Emperor of France and King of Italy, signed his abdication which declared his empire at an end. Now the Powers demanded that the sea should separate the man from the Europe he had snatched from the forces of the Revolution whose child he was; the man who had dared to "touch the Holy Ark" with his impious hands!

17. *The Nine Last Years*

For nine years, from 1814 to his death in 1823, Pius VII

found his tasks onerous but congenial ones. Consalvi was once more displaying his talents as a diplomat on a stage worthy his genius at the Congress of Vienna. Cardinal Pacca was of invaluable assistance to the Pontiff and through him the army of the Church was recreated and improved. During the Pope's absence from Rome, the papal palace of the Quirinale had been filled with priceless treasures and luxury. But, in keeping with Radet's promise, the papal apartments had remained untouched and presented the same simplicity as if the Pontiff had but stepped out for a few moments.

One of the first public acts of Pius VII was to reinstate the Society of Jesus. This Order is the only one that has risen from death to renewed and more glorious life. It was no sudden resolution on the Pope's part, however; for as early as 1801, he had restored the Order in Russia. In 1805 he had re-established it in Naples. But in 1814, deeply conscious of the great suffering of the Church since its dissolution both under the reign of his predecessor, Pius VI, and under his own reign, Pius VII called forth the Order from the tomb and from that day to this it has increased from strength to strength.

One day, in speaking to the Holy Father, a priest, Father Proyart, whose biography of Louis XVI treated unfavorably of Clement XIV's act of suppression and which had been severely criticized by the Liberals of the day, said to His Holiness: "People have given me a scruple for speaking as I have done of Clement XIV, most Holy Father; yet God knows it was not in the bad sense of the philosophers who have calumniated every Pope except the destroyer of the Jesuits." To this Pius replied:

What you say is unfortunately too true. I heard the minutest details of the business from a prelate who was in Clement XIV's service, and then entered mine. He was the very prelate who offered Clement the Bull of Suppression to sign. As soon as he signed, he threw his pen on one side, the paper on the other, and seemed beside himself.

Asserting to Father Proyart that it was Spain alone that was bent upon the suppression, Pius VII told the prelate to "admire the ways of Providence. The apostles of the Catholic religion are re-established at the request of schismatical powers!"

Thus, one month after his restoration on the throne of Peter, on the day of the Feast of St. Ignatius, the seventh of August, 1814, the Bull of Restoration, *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, was published in which Pius VII said:

The Catholic world asks with one accord that the Society of Jesus should be re-established. Every day the most urgent requests to this end are made to Us by our venerable brethren, the archbishops and bishops, and by persons of the most distinguished rank, more especially now that the abundant fruits produced by this society in Russia and Sicily are generally known. Recent calamities, which it is wiser to deplore than to call to mind, have dispersed the very stones of the sanctuary; the destruction, too, of religious orders, which are the support and glory of the Catholic Church, make yielding to so just and widespread a desire our positive duty. We should esteem Ourselves most guilty before God, if in the crying needs of the Christian commonwealth We neglected to offer it this powerful support which God by a special Providence puts within Our reach. We should be most guilty if We refused to make use of vigorous and experienced powers who voluntarily offer themselves to stem the tide which threatens Us in St. Peter's barque, tossed by the waves with peril of shipwreck and constant danger of destruction.

At the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) Consalvi represented Pius VII. The Treaty restored the equilibrium of Europe and the papal states. By the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino, under Pius VI, the Church had been completely despoiled. When Pius VII came to the throne of Peter he was in reality only a nominal sovereign. At the Congress of Vienna at which England, France, Prussia, Russia, Austria, and the Sovereign Pontiff were represented, one hundred twenty articles were signed by all the plenipotentiaries. Ancona, Benevento, Ponte Corvo, and

the three Legations were given back to the Pope. Only Avignon was ceded to France. At this Congress, also, papal nuncios regained their precedence in all the Courts of Europe.

During the negotiations at Vienna, European peace was once again menaced by the *Cent Jours*, or the futile attempt of Napoleon from Elba once more to recapture his lost power by invasion and military prowess. Joachim Murat, hoping to rally Neapolitans with the cry of Italian unity, demanded the Pope permit his troops passage through papal territory. Refusing any part in what he felt was only a last flare of a dying comet, Pius VII betook himself to Genoa, awaiting only the final epilogue of a drama, splendid and terrible, but utterly ill-conceived and fatal. "Temporary," the Holy Father had predicted. Napoleon wrote to Pius VII from the Tuileries after Louis XVIII had fled to Ghent, but the Pontiff did not receive the letter. After Waterloo (June, 1815) the defeated General threw himself upon the mercy of England. The Great Man was sentenced to St. Helena where the mental torture he endured was equaled only by that he had meted out, at Savona and Fontainebleau, to the Pope.

Joachim Murat, once King of Naples, was arrested, tried and executed on the fifteenth of October. With his death the dynasty of Napoleon in Italy was at an end forever.

Cardinal Consalvi returned to Rome from Vienna covered with glory. After a period of nine fateful years he was reinstated as Secretary of State. Under his able administration the papal states achieved unity once more. He bound up the wounds of the Revolution and made Rome blossom again as the fountainhead of science, good government, and the fine arts. The sculptors, Canova and Thorwaldsen, embellished St. Peter's. Under his supervision, public works were brought to fulfillment. It was during this period that the excavations at Ostia were begun. The debris accumulated

during the Revolution and the Napoleonic regime was cleared away. A grand house cleaning in the Piazza del Popolo, in the Piazza di San Pietro, and in the Roman and Trajan Forums, revealed once more the beauty and grandeur that is always Rome. A spur was built against the wall of the Colosseum to reinforce the crumbling stones. All this labor of love and scientific planning was under the direction of Pius VII, whose energy seemed to increase during the last years of his pontificate. New rooms were added to the Vatican Museum. Monsignor Mai was one of the glories of these days, whose scientific labor was crowned by his discovery of part of Cicero's *Republic*. He had been brought from the Ambrosiana in Milan where he had distinguished himself as one of the great librarians of all time. Later he was made Cardinal.

In June of 1816, Pius VII issued a *motu proprio* which was the joint work of the Holy Father and Consalvi. This instituted a reform in the papal states. Five new codes strengthened the Roman law which had been adopted by Napoleon as the New Civil Code, but which was in reality the work of an ex-counselor of state. The finances were put on a more solid basis, and the administrative and judiciary were improved. Tobacco and salt were made uniform in price throughout the Roman States.

Religious problems presented a tangle that was extremely difficult to unsnarl. There were three classes of bishops: the constitutional, the titular of the old regime who had refused to resign, and the bishops of the Concordat. On the seventeenth of June, 1817, a new Concordat was signed by Consalvi for Pius VII and the Comte de Blacas, for Louis XVIII. The most important articles dealt with the repudiation of the Concordat of 1801 and the repeal of the Organic Articles. Unfortunately, however, the Concordat of 1817 was stillborn; for the Gallican tradition was still strong in France. But five years later, in 1822, a new

Concordat which followed a middle course between that of 1801 and that of 1817, was adopted. Naples, Prussia, Piedmont, and Russia for Poland, signed concordats with the Holy See. The two Sicilies under Ferdinand I, concluded a concordat in 1818, which was greatly to the advantage of religion in his kingdom. Most of these concordats signed with the several states gave nomination of the bishops to the King; but the right of confirmation remained in the papal hands.

Christ's injunction to "return good for evil, and to do good to them that persecute you," was never more beautifully exemplified than when, on October sixth, 1817, Pius VII wrote to Cardinal Consalvi a letter which, for Christian charity, ranks among the gems of papal epistles:

The Emperor Napoleon's family has approached us, through Cardinal Fesch, to inform us that the rock of St. Helena is killing him; and that rapid decline is undermining his strength. It gave us great pain — and no doubt you will share it — for we both remember that, under God, the re-establishment of religion in the great kingdom of France is principally due to him. The devoted and courageous initiative of 1801 makes us forgive and forget all subsequent wrongs. Savona and Fontainebleau were errors of judgment or dreams of ambition. The Concordat, as a heroic and Christian undertaking, saved society. The mother and family of Napoleon appeal to our generosity. We think, in justice and gratitude, we ought to listen to them. We charge you, in all confidence, to write from us to the Allied Sovereigns and especially to the Prince Regent, who has given us so many tokens of esteem. He is a true friend of yours, and you must ask him to mitigate the sufferings of this dreary exile. It would be an unspeakable joy for us to soften Napoleon's pain. He can no longer wrong anybody; let him not be a reproach to any man.

When untold suffering has been inflicted upon a victim, that victim, having been restored to power, indeed shows likest God when mercy toward the oppressor seasons justice!

Madame Bonaparte, mother of the exile, wrote Consalvi

a letter of gratitude in which, out of the grief of a mother's heart for her wayward son, she said:

. . . I am the most sorrowful of mothers. The one consolation I have is that the Holy Father consents to forget the past and to treat us with affection. . . . Under the Papal Government alone we find support and rest; and our gratitude is great in proportion. I ask Your Eminence to lay it as an homage at the feet of the Holy Pontiff, Pius VII. I speak in the name of all my proscripsts, and especially in the name of him whose life is being slowly consumed on a deserted rock. No one, except His Holiness and Your Eminence, tries to soften his sufferings or to shorten them. I thank you both, as a mother, from the bottom of my heart; and I beg to remain your gratefully devoted Madame.²⁸

To Cardinal Fesch, when he announced his desire to live in Rome, Pius VII answered: "You are very welcome. I will do all I can to make it agreeable for you here. Rome has always been the home of exiles. It will doubly be yours, both as a cardinal and as the Emperor's uncle."

The Cardinal outlived Pius VII by sixteen years; but he continued to be the beneficiary of papal generosity, remaining in Rome until the day of his death in 1839.

Pius VII sent two priests to St. Helena, hoping Napoleon would make his peace with his God. And although on his deathbed he said he died in the faith, in his will he justified the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, done "for the safety, interest, and honor of the French people . . . when the Comte d'Artois owned to keeping sixty assassins in Paris. Given the same circumstances, I should do it again." One of the priests gave Napoleon the consolations of the Catholic faith and prayed at his bedside as he was dying, as we may be sure the Holy Father prayed: "Father, forgive!"

On the thirteenth of September, 1821, Pius VII published a bull condemning freemasonry and other secret societies, exposing their aim of undermining Church and State, and

²⁸ *Mémoires of Consalvi*, Vol. I, p. 102.

giving society over to Satan. "Let faithful children of the Church beware of those who did the Devil's work and profaned in their ceremonies the Passion of Our Lord."²⁷

When the church of Moorfields was completed in England, Pius VII sent his most valuable church plate for a present. To those who complained of the emptiness of the Church's coffers, Pius replied: "There is nothing too good for me to give to English Catholics."

In the month of July, 1823, old San Paolo fuori le Mura was destroyed by fire. Here was the convent where Barnaba Chiaramonti, the young monk from Cesena had lived during the pontificate of Pius VI. Already the fire of life burned low in the fragile frame of Pius VII. He had fallen and taken to his bed a few days prior to the destruction of St. Paul's. Some writers claim he was never told of the disaster. Although his physician tried to keep his serious condition from him, Pius VII himself asked for the Viaticum. He knew his last hour was at hand.

In the silence of the sickroom, Pius heard one of the attending priests address him as "Your Holiness." The dying Pontiff gently chided him. "How can you call me 'Holiness'?" he asked. "I am only a poor sinner." Later he was heard to breathe out faintly, in accents of contrition, "Savona . . . Fontainebleau . . ."

On the left, as one faces the high altar, in the great basilica of St. Peter's, near the Chapel where the Gregorian chants are sung each morning, sits the brooding figure of Pius VII in marble, done by his friend Thorwaldsen, at the order and under the supervision of Consalvi. The benign, smiling face, soft even in stone, looks down upon the passing pilgrim, and the uplifted hand blesses him.

Consalvi outlived Pius VII by only a few months. He was the sole member of the Roman College whom Napoleon thoroughly respected. His worth was recognized by the

²⁷ During the Revolution.

Romans who gave him a place in the Pantheon where his tomb vies in interest with those of the kings of Italy and of the great Raphael — for those who understand and remember.

Napoleon died in his exile, alone, at the age of fifty-two, broken by disease and disillusionment. Marie Louise never shared his exile; and his son, the little "King of Rome," he scarcely knew. The ephemeral crown he had so proudly placed upon his own head, was torn from his brow by the Allied Powers. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Loved by all, even by his erstwhile enemies, Pius VII left the scene of his earthly labors in his eighty-second year. For almost a decade after his humiliation and persecution at the hands of Napoleon, he recovered and consolidated the Patrimony of Peter for the Holy See, and labored lovingly for the Church he served and for the Master he adored. Truly, *the meek shall inherit the earth!*

Pius IX

1846-1878

IN THE seventeenth year of the pontificate of Pius VI, when the Terror in France was at its height — that year which saw priests and bishops clubbed to death at the Carmelite Convent in Paris and the emissaries of the French Revolution arrive at Rome to plant the dragons' teeth in the Capital of Christendom — in the quiet ancient town of Sinigaglia on the Adriatic, a Catholic child was born. For carnage and destruction and all the accumulated sins and follies of wicked men, so familiar to a Europe torn by wars and revolution, have always proved impotent to conquer the law of life which, despite the ingenuity of evil forces, prevails triumphant in the very midst of fury and desolation.

There is something heartening, something awe inspiring, in beholding a spark of new life arise from the womb of death! Darkness is upon the face of the earth. Of a sudden a glimmer of light is manifest. Sometimes it is the light on a new-born baby's face smiling up into his mother's eyes. Angels seem to watch over and to fend off the demons that stalk about in human form seeking to annihilate all that is innocent and sweet and good. God bides His appointed time!

1. *Young Giovanni Mastai*

Certain it is that the Countess Caterina found in the birth

of her seventh child a source of infinite gladness that corresponded with the sunshine of that cloudless Italian sky which breathes peace and contentment and finds response in the ready smile of the inhabitants of that lovely countryside. If the fortune of her husband, Count Girolamo, no longer matched the munificence she once knew, there was sufficient to provide for the family's wants and to furnish guests with hospitable welcome, sharing with the more needy in the neighborhood their alms and services. The palace of the Mastai was pervaded with a spirit of simple generosity, and the household was known and respected beyond the confines of the ancient town whose history harks back to the Romans of Cisalpine Gaul, thus antedating the birth of Christ.

Sinigaglia is a land favored by its shipping, having been a maritime port for over two thousand years. It has one of the largest dockyards on the Adriatic; its climate and smooth beach make it ideal for bathing, and many coasting vessels are built there. To the north and south and west the rugged mountains of the Appenine ranges, their bases almost standing in the sea, form innumerable, verdant valleys into which gush lovely waterfalls. It is a prosperous countryside, every foot of it cultivated by the industry of the self-respecting contadini. The tourist passes through mountain slopes covered with mulberry bushes, olive groves, and vineyards. In the fields they grow hemp, corn, tobacco, flax, and maize. The flowers of this region are gorgeous in color and the air is laden with their delicate perfume. Into the Adriatic flows the Rubicon known to every schoolboy who for centuries has struggled through Caesar's *Commentaries*. The entire region is a chain of cities made famous by notable sculptors, by great bishops, by poets and painters — from Dante of Ravenna to Raphael of Urbino — only a few miles north of Sinigaglia. Along the coastline to the north is Cesena whose See was founded by a martyr-pope in 92.¹ Here were born our

¹ St. Clement — Fourth Bishop of Rome.

two popes, Pius VI and Pius VII. Into this paradise, so blessed by nature, so loved of God, so illustrious in her sons, was born on the thirteenth of May, 1792, the handsome child, Giovanni-Maria, whose career we shall trace as Pius IX, Pontiff of Rome.

But if the immediate environs of this child marked by destiny were so enviable, it was not long before his little mind was troubled as his baby lips learned to frame a prayer for the exiled Father of the Faithful, Pius VI. As a growing boy he became increasingly aware of the afflictions with which his idea of the papacy was associated. The Vicar of Christ to this Catholic lad meant he who suffers most for Christ. Throughout all Italy there were just such devoted families as the Mastai household. Each evening prayers were recited for their imprisoned Pontiff until the day of Pius VI's death and the election at Venice of another son of their neighboring Cesena, in 1800 — Barnaba Chiaramonti, Pius VII. At the time of the conclave at Venice Giovanni-Maria was a lad of eight years.

All accounts agree that Giovanni was a singularly gifted and handsome child. He was tall, well formed, and powerfully built. He was animated in spirit and possessed of the most generous impulses. His affectionate nature and sympathetic helpfulness remained with him all his life. As a youth one of his most attractive characteristics might be called loyalty or trueheartedness. His fine physique found ample opportunity for expansion and development in the countryside. His boon companion, Guido, a neighboring contadino's son, and he used to fish and wade in the Adriatic and it is related that on one such occasion Guido saved Giovanni's life.

Until his eleventh year Giovanni was educated at home by his parents. Napoleon's exactions had drastically reduced Count Mastai's dwindling fortune and this necessity was perhaps fortunate as the schools of the time were infected

by French Revolutionary propaganda with systematic courses in irreligion. This influence among the youth of Italy was more lasting and wider spread than the more material injuries inflicted by French occupation.

But at the age of eleven Giovanni was sent to Volterra in Tuscany. The College was on a lofty crag, sixteen hundred feet above sea level. For six years (1803-1809) Giovanni lived in this solitude under the instruction of the Fathers of the Pious Schools, storing his mind with Greek and Italian literatures. During these years he grew in grace and favor. He was, by virtue of utter unself-consciousness of his own comely person, and by his generous disposition, a popular favorite. His wit was ready. His laughter was infectious.

Although the schoolboys were removed from the turmoil and clash of arms in the world outside, echoes of the rumblings of that stormy sea of military conflict and political upheaval reached their eagles' nest atop the craggy haven. They learned of Pius VII's journey through Tuscany in the autumn of 1804 on his way to Paris to crown Bonaparte Emperor. Later they heard of Napoleon's crowning as "King of Italy" at Milan. In 1808 Napoleon's favorite sister, the Grand Duchess Eliza, was given the title of "Queen" of the newly created "Kingdom of Etruria," fashioned out of what the lads knew as their own Tuscany.

It was on the occasion of the Grand Duchess' visit to the ancient fortress of her new kingdom that the Fathers of the school were compelled to act as hosts to their new sovereign. Giovanni was chosen to welcome her with an oration. He was at the time sixteen and looked older. The royal guest was so charmed by his handsome appearance and eloquent speech of welcome that many years later she recalled the event with pleasure when the lad had become a man of parts in the Church.

Giovanni Mastai had by now fully decided to devote himself to the Church. It was a choice which he knew offered

nothing but sacrifice, for the Spouse of Christ was despoiled, reviled, and persecuted; and her sons could expect nothing but a lot not unlike that of the early apostles.

Then came the tragic malady which threatened to upset all plans of any career whatsoever for this brilliant, attractive youth. Epilepsy, caused by an overtaxed brain and a too rapid growth, cast a sinister shadow over all the hopes and plans of Giovanni and his devoted mother. A pilgrimage undertaken by the two to Our Lady of Loreto resulted in such marked improvement that he returned to College, resolved to consecrate his whole life to the Church. It was during the Ember days of 1809, in the presence of his mother, that Giovanni was given the outward symbol of that consecration — the ecclesiastical tonsure — at the hands of the bishop of Volterra. A few days later mother and son set out for Rome together. There the Countess Caterina placed Giovanni in the hands of her brother-in-law, Canon Mastai, of the Chapter of the Vatican Basilica. She returned alone to Sinigaglia with an ache in her heart for this boy who, by his courageous consecration and the pall that hung over him, had become the focus and center of all her prayers.

The Rome Giovanni found was a bewildering Rome for a man planning to give his life to the Church — a Rome widowed of her Pontiff, Pius VII, prisoner in Savonna. The *Code Napoleon* was the law of what had been the papal states. Over the entire peninsula of Italy, and especially in the larger cities, a vicious underground movement was at work, fomented and fostered by Masonic clubs and other secret societies. There appeared everywhere strange, obscene, anti-Christian publications, encouraged and abetted by the usurpers in the government. The schools of Rome were disrupted. If Christian fortitude was the virtue par excellence to be inculcated, there was ample opportunity to cultivate it among the faithful clergy. Canon Mastai was not exempt for long from having to choose between conscience and sacrile-

gious promotion. So back to Sinigaglia uncle and nephew proceeded, where Giovanni continued to pursue, under the instruction of the good Canon, the studies he had begun at Rome. The experiences he had gone through at Rome and the scenes he had witnessed for the past year, brought on, in an exaggerated form, the old malady. Young Mastaï resolved to take himself in hand. He laid aside his clerical dress, but without relinquishing his determination to continue to study for the priesthood. With the most rigorous and systematic discipline he undertook to cure himself with God's help. He practically lived outdoors, roaming over his native hills and taking up in dead earnest the practice of athletics. During these months he laid the foundation for a complete cure while he presented a picture of perfect strength and grace.

It was at this time that Napoleon decided upon forming a Noble Guard from the élite of Italian youth, recruited from the young aristocrats. So, when the census was taken and the names chosen, Giovanni Mastaï found his name on the Emperor's list. But, as he himself later averred, in refuting the statement that at one time he had contemplated a military career: "My name, without my knowledge, was put among the rest. But as soon as I was informed of it, I took care to have it struck off. Napoleon's plans were such as could not be executed."

When Pius VII returned in triumph to the Eternal City, he passed through his native Cesena. Thither the entire Mastaï family had come with all their neighbors to join in the welcome and to kneel at the feet of the venerable Pontiff. It was then the Pope declared that he must needs be protected "not from the violence of the Italians, but from the uncontrolled enthusiasm of their love." Giovanni felt, as he gazed up into that gentle face, a healing virtue issue from the Pontiff who had suffered so much for Christ. He intuitively believed that somehow Pius VII, returned to Rome, would remove every obstacle in the way of his own heart's desire.

Early in the month of May, Pius VII started south for Rome and on his way stopped at Sinigaglia. Here he was welcomed by the Mastai family. This is how it happened that Giovanni departed for Rome in the papal party. Through Ancona, Osimo, and Loreto they passed amidst the wildest demonstrations of joy. On the twenty-fourth they were in Rome. On that day the Fathers of the Pious School might have looked from the towers of Volterra far off to the west and have discerned the outline of Elba; and, praying for their own Giovanni returning with the Pontiff to Rome, they might have pondered over the marvelous ways of Providence!

At Rome Giovanni witnessed the temporary withdrawal of the Pope to Genoa, his return after "the three months" he had predicted, and His Holiness' restoration of the Jesuits. Mastai saw these sons of St. Ignatius returning on foot like penitents all the way from Russia to their beloved Rome. There were also many priests, bishops, and deacons arriving every day who had suffered much for the faith. One can imagine with what veneration this young aspirant to the priesthood must have studied the faces of those saintly men, who for Christ had undergone exile, torture, imprisonment.

2. *Social Work and Priesthood*

In such an environment, not unlike that of the time of Constantine, young Mastai began his studies of theology. At first he wore lay clothes; but after the Pope's return from Genoa, he laid them aside never again to be resumed. Professor Graziosi, a man who was to exert great influence upon his after life, was one of his teachers. One of his fellow students later became the celebrated Father Ventura. The restored Jesuits were devoting their labors to the neglected children of Rome. Sunday schools on a large scale were opened. In these schools singing was an important part of the day, interspersed with instruction in Catholic doctrine. These became very popular, for singing will attract an

Italian child any time, anywhere. The Jesuit teachers asked for volunteer catechists; and young Mastai offered his services, becoming a great favorite among the children and their parents.

It was not long, however, before his services were enlisted by Monsignor Carlo Odescalchi to make a missionary tour with himself and Bishop Strambi of Macerata along the northern coast of the Adriatic. In these provinces French rule had lasted longest; and the invaders had been busy sowing seeds of anti-Christianity and revolutionary doctrines. The dregs of the population of these cities were foisted into power; and the usurpers spread the poison of revolt against religion and law. The clergy, the churches, and the monasteries were plundered. When this ceased with Napoleon's downfall, underground clubs were organized with the deliberate design of spreading subversive doctrines.

Once again among his own kinsmen and neighbors, young Mastai threw himself with ardor into the work of reclaiming this traditionally Catholic land to its rightful spiritual heritage. This labor of love, under two of the most saintly and gifted men of the time, was abundantly rewarded — not only in the rich harvest of souls, but also through the reports that reached Pius VII of the young missionary's success with adults and children. It determined the destiny of Giovanni Mastai. A decided improvement in his health — for which his devoted mother had prayed for nine long years — was so marked that when Monsignor Odescalchi recommended to His Holiness that his aid be ordained for holy orders, Pius VII readily gave his consent.

Seconded by his own earnest request to the Holy Father, Mastai was ordained subdeacon on December the eighteenth, 1818; then to the diaconship and priest's orders during Lent the following year. Pius VII was so affected by the heroic quality of the young man and his steadfastness of purpose that in an impulse of affection he grasped the hand of the

young suppliant, saying, "We grant you what you ask, dear son, because it is our conviction that this disease will never again afflict you." Pius VII's prediction was fulfilled to the letter! Yet, to remove all nervousness and apprehension, the prudent Pope advised the young priest to have another priest at his side while celebrating Mass. This arrangement lasted only during the first months of Mastaï's priesthood.

In the spring of 1819, the Abbate (as Mastaï was now called) requested that he might be permitted to devote his leisure to instruct the hundred-odd boys of the *Ospizio Tata Giovanni* in the quarter *Dei Falegnami* (of the Carpenters) down near the Tiber, west of the ancient Capitol. Here he spent many happy hours instructing poor little castaways in the beauty and truth of Christ. It was reported that when the young priest spoke of his Master's love and labors, his face shone with angelic light. In the little sanctuary of Santa Anna's, adjoining the Asylum, the children sang the praises of God lustily, as only Italian children can sing. At the altar the young priest offered up the sacrifice of the Mass on Easter morning, 1819, and gave the Host to his own adoring mother and faithful father. What a reward it was for their years of prayer and devoted self-sacrifice!

The reports which Pius VII heard of the success of the work at *Tata Giovanni* resulted in giving Mastaï the post of Master of the Asylum. The Asylum had a noble history. It was founded by a stonemason, Giovanni Borgi, in the latter half of the previous century. Although he could neither read nor write, this humble man of God was endowed with spiritual learning of a rare quality. His love for the sick and poor caused him to devote all his spare time to helping those less fortunate than himself. He gathered together orphaned boys, barefoot and unkempt, took them home with him to the ground floor of the house he rented, fed and clothed them out of his own slender means, prepared them for confession and communion, and taught them his own trade.

This modest beginning grew to such proportions that in 1784 Pius VI purchased the Palazzo Ruggia as a refuge for a hundred boys. This new institution became known as the *Tata Giovanni* (Daddy John) in affectionate recognition of its founder, the illiterate but saintly stonemason, Giovanni Borgi. Priests, professors, and noblemen volunteered their services, teaching the elements of learning to these stray boys. Skilled mechanics instructed them gratis. They remained still under the supervision of their "Daddy." Two aims motivated the founder: "To make each boy a thorough Christian and a thorough mechanic." The Abbate Mastai now gave his service in training the boys to become good Christians. It was at the *Ospizio Tata Giovanni* that he spent some of the happiest hours of his life.

3. *Missionary in South America*

During the last year of Pius VII's life, Cardinal Consalvi was keen to send missionaries to the Spanish republics of South America. The hostility of both the Portuguese and Spanish governments toward the Jesuits had resulted in a vacuum in instruction and missionary labors. No teachers were provided for the children deprived of these trained, sagacious men. Most of the institutions were suppressed on the Spanish peninsula where a spirit of anticlericalism had developed. In the Western Hemisphere the natives were relapsing into a worse barbarism than that of their ancestors. When Pius VII reinstated the Society of Jesus, the era of redemption had come. Chile requested the Holy See to send a representative, and Consalvi and the aged Pontiff lost no time in appointing Monsignor Muzi to the South American Republic; and, as his secretary and counselor, they commissioned the Abbate Mastai as the man best adapted for that important post. For the young priest it was a glorious opportunity for missionary work; and he embraced the prospect with ardor. His mother, however, fearing the hard conditions

of such an exciting undertaking might bring on his old illness, wrote to Cardinal Consalvi, asking him to reconsider the appointment.

When the octogenarian Pontiff received the Abbate, he said: "Your lady mother has written to the secretary to have him prevent you from undertaking this journey; but we have sent her a letter to say that you will surely return safe from this mission." These were the last words ever spoken to the youthful prelate by the venerable man who had been to Mastai like a guardian angel. Even before the departure of Giovanni for the long sea voyage, death closed Pius VII's long and burdensome career as Pontiff of Rome.

The perils of the sea voyage were very great — but these were as nothing compared with those that awaited them on land. At Majorca they were imprisoned by the Spanish authorities for daring to go to a country that was in rebellion to the crown of Spain. But once these obstacles were overcome, and the violent storms of the sea were safely weathered, their sufferings really began. They experienced extremes of temperature: icy cold of the mountainous regions and the torrid fevers of the jungles; attacks of hostile Indians, and frightful storms. They were obliged to spend one night in a hut constructed of bones. They witnessed the frightful fruits of the Marquis Pomba's policy² which had created havoc among a population once converted to Christianity and in the process of becoming civilized.

Although their field included the entire South American peninsula, they were permitted by the authorities to visit only Chile and Peru. The young Abbate made frequent journeys into the interior provinces, learning much at first hand of the religious needs of the Spanish and the native Indians. He felt great interior satisfaction in the prospect that here, among these spiritually needy, he would follow in the renowned footsteps of St. Turbido of Lima and of St.

² See page 10.

Francis Solano, going afoot from city to village and into the wilderness among those lost tribes once converted by the Jesuits but now abandoned by civilization and God. Mastai was prepared to give of himself like the Apostle of Cartagena (whom he afterward beatified) as "The Slave of the Negroes." Many anecdotes are preserved of this period of Giovanni Mastai's life in the wilds of South America.

4. *Archbishop of Spoleto*

But the new Pontiff, Leo XII, had other plans for the missionary-priest. He made Mastai one of his own domestic prelates upon his return to Italy in 1825, bestowing upon him the Directorship of San Michele. This had begun as another refuge for boys, but had expanded into an industrial school, a hospital for men and women, an industrial school for girls, and a reformatory for women. The Abbate was made a monsignor by the new Pope. It was at San Michele that Monsignor Mastai displayed conspicuous ability. In it he created a real conservatory of art which became the pride of Rome. Two years later the Monsignor was given one of the most important dioceses in the Roman States when he was nominated Archbishop of Spoleto.

It was on the twenty-first of May, 1827, that the Pontiff officially announced in consistory the appointment of Monsignor Mastai as Archbishop of Spoleto. On the Feast of St. Peter in Chains (June third), he received episcopal consecration by Cardinal Castiglione.³ Leo XII knew the needs of this difficult diocese at first hand for he was born at Spoleto and had been Bishop of Sinigaglia; yet he chose for the post that required so much wisdom a very young prelate, the Director of San Michele. To rule over the Umbrian population among whom the French usurpers had wrought such havoc, required fortitude and an unsullied faith.

³ Afterward Leo XII's successor, Pius VIII, who died eight months after his election to the papacy.

Spoleto is in the heart of central Italy, clinging to the side of a lofty eminence which is capped by a four-turreted fortress built by Theodoric the Great (455-526). *La Rocca* frowns down upon the city below. The bishops of this see, founded in the year 50, rebuilt the city after each successive invasion of the Goths, the Huns, the Lombards, and the Greeks. They made this mountain the abode of peace and holiness. To insure its refuge and protection, Theodoric built the citadel and connected the city and the fortress with Monte Luco by spanning the intervening valley with a splendid aqueduct. Atop the mountain, amid a grove of chestnut trees, is the pilgrimage church of Madonna della Grazie. The Convent of St. Giuliano is spoken of by the English traveler, Hare, as "a heaven-inspiring retreat in a flowery mountain-forest." Michelangelo visited this retreat in September, 1556, and was so enthralled by its beauty and loveliness that he wrote from Rome: "I have brought back scarcely the half of myself; for one finds true liberty, peace, and happiness only amid such scenes." Many famed artists worked lovingly, embellishing the churches, chapels, and convents of Spoleto. From the towers of *La Rocca*, across the Tiber, one views Orvieto, perched on its volcanic mass of tufa; where, in the morning and evening sunlight, the cathedral gleams like the glorified pinnacles of heaven.

This paradise, created and maintained and protected by the Church for so many centuries, had in recent years fallen upon evil days. The French radicals and the military rulers under Napoleon had sedulously stirred up rebellion against the papacy. Not among the peasantry nor among the aristocracy had the disaffection taken root. It was the *mezzo ceto*, the bourgeoisie, through skillfully organized secret societies, who rallied around the cry "Italian Unity," echoing from the retreating Imperialists. It was this middle class that the new Archbishop knew he must win over when he was sent thither by Leo XII. The French had created the fiction

that Leo XII was an "Austrian Pope." They declared he had been elected by Austrian influence. Because, by the terms of the Congress of Vienna, Austria was given a protectorate over the papal states in case revolt should break out, the French interests found it suited their purpose to blame Austrian revenge for the overthrow of their empire. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, Pius VII recovered his patrimony primarily through the efforts of England. Cardinal Castiglione was the candidate favored by the Austrians at the conclave. It was Cardinal Severoli who had been excluded by the Austrian veto. To break the odious impasse, Cardinal della Genga, a universal favorite (and perhaps because he was afflicted with an incurable disease and hence acceptable to Austria), was elected and took the name of Leo XII.

Leo XII was thwarted in all his patriotic efforts, as were his immediate successors, Pius VIII and Gregory XVI, by the systematic propaganda of certain French officials. Under the former viceroy of Italy, Prince Eugene Beauharnais (who had immense landed estates in Lombardy and even more extensive possessions in the confiscated monastic edifices and properties of religious bodies in the states of the Church), a permanent colony had been formed by them in the very heart of the country they had usurped and governed under the Napoleonic regime. In fact, these foreigners maintained a little empire within Italy. They were the land surveyors, the tax collectors, the overseers, the clerks, and the higher officials. Their religion, or rather their lack of any religion, was an offense to the native population. They created a hotbed of conspiracy and bled the people of their resources; at the same time blaming the "Austrian Pope" as the scapegoat for sacrificing the country to the detested "foreigners" (Austrians)!

No sooner had the Archbishop of Spoleto taken possession of his see than the clubs became active, demonstrations were

staged, and assassinations occurred in many localities. With unbounded devotion, Archbishop Mastai sought to gain the confidence and affection of all classes of his flock. His poverty was so great that he arrived at Spoleto with only a few books and a very scanty wardrobe. His traveling expenses and even his clothes were supplied by donations. His plans for the establishment of institutions like the *Tata Giovanni* in Rome were seconded by the Faithful who felt abundantly repaid for the monetary aid they furnished their new Shepherd. Industrial schools and colleges sprang up in his diocese. Once again the grace of Christian charity found abundant opportunity to flourish among a people who are by nature so kind to strangers and to sufferers. The temporal and spiritual welfare of his flock received the Archbishop's constant and unwearied attention. He established woolen and felt factories and encouraged the development of ironworks for domestic and agricultural tools. His devotion was personal and neighborly and he was greatly beloved.

While Archbishop Mastai was engrossed in the problems of his own see, word came in February, 1829, that death had ended Leo XII's terrible physical sufferings endured while he reigned on the Chair of Peter for six burdensome years of misunderstanding and unjust criticism. He had enacted liberal laws and given generously to the distressed during the floods of the Anio, pushing to completion the hydraulic works designed to prevent such catastrophes in future.

With the election of the short-lived and saintly Pius VIII the activities of the Carbonari⁴ were checked till death closed his brief career as Pontiff on November thirtieth, 1830. Then the long-prepared conspiracy burst forth like a stream of

⁴ *Carbonari* means "charcoal burners." Their watchword was "Italy for the Italians." They flourished from 1810 to 1830. At first they were patriotic men who wanted to rid the country of the French; Naples and Sicily, of the Bourbons; Lombardy and Venice, of the Austrians; Modena and Florence, of the Grand Dukes. Later they became anti-Christian. There were in Italy, in 1830, probably 700,000 Carbonari.

lava from a volcano. There was open insurrection in Modena, Bologna; in the Marches and even at the very gates of Rome. Thus was created by shortsighted and ill-advised Italians the intervention by foreigners which the popes had never ceased to resist. In keeping with the terms of the Treaty of Vienna the Austrians crossed the Italian frontier and seized Bologna, Ferrara, and other centers of revolution. They drove the insurgents before them in great confusion. Downward through Umbria toward Spoleto a body of four thousand Carbonari under Sercognari was pursued by the superior numbers of the invading Austrians. To the cry "The Austrians!" many Spoletans joined the insurgents.

Realizing that resistance to the armed might of Austria was utterly foolhardy, and seeing the magistrates of the city fleeing, Archbishop Mastai lost no time in going into the insurgents' camp. He pleaded with them to desist from their suicidal policy — for the Austrians were advancing from the north and the Neapolitans from the south. The insurgents would inevitably be caught in a vise and be hopelessly annihilated. The Archbishop brought food for the starving men and saw that the sick and wounded were tended in the hospitals. He collected money to send them home, giving free passport and granting them pardon for their treason. The misguided men laid their arms at the Archbishop's feet. Gregory XVI, who had now succeeded to the papacy, seconded his Archbishop's policy of appeasement, granted unconditional pardon, and free passage home. It is significant that the officers and men would not accept the money from their leader, Sercognari, whom they did not trust; but asked that it be given them individually by the prelate himself. Among the leaders of the uprising were Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother, who was later killed at Forli. He who was destined to be the future emperor of the French was bought off by the Archbishop and allowed to leave the country.

But the disbanding of the four thousand insurgents did not bring peace. When the magistrates fled the city, the clubs took over the government of Spoleto. To render this seizure null and void, a central government was established at Rome which took on itself to rule the whole province. The Archbishop reluctantly consented to take over the administration of his own section of the papal states, to the great relief of the population. But in 1833 the disturbance broke out afresh. The revolutionists were encouraged by English journalists and statesmen, and were aided by the French who (under pretext of protecting papal authority, but in reality to regain a foothold in Italy) took possession of Ancona against the most vigorous protestations of the Holy See. While the Austrian army occupied the Romagna, a French army occupied the only papal seaport on the Adriatic.

It was then that a terrible earthquake wrought destruction throughout Umbria. The inhabitants of the hill cities took flight into the plains and a panic ensued. The good Archbishop seemed omnipresent for he was organizing relief committees, hurrying hither and yon with physicians, nurses, supplies, and clothing.

During these dreadful visitations the *Giovine Italia* appeared. This organization grew full armed from the brain of Mazzini in Marseilles, which was the headquarters of the league in which the atheistical principles of their leader were inculcated. The organization was aided and abetted by England, France, and Piedmont — each for their own selfish interests. While the Archbishop of Spoleto was bending all his efforts to bind up the wounds caused by the insurrection and the earthquake, this League of Youth, which was to prove a lifelong antagonist of the future Pontiff of Rome, became active in Italy.

5. *Archbishop of Imola*

In December the Archbishop was transferred to the see of

Imola by Gregory XVI. Some months elapsed before he left Spoleto and only after many delegations went to Rome to plead in vain that their beloved Archbishop might remain in their midst. Gregory believed that Mastai was needed at Imola and the papal commands could not be disobeyed.

Into a land teeming with nature's abundance and amongst a people enlightened and gifted, Archbishop Mastai arrived in February of 1833. The story of his priestly virtues had preceded him and his welcome was hearty and unfeigned. Rumor had it that he was liberal in his outlook and that he did not approve of the rigorous policies adopted by Gregory XVI. His enlightened patriotism sought to find a way of pacification and reconciliation and this policy he was to test for many years to come. Imola's field of opportunity was wider and more varied than that of Spoleto. He had been sent, in fact, from a difficult diocese to one far more difficult. When he arrived to take over the administration of his new see, all of northern Italy was in a state of agitation.

It is evident that if any churchman in Italy could have calmed the seething passions of unrest that were rampant in Tuscany, that man was the Archbishop of Imola. During the first year of his archepiscopacy, he took under his protection a lad of fifteen, Felice Orsini, who had become enmeshed in the Young Italy League. In a practice of firearms, he had fatally wounded the servant of his uncle under whose roof he lived. The boy fled the house and found shelter among relatives who were "centurions"⁵ and who hid the culprit from the police officials. The news of this calamity reached the Archbishop who wrote the governor of Imola to have the young criminal brought to the archepiscopal palace. Once there, Orsini was taken under the custody of Archbishop Mastai who vouched for his good behavior. Thus, shielded from criminal prosecution by the Archbishop's charity, he became the recipient of his generosity and kind-

⁵ Heads of one hundred men at arms — an illegal organization.

ness. We shall learn later how this talented, reckless youth repaid these favors.

The Archbishop began his episcopal task by advocating the raising of the educational and moral standard among the clergy⁶ under him. To this end he ordained that he and they meet at least once a year at the old monastery of Piratello for recollection, reconsecration, and spiritual renewal. He himself was always the first to arrive at the Retreat and was most active in the spiritual exercises which transform and renovate the souls of retreatants. The new Archbishop founded a theological seminary for the training of priests to fill the gap of those destroyed by the ruthless policy of Napoleon. In this and other institutes of learning he placed superior professors fitted for the high calling they were to serve. During the fourteen years of his occupancy of the diocese, Archbishop Mastai fostered and protected this seminary as the apple of his eye. His own income was dissipated for this and similar works until he was as penniless at Imola as he had been at Spoleto and at Rome. So, when he wished to provide a religious house for fallen women such as the branch the Sisters of Charity⁷ had organized at Angers in 1835 under the title of the Good Shepherd, the Archbishop was obliged to lodge the first arrivals in his own palace until suitable lodgings could be provided for them. Four French nuns came to Imola to begin this noble work. Writing to the Mother-General of the Order upon their arrival, the Cardinal-Archbishop, under date of September fourteenth, 1845, says:

May the God of Mercy be everlastingly blessed! I beg your Reverence to accept the assurance of my deepest gratitude. I have much reason to thank the Lord, who holds in His hands the hearts of men; but it seems to me that He keeps the hearts of

⁶ The standard of the clergy in Italy had inevitably deteriorated during the French occupation.

⁷ Founded at Caen in Normandy by the Venerable Jean Eudes in 1641.

your daughters not in His hands, but in His heart. I shall not fail to render them every assistance in their need.

It is interesting to keep the date of this letter in mind. For it was at this time, when the Cardinal-Archbishop was bending all his efforts to the practice of Christian virtues, that, on the other side of the Atlantic, in New York City, a League was formed taking the insulting title of "Christian League" for the avowed purpose of "evangelizing" Italy; although its real object was to give aid and comfort to Mazzini, under the pretense of achieving the unification and liberation of Italy. This "Christian League" was composed of radicals, Mazzinists, Jews, pseudo-Christians, and revolutionaries of every color and complexion.

With all the secret societies active within and without Italy — in England, France, New York City, and elsewhere — it is small wonder that Italy was shaken as by a terrific earthquake from its center of gravity, the Catholic Church, which had created and cultivated a Christian civilization there for eighteen hundred years. To meet this onslaught, the Cardinal-Archbishop opposed violence by Christian charity. He preached peace, and by his own example practiced the virtues of patience, self-abnegation, devotion, and concord. Against the reckless agitation of the radicals and the repressive measures of the Quirinal under Gregory XVI, the Archbishop of Imola showed himself a man of God and of peace. As such he incurred the enmity of those Catholics who advocated more drastic measures. Yet he kept faithfully to his course, testing it valiantly for many years.

Although, as always, the elements composing the opposition to the temporal power of the papacy were united in their ends, they were antipathetic in their methods. Thus the liberals of Piedmont were no doubt motivated by the pure principle of national unity; yet they condoned and harbored those radicals who did not hesitate to adopt the weapon of assassination to accomplish their purpose. When



PIUS IX: 1846–1878

Giovanni-Maria, Count Mastai-Ferretti, born at Sinigaglia, May 13, 1792; elected at Rome on June 16, 1846.

the ultraradical and criminal elements in Tuscany stooped to such tactics, they were protected by the Piedmontese liberals and were safely ushered across the Romagna border.

So little did these hyperpatriots comprehend and appreciate the attitude of the Archbishop that on one occasion they attempted to carry him off bodily, with two other cardinals who were visiting him. They were prevented from carrying out their design by Cardinal Mastai's fearless presence of mind.

6. *Cardinal Mastai*

It was on the twenty-third of December, 1839, that Gregory, in secret consistory, had rewarded the Archbishop for his valuable services to the Church by creating him cardinal. In open consistory he had proclaimed him "Cardinal Mastai" on the fourteenth of December of the next year. Once again his personal poverty necessitated the raising of funds (by his priests and friends) for the journey to Rome. The new honor had not changed his habits whose whole life had become one continuous charity. His old mother, the Countess Caterina, shared in the holy exultation when her son was presented with the ring and hat of his new dignity. The inmates of the *Tata Giovanni* and of *San Michele* were wild with joy when their good shepherd came once more in their midst to receive this new approval of his services for the poor and weak. Their acclaim touched his mother's heart more, it is said, than the official felicitations of the Roman nobility and the prelates.

The years between 1841 and 1846 were busy and profitable years for Cardinal Mastai. His schools of theology and his other establishments, religious and social, claimed his supervision. But he never failed to retire to the Retreat in the solitude of Piratello to feed his soul with the spiritual food that sustains and fortifies every good priest. It was while he and his priests were in retreat there that the news came of

the death of Gregory XVI on June first, 1846. Once again Giovanni, Cardinal Mastai, set out for Rome at the expense of generous friends.

It must have seemed to the Cardinal-Archbishop, during those lovely June days as he traveled by slow stages through lush valleys yielding the fruits of God's bounty and man's hard toil, that Paradise could hardly be fairer than his own native land. He passed by ancient cities clinging to the sides of the mountains — cities built and beautified by Catholic culture and governed for centuries by the Church whose head now lay dead in the Eternal City toward which he was proceeding to attend the most momentous conclave in the history of the papacy. His mind must have painfully compared the glorious prospect about him with the restless revolutionary spirit of that "Young Italy" which was becoming daily more vociferous and recklessly menacing. With the mature judgment of a prelate of fifty-five years, twenty-six of which had been spent in arduous labor for his country's welfare, he must have pondered over the sufferings of the Church he loved and served and of the papacy ordained to preserve intact the Gospel of Christ in the very midst of the storms of persecution which its Founder had foretold would descend upon the barque of Christ.

More than once in papal history power-politics had tried to dominate the election of the pontiffs and now again they were preparing to influence the impending conclave for their own selfish interests. True, during the reign of Pius VII, England had upheld the temporal independence of the papacy. But this was in her hour of need, when it served her ends to use that power against the dreaded Conqueror. Once the dangerous man was removed from the European scene, her Protestant interests asserted themselves by open sympathy with the Carbonari and the Mazzinists. Under Gregory XVI Prime Minister Palmerston worked in conjunction with Piedmont and the Italian conspirators against the independ-

ence and peace of the Holy See. Austria and France were like two bulldogs over a rich bone of contention — a protectorate over all Italy. The Neapolitan and Sardinian governments were at swords' points; yet they were both opposed to foreign influence of any kind. The Sardinian government was framing the plans which Cavour was to bring successfully to completion. Russia had loyally seconded Pius VII's policy because the Pope would not become an ally of Napoleon and it suited her purpose to support this opposition; but once freed from the nightmare of the Conqueror, Tzar Alexander and his successors fell back upon the traditional policy of opposition to Rome and tried to crush the spirit of Catholic faith in Poland. Prussia could hardly be expected to behave more nobly than her Catholic neighbors who had delegated to the State powers which formerly belonged exclusively to the papacy; and who were introducing the pagan precept that the things of Caesar are more to be fostered and protected than the things of God.

The dome of St. Peter's loomed up on the distant horizon as Cardinal Mastai approached the city, pondering these and kindred thoughts which must have hovered like specters before the far-peering eyes of the prelate. He arrived in Rome during the nine-day devotions that intervened between the death of a pontiff and the conclave. Did the echo of his countrymen's cry in his native province ring in his ears? — "There goes our next Pope! Long life to him!"

7. Enthroned as Pope Pius IX

It was on the evening of June fourteenth that fifty-four cardinals met in the Quirinal Palace and invoked the aid of the Holy Ghost over their deliberations. Rumors reached Rome on that same day of uprisings and of the Austrian invasion of papal territory. At the singing of the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* the Austrians were disembarking in Giovanni Mastai's province and a fleet was anchoring at Ancona!

Roughly speaking, there were two factions among the cardinals: the Conservatives and the Liberals. The extremists among the Conservatives were called the "standstill party" for they wished to maintain the *status quo*. The leader of the Advanced Liberals was Cardinal Micara whose policy might be described as the almost total effacement of temporal sovereignty. The concessions he was willing to make to conciliate the modern State appeared full of danger and would have resulted in the destruction of the power of the Church to act as Judge of doctrine and morals. Cardinal Gizzi, a man of distinguished ability, also favored radical changes in the relation between Church and State. He had achieved well-merited fame in Switzerland representing the Holy See at the critical time of the *Sonderbund*.⁸ The Moderate Liberal party comprised the larger number of the cardinals in the conclave. To this number Cardinal Mastai belonged by temperament, conviction, and the whole tenor of his ecclesiastical life.

Like his fellow liberal cardinals, Mastai believed that the claims of Italian patriots, who sincerely desired for Italy a united political power among the nations of Europe, was perfectly reconcilable with their rights and duties as citizens of the Roman States. They each and all believed that the just claims of modern society, *if it called itself Christian*, would not be antagonistic with submission to the Church commissioned to "teach all nations." They felt that conciliation of Italy with the papacy was consistent with the just rights of liberty and the demands of science. This path could be pursued, and indeed *must be pursued*, if Catholic principles were to be maintained, unimpeded by dissident elements. "Reconciliation" was the watchword of the Moderate Liberals.

A story is told of the arrival at the Quirinal of the two leaders of the ultraconservatives and ultraliberals, Cardinals

⁸ A Union of Catholic Cantons.

Lambruschini and Micara. They purposely drove together to disarm the crowd made up of adherents of the two liberals, Gizzi and Micara, thus thwarting the mob's intended expressions of disapproval of Lambruschini and popular acclaim of Micara. Seeing the crowd's frustration, Micara, the liberal cardinal, is quoted as saying to the reactionary Lambruschini: "If the powers of darkness preside over the election, you will be Pope; if the people have a voice, I'm the man; but if heaven have a finger in the business, it will be Ferretti [Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti]." Subsequent events were to prove Cardinal Micara right.

Indeed, there were two powerful advocates of Cardinal Mastai, men of international fame: Gioachimo Raulica de Ventura, head of a religious order and noted as a famous orator; and Count Pellegrino Rossi,⁹ ambassador of France under Louis Philippe. The voting at the conclave was narrowed down by the tacit understanding to exclude all not Romans and all who were members of a religious order. Cardinal Mastai was appointed one of the three tellers. Only four ballots were taken and on each count his own name assumed alarming proportions. Seeing the trend of the voting he became so agitated that at the end of the first day he spent the entire night in prayer. He well knew what election to the papacy would bring.

On the evening of the sixteenth, after the fourth ballot was taken and deposited in the chalice on the altar in the presence of all the scrutators, Cardinal Mastai proceeded to read each vote before handing the ballot to the other two colleagues who examined and verified the name read. As he read on and on, his own name appeared so overwhelmingly that his voice trembled and the tears blinded his eyes. Surrendering his place as teller to another cardinal, Mastai left

⁹"Rossi had left Italy a ruined exile. He had returned as ambassador, a jurist of European fame, a member of the French Academy and a peer of France." *Italy in the Making*, p. 19, Berkeley, Cambridge Press, 1936. During the next two years Rossi was Pius IX's constant friend and adviser.

the assembled cardinals and retired alone in prayer. When the count had reached thirty-seven,¹⁰ the cardinals all arose to express their unanimous consent. Cardinal Mastai, overcome and in despair, declared: "There are others more worthy than I for the high office to which your Sacred College had called me; but as I have long been accustomed in Christ's service to yield up my own will, so now I accept that of God."¹¹

At midnight he wrote in his own hand this letter to his brothers in Sinigaglia:

Rome, June 16, at three-quarters past 11 P.M.
Dear Brothers Gabriello, Guiseppi and Gaietano:

The blessed God, who lowers and lifts up according to His divine will and pleasure, has been pleased to raise me, His humble creature, to the most sublime dignity of this world. May His Holy Will be ever done! I am fully conscious of the high and weighty responsibility attached to my charge, and I feel my great inability to fill it properly. Have prayers said for me, therefore, dear brothers, and pray for me yourselves. The conclave lasted only forty-eight hours. Should the municipality of Sinigaglia wish to celebrate this event, I request you will take measures — indeed I desire it — to have the whole expense made profitable to the people; the chief magistrate and the council regulating everything. With regard to you, dear brothers, I press you to my heart in Christ Jesus, and, far from exulting at my elevation, take pity on your brother, who now gives you all his apostolic benediction.

PIUS P P. IX

¹⁰ Some writers say Cardinal Mastai polled forty-four votes.

¹¹ Here is a description of the new pope's appearance by Berkeley: "Cardinal Mastai was unmistakably a person of distinction . . . in spite of his fifty-four years he remained a handsome man owing to his regular features, to his good dark eyes, and more especially to the charm of his kindly half-humorous expression . . . he looked young for his age . . . he had been endowed by Heaven with a wonderfully attractive smile, with a gift of inspiring sympathy and happiness in those with whom he spoke, and with a sense of gentle fun . . . traits which . . . for thirty years, won him devoted friends. . . ."— *Italy in the Making*, p. 10.

8. *The Mazzinians*

Instead of appointing a Secretary of State immediately after his coronation, Pius IX announced he would carry on the government through a commission of six cardinals. This was a distinct disappointment to the Liberals, for among the number were Lambruschini; Bernetti, protector of the Jesuits; and Monsignor Marini, governor of Rome. Although these three conservatives were offset by three liberals, among whom was Gizzi, "the people" were not convinced that this plan of administration was not an Austrian intrigue.

Thus, from the very outset of his pontificate, Pius IX was beset by almost insuperable difficulties. Factionalism — French, Austrian, Piedmontese, Sardinian, Mazzinian — opposed him on every hand. Indeed, before he had been crowned at St. Peter's and had taken possession of St. John Lateran's, the Austrian envoy had arrived at Rome. He was quick to show his resentment of the French Ambassador Rossi's influence at the papal court. And even while the new Pontiff was feeling his way and attempting to pacify and reconcile all classes, Mazzini, in Paris, was formulating a detailed program of revolution for Italy. It was as subtle as it was cruel. During the very first days of Pius IX's pontificate, while he was engrossed with plans for reform, there was at work in Rome the immediate underground reflex of this plan hatched in Paris. Not publicly published until three months later, it was tried out in the papal states with devastating success. When published, it read in part:

In the great countries it is by the people that we must struggle for regeneration; in yours, it is by the sovereigns. We must absolutely put them on our side. It is an easy matter. The Pope will proceed to reform on principle and through sheer necessity; the King of Piedmont through the vision of the crown of Italy; the Grand Duke of Tuscany through inclination and resentment; and the King of Naples through compulsion; as to the petty

princes, they shall have something else beside reform to think of.

. . . Profit by the least concession to assemble the masses, were it only to make a show of gratitude. Festivals, songs, meetings, numerous relations established between men of all conditions, enable ideas to find a vent, to give the people an idea of their might, and to render it exacting. . . .

A great lord may be held back by his material interests, but he may be led by his vanity. Let him have the lead as long as he will go with you. There are few who would go to the end.

The one thing essential is that they be kept ignorant of the goal to which the great revolution tends. . . . Let us prevent them from ever seeing beyond the first stage.

. . . Do not attack the clergy, neither in their fortune nor in their orthodoxy. Promise them liberty and they will march in your ranks. . . . In Italy the people is yet to be created, but it is ready to tear asunder the envelope which holds it. Speak often, everywhere and at length, of its misery and wants.

. . . Clerical power is personified in the Jesuits. The odium attached to that name is of itself a power in the hands of the Socialists. Make use of it! . . .

Associate! Associate! Everything is in that word. The secret societies give irresistible strength to the party that calls upon them. Do not fear to see them split. The more there are of them the better. . . .

When a great number of associates, receiving the password with the command to spread an idea and make it public opinion, shall be able to concert a movement, they will find the old social edifice laid open on every side; and tumbling down, as if by a miracle, at the first breath of Progress.

They will be astonished themselves to see flying before the single might of opinion, kings, lords, the rich, the priests, who form the shell of the old social structure. Courage, then, and perseverance!¹²

Much of the fulsome praise and almost deification of Pius IX by "the people" must be understood in the light of these

¹²In 1877 the Rev. Bernard O'Reilly wrote in his *Life of Pius IX*: "Mazzini had moulded into its present shape whatever there is of anti-Christian power in modern society; and that power now controls what was once Christendom with an influence that goes on increasing in the frightful ratio of accelerated motion in falling bodies." Had he lived in our day he would have seen how terribly true his prophecy was, and how indebted modern molders of "opinion" are to Mazzini and his technique of propaganda.

definite instructions of Mazzini. Pius IX's reforms, concessions, and clemencies during the first years of his pontificate, were inordinately applauded by the Liberals – as if no pope before his day had ever performed acts of enlightened legislation, of fatherly benevolence, of simple humanity! Embarrassed by their excessive adulation, Pius IX himself called a halt to their unseemly hero worship.

All over Italy there were families whose sons had been caught in the mesh of "Young Italy," and whose acts of traitorous disloyalty and (in many cases) assassinations, had caused their imprisonment. Dear to the Pontiff's heart was the thought of a General Amnesty for these unfortunate youths. He ardently desired that his Italian children should love him! And he pitied those young lives rotting away in prison. What a God-given privilege for him to be the medium of their deliverance! Surely he would win them and their families over; and their gratitude would be a pledge of their loyalty! In this brave undertaking Count Rossi seconded the Holy Father. Exiled for his participation as a youth in the revolt under Murat, during the *Hundred Days*, Rossi knew the sickening, soul-destroying inertia of imprisonment. He counseled amnesty and backed all the reforms which were germinating in the mind of the Holy Father for the appeasement and betterment of his people.

One month after his election, Pius IX issued the Proclamation of Amnesty. Throughout it bespeaks the noble and benevolent heart of the Pontiff.¹³

On the morning of the sixteenth of July this proclamation was placaded on the churches of Rome. The people were delirious with joy. Says Farini¹⁴ "The hosannas were endless; the Ninth Pius was hailed as a deliverer; each citizen embraced his neighbor with brotherly affection; thousands of torches blazed forth at dark; and, as if all that is godlike in

¹³ See Appendix B.

¹⁴ *History of Rome, 1815–1850*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 182.

the heart of man had, like a swollen river, overleaped its banks, the multitude rushed with one mighty impulse toward the palace of the Pontiff, called for him, knelt in their veneration before him, and received his benediction in reverent silence."

9. *Opening Activities of Reign*

On the twenty-seventh, Pius IX called his cardinals in consistory. As the carriages of the cardinals passed through the streets of Rome on their way to the Quirinal, their horses could scarcely make their way through the joy-frenzied populace. No one had ever seen anything like it. When they reached the papal presence the sounds of jubilation penetrated into the hall of the palace. His Holiness spoke slowly as he stood before them, stately, handsome, smiling:

Venerable Brothers: As for the first time I cast my eyes from this place on your illustrious body, and while I am preparing to address you, I cannot help experiencing once more that painful agitation of soul (which you yourselves witnessed) when your too-kind suffrages raised me to the place left vacant by Gregory XVI. . . .

To be sure, we know that God sometimes displays his might through the weakest of all instruments, in order that the men He makes use of take no credit for themselves, but attribute all the honor and glory to Him; and I most certainly do adore His inscrutable will as manifested toward myself, and trust in His power for the aid I need. But while I am most grateful to that Almighty Goodness which has raised me, in spite of my unworthiness, to this great dignity, I must also testify my gratitude to you, who have been the ministers of that will in my regard, and who have judged so favorably of one who is conscious only of his nothingness. . . .

For your part, I trust in your attachment, that you will aid me constantly with your advice, your support, your hearty zeal, in order that in this elevated rank my weakness cause no detriment to the religious or worldly interests of the commonwealth.

So spoke Pius IX to his cardinals, revealing that humility,

soberness, and simplicity that for thirty-two years was to express a frank and direct approach to all the pronouncements of his long career as Pontiff of Rome. Men schooled in the wiles of diplomacy and the mazes of treachery could not comprehend such straightforwardness, such ingenuousness, that employed words to clarify and not to confuse and confound.

Many were the acts of personal clemency which this honest man of conviction took especial delight in performing; for his exalted position had not changed Giovanni Mastai's character when he became Pius IX. He was the same kind, helpful worker in the Lord's vineyard as when he served the boys at the *Tata Giovanni* or the inmates of *San Michele*, or his flocks in Spoleto and Imola. Nothing seemed to perturb the sweet serenity of his habitual smile. He *felt* he walked with God!

A serious crop failure in the autumn of 1846 caused Pius IX to suspend the import duty on cereals so that grain and other foodstuffs might find free admission into Rome. Bologna, Naples, and Tuscany poured the surplus of their granaries into the Roman market. But this calamity had scarcely been safely weathered than the Tiber overflowed its banks and covered the ancient quarters of the city. The inhabitants were driven from their homes, much valuable produce was ruined, and property was destroyed. At once the Pope raised a subscription and from his own private purse contributed three thousand dollars.

These catastrophes were grist for the mill of the radicals. Angelo Brunetti, nicknamed "Ciceruacchio," because of his natural gift of oratory, found his opportunity ready at hand. He capitalized it to the full, demanding a National Guard. Pius consented. Hymns of praise were linking the name of Ciceruacchio with that of Pius IX. "Through Pius IX, by Ciceruacchio" became the slogan of Mazzini's agents in Rome. This was the Mazzinian technique. For every conces-

sion, hymns of praise; when granted, another, and still another, concession demanded.

It was on the eighth of November that Pius IX took possession of the Lateran Basilica, "Mother of all the churches of the city and of the world." On the following day the Holy Father addressed "all the bishops of the Catholic world." In this, his first encyclical, Pius IX expressed his anxiety for the Church and for society in general. He pictured the prevailing spirit of discontent and urged the bishops to renewed zeal and vigilance. He deplored the infidelity of the disturbers of the peace, the insidious borings within of the secret societies, their plots hatched in the dark, and especially he inveighed against "false teachers." He pleaded with the rulers of nations, exhorting them to use their power and influence, not only for the direction of civil society, but also for the protection of religion.

On the twentieth of November a circular letter was sent to the laity, proclaiming a plenary indulgence to be gained under the usual conditions. The Faithful flocked to their churches, partook of the sacraments, and prayed fervently for the Father of Christendom, and that the Church might be defended from its enemies.

The papal words which gave such comfort to the Faithful, gave only offense to the revolutionaries; for had not the Pope condemned false teachers? On the last night of the first year of Pius IX's pontificate, there was one more demonstration. It was the most magnificent Rome had ever witnessed. Pius visited the Jesuit church to assist at the annual *Te Deum*, sung in thanksgiving for the blessings of the past year. Amid the joyous outpourings, the Pope was heard to say: "These 'Hosannas' may yet be changed to 'Crucify him!' Good Friday follows Palm Sunday."

All during the following year Pius IX, knowing the designs of the leaders of revolution, hedged about the concessions he granted with certain conditions — in order to guard

against abuse and excess. These leaders made it appear to their followers that Pius IX was really an out-and-out "liberal" (according to their own interpretation of the word), and that he was held back in many of his liberal policies by his conservative cardinals, especially Cardinal Gizzi, who, although previously favored by "the people" as a "liberal," as Secretary of State was called "reactionary." Hence the papal censorship which was imposed on incoming foreign newspapers, and the exercise by the Pope of his papal prerogative, as head of the government, to weed out all obscene, incendiary, and immoral matter coming from abroad,¹⁵ was charged to his "reactionary" cardinals by the radicals who howled for "freedom of the press." The Pontiff, Pius IX, did indeed advocate and encourage freedom of the press;¹⁶ but he never countenanced its abuse.

Pius IX completely won the hearts of Ireland's poor and persecuted. Daniel O'Connell started out for Rome to thank the Pontiff for the invaluable assistance given to his countrymen. He died at Genoa on the fifteenth of May, and never saw the Holy Father; but at his own dying request, his heart was sent to Rome and buried "as near to the Holy Father" as possible. Turkey, also, was the recipient of papal favor. A Turkish envoy was sent to the Holy See and his almost regal reception by the Pontiff touched and delighted him. From this mission a concordat with Turkey was consummated. Its object was to protect Catholics in Turkey and to release them from the influence of the Great Powers who never lost an opportunity to violate the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

One day in January, Pius walked down to St. Andrea della Valle and, like a simple priest, ascended the pulpit to preach. His theme was "Moderation" in all things, especially in speech; urging the people to avoid the evil effects of the

¹⁵ A prerogative exercised today by the Canadian government against obscene magazines from the United States.

¹⁶ As witness the *Contemporaneo* of Rome and the *Felsineo* of Bologna.

sins of the tongue, especially of profanity. During Holy Week tens of thousands crowded St. Peter's and on Easter Sunday Pius IX gave his benediction from the Loggia of the Basilica.

His publication of laws providing for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the Ghetto (which he had so often visited afoot, both before and after his elevation to the papacy), caused the name of Pius IX to be on every Jew's tongue. He later published an ordinance permitting the gates of the Ghetto to remain open all night, instead of being closed at nightfall as had been the custom for centuries. It is no doubt that the expressions of gratitude by the Jews were genuine at the time; but later very many of them joined the revolutionaries against the Pontiff.

10. *Ciceruacchio and the Revolutionists*

On the night of the eleventh of June, 1847, a loud knock disturbed the repose of Father Ventura at the Theatine Monastery. The manservant who answered the imperious summons came to the Father and said the crowd demanded to see him. Indeed, they had already forced the entrance, and the astonished Father asked what brought them to his room at such an untimely hour. His question was addressed to Brunetti ("Ciceruacchio") who led the mob, and who declared that they were about to fulfill their mission to kill five persons, and that Father Ventura was so to inform the Pope. Remonstrating with the insane men, Father Ventura lost no time in informing the Pontiff, going himself and giving the names of the mayor of Rome, Grassellini; the commander of the militia; and three others. That same night Pius advised the five men of their danger and they took flight from the city.

Realizing how dangerous the temper of the revolutionaries had become, the Pope, hoping to appease the malcontents, permitted the establishment of a Civic Guard. Cardinal

Gizzi, opposed to this papal policy, at once asked to be relieved from the responsibilities of his office. Pius granted the Cardinal's request before signing his own name to the paper establishing the guard. Pius IX appointed as Gizzi's successor as Secretary of State, his own cousin, Cardinal Ferretti. It was on the seventeenth of July, the first anniversary of the granting of the Amnesty, that Ferretti arrived at Rome. Ciceruacchio, with his mob, met the Secretary and read an address to him. This impertinence forced Ferretti to disclaim any such alliance as the "Tribune of the People" wished to foist upon him, by circulating a letter to the people, congratulating them on their continued moderation; and at the same time, reminding them of the passage appended to the Bill of Amnesty in which the Holy Father had declared he was determined to exercise strict justice and to punish the enemies of law and order.

Three days later the Austrians laid seige to Ferrara, thus giving aid and comfort to the revolutionaries. They utilized the occasion to stimulate the Civic Guard to sentiments of war, urging military training for preparedness against the despised Austrians. Already they foresaw their dream of revolutionary action come true. The Holy Father succeeded in forcing the Austrian commander to confine himself to the citadel of Ferrara and to leave the gates open and free. Although the seizure of the citadel was illegal, Austria's excuse for the occupation was that she anticipated what was portending at Rome and that she was the protector of the Pope's person. Respecting the Holy Father's plea of protest, the storm seemed to have subsided temporarily. But it was the establishment of the National Guard that was Pius IX's undoing, for he had placed power in the hands of his enemies, who had so long posed as his grateful admirers and friends. The revolutionaries had mastered the Mazzinian tactics thoroughly. It had been the Pope's intention, in granting a National Guard, to appoint loyal and prudent officers,

in order to outmaneuver the aims of the followers of Mazzini. But the leaders of "the people" forestalled the papal appointments by illegally putting their own officers at the head of the Guard. This Guard was the indispensable tool that was to inaugurate the Roman Revolution.

In October a *motu proprio* was issued that proposed a Council of State, as well as popular representation. The Council was to open on the fifteenth of the month. This Council of State was to be the intermediary between the representatives of the people and the Council of Ministers. Six months were consumed to frame a code of laws for the government of these legislative bodies. The Council was to be composed of a Cardinal-President (Antonelli), a prelate-vice-president, and twenty-four councilors named by the provinces, who were to have fixed salaries. Each province was to return a councilor; two for Bologna; for Rome and its vicinity, four. There were four divisions: the legislative, finance, internal administration (commerce, manufacturers, etc.), and the army (public works, prisons, etc.). The purpose of the council was "to assist the Pope in the administration," to give its opinion on matters of government connected with the general welfare, etc. A full statement of the wise and just regulations was published in the public newspapers. Although, from the names laid before him, Pius IX was most scrupulous in the selection of candidates acceptable to their constituents, the malcontents were grumbling among themselves at once; but as yet they were careful not to give open expression to their dissatisfaction.

The Council opened its first session on the fifteenth of November, and so cleverly did the molders of opinion conceal their true feelings that they organized torchlight processions, and were especially fulsome in the honor shown to Cardinal Antonelli.

In less than two weeks, however, when news reached Rome from Switzerland that the radical cantons under General

Dufour (in their campaign against the seven Catholic cantons) had conquered the *Sonderbund* and had captured Luzern, the liberals and radicals of Rome threw off their mask. The identical men who had been so intemperate in their praise of the Holy Father's concessions to their demands, who had waited for hours to obtain his blessing, were now most blatant in extolling the bloody achievements of the radical Swiss.

On the seventeenth of December the Holy Father addressed the cardinals on the menacing aspect of this sudden inconsistency:

We are deeply grieved on learning, a few days ago, that some few individuals, devoid of sense and of due appreciation of true manliness, had the presumption and bad taste to openly express in this our city, the center and citadel of the Catholic Religion, their delight at the sad civil war raging in Switzerland. We deplore this war from the depths of our inmost soul, partly because of the shedding of brothers' blood, and because of the dreadful and protracted feelings of animosity which it will engender; and again, on account of the injury suffered by the Catholic Church, and of the great injury to be afflicted; finally, on account of the shocking sacrifices perpetrated in the heat of passion by the belligerents.

Ten days after this statement by Pius IX, a noisy procession moved toward the Quirinale. It was not motivated by the same impulses of a year ago. They did not come now to thank the Holy Father for his wise and salutary reforms, nor for the amnesty which had restored freedom to traitors; but for the purpose of thrusting before him the "will of the people" and the demands of the Mazzinians.

On New Year's eve, Pius IX was quite ill from these grueling experiences; nevertheless, he went, according to custom, to the Church of the Jesuits and intoned the *Te Deum* himself. As he alighted from his carriage before the Church entrance, a hiss was distinctly heard. His ear did not deceive him. He knew what that sinister sound portended.

On New Year's Day, "the party of unlimited progress" presented to Pius IX their demands through their chief, the ubiquitous Ciceruacchio. These demands were utterly impossible. They included the abolition of convents, the banishment of the Jesuits, the formation of an Italian Confederacy, the complete emancipation of the Jews, the *exclusive* admission of laymen in the ministry, the pardon of twenty-four political culprits who, for serious offenses, had been excluded from the general amnesty. The watchword of the revolutionaries was now "Go ahead without delay!" All Italy was aflame with the lightning flashes of revolution. Like a prairie fire, it had spread from city to city, carefully fanned by the leaders who fed with red fagots the embers of revolt. An insurrection broke out in Milan on the second of January. Palermo was in rebellion on the twelfth. The King of Naples and the two Sicilies were engaged in a desperate conflict until a new constitution was granted on the twenty-ninth. Piedmont and Tuscany soon followed suit.

How long could Rome hold off the threatened rebellion? As yet Ciceruacchio held his followers back. He was biding his time. When the Holy Father rode through the streets of the city in order to soothe the popular temper, so tremendous was the wild outcry that he became suddenly quite ill. When he arrived at the Piazza del Popolo the mob stopped his carriage and Ciceruacchio rushed forward, thrusting in the Pope's face a banner on which was written: "Holy Father, do justice to the people who adhere to you." This disgusting and unseemly act left Pius IX faint and sick. Arriving at the Papal Palace, he collapsed.

So intense had the resentment of the revolutionaries become against Cardinal Ferretti, whom they now stigmatized as "reactionary," that he begged to be relieved from his post. He retired in favor of Cardinal Bofondi. Pius IX then appointed three laymen as chief ministers. They were Count Giovanni Pasolini, Counselor Sturbinetti, and Duke Gae-

tani. But a few days prior to this appointment, Pius IX delivered a discourse before an immense crowd of people from the balcony of the Quirinale. He began by saying he wanted to give a few friendly words of advice. He begged the people not to listen to dangerous, unlawful demagogues who were leading them astray; for they were making demands upon him, their Spiritual Father, that he could not grant, dared not grant, and would not grant. So affecting was his fatherly admonition that many of those who listened wept as he blessed them and begged God to bless Italy.

But it is easier to unleash a torrent than to stem one already rushing on its mad course. The lay ministry did not appease "the people" and many were forced to resign. Cardinal Antonelli and Monsignor Morichini were now the only clerics in the ministry. Gaetano Recchi, a rebel given his liberty by the amnesty, was made Secretary of the Interior; and Galletti,¹⁷ whom Pius IX had liberated from an imprisonment justly deserved, was given charge of the Police Department. Now the stage was perfectly set for the traitorous actors of the nefarious drama.

All Europe was in turmoil. On the twenty-third of February Paris was the scene of disturbance once again. Shots were fired in the streets. The mob and the military were clashing on the boulevards. The Marseillaise was sung lustily. Barricades were hastily flung up. What appeared at first as a street riot proved to be a well-laid plot for revolution. King Louis Philippe was wrested from the throne which he had seized by perfidy and intrigue, took flight with his ministers, reaching the British coast in safety. In Vienna Metternich escaped from the Council hall by a back door. Berlin and other cities were in revolt.

It was at this time that the Pope, in order not to abandon

¹⁷ "Giuseppe Galletti was the soul of the insurrection in the Romagna in 1845 and of the conspiracy which aimed at drowning the clerical government in the blood of every priest in Italy." — *Pope Pius the Ninth*, Rev. Richard Brennan, A.M.

the field to the rabble, determined to anticipate them by granting a new and more liberal constitution. A commission of able and distinguished doctors of theology and of canon law advised and urged the granting of complete and popular representative government. This constitution was published on the fifteenth of March, 1848.¹⁸

The constitution is one of the most liberal ever conceived. Yet, hardly had the rejoicings quieted down, than the venom of the malcontents began to demand the expulsion of the Jesuits. On the advice of Pius IX, their institutions were temporarily closed in Rome.

Austria, while strong and powerful, was universally respected. Now that she had become weakened by the uprisings in Vienna and the Lombard-Venetian rebellion, the passions of hatred that had smoldered were aflame. In Rome it burst forth against the Austrian minister, Count Lutzow. In the Piazza Venezia the mob raised ladders before the Austrian embassy¹⁹ and tore down the imperial arms, broke them in pieces, and trailed them along the Corso. The bells of the city were rung illegally, and the tricolor was once more displayed in Rome. In the afternoon, at the instigation of the archconspirator, Ciceruacchio, a *Te Deum* was sacrilegiously sung at *Santa Maria Ara Coeli's*. Count Lutzow, the Austrian Ambassador, a devout Catholic and a sincere friend of Pius IX's, left the city in disgust.

Now it was that Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, invaded Venice. Thus the Pope was forced, against his will, into a crusade against Austria. A meeting was held in the Colosseum and among the number of agitators were several monks who, burning with patriotism, wanted to drive out the Austrians. Then and there, "the people" declared war on Austria. To prevent greater disaster and to mark time, Pius IX permitted a force of twelve thousand troops to march

¹⁸ See Appendix C.

¹⁹ The *Palazzo Venezia*, now Premier Mussolini's official residence.

from Rome, under General Durando, who had strict papal orders not to cross the border into Austria, and not to have recourse to arms unless the papal states were invaded. But the General did not obey the Holy Father's positive commands. He crossed the frontier and pushed the crusade in an offensive against Austria, thus committing the Pontiff to a campaign against some of his own dearly beloved children.

Pius IX could not remain silent. In an address to the cardinals on the twenty-ninth of April, he said: ". . . We have done all that lay in our power to move all to a firm attachment to Catholic teaching, to a faithful observance of the commandments of God, and of the Church, to the settling of disputes, to labor for peace and love toward all." Then Pius goes on to say that if the results of his exhortations have not corresponded with his admonitions, the crime cannot be laid at his door. He lays the guilt where it belongs — "to causes and effects, which, long before our time, had become accomplished facts, and had assumed the proportions of a tornado which was sweeping everything before it throughout the length and breadth of Europe."²⁰ He indignantly denied the rumors that he was in league with the princes of Italy and was about to declare war. He reprimanded those who were circulating reports that the Pope was about to put himself at the head of an imaginary new republic, composed of all the Italian states. All these rumors were, of course, the work of the propagandists who used the name of the Holy Father to cover their real designs. They wished to cloak their schemes with the mantle of papal approval.

Finally, Pius IX was obliged to threaten the disobedient with the spiritual punishment of the Church. Now was the time to throw off the masks the conspirators had worn. Hypocrisy no longer served their ends, since the Pope had openly revealed their sinister purposes. For very many Romans, blinded by patriotism, it was a rude awakening; so

²⁰ Surely Pius IX had in mind the fury of the French Revolution!

clever had been the tactics of the revolutionaries.

He who only yesterday had been extolled to the heavens and almost deified, was now called "the enemy of his country" and "the friend of despots." The Peoples' Association appointed two committees; one for police duty, and one for war. The Civil Guard acted as their tool; sentinels were posted at all the gates of Rome to prevent the Pontiff's escape from the city. Every ecclesiastic, from chaplain to cardinal, was spied upon. Pius IX was a prisoner in Rome. Count Mamiani was placed at the head of the Revolutionary Committee. He had been imprisoned by Gregory XVI, but had been liberated by the amnesty of Pius IX. He was a professional revolutionary. When the Chambers were opened by Cardinal Altieri, Mamiani's views for an immediate declaration of war against Austria received approval, against those of the Holy Father, through Cardinal Altieri.

11. *Murder of Count Rossi*

On the twelfth of July, Pius IX replied to the address tendered him by the House of Representatives. The Pope clearly defined his position:

Although it is the duty of the Pontiff to pray, to bless, and to forgive sins, it is also his duty to loose and bind; and though as supreme ruler, animated with the hope of protecting and benefiting his country, he had called both Houses together, in order to work in unison with himself; he, as Prince of the Church, required perfect freedom to enable him to carry out his own measures for the welfare of religion and of the State. It was a matter of much surprise to him, and contrary to his publicly expressed wishes, to find that the sentiments of both Houses were for war;²¹ at a time, too, when we should strive for peace — when harmony among rulers was the only means of leading the people of Italy to unity, peace and happiness.

²¹ "For the Pope, every war is a civil war; he has millions of spiritual subjects on either side. He could not declare war and issue excommunications, except in self-defense." *Italy in the Making, 1846-1848*, Berkeley, XXVIII, Introduction.

Mamiani had already given orders to General Durando to join Sardinia against Austria, and for the raising of a reserve corps of six thousand men. But the Italian troops were not fighting with success. Charles Albert suffered a defeat at Custoza. The papal troops met with defeat at Padua and at Treviso. General Radetsky took possession of Milan. In 1848 Charles Albert again trusted to the fortunes of war, and advancing against Austrian forces, suffered a disastrous rout at Novarro. He then abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, who at once proclaimed peace. When the news reached Rome of these reverses, Mamiani moved the House of Deputies for a conscription of twelve thousand men, the establishment of a foreign legion, and the assessment of four hundred thousand dollars. The Pope refused his endorsement of these measures, and repeated his opposition to the war. Then Mamiani tendered his resignation.

Rome had become infested with an army of vagrants, gathered together for the sole purpose of harassing the Pontiff who stood in the path of the "liberty, equality, fraternity, and progress" they were mouthing. Processions, meetings, and assemblages were keeping these men from their families and their work. There was of a sudden a surprising increase of crime against peaceable citizens. Because the malcontents were demanding many different ministers in the space of one month, Pius IX decided to appoint a layman as Chief Minister of State. He appointed Count Pellegrino Rossi, an Italian by birth and an able lawyer who had been the representative of France under Louis Philippe at the Papal Court. He was a man conspicuous for his ability, courage, and decision. Although formerly a revolutionary, he had come back into the faith and was spending his remaining years as a true son of the Church, and a devoted friend of its present Pontiff, Pius IX.

Rossi accepted the post of Minister with great reluctance;

but once he had decided to serve, he gave himself wholeheartedly to the papal cause. He was determined to re-establish peace and order and prosperity in the land of his birth, or die in the attempt. His plan, carried out in conjunction with Cardinals Soglio and Vizzarelli, and four eminent laymen, was to form a government which would give the people as much wholesome freedom as was consistent with the principles of Christianity, and with the rights and privileges of the Head of the Universal Church. He reorganized the civil departments of the pontifical government. Confidence was restored, business was revived, values became fixed and certain. He proposed, through negotiations with Naples, Florence, and Turin, a plan of forming an Italian confederacy with the sovereign of Rome — i.e., the Supreme Pontiff — as its Honorary President. It was his idea that this confederation should preserve the autonomy of each State on the peninsula; at the same time that it would form a federation of states — a United States of Italy.²² It was Rossi's belief that the pontificate of Rome constitutes the greatness and honor of all Italy; and as head of Italian unity, its reflected glory would redound to the entire peninsula, each state sharing in the respect and honor conferred upon the Holy See by the entire world.

Many salutary reforms were initiated by Count Rossi. And he made the radicals feel that the day of intimidating the Pontiff was at an end. He forbade the meetings which had become the bane of the Holy Father's life; for they had degenerated into frightful orgies at which sacrilegious rites were performed; and religion and her ministers were insulted, mocked, and reviled. He increased the police and military force of the city. Everyone felt that at long last the revolution had found a mastermind who could control it.

Count Rossi was rewarded by the bitter hatred of the

²² This was the program of the Abbé Gioberti, the greatest of the Moderate Liberal writers.

revolutionaries. At one of their secret meetings it was voted to cut short his career by assassination. The day was set for the wicked work. It was the fifteenth of November, the opening day of the Council. The conspirators laid their plans with fiendish precision and infernal mastery. Three of their number drew the lots to kill Rossi. Under the supervision of a surgeon, these dupes of the devil were forced till far into the night to practice on a corpse brought from a public hospital, the art of certain and speedy death. For it was decreed that Rossi must be stabbed in the neck. Thus these agents of darkness in human form practiced on the poor dishonored body of the dead man the stroke that should prove fatal to Rossi.

The Count was warned. The Countess pleaded with her husband not to go to the Council on the fatal day. The Pope also warned him, telling him he had reliable information that the conspirators were planning to slay him at the Cancelleria. Making light of these warnings and his wife's apprehensions, Rossi, relying on his own personal bravery, went to the Council with the Pope's blessing, accompanied by Righetti, the deputy-minister of finance. Alighting from his carriage and turning to ascend the steps of the Cancelleria, the conspirators crowded about him, threw him to the ground at the foot of the first step, and one of them plunged a stiletto up to the hilt into the side of his neck. The thrust was fatal. Count Rossi gasped "O my God!" and was dead. Meanwhile the other conspirators, eager to have a share in the infamous deed, crowded about the slayer and gave him an opportunity to escape undetected.²³ The bleeding corpse was carried into Cardinal Gazzoli's private room close to the session chamber.

When Righetti came into the Pope's presence with the blood of the murdered man on his clothes, Pius IX was struck speechless by the foul tragedy. At length he said in

²³ Mazzini (later) gave orders to his cohorts to "pass by the Rossi affair."

a sad, tired voice: "Count Rossi has died a martyr's death. May his soul rest in peace."²⁴

This dastardly deed seemed to be the signal for loosing the fiends of hell. The demoralized mob celebrated the murder as if it were a deed of heroism. The bloody knife was borne through the streets and displayed as a triumphant trophy. They even carried it to the home of the widow who was alone with her little daughter. The Council of State refused to recognize the murder of their President and treated the whole affair as a matter of no consequence. They refused to adjourn and continued their deliberations as if nothing had happened! Sickened and disgusted by such inhumanity, the foreign ministers withdrew from the Council Chamber. The ministry placed its portfolio in the hands of the Pope. The Rebels were now complete masters of the field.

12. *March on the Quirinal*

That same night the "Peoples' Association," published a program which was to be presented the following day to the Pope for his signature. When the mob, headed by Galletti (who was armed with Mazzini's latest instructions), marched toward the Quirinal to the tune of revolutionary airs and accompanied by the Civic Guard and the armed carabinieri and regular troops, the Holy Father was in his apartments with the few loyal foreign diplomats²⁵ and his faithful Swiss Guard. Cardinal Soglio met the leaders and received the demands from Galletti's hands.

These demands were a virtual ultimatum which called for an immediate proclamation of a united republican Italy; a radical ministry and a constituent assembly which was to frame a new constitution; a declaration of war against

²⁴ Count Rossi's body lies in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Over his tomb is a marble monument erected by Pius IX with an inscription under the finely executed bust, which reads: "I undertook the defense of a sacred institution: God will have mercy on me."

²⁵ Lord Minto, the English minister, was conspicuous by his absence.

Austria; an exclusive lay ministry of radical, communistic composition — in short, a complete surrender into the hands of the assassins of Rossi. Galletti announced from the Quirinal Loggia the Pope's reply. His Holiness would consider their demands; but the mob, impatient at the delay, demanded immediate action. To this Pius IX replied that he would not be coerced, that he was still sovereign of his own dominions. Cries of "*Abbasso Il Papa!*" and "*Evviva la Repubblica!*" filled the air. Encouraged by these manifestations of insubordination, the leaders called upon the mob to storm the doors of the Papal Palace. The intrepid Swiss Guard, anticipating the mob's vengeance, had barred all the entrances. The thwarted, frenzied mob then threw lighted torches into the court and set fire to a portion of the building. This was extinguished with difficulty. Bullets now began to find their mark. Several inmates of the Palace were wounded. Monsignor Palma, the Pope's secretary, was shot dead. The armed force outside numbered twenty thousand. Against this formidable assault, the Swiss Guard of one hundred men were impotent, for a cannon had been brought into action and was aimed at the Palace. A truce was proclaimed. Another deputation claimed entrance to negotiate. They bore the peoples' *Ultimatum* that the Holy Father should be given one hour to accept the five points already presented, which, if refused, would result in the forced entrance of the Palace and "the death of every inmate with the sole exception of the Pontiff himself."

The French minister, the Duke d'Harcourt, wrote to his government that the Pope showed much coolness and firmness; but as it was impossible to oppose resistance, and as he was not disposed to shed the blood of his loyal friends and servants, he realized he must give way, which he did under protest:

Look where we stand: there is no hope in resistance; already a prelate is slain in my very palace; shots are aimed at it; artil-

lery leveled. We are pressed and beseiged by the insurgents. To avoid fruitless bloodshed and more heinous enormities, we give way; but, as you see, gentlemen, it is only to force; so we protest. Let the courts, let the government know it; we give way to violence alone; all we concede is invalid, is null, is void.

When the list of ministers proposed by the insurgents was presented for his signature, Pius IX signed, protesting once more that he signed under duress.

Galletti once again stepped to the balcony and triumphantly shouted: "The sovereign has given us a republic!" The armed men fired their muskets into the air in token of their brave victory and the mob dispersed. On that same day an article appeared in *Il Risorgimento* of Turin under the caption *Revolutionary Measures*, which, after expressing the fears that animated his own breast over the dangers to which the spirit of revolution exposed Italy and Europe, Count Cavour prophesied "One moment longer and we shall see, as a result of these revolutionary proceedings, Louis Napoleon on the throne of France." No man felt the pulse of Europe more surely nor knew the weakness of his own people more sadly than did Cavour!

Immediately after Rossi's murder, Pius IX had taken the precaution to send from Rome the aged prelates and those cardinals whom he knew were most unpopular with the mob.

On the eighteenth, three days after the murder of Rossi, the Chambers were opened. In shame and humiliation it is written that in the Upper House, among all the prelates and princes nominated by Pius IX, not one voice was raised in condemnation of the crimes committed in Rome during those three terrible days! But the deputies of Bologna had the manhood to declare they would not sit in parliament unless the brutal murder of their President was solemnly denounced and an official inquiry to apprehend the murderer was at once set on foot. Galletti assented, but purely for

prudential reasons; never intending to carry out his promise. In fact, for six years the assassin, although known to be at large and in constant touch with the rebels, was not brought to justice! It was on the eighteenth also that the *Circolo Popolare*, directed by Sterbini (he who had presided over the Council while Rossi's body was still warm, and who had sarcastically asked "what all the fuss was about" when the foreign colleagues left the Council Chamber, having no stomach to participate in deliberations which would seem to sanction by their presence the brutal murder), demanded that the Swiss Guard be disarmed and dismissed from the Papal Palace. To this indignity Pius IX submitted. He was now surrounded by the same men who had murdered his minister and who had threatened to murder every inmate of the Quirinal. Farini tells us:

Again the club desired that Galletti should be general of the carabinieri, and general he was. How could it be helped? Where the authority? Where the force that backs it? The troops of all arms had either abetted or kept gala for the revolt. Rome was topsy-turvy; assassination and rebellion were celebrated with triumph.

In his report to his government, the Duke d'Harcourt concludes: "The authority of the Pope is now absolutely null. It exists only in name and none of his acts will be free and voluntary." This was too true. The fate of the government was absolutely in the hands of the rebels, the enemies of the Catholic Church and of Christianity. The penetrating student of affairs in Rome knew full well that the radicals would never be content without a full-fledged Radical Republic without King or Pope, or any form of ecclesiastical authority.

13. *Pontiff Escapes from Rome*

Thus, after testing for so many years the liberal principles that had ever animated him as Giovanni Mastai, Archbishop

of Spoleto and of Imola, and during the early years of his pontificate as Pius IX, the Holy Father cast aside every illusion of compromise with men imbued with principles that bore no resemblance to Christian teaching, but who were motivated by a philosophy whose avowed purpose it was "to usher in a new era for mankind, the glorious era of a redemption far different from that announced by Christ."²⁶ Since his presence no longer benefited his people, and since he could not sanction the usurpations for which he would be held responsible, Pius IX reluctantly agreed to the urgent prayer of his foreign ambassadors that he seek asylum elsewhere. But, surrounded as he was by spies and sworn enemies, the greatest secrecy and precaution must be preserved to successfully execute this purpose. For if the rebels knew of the Pope's intention they would most certainly have murdered his counselors. The original idea was for Pius IX to escape to Spain; but although the Spanish frigate awaited him at Cività Vecchia, this plan had to be abandoned as the spies were too suspicious and watchful. Now the Duke d'Harcourt and the Bavarian ambassador, Count Von Spaur, undertook the flight of the Pontiff to Gaeta, just across the Neapolitan border.

In the forenoon of the twenty-fourth of November, 1848, Pius IX received the new ministry for the last time. His sanction was demanded to confirm the proceedings of the previous day. The Pope refused and warned the bearer of the message (a renegade prelate) to repent before it was too late. At five o'clock in the evening d'Harcourt arrived

²⁶ Ricciardi's "glorious era of redemption" is still bearing a rich harvest of war and revolution! As Monsignor Fulton Sheen pointed out on the Catholic Hour radio broadcast of December 22, 1940, there have been three major wars since the boasted theory of unlimited progress became the credo of the "Liberals." Between the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1870 fifty-three years intervened; between the War of 1870 and the First Great War forty-four years intervened; between the Great War and the present Total War, only twenty-one years intervened — a rather startling refutation of man's inherent perfection and the unlimited progress theory!

at the Quirinal. Leaving his carriage and outriders conspicuously at the main entrance of the Palace, he demanded an immediate audience with the Pontiff, pretending urgent business — which indeed he had! Once in the Pope's presence, he and the Cavalier Filippini, Pius IX's faithful valet, aided the Pontiff in changing his attire. After an affecting farewell to d'Harcourt, His Holiness was conducted by Filippini to a seldom-used rear exit where a hack awaited them. By this simple but effective ruse, the Pope and his valet were driven to a deserted quarter near the Colosseum where Count Von Spaur was waiting. The loyal valet bade the Holy Father Godspeed and returned to the Quirinal where the Duke d'Harcourt was reading aloud to himself in the Pope's apartment, pretending to be still discussing grave state business with His Holiness. For two long anxious hours d'Harcourt continued to read aloud, to cover the flight of the fugitives. When the Pope's supper was brought in, the chamberlain was told His Holiness had retired for the night and was not to be disturbed. Finally, the Duke left the papal apartments and proceeded to his carriage as if he had just concluded his prolonged business. He then hastened with all speed to Cività Vecchia, where the French steamer *Ténare* was in readiness to take him aboard.

Leaving Rome by the Porto di San Giovanni, Count Von Spaur was challenged by the Guards. Showing his Bavarian passport to Naples, the party was allowed to proceed. On toward Albano the carriage bore its precious freight, where the Countess, her two sons and their tutor, Father Liebel, were in an agony of suspense as the fugitives were six hours late. At nine o'clock at night someone appeared in the woods between Albano and Castel Gandolfo (where the carriage and six horses were concealed) telling the Countess that her husband was expecting her at Lariccìa. In the darkness of the night the horses raced on. Reaching Lariccìa, the Countess was distracted by seeing her husband in the

hands of the gendarmes. With a woman's quick intuition she demanded: "Doctor, come quickly. You have kept me waiting too long in the night air." Count Von Spaur had remembered to give the name "Dr. Allertz,"²⁷ a ruse agreed upon between them in case of need. One of the guards immediately opened the carriage door, let down the steps, and helped the "doctor" and his companion in, wishing them a pleasant journey and assuring them the roads were quite safe. At top speed the horses flew on their way to safety.

It was six o'clock in the morning when the party arrived at the Mola di Gaeta,²⁸ six miles from Gaeta. At Fondi they were met by Cardinal Antonelli and Gonzales d'Arnao, secretary of the Spanish legation. It is said that the Cardinal looked so droll in his ill-fitting lay clothes and a muffler around his neck that the Holy Father could not suppress a smile in spite of all he had been through.

Count Von Spaur lost no time in proceeding to Naples in d'Arnao's carriage and, armed with his passport, in delivering to the King an autographed letter from the Pope in which Pius IX asked asylum, but said he was ready to leave the King's domain if his presence should prove embarrassing to His Majesty. At six o'clock the next morning the answer arrived on the vessel *Tancred*, in the persons of their Majesties themselves, accompanied by two other vessels filled with ladies and gentlemen of their court. King Ferdinand placed his castle at the Pope's disposal.

Offers of hospitality were made to Pius IX by France, Bavaria, Prussia, and even England. But the Holy Father decided to remain in Italy. Gaeta was near his own frontier. And soon the little town of Gaeta became the center of the Catholic world. Here Pius IX held his court. Thither pilgrims and diplomats flocked. Truly *Ubi Petrus, ibi ecclesia!*

²⁷ The name of their family physician.

²⁸ Now Formia.

Pius IX remained at Gaeta for seven months. During his absence from Rome the passions of a demoralized populace ran riot. The city was without a restraining or protecting influence. Indeed it was without a legal government, for the Pontiff had taken the great seal with him into exile. From his haven he had dissolved the ministry and declared the Council closed; and had issued an appeal to the Catholic powers of Europe for aid in reinstating him to this lawful patrimony. This step led the rebellious leaders to take any illegal steps they saw fit. They formed a "Supreme Junta of Public Safety," calling upon the people of the provinces to elect their own representatives to be sent to Rome to decide what action to take under these extraordinary circumstances. This assumption of the end of papal sovereignty was met by Pius IX with a circular letter, dated the seventeenth of December, in which he laid claim to all his prerogatives as Temporal and Spiritual Pontiff.

14. *Roman Republic Inaugurated*

The Constituent Assembly, although excommunicated by the Pope, celebrated Solemn High Mass at the Church of *Ara Coeli*. The rebels said it was "a requiem for the dead papacy." Then the Assembly went to the Capitol to deliberate. Four days were consumed to inaugurate the Roman Republic. When the result was announced by Ciceruacchio, the mob began to make merry and to force the sextons of every church to ring their bells under pain of death. The following morning the press declared "the Republic was proclaimed amid the jubilation of the people."

Now the revolutionaries had complete control. The world had a chance to witness how "the people" would carry on the government when given a free hand. They could study the spirit of revolution and test its mettle. Not only were all the old taxes levied, but new ones were imposed. There was a forced loan to be paid by the wealthy citizens in three

payments: one within twenty days, one in July, and one in October. An assessing committee chose the names of those destined to pay the loan and from their decision there was no appeal. Next, all property owners must pay taxes one year in advance *in silver and gold*. All the gold and silver was taken in by the Executive Committee in every province at 10 per cent premium in *paper money* which was worth only the cost of engraving. Not content with this confiscatory measure, they demanded that all citizens voluntarily bring to the mint all their gold and silver in plate or jewelry or whatnot. Of course, the property of the Church — the chalices, sacred vessels, temples, and vestments were in line for confiscation. Anticipating the robbery, friends received and hid many valuable church pieces. On the twenty-first of February, when the Republic was twelve days old, the theft of religious objects was proclaimed a law. "All ecclesiastical property of the Roman States is the property of the republic." The very next day all deposits in private and public banks were declared to belong to the government. The bankers were commanded *not* to pay to depositors, but to the agents of the government. If a banker dared to pay the depositor his rightful money, he was punished by having to pay the same amount again to the "government." The following day the assembly decreed that all the bells of the churches should be removed from their steeples to be melted into cannon. On the twelfth of March the Minister of Finance was ordered to requisition all hospitals, orphan asylums, and other charitable institutions. Two days later all donations to ecclesiastical bodies were decreed null and void. On the twenty-seventh of May the Triumvirate decreed a spoliation of the holy shrine of Loreto. The votive offerings, which for centuries the pious had donated, were plundered to make politicians fat.

Such was the avarice of the ruffians who posed as the "government" of Rome, that any owner who could claim

foreign protection placed his property under a foreign flag. Rome presented a strange sight! Spanish flags protected Spanish merchants. Russian flags protected traders and artists. The Fleur-de-lys flew from French convents and over the French Academy. The Union Jack flew from every window of the Via Condotti. Even the Swedish, Norwegian, Bavarian, and Swiss flags shielded the property of their several subjects. The Stars and Stripes protected American merchants. But the strangest sight of all was the Moslem crescent flying over two Armenian monasteries! "Rome," indeed, as Farini, the historian, says, "was topsy-turvy!"

It was not only their property that the "Peoples' Government" filched from the Roman citizens. No liberty of opinion, neither of the press nor of assembly, was allowed. The Junta of Public Safety was busy day and night apprehending peaceable citizens who were thrown into jail without trial by judge or jury for the mere expression of opinion about the crazy measures of these stupid, power-intoxicated men. Soon the inmates of the convents and monasteries, the helpless and aged who must now turn to beggary, were thrown into the streets, to make room for theaters, clubrooms, and dance halls.²⁹ The Holy Eucharist was removed from the altars and defiled. Prostitution stalked the streets. Oh, Rome was ironically "*free!*" For was not Mazzini in their midst? He entered the city in triumph on the sixth of March and took the seat of honor prepared for him in the Constituent Assembly.³⁰ Now he could see with his own eyes how well his seeds of revolt had taken root, and

²⁹ As in Mexico, Soviet Russia, and "loyalist Spain" in our own day.

³⁰ "The sovereign people had given themselves up to the assembly; the assembly had given themselves up to the triumvirs; the triumvirs had given themselves up to Mazzini—a most liberal reading indeed of universal suffrage! But the dictator who, thanks . . . to the artifices of his party, easily lorded it over . . . the whole of the citizens, had no power to keep his own people in check—the insurrectionists, the factionists, the montebanks, the blackguards, whom he deified in the name of 'the people.'" Farini, Vol. IV, pp. 152-153.

he could participate in reaping the woeful harvest. He was chief of the triumvirs placed at the head of the government, enjoying a brief but iron rule. He pronounced all ecclesiastical corporations and religious orders illegal. All church property was the property of the new politicians to do with as they pleased. It is a strange but true fact that very many of these blasphemous usurpers met sudden and violent death. One could give a long list of names.

The so-called "Italian Republic" did not gain the recognition of the great powers. With the sole exception of the American Minister who remained in Rome, the representatives and diplomats repaired to Gaeta, to be near the Pope who was held by them to be the real ruler of the papal states. Even France, about to establish her second republic, would not recognize the travesty of government at Rome. Only Tuscany and Sicily clasped the bloody hand of their "sister-republic."

15. *Exile at Gaeta. Immaculate Conception Defined*

In February of 1848, Pius IX published from Gaeta the ordinance modifying the rules of religious orders "in Italy and the adjacent isles." It is significant that, while this ordinance was extended to apply to all orders in the whole of Christendom, the Society of Jesus was exempt. The Pontiff considered it worthy to function under the spirit and constitutions of its founder, St. Ignatius Loyola.³¹

³¹ This estimate of the Jesuits can be appreciated by the impartial student of the Order; for no valid grounds for the charges leveled against them existed, except in the diseased imaginations of bigoted Protestant novelists and unscrupulous revolutionists who hated the Order because they instinctively feared its unsullied loyalty and intrinsic purity. To the long line of devotees of that sly skeptic, Voltaire, the word "Jesuit" was ever a term of reproach. But honest searchers after truth who have investigated with open minds, divorced from preconceived prejudices, know that the sons of St. Ignatius have been and are still "men crucified to the world." Their manner of life affirms they have put on Christ and are dead to themselves. It is one of the cruelest and basest cabals ever perpetuated against just men that has coupled the revered name of "Jesuit" with "duplicity."

From Gaeta Pius IX also wrote an exhortation to the clergy. This epistle is eloquent, authoritative, prophetic! In it the Supreme Pontiff seems to peer into the future, even into our own day, as he lays bare with irrefutable logic, supported by his own experience, the fallacies of socialism and communism. The letter presages his celebrated *Syllabus*, showing clearly that the condemnation of the eighty "propositions" or catalogue of errors in that famous pronouncement was no new nor hastily devised invention, but the mature judgment of years of reflection and experience.

It was while he was in exile at Gaeta that Pius IX defined (later promulgated at Rome) the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Probably no dogma of the Catholic Church has confounded the minds of those outside the Church more, or been more universally misunderstood and condemned. But to Catholics it was nothing new. For it had been held from time immemorial that the Virgin Mother of Christ was the second Eve who, in a purely human way, was to participate in the redemption of the world through her cooperation in the divine plan as a pure Vessel of Election in the work of saving mankind from the curse of sin. She it was who came to crush the serpent of evil rampant in the world.

Far from appearing "untimely" (as some Catholic prelates feared), to Pius IX the sinful times offered the very inspiration he needed to lift on high for all men to see, one who by her nature was free from the contamination of original sin.³² This exaltation was not an affirmation of divinity. Her

³² "The age still clung optimistically to the old Rousseauvian heresy of man's natural perfection which claimed near divinity for tainted human nature. It laughed at the very idea of sin. In proclaiming the Immaculate Conception, Pius IX threw the whole weight of his authority into an implicit declaration that sin was a legacy humanity could not escape. The nineteenth century thought the pope was hopelessly out of step with an advancing world." *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*, Raymond Corrigan, S.J., Ph.D., p. 172. In the revealing light of the past twenty-five years, does it not appear that the world will have to catch up with Pius IX?

humble acceptance of the role she was to play in the supreme drama of mankind revealed the Virgin's undefiled origin. "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it done to me according to thy word"; and in the stately words of the *Magnificat*: "My soul doth magnify the Lord; and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. Because he hath regarded the humility of his handmaid; for behold all generations shall call me blessed" (Luke 1:46-48). The veneration that had been tendered to the Virgin from the earliest times had resulted in the erection of the most glorious cathedrals bearing her name, where numberless generations had proclaimed her "Blessed." It remained only to crystalize the habit of the ages by making what had always been accepted into a formal tenet of the Church.³³

16. *Fall of Roman Republic*

Meanwhile, in Europe, events were not standing still. The French government with Louis Napoleon at its head, and with the approval of the National Assembly, resolved to intervene in the Pope's behalf — even to the extent of armed intervention. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1849, the French General Oudinot landed at Civit  Vecchia with an armed force of ten thousand men. He occupied the city without armed resistance and turned toward Rome, arriving there on the thirtieth of the month. He found the gates barricaded

³³ As an illustration of the continued loss of faith in the Christian sects it must be remembered that at the time the Dogma was promulgated all sects who called themselves "Christian" included in their credo at all events the belief in the virginity of the Mother of Christ. Gradually, with the rejection of Biblical Authority and the popular acceptance of the Evolutionary Theory of man's existence upon this earth and the refutation of his divine origin, the belief in man's high destiny was denied or passed over with other arbitrary omissions of Scripture by the "Higher Critics" and so ignored by all "broad-minded, enlightened sects"; so that, today, to find the faith based upon the Gospel story one must turn again to the original deposit of faith in the Church which Christ founded on Peter's Rock. That this can be held by intelligent men without violating their scientific honesty remains to the uninitiated one of the mysteries of a skeptical age.

and the fortifications held by the supporters of red republicanism. Garibaldi was in command. General Picard tried to storm one of the gates. The Garibaldians repulsed him with a loss of several hundred men. Then the French besieged the city.

Louis Napoleon, trained in duplicity as a revolutionary, knew that by protecting the Pope and his domains, he would gain the support of the French clergy in his fond desire to become President of the French republic. He lost no time to turn to his own advantage the devotion of the French people to the Holy See. The restoration of the Pope, by means of French interference, would redound to his prestige and enable him to have a voice in Roman affairs. On the fourth of June, the siege of Rome began, aided by the arrival of twenty thousand fresh troops. General Cordova was at Terracina with his Spanish troops and fifteen thousand Austrian soldiers were ready to come down from the north. The rabble inside the city gates was making sad havoc of life and property. Most of the iniquities were committed against the clergy. In the convent of the Cistercians, the Legionaries (composed of all the outcasts of Europe) mistook three laymen for monks, slew them, and dragged their palpitating bodies through the streets. In the convent of St. Callixtus on the Janiculum, Zambianchi, a customhouse official,³⁴ ordered a Dominican monk to be beheaded because he refused to leave Rome. This same recreant imprisoned several clergymen whom afterward he put to death. The

³⁴ "Zambianchi was at the head of a body of men taken from the frontiers, who were by profession bravos (revenue officers termed them *finanzieri*) numbering about three hundred, who were organized into a regiment. It is impossible to estimate the number of ecclesiastics who fell before the stiletto of the *finanzieri*, but it has been computed that at the time of the occupation of Rome by the French no less than two hundred fifty priests were missing." Legge, Vol. II, pp. 285-286. This man was on a footing of intimacy with Mazzini and there is in existence a letter in which Mazzini calls upon his "dear friend" to send him "twenty other *finanzieri* to complete important operations," and signed "Thine, Guiseppe Mazzini."

bodies of fourteen priests³⁵ murdered in cold blood during these orgies were discovered in the cellar in the convent of St. Callixtus in Transtevere (where Zambianchi had been quartered), after the Pope returned to Rome.

Pius IX had hoped against hope that the Catholic powers would accord unanimous moral support to the cause of the papacy and thus obviate the necessity of a resort to arms. Two causes contributed to thwart this bloodless issue: the complicity of Louis Napoleon and the war between Piedmont and Austria. While outwardly zealous for the papal cause, Louis Napoleon was determined that the Pope should not have anything to do with the management of temporal affairs. This program had the backing of Lord Palmerston and of the Piedmontese. These were the instructions given to Ferdinand de Lesseps, the envoy-extraordinary to Rome. But this was not the policy that the Duke d'Harcourt was instructed to pursue at Gaeta while the conference of the Catholic powers lasted; which was that the constitutional government granted by Pius IX should be maintained in full force. De Lesseps pretended to favor the Duke's policy, but in reality he was in league with the republicans in Rome. He tried to procrastinate at Gaeta, while at the same time he egged on belligerent proceedings between General Oudinot and the Garibaldians.

The Roman Republic fell on the thirtieth of June. Yet Pius IX postponed his return to Rome. Instead, he nominated a commission of cardinals to govern in his name: they were Cardinals della Genga-Sermattei, Vannicelli-Casoni, and Altieri.³⁶ This commission began its labors on the first of August. They issued a statement of purpose.

³⁵ One authority says "ninety."

³⁶ How unfortunate it was that Rome did not trust the framing of her liberal institutions to such a man as Altieri! Born a prince, he was indeed a true prince of the spirit. His greathearted liberality was well known. His life, like his heroic death, during the cholera epidemic of 1867, was pure devotion to duty and wholehearted allegiance to his priestly office.

Our first care shall be that religion and morality be respected as the basis of all social order; that justice be allowed to extend its reign to all without distinction, and that the public administration be brought back to the steady and progressive methods pursued before it had been usurped by nameless and senseless demagogues.

For that purpose we shall call to our aid men known for their wisdom and zeal, as well as for the general confidence reposed in them . . . At the head of the different ministerial departments shall be placed persons of integrity and experience. . . .

Thus confidence will revive among all classes and conditions, while the Holy Father is laboring with his whole heart and soul to prepare such improvements and institutions as are compatible with his dignity, his sovereignty as pontiff, the peculiar nature of this State . . . and the wants of his subjects.

Cardinal Antonelli was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. Pius IX formed two council chambers for the enactment of laws and the control of finance. He re-established local governments in several of his provinces and appointed a commission to restore courts of justice. Commissions were appointed to supervise religious and other corporations, as well as for private persons whose property had been confiscated. To prove himself still the kind father of his subjects, Pius IX published a decree of amnesty, by which all who were not leaders of rebellion or common criminals were freed from punishment due to the share they had taken in the late insurrection. Of course, Mazzini, Ciceruacchio, and all the other men of big words and little deeds, had taken flight and left their pitiful followers to bear the brunt of their evil leadership! Even Garibaldi, who had sworn to die rather than abandon the revolution, took precipitous flight with his legions.

Meanwhile Pius IX continued on at Gaeta. To Louis Napoleon's brand of liberal government he would not, of course, consent. He was determined this time not to return to Rome until he had extracted from the French President a guarantee that he would not be subjected to French

pressure and that no suggestions or demands on the administration of Roman affairs be attempted. When General Niel, afterward Field Marshall and French Secretary of War, presented the keys of the Eternal City to the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX gave his heartfelt thanks to the General, to his officers, and to the French people; but no mention of Louis Napoleon was made. The Holy Father remained at Gaeta until the fourth of September, 1849, visiting Naples and the environs and administering his office with care and solicitude.

17. *Pope Resumes Duties in Rome*

On the sixth of September the Pontiff took up a residence in the environs of Naples, at Portici. Here he remained several months longer. On the fourth of April, 1850, Pius IX left Portici and began the journey toward Rome. On the twelfth the Pope arrived at Rome, and as he entered the gates at four o'clock in the afternoon, the city was in gala attire. Banners were flying from the windows and tapestries hung from every balcony. The Holy Father repaired at once to the church of San Giovanni in Laterano. After adoring the Blessed Eucharist, he went in procession to St. Peter's. Inside the Basilica he met the entire body of cardinals, in pontifical dress. At the Altar the *Te Deum* was intoned for the first time in two years. Giving his blessing to the cardinals and prelates and members of his household, he retired to the Vatican Palace, which he now chose for his permanent abode. There were too many haunting memories in the Quirinal for him ever to wish to return there. In the evening the entire city was illuminated with flaming Roman torches. On the fourteenth of April a *Te Deum* was sung in every church and chapel in Rome.

The year 1850 was the year of the great jubilee for the whole Catholic world. The multitude of pilgrims to Rome was enormous.

On the sixteenth of July the Holy Father beatified Father Peter Claver of the Society of Jesus. As missionary he had suffered untold hardships in South America where he converted one hundred thousand Negroes to Christ. It was during Holy Year, also, that Pius IX made the four growing dioceses in the United States — New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New Orleans, into four archbishoprics; and conferred the pallium upon Archbishops Hughes, Kenrick, Purcell, and Blanc. On the twenty-ninth of September his famous bull was published whereby he re-established in England all the dioceses extinguished by the "reformation" of the sixteenth century. After three centuries of persecution and discrimination against them, the Catholics of England were now allowed freedom of worship and equality before the law. On the day the bull was published, Dr. Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, was given the Red Hat along with fourteen other bishops from different parts of the world.

It was due to the prudence and restraint of Cardinal Wiseman, and to the good sense and patience of his flock, that the storm raised among the bigoted (who were demonstrating and burning the Pope's effigy in public) subsided like a spent torrent — a muddy flood which the press had unleashed.

In Holland several bishoprics were re-established by Pius IX. Once again the quiet forbearance of the Catholic laity under their wise leaders, the Archbishop of Utrecht and the bishops of Haarlem, Breda, and Roermond, prevailed over the passions of a narrow-minded opposition. Pius IX was the Pontiff who solved the difficulties between opposing forces in England and Holland by these timely measures.

During the next ten years Pius IX concluded several important concordats, issued numerous bulls and encyclicals, and erected many new episcopal sees. In 1853 San Francisco was made an archdiocese and Bishop Alemany was appointed its first Archbishop. In this year, also, the Pontiff erected two

new dioceses of the Greek rite in Siebenbürgen. A concordat with Guatemala was concluded.

The eighth of December, 1854, was a day of joy and thanksgiving for Catholics everywhere. For Pius IX it was a foretaste of heaven. In the presence of an immense concourse of people in the Basilica of St. Peter, surrounded by one hundred fifty-four bishops, the Holy Father solemnly made public proclamation of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. He himself celebrated High Mass and the Gospel was chanted in Latin and Greek. The lovely chant, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, was sung by the entire congregation — a chant which, when heard under such circumstances, is an experience which cannot be imagined.

There stood the successor of Peter, head of the Church which had endured persecution for nineteen centuries; yet still was triumphant over the storms that beat against her impregnable barque. It was as Christ had promised — “the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.” Amidst a silence overpowering and awe inspiring, Pius IX, in a clear voice, read the promulgation of the doctrine of Mary’s Immaculate Conception through the foreseen merits of her Divine Son. When he declared it to be revealed, and therefore of faith to all, that by a special privilege, God had preserved the Virgin Mary, in the first instant of her conception, from every stain of original sin, his voice broke and the tears ran unheeded down his cheeks. Then the majestic hymn, *Te Deum Laudamus*, was sung by forty thousand voices. The dome of Michelangelo resounded in a symphony of sound, reverberating throughout the vast spaces like an angelic choir. At the same time the bells of three hundred churches bore the glad tidings to the expectant population of Rome. From village and town and city all over Italy the bells proclaimed the belief in *Maria Immaculata*, now become a dogma of the Catholic Church. Rome was ablaze that night and St. Peter’s was a flaming glory. It was, perhaps, the most

memorable day in the life of the Pontiff of Rome — the stately, tender, compassionate Pius IX.

To combat and alleviate the disorders resulting from the revolution, Pius IX had, in 1849, published a *motu proprio* by which he created two political bodies: the Council of State and the Council of Finance, intended as a preliminary step toward real constitutional government. Papal finances had long been a focus of criticism by the enemies of the Holy See. At times in her long history these criticisms were undoubtedly justified. Even as late as during the reign of Gregory XVI papal finances were in a deplorable shape. Dependent upon loans, Gregory was a victim of the worst form of usury prevalent, not only in the papal states, but all over Europe. The House of Rothschilds exacted 60 per cent interest on papal loans. (Legge.) Under such conditions there was small chance to extricate the exchequer from the clutches of as vicious a system of usury as ever prevailed to shackle and enslave institutions and governments to the banking tyranny of Europe. But the evils in which the fiscal policy of the Holy See was enmeshed were not of her own invention. They were part and parcel of the debacle of Europe's monetary system, from which even to this day, mankind is suffering tragically. Time and again efforts were made to free the Holy See from this degrading impasse; and, as we have seen, sometimes with conspicuous success.

Those who criticized the decree of 1849 were the very ones who were in no small degree instrumental in aggravating the very condition they deplored. Thus Lord Palmerston and Louis Napoleon and Count Cavour, though actively frustrating every effort of Pius IX to improve his administration, circulated false and misleading reports concerning papal reform. As a matter of historic record, in spite of the terrific odds against which the Holy See strove — the inheritance of a regime of criminal confiscation of national wealth, of opposition by such men as we have quoted —

during the seven years of papal control after Pius IX's return from exile the national budget showed a deficit of only half a million dollars. The none-too-friendly French official organ *Moniteur*, after investigating the harsh charges glibly uttered by men who knew better, declared:

If one remembers that the pontifical government has had to take up and cash forty millions of worthless paper currency bequeathed by the republic, one cannot help feeling astonished that at the end of seven years of financial management, there remains a deficit of only half a million dollars. By persevering in this path the government and the council must within a very short time arrive at a perfect equilibrium.

This important French paper was not the only voice which gave credit where credit was due. M. Tiers, an inveterate foe of the Holy See, gave unstinted praise to Pius IX's *motu proprio* of 1849. Much of the criticism by "liberal England" arose because the Holy Father did not at once superimpose the English system upon the Roman people; just as the opposition by the France of Napoleon III was due to papal refusal to fasten the *Code Napoleon* upon the Romans — a system equally alien to Roman character and tradition. Yet, even Galeotti, a minister of justice under Mazzini, says of the indigenous institutions of the Roman States:

In the pontifical government there are many parts deserving of praise; it contains many ancient institutions which are of unquestionable excellence, and there are others of more modern date which the other provinces of Italy might well envy. . . . One may confidently say that there is no government in Italy in which the abstract principle of discussion and deliberation had been so long established and so generally practiced.

The tribunal of the Rota is the best and the most respected of the ancient institutions in Rome; some slight changes would make it best for all Europe. . . . The mode of procedure it follows is excellent, and might serve as a model in every country where people would not have the administration of justice reduced to the art of simply terminating lawsuits.

It is well to recall the appalling prevalence of the law's delays and of debtors' prisons in the England of this time, so dramatically described by Charles Dickens in *Little Dorrit*, to fully appreciate the testimonial of Monsignor Fevre in his work *Rome and Its Rulers* regarding Roman custom and procedure; and to convince us how superficial were the criticisms against Pius IX's measures of reform and the time-honored practices in the papal states for the benefit of the Roman poor.

Law expenses are very moderate, the proceedings are very rapid, and the rules of the judiciary are among the very best of the kind. Besides the poor are never taxed by the courts, while they are always supplied with counsel. In Rome itself, the pious confraternity of St. Yvo [the patron saint of lawyers] takes on itself gratuitously the case of all poor people, when they appear to have right on their side. . . . The confraternity of San Girolamo della Carità also undertakes the defense of prisoners and poor persons, especially widows. . . . The principal objects of their solicitude are persons confined in prisons; these they visit, comfort, clothe, and frequently liberate, either by paying the fine imposed on them as penalty for their offense, or by arranging matters with their creditors. . . . With a wise charity, they endeavor to simplify and shorten causes; and they employ a solicitor who assists in arranging disputes, and thus putting an end to litigation. This confraternity embraces the flower of the Roman prelacy, the patrician order, and the priesthood.

Why, then, with such evidence as this, were "the people" dissatisfied with papal rule? Because Mazzini and his followers never ceased to din into their ears that the entire system of law and government was worthless, vicious, illiberal, outmoded, and moth eaten. It was a "clerical system" and no good thing could ever come from the clergy. Europe — secularized England — was their model. Instead of embracing evolutionary reform and modernization of existing laws which was Pius IX's goal, these misleaders of public opinion sought to tear down at once the entire

structure based upon years of experience and unremitting toil.

After the Crimean war Piedmont was represented at the peace conference of Paris as a reward for her intervention, as Cavour had very clearly foreseen. The Count had delivered a stirring address before the conference in which he pleaded for complete dissolution of papal control, on the ground of its inefficiency and waste and backwardness. Unluckily for Cavour, the French government had instructed its minister, Count de Rayneval, to make a searching inquiry into the reforms of Pius IX. Eight days after Cavour had delivered his oration before the ministers, Count de Rayneval sent his report to Count Walewski, president of the conference. It was a complete and absolute refutation of Cavour's charges which had been made for the sole purpose of planting in the Italian mind the seed of papal dismemberment. This fair-minded report was suppressed until March, 1857, when it saw the light in an English translation in the London *Daily News*. Next it was published in Brussels in the *Indépendance Belge*. Then it appeared in the French press. When it came to the attention of the British Minister, Lord Clarendon, who had accepted Cavour's report in good faith, and on the strength of it had proposed "the complete secularization of the pontifical government and the organization of an administrative system in conformity with the spirit of the age," he publicly reprovved Count Cavour for his bad faith during the proceedings of the conference of Paris, describing Cavour's report as "a tissue of misrepresentation." Europe was thrown into a ferment by the publication of Count de Rayneval's report.

Seven months before this public disavowal by Lord Clarendon, the Pope had replied in an encyclical to Cavour's charges. In this letter, Pius IX's lofty spirit transcends the spirit of rancor among his enemies, and sees as in a vision the eternal design in permitting for a time the triumph of

the wicked "in order to purify and exalt the good, moving the earth in God's good time to free the Church from the dominion of the oppressor."

18. *Pontiff Tours His Dominions*

At this time (May the fourth, 1857) Pius IX set out from Rome on a pilgrimage and tour of his dominions to see with his own eyes and through the eyes of experienced observers in his staff, the conditions of his subjects. His entourage was made up of a select company of prelates and lay investigators whose commission it was to obtain accurate information concerning the conditions under which the people lived, their needs, and to receive their petitions. The goal was Loreto, from his boyhood days a favorite shrine of Giovanni Mastai, and associated with hallowed memories of his own beloved mother. It was a leisurely tour including many beautiful cities en route, and was one continuous ovation. All the calumnies of the press and of the secret societies and of Mazzini's underlings had not alienated the hearts of the Faithful from their spiritual Father. At Spoleto he was welcomed by old familiar faces whose names he seemed always to remember. Here and on to Loreto in each hamlet and city, Pius IX received over thirty thousand petitions which were to be tabulated and examined when he returned to Rome. It was the prisons, especially, the Pope directed his assistants to visit, and make a report of their inmates and their condition. Even now, after all his harrowing experiences at the hands of so many of the political prisoners he had freed at the beginning of his reign, and their ungrateful disloyalty, Pius IX could not refrain from once again granting them deliverance and mitigating their penalties — even to such men as Sterminetti and Geolotti, Mazzini's tool.

"Prisons, hospitals, docks, revenue, finance, police, and the condition of the lowest criminal elements received the

attention of the Pontiff's acute and active mind."³⁷ He wanted nothing hid or put out of his sight. The harbor of Pesano was reconstructed through his munificence; the port of Sinigaglia was improved and a new sanitary office built; Ancona and Cività Vecchia were enlarged and beautified; the main street of Bologna was broadened and beautified; the façade of the cathedral was completed by a donation of five thousand dollars annually for a period of fifteen years. New prisons were constructed at Perugia and the condition of the prisoners improved. Here, also, a generous yearly donation was promised for the upkeep of the splendid Etruscan art collection. The port of Ravenna was improved and four thousand dollars, for a period of ten years, donated. The Pamfili Canal at Ferrara was completed through the gift of nine thousand dollars. A commission of engineers was established for turning the river Reno into the Po, thus saving a large tract of arable land from inundation for fruitful cultivation. The improvement of public roads of Pesaro, Macerata, Imola, Camerino, was made possible and telegraphic stations were ordered begun. It was the duty of Monsignor de Mérode to visit prisons as soon as the papal party arrived at a new town and to make out a detailed report on them.

Many monarchs and members of royalty came to pay their homage to the Holy Father on this grand tour. At Perugia, the Archduke Charles of Tuscany; at Pesaro, the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, who as yet little dreamed of his tragic destiny as the tool of Napoleon III sent to rule the short-lived, artificially created "Mexican Empire." When the papal party arrived at Florence, the Grand Duke Leopold walked by the Holy Father's side and continued to act as his host in many Tuscan towns.³⁸

On the fifth of September, 1857, Pius IX and his retinue

³⁷ Sir George Bowyer.

³⁸ Este, Modena, Siena, Livorno, etc.

returned to Rome. Upon his arrival he ransomed many prisoners and gave princely donations to the poor. On the third anniversary of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception, the splendid monument in the Piazza di Spagna was erected.

Thus, for almost ten years Pius IX lived a life of comparative tranquillity, and was able to give his undivided attention to his duties as spiritual father of the Universal Church and as temporal ruler of the papal states. A few writers assert that he relegated the latter completely to his secretary of state, Cardinal Antonelli, whose true character has remained an enigma to impartial writers; while prejudiced historians present him as an out-and-out opportunist, motivated solely by personal ambition. Certainly Antonelli was no Consalvi, neither in character nor in achievement and ability. But those sources, like Legge, who cast the blackest shadow over the personality of Antonelli, reveal bitter prejudice and a ready ear for picking up questionable gossip as their principal source of information. Probably no secretary of state, however gifted and animated by singleness of devotion to the Holy See, could have stemmed the tide of events which crystallized from the poisonous seeds of disaffection that were sown over a long period of years by the Piedmontese under the leadership of Cavour, aided by the conspirators of every country of Europe. One of these, Felice Orsini (whom we remember as a reckless youth befriended by Giovanni Mastai when he was Cardinal-Archbishop of Imola), attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate Napoleon III in Paris on the fourteenth of January, 1858.

19. *Garibaldi and Piedmontese Robberies*

Napoleon III, experienced in conspiracy and still an honorary member of the Carbonari, had given a secret oath to Cavour, sanctioning his antipapal policy. On New Year's Day of 1859, Napoleon delivered an invective against Austria

which was virtually a declaration of war. The Viennese government protested vigorously but began preparations for combat. On the twenty-ninth of April, the Austrian General, Gyulay, crossed the river Tessimo and entered Piedmont. On the third of May, Napoleon III formally declared war against Austria. But he suddenly halted before the Quadrilateral of Verona. Events were going too fast for the Emperor of the French. He did not want a united Italy, but a union of federated states. Therefore, on the twelfth of July he proposed a Treaty of Peace at Villa-Franca, which on the tenth of November was ratified by both parties at Zurich. According to the terms, the Italian states were to form a confederation with the Pope as honorary President — a revival of Count Rossi's and the Abbé Gioberti's idea. Lombardy, with the sole exception of Venice which was retained by Austria, was ceded to Piedmont. But Victor Emmanuel was not content with this acquisition to his power and wealth. Neither he nor his ministers were satisfied with the terms. Finally they were successful in obtaining from Paris a tacit permission to interpret the treaty in terms of their own desires.

While the hostilities were active between France and Austria, the spies and emissaries of the Piedmontese government were not idle. Conspiracies and insurrections were zealously incited in Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forli. On the eleventh of July the Piedmontese commissar took up official residence in Bologna. Here under the "protection" of Piedmontese bayonets, "an election" was held. As a result of this farcical "election" the voters returned their "decision" to secede from the papal government and to ask for annexation, protection (and increased taxation) under Victor Emmanuel.

In Tuscany, Modena, and Parma similar election frauds were held on the thirteenth of April, 1860. Once again, by means of the bait of promised prosperity (never realized)

and the effective method of intimidation and of false counting, the desired result was achieved and these provinces were declared a part of the new Italian kingdom.

Shortly after these valuable acquisitions to his kingdom, Victor Emmanuel was persuaded by Napoleon to render payment by ceding Nizza and Savoia (Nice and Savoy)³⁹ — the patrimony of the House of Savoy bartered away by the King as the price of stolen goods. Meanwhile Victor Emmanuel's demands upon Pius IX became more and more exacting. Besides the Romagna, the Pope was ordered to surrender from the Patrimony of St. Peter the Marches and Umbria; or in the more euphonious language of the usurpers, the Pontiff was requested to "permit his subjects to give free and public expression of their choice between Pius IX and Victor Emmanuel"; in other words, to decide whether they should remain loyal to the legitimate government or submit to the invaders of Piedmont — and this at the point of the bayonet and before the mouths of cannon! What course could the Sovereign Pontiff pursue under such dire necessity? Emperor Franz Joseph would have liked to come to the Pontiff's aid in his hour of extreme trial, but his own country demanded that he proceed with prudence and caution. Intervention by Naples, Spain, or France was out of the question because of their own domestic problems and lack of resources to carry on a successful campaign. The peoples of these several countries were loyal to the Holy Father, but the governments were impotent. All the bishops of England, Ireland, and most of Europe signed a public protest against the high-handed robbery. The Pope's own subjects published a memorial protesting in vigorous and uncompromising language against the loss of papal independence at the hands of Piedmontese invaders. Daily expressions of heartfelt loyalty poured into the Holy See's mail. Comforting and sweet were these testimonials of sincere devotion to

³⁹ The return of which are among Mussolini's "demands," 1940.

the Holy Father, but troops were needed to settle the issue. Such an army of crusaders was formed by men of every land imbued with Catholic loyalty. General Lamoricière offered his sword in defense of his Church. He hastened to Rome to command the papal forces. Already the Sardinian troops had invaded Umbria and the Marches. Lamoricière pressed on to meet them. The armies came to grips near Porto Recanati, on the Adriatic, not far from the Shrine of Loretto. The Piedmontese, under General Cialdini, outnumbered the Romans twenty to one. Lamoricière was prepared to meet the Garibaldians whom he had expected to encounter, but not such a formidable army, already reinforced by the Garibaldians. The encounter was too unequal, though the Romans fought valiantly. Lamoricière was compelled to retreat to Ancona. The Piedmontese subjected the city to a dreadful bombardment and the outnumbered brave army was forced to surrender.

Now the Piedmontese overran the unprotected territory of the Pope, laying ruin and devastation in their path. The travesty of another election farce produced the desired results and Victor Emmanuel annexed all these provinces to his Kingdom together with the two Sicilies presented to him on a platter by Garibaldi — a classic example of the generosity of thieves in giving away other peoples' goods! On the seventeenth of March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy.

On the second of September, 1860, the Holy Father had condemned the acts of encroachment on the Patrimony of St. Peter. He castigated the principle put forth by the new "Italian parliament" of "nonintervention" — a term used to fortify the theory that if one sees a robber break into a neighbor's house, he must not utter a word of protest.

Now the entire Italian peninsula — the Eternal City alone excepted — was under the rule of the King of Italy.

In 1862 Pius IX canonized twenty-six martyrs who had

been crucified for their faith at Nagasaki, Japan, in the year 1594. The canonization took place on Whitsunday in the presence of three hundred bishops. For three years Rome had worn a garb of mourning. Now she was determined to put on a raiment of gladness, if only for an hour. Dawn was announced by the booming of Sant' Angelo's cannons. From then on all the streets and piazzas were filled with steady streams of the Faithful for the ceremony. After the acclamation of the Pontiff there was an impressive silence which was broken by the chanting of the *Te Deum* in which the entire congregation joined. Outside, the winds of adversity and injustice might blow. Here, in this time-honored, sacred precinct, the company of the Faithful met as in an oasis in the midst of a desert of unbelief and clashing interests, finding sanctuary and gathering strength to meet the storms that shook the world. Here, in the words of the Supreme Father, these newly created saints were petitioned to be fresh pleaders before the throne of God in behalf of the sorely persecuted Church and the Shepherd of the faithful flock.

On the next day, the ninth of June, 1862, Pius IX delivered an address to the three hundred assembled bishops in which he drew the sad picture of the condition of the Church. He enumerated her enemies and stated their object of undermining the bulwark and defense of the Church Christ had founded — the Holy See of St. Peter's. The affectionate and reassuring response of the bishops stressed their duty and determination to recognize the Holy Father and him alone as the guardian of truth and the independence of the Holy See as the necessary condition of his free action in governing the Church.

Even while these pledges of loyalty were given to the Holy Father there was heard a detonation. In the Piazza di Spagna torpedoes hidden in music boxes had exploded. Priests and religious suffered insults in public. Garibaldi

seemed on the point of invading Rome. But Napoleon III protested and the red-shirted freebooter and his soldiers beat a hasty retreat. Garibaldi retired severely wounded to Caprera. It was not that he loved the Pope more, but because he trusted Garibaldi less, that Napoleon III through his ambassador, Sartiges, tried to effect a compromise with Pius IX. His plan was to have the Pope voluntarily renounce all his temporal possessions outside Rome. To his overtures Pius IX responded with his famous: "*Non possumus!*" Whereupon Napoleon concluded with Victor Emmanuel the *September Treaty* which was supposed to ratify as irrevocable the unlawful acquisition of the Patrimony of Peter. The seat of the Italian government was removed from Turin to Florence and French troops were to be withdrawn from what was left of papal territory.

Throughout all these cruel proceedings Pius IX remained calm and self-possessed. His tranquillity was not that of a man blinded to what the future portended; it was rather the calm of one whose conscience is clear; it was a reassuring confidence in the Providence of God. "Even now," said the Holy Father, "I am better off than the Son of Man; for wherever I turn, I shall find a place to lay my head and to die with a peaceful conscience."

20. *Syllabus. The Garibaldians*

On the tenth anniversary of the Definition of the Immaculate Conception, Pius IX sent forth into the troubled world his famous *Syllabus of Errors*.⁴⁰ The "liberals" were taken aback by sheer amazement. At the time of the

⁴⁰ The *Syllabus* was "a gist of the most dangerous doctrines reduced to the compass of a few pages. It was compiled and sent to the bishops throughout the world in order that they might take in at a glance 'all the errors and pernicious doctrines' proscribed and condemned by the reigning pope . . . in the encyclicals, allocutions, and apostolic letters of the past eighteen years." *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*, Raymond Corrigan, S.J., p. 175.

publication, when the liberal world felt so sure of its position and of the infallibility of its naïve faith in unlimited progress, the *Syllabus* was condemned as medieval and hopelessly reactionary. Since that time, however, reading it in the light of the past twenty-five years of European history, with the whole world in a ferment of upheaval and without a guide or compass, outside the Catholic Church, the liberals are, perhaps, not so confident of their credo of denial of all authority. Nor are they so enamored of the slogan "*Vox populi; vox Dei.*" For "the people" have been found very vulnerable to the propaganda of clever leaders and no obstacle to autocratic will.⁴¹

The *Syllabus*⁴² was an attempt to redefine and clarify first principles, from which the Holy Father felt modern society had departed. For even the names of things seemed to have lost their value. Distorted ideas had confused the thinking processes of many honest men and errors had come to be accepted as virtues. Many well-meaning persons among the intelligentsia had been captivated by glamorous phrases, accepting them as if they were the embodiment of truth. Pius IX believed that by making the issue clear-cut, by uncompromisingly stating the Church's stand, the hydra-headed monster would be revealed in his true colors of hypocritical falsehood. Such was the purpose of his misrepresented *Syllabus*. Of course, it met with calumnies and misinterpretation by the combined opposition of the Protestant and atheist world and all the poisonous arrows of hatred and ridicule were shot at it by the radicals and revolutionaries. But at least the atmosphere was clear. The world was henceforth divided into two irreconcilable camps.

Two years after the publication of the *Syllabus*, in 1866,

⁴¹ See Appendix D.

⁴² The origin of the *Syllabus* has been traced to Joachim Pecci, or at least to the provincial council of Spoleto of 1849, in which the future Leo XIII was the guiding spirit. *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*, Corrigan, S.J., p. 177.

a disastrous war broke out between Prussia and Austria. Catholic Piedmont, or "Italy" as it was now called, joined Protestant Prussia against Catholic Austria. Although the Italian troops suffered humiliating defeat, as a result of Prussian victory at Königgratz, the ancient, opulent city of Venice,⁴⁸ with its contiguous territory, was ceded to Victor Emmanuel at the Prague peace treaty. There now remained only the city of Rome to complete Italian Unity. To make the task easier the "September Treaty" freed the city of French protection and the Pope was thus stripped of his last defense.

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, the eighth of December, 1866, the day before the French soldiery evacuated, all the bishops of the Catholic world were invited to come to Rome to celebrate the eighteen hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, and the birthday of the Church. By June twenty-sixth, the day of the festival, the pilgrims began to pour into Rome. They came with the double purpose of celebrating the anniversary and of tendering their devotion and loyalty to their sorely afflicted Pontiff. Here was living proof that, in the very midst of persecution, the Church's universal mission was unassailable. At the end of the festival two hundred and five missionaries who had sacrificed their lives in carrying the Gospel to Japan, were solemnly beatified. Nineteen martyrs of Gorkum who had lost their lives during the reformation in the Netherlands and died in the galleys, were canonized. St. Paul of the Cross, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Germaine Cousin, and St. Mary Frances were elevated to sainthood. Pius IX and his Faithful uttered one cry to heaven during these solemnities: *Domine, defende causam tuam!*

A crusading army of defenders was organized around the throne of St. Peter by Bishop Dupanloup. They came from France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany,

⁴⁸ Heroically defended by Daniel Manin in 1848 against Austria.

Ireland, and from North and South America, until the Pope's army numbered sixteen thousand toward the close of 1867. Sinews of war flowed into Rome from all the world.

Meanwhile Garibaldi was recruiting men and money from his sympathizers. The first conflict between the Pope's defenders and the Garibaldians took place at Bagnorea, on the fifth of October. The Garibaldians were hopelessly worsted. On the thirteenth the papal troops were once more victorious at Monte Libretti. On the fifteenth and sixteenth of the same month the crusaders were again victorious at Vallecorsa and at San Lorenzo and on the eighteenth they successfully attacked the strong forts at Nerola.

Finding themselves beaten on the field of battle, the rabble of Rome resorted to murder and rapine. A terrific explosion occurred on the twenty-second at seven o'clock in the evening. It was like a clap of thunder magnified a hundredfold. Every portion of Rome was shaken as by an earthquake. A mine had been laid under a tavern near St. Peter's. Although this attempt on the Holy Father's life did not succeed, twenty of his brave Zouaves met violent death. The papal gendarmes found firearms and explosives belonging to the conspirators and in removing them seven of the police lost their lives. Under Garibaldi's instigation a plot was hatched to seize the Holy Father and hold him captive until he should consent to their demands. In case of refusal he was to be murdered and his head paraded on a pole through the streets of Rome.

Garibaldi meanwhile escaped from his ostensible prison on the island of Caprera and placed himself at the head of a half-drilled mob.⁴⁴ On the twenty-fifth he set out for

⁴⁴"In the last days of September Garibaldi's two sons appeared near Rome with numerous and well-appointed bodies of volunteers. They disarmed the little garrison of Viterbo; and began 'to live on the people,' pillaging and desecrating the churches, expelling from convents and monasteries their inmates, and appropriating to themselves every object of any value found therein." *Life of Pius IX*, Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, p. 421.

Rome. The city was in a state of consternation. Just at the critical moment Napoleon III came to the rescue with four thousand French troops under General Polhè. The Pope's army under General Kanzler and two thousand of the French marched against the invaders — a force of twelve thousand under Garibaldi. The Papal troops and the Garibaldians met in a bloody encounter all day at Mentana. Toward evening the French reinforcements rushed into the contest and the issue was quickly decided in favor of the defenders. The next morning the Revolutionary army surrendered. Their losses in killed and wounded were heavy, but their chief source of chagrin and disillusionment was their abandonment by their leader. He who had sworn that for him it was "To Rome or death!" had fled under cover of the night from his dead and wounded victims.

Visiting the prisoners in the Castel Sant' Angelo, Pius IX talked with them in his gentle, winning way. "You see before you the one whom your general calls the 'Vampire of Italy.' It is against me that you have taken up arms. And who am I? A poor old man." The poor wretches knelt before him and kissed the hem of his garment. He promised them clothing and as he left he asked them, as Catholics, "to think of me in a short, fervent prayer to your God."

Shortly after these historic scenes, in September of 1868, the golden anniversary of the Pontiff's ordination as a priest was celebrated. It was the occasion of the bestowal of the costliest gifts from potentates and princes all over the world. The Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef; Napoleon III; the Empress Eugenie; the King of Prussia; the Kings of Württemberg and of Hanover; Victoria of England; Dom Pedro of Brazil; the Empress of Russia; the Sultan of Turkey — all sent their felicitations and lavish presents. From the United States came a bar of pure California gold and many other gifts. Victor Emmanuel, overwhelmed with shame, sent General Viale to Cardinal Antonelli to ask if he might

tender his congratulations. To this the Holy Father replied he could not accept empty compliments from his persecutor. But to the Pontiff of Rome no ceremony so touched his remembering heart as the Mass he celebrated at the *Tata Giovanni*, where as the Abbate Giovanni Mastai, he had labored with such affectionate devotion.

21. *Vatican Council Opens*

The Vatican Council was opened in Rome with solemn splendor on the eighth of December, 1869, three hundred years after the Council of Trent — the last to be called by the Church. The entire idea of convoking a council was the design of the Pontiff, Pius IX. Its sole purpose was the welfare of the Church and of society. This statement can be amply verified by anyone who wishes to study the original, authentic reports of the proceedings. The cruel misconceptions planted in the public mind by the Bavarian school, headed by Dr. Döllinger, and broadcast all over the world by the anti-Catholic press, were a travesty and a libel. According to Döllinger and his disciples at Munich, the one object of calling the Council was to define the doctrine of papal infallibility. The intimation that this was motivated by personal passion was the crowning indignity. Pius IX did not need, personally, to have the doctrine defined. All the bishops and other prelates present gladly accepted the belief that Christ watches over His Church and guides His Vicar, through the intervention of the Holy Spirit, in his pronouncements officially made, in matters of faith and morals to the entire world. The final judgments of the Holy See so declared in matters of doctrine and morals had been regarded by the entire body of the episcopate as infallible from the earliest times. Without a single exception his clergy had given complete assent to the Holy Father's decrees both in regard to the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception and the promulgation of the *Syllabus*. No pope had ever

been given more palpable proof of their belief in his infallibility than Pius IX had been given by his bishops! It is most certain it was with no purpose of having the belief defined that the Pope called the ecumenical council.

All through his pontificate Pius IX had labored to protect the Church, of which he had been elected the Guardian, from error; to educate the priesthood and make them true men of God; and to lift everyone who called himself "Catholic" to his rightful stature as a child of God. He saw terrifying dangers threatening Christendom. His pontificate was one long fight to preserve intact his papal heritage — not by opposing the tendencies of the times, but by controlling and guiding them so that not only the Faithful, but that Christian civilization itself, might be preserved from dissolution. All about him he saw the wreckage of precious souls. He saw youth led astray by false teaching, and the basest passions of the human breast extolled as virtues in the name of the new patriotism. He recognized that old political forms were disappearing; that time-honored laws were being flouted as obsolete and outworn. Ancient landmarks of truth and error were being obliterated. With all his soul he believed that as Head of the Church it was his obvious duty to raise his voice above the storm and proclaim "the words of eternal life." He would point out the relationship between the natural and the supernatural orders, between faith and reason, between the Church and civil society, between the temporal and the eternal. He knew he was at the beginning of a new era and he feared for the future — not only for the Church but for human society as well. In the midst of the rising tide of arrogance, disorder, anarchy, and licentiousness, he, the Vicar of Christ, would raise aloft for all to see a dwelling not made with hands, so compelling, so beautiful, that the world would see and admire the Council as the handiwork of God.

As early as March, 1865, Pius held a consultation with the

cardinals about the advisability of convening such a council. After this meeting he commissioned five cardinals to consider whether Catholic sovereigns should be consulted. He communicated with his bishops of various nations as to their idea of the opportuneness of the council, and what matters relating to the Church and to their particular dioceses should be submitted for discussion. When the answers came in, the Pope created a Commission of Direction made up of the ablest theologians, cardinals, and canonists in the Church. These formed four subcommittees for the purpose of discussing all questions relating to doctrine, politico-ecclesiastical or "mixed questions," missions, and the Oriental churches, and discipline. The section on *Dogma* met in the Holy Office; that on *Missions*, in the Propagation of the Faith; on *Mixed Questions*, in the office of the Congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs; and *Discipline*, in the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

On April the tenth Pius IX sent a circular letter to thirty-six bishops whom he esteemed most learned and most experienced in government, asking them to submit a list of subjects which, in their judgment, ought to be discussed at the council. He sent similar letters to the prelates of the Oriental churches. In all this one does not see any evidence of personal vanity, nor of that arrogance which his Bavarian enemies charged. As a result of this conscientious method of arriving at disinterested judgment, letters began to pour into the Holy See's mail which brought detailed and precise enlightenment on all subjects that were deemed most important. Cardinal Manning in his *True Story of the Vatican Council*, declares that:

There are very few at this day who impugn the prerogative of the Roman Pontiff; and those who do, do it not in virtue of theological reasons, but with the intention of affirming 'the liberty of science' with greater safety . . . this school of theologians has sprung up in Bavaria, at Munich; who in all their

writings [seek] . . . to lower the Apostolic See, its authority and mode of government; by throwing contempt upon it, and attacking above all the infallibility of Peter teaching *ex cathedra*.

Dr. Döllinger had represented Catholic interests at Frankfurt in 1848. There his career as a genuine Catholic seems to come to an end. His desire "to reconcile the claims of science" with the authority of the Church brought him into conflict with Catholic opinion which sensed that his effort to stand well with German liberals, of whom he was the recognized leader, far outstripped his religious motivation. Ecclesiastics loyal to Rome felt that his "liberalism" led to indifferentism and to *the enslavement of the Church by the State*. When Pius IX announced the convocation of the Council, Döllinger began a systematic warfare against its aims and purposes. In 1868 he had been appointed Councilor of State by the King of Bavaria, while at the same time he was Professor of the University of Munich and Superior Court Chaplain. Next in importance at the Court was Prince Hohenlohe who had imbibed the doctrines of Gallicanism which desired to limit the authority of the Holy See over national churches and to augment the authority of the State over the Church. Such views as his and Döllinger's would inevitably lead to the complete subjugation of the Church to the temporal ruler — in other words, to *Caesarism*, pure and simply. In Döllinger's *Kirch und Kirchen, Papstum und Kirchenstaat*, published in Munich in 1861, he openly advocated the debasing of papal power. At the very moment Pius IX was bending every effort to promote unity in Christendom through a general council, Döllinger, by virtue of his vast influence, tried to prevent the convening of the council; or, if it should be held in spite of his efforts, to divide the bishops among themselves and ruin the moral effect of any doctrinal decision or reform arrived at.

In spite of this strong opposition, however, the convocation of the council was issued on the twenty-ninth of June,

1868, appointing the opening at the Vatican on the following December the eighth, 1869. The Bull of Indiction stated plainly the purpose of Pius IX in calling the Vatican Council.⁴⁵ Surely only a diseased imagination could ascribe sinister motives to Pius IX! In the open light of day and in full publicity its purpose stood revealed and self-evident. But none are so blind as those who will not see. The very men who were conspiring against the council called its convening a "conspiracy"!

In the great magnanimity of his soul Pius IX invited to the council the bishops of the Oriental churches not in communion with Rome. Letters of invitation were also sent to Protestants and to non-Catholics. Prejudice prevented the latter from accepting the invitation, but there were two prominent German Protestants⁴⁶ who urged their co-religionists to accept the papal invitation.

Döllinger had selected able writers to assist him in his self-appointed task of smearing the purposes of the Pontiff in convoking the council. Their combined labors resulted in a series of articles in the *Augsburg Gazette*, all trying to prove that no such thing as papal infallibility had ever existed and in prejudicing German public opinion against the approaching council. These articles were later published in book form under the title *Der Papst und das Concil* and were very appropriately and aptly signed "Janus" — the two-faced one!

No one can peruse the authentic documents of the congregations and commissions without unmasking this double-faced fraud, and seeing revealed in simple, unadulterated clarity the true purpose of calling the Vatican Council.

⁴⁵ See Appendix E for portions of document indicating the purpose of convocation.

⁴⁶ Counselor Reinold Baumgarten of Constance and Wolfgang Menzel of Stuttgart. Their voices were smothered in a chorus of denunciation which issued from Munich at Döllinger's instigation.

22. *Papal Infallibility*

The first public session of the Council was held on January the tenth, 1870. There were seven hundred twenty-three members present. The deliberations on the *Schemata* were confined to questions of discipline. Immediately the *Augsberg Gazette* began to publish articles purporting to describe actual sessions of the committees. Up to March no mention had been made in the *Schemata* of the question of Infallibility. But all this time "Janus," in articles published from 1868 on, made the categorical statement that at the council "papal infallibility would be made by acclamation." And in a diplomatic note signed by Prince Hohenlohe, the Prime Minister of Bavaria, but actually written by Döllinger — the brazen statement was given out to the representatives of the European Courts that

the only dogmatic thesis which Rome desires to have decided by the council, and which the Jesuits in Italy and Germany are now agitating, is the question of the Infallibility of the Pope. This pretension once become a dogma, will *evidently* have a wider scope than the purely spiritual sphere, and will become *evidently* a political question; for it will raise the power of the sovereign Pontiff, even in temporal matters, above all the princes and peoples of Christendom.

In the space of just two years after lending his name to this canard, the Prince became vice-president of the Imperial German Parliament, and influenced Prince Bismarck and the German government to make this question of papal infallibility a cause of rupture with the Holy See and a reason for expelling the Jesuits from the German empire.

Cardinal Manning⁴⁷ is our authority for the *Schemata* discussed. There were six: *Schema on Catholic doctrine against the manifold errors flowing from Rationalism; Schema on the Church of Christ; Schema on the Office of Bishops;*

⁴⁷ *The True Story of the Vatican Council.*

Schema on the Vacancy of Sees; Schema on the Life and Manners of the Clergy; Schema on the Little Catechism. In treating of the second *Schema, On the Church of Christ*, fifteen chapters dealt with the treatment of the body of the Church. Then the visible Head of the Church was dealt with in two chapters: the first on the primacy of the Roman Pontiff; the second on the temporal power. In considering the Head of the Church, the question of the doctrine of infallibility naturally arose. Two questions were discussed on the doctrine of infallibility; whether the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff *can* be defined as an article of faith; and whether it *ought* to be so defined. To the first question the commission answered unanimously in the affirmative. To the second all but one agreed that this subject ought not to be proposed by the Apostolic See, "*except at the petition of the bishops.*" The commission did not complete the chapter on infallibility.

The Commission on Doctrine sat for twenty-seven months, and held fifty-six sessions, during which time it completed only three *schemata*.

Thus we see that instead of preoccupying the attention of the bishops, the question of infallibility was a second time deliberately set aside. But the outside world was not interested in the actual proceedings of the Commissions. Their object was to attack the divine authority of the Church. Finally the question did arise, and when it did, it was decided that "the Holy Father alone *at the demand of the bishops*" should introduce the subject into the deliberations of the council.

It would be profitable to scan the files of the daily press of '68, '69, '70, and to peruse the letters from "our own correspondents" and editorial opinion in Great Britain's newspapers and those of the continent, to note the undue stress laid upon *infallibility*, and how the "challenge" of Pius IX was met by the brave foemen of the pen. All the forces of

prejudice were barking in one discordant chorus: Germany through Döllinger and his school; France through her skeptic press, the Masonic journals of Belgium, and the Jansenists of Holland. The London *Times* echoes the *Allgemeine Zeitung*; and our boasted free American press echoes the British.

During the many months of 1869 and 1870 the Vatican Council was held up to the derision and scorn of the world as if it were dominated by one mad passion, to foist upon poor, humiliated Catholics a doctrine of very questionable scriptural authority, to gratify the arrogance of an old Pope⁴⁸ who was soon to be shorn of his temporal power. It was believed by the eager readers of the unscrupulous press that seven hundred twenty-three prelates who represented every rank, had come to the Vatican Council for the sole purpose of pampering the whims of a spiritually conceited Pontiff. They could not conceive that these choice delegates, men of rare education and character, could possibly be summoned for the purpose of promoting the highest interests of the Church and of society, that they were deliberating all those weary months for the reign of Christ and for the peace of Christendom. In spite of Cardinal Manning's admirable defense, the non-Catholic world wanted to believe the "reports" written by the men who finally forced the issue of infallibility upon the Council by their ceaseless, abusive attacks.

Pius IX appeared unmindful of the storm outside, which grew constantly more menacing. He would not permit the proceedings to be hurried through, no matter how much time they consumed.

No other organization on earth ever would or could give such exhaustive and painstaking labor to deliberations as did the Catholic Church at the Vatican Council. At the second discussion there were nine sessions; seventy-nine discourses on the several chapters; forty-seven amendments were offered

⁴⁸ Pius IX was seventy-eight years of age at the time of the Council.

and accepted to the first chapter, sixty-two to the second, one hundred twenty-two to the third, and fifty to the fourth. This *schema*, with all these amendments, was then sent back to the commission and discussed privately *in toto*. The commission then reported on the *schema*; it was put to a vote and adopted by the entire congregation. As the amendments were adopted separately they were sent back for final correction.

It was on the twelfth of April that the third and fourth chapters were adopted by the congregation. On the same day the *schema* was put to a vote in its entirety and eighty-four members voted *placet juxta modum*, meaning that further amendments were recommended by the fathers. After printing, the text was reported back again on the nineteenth of April and again put to a vote and was adopted unanimously. Thus six weeks were consumed in passing one *schema*. Seventy-nine discourses were made on the three hundred sixty-four amendments. Six reports were presented upon a text which had been amended six times.

On the twenty-fourth of April, the first Sunday after Easter, the third session was held. The preamble with the four chapters and eighteen canons were approved by the Holy Father and were adopted and promulgated by him as a papal constitution, known as the Constitution *Dei Filius*. This constitution is a masterpiece of Catholic science. Every phrase, every word, is a precious stone of the purest luster, arranged like a priceless mosaic into an intricate but perfect whole. It is a mine of inestimable riches. One paragraph will suffice to quote:

So far, therefore, is the Church from opposing the cultivation of human arts and sciences, that it in many ways helps and promotes it. For the Church neither ignores nor despises the benefits to human life which result from the arts and sciences, but confesses that, as they came from God, the Lord of all science; so, if they be rightly used, they lead to God by the help of His grace. Nor does the Church forbid that each of these sciences in

its sphere should make use of its own principles and its own method; but while recognizing this just liberty, it stands watchfully on guard, lest the sciences, setting themselves against the divine teaching, or transgressing their own limits, should invade and disturb the domain of faith."

When it was discovered that there was no place in the *schemata* for the doctrine of pontifical infallibility, the council, in view of the universal outcry against it, began to discuss whether they could let the opportunity pass without defining the belief and settling the point once and for all. No bishop present ever questioned or debated the doctrine *per se*, but there were a few who questioned the opportuneness of defining it at a time when the antagonistic world only waited the opportunity to assail a doctrine which it would not take the trouble to understand.

The discussion of the *schema* on primacy filled fifteen full sessions, lasting four hours each. Each chapter was followed by private discussion, giving full scope to the opposition to express themselves freely. In this discussion sixty-five members were heard on the doctrine of infallibility. Another discussion took place on July the fourth, at which fifty-six members spoke. More than half the speakers suggested the time inopportune for a public definition.

Ninety-six amendments were made on the original fourth chapter on the eleventh of July. At the final voting on July the thirteenth, there were present six hundred and one fathers. Four hundred fifty-one voted in the affirmative for adoption, eighty-eight voted "no," and sixty-two voted conditionally — *placet juxta modum*. As a result of this voting one hundred sixty-three amendments were considered to be sent to the commission. On the sixteenth these were examined and reported. Then the whole chapter and *schema* was again put to a vote and was passed. This *schema* is known as the Dogmatic Constitution *Pastor Aeternus*.

Meanwhile war loomed between France and Prussia and

many prelates had to leave Rome for their homes. There was a rumor that Napoleon III was about to give Victor Emmanuel a free hand in Rome by the withdrawal of French troops.

On the eighteenth of July the fourth session was convened in the Basilica of St. Peter's. All the members were present to witness the opening. On the twenty-fourth the Pope presided. Each of the five hundred thirty-five fathers present rose as his name was called and, lifting his miter, answered *placet*; only two of the entire assembly answered *non placet*. After this ceremony, Pius IX addressed the assembly:

Great is the authority residing in the supreme pontiff, but his authority does not destroy, but builds up; it does not oppress but sustains, and very often it has to defend the rights of our brethren, the bishops. If some have not been of this mind with us, let them know that they have judged in agitation. But let them bear in mind that the Lord is not in the storm. Let them remember that a few years ago they held the opposite opinion, and abounded in the same belief with us, and that of this most august assembly; for then they judged in "the gentle air." Can two opposite consciences stand together in the same judgment? Far from it! Therefore, we pray God that He who alone can work great things may Himself illuminate their minds and hearts, that all may come to the bosom of their father, the unworthy vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, who loves them and desires to be one with them, and united in the bond of charity to fight with them the battle of the Lord; so that not only our enemies may not deride us but rather be afraid, and at length lay down the arms of their warfare in the presence of truth, and that all may say with St. Augustine, "Thou hast called me into Thy wonderful light, and behold I see."

After the confirmation of the decess of the Pope the two bishops who had voted "no" hastened to give their solemn allegiance at the foot of the papal throne. All of the four dissenting cardinals⁴⁹ who had absented themselves from the proceedings, immediately professed their assent. So that, in

⁴⁹ Cardinals Raucher, Mathieu, Schwarzenberg, Hohenlohe.

their final affirmation to the opportuneness of defining papal infallibility, no dissenting voice was heard.

During the ceremonies on this memorable morning of July eighteenth, 1870, the lowering clouds hovering over Rome burst asunder and a storm of majestic power swept over the city. Lightning flashes lit up the Basilica as the Holy Father spoke of "the storm." While the fathers rose and gave their assent, it raged with such fury that each face was vividly brought forth as he pronounced the *placet*. It played around the altar and the dome and the words around the base could be distinctly read: *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificado ecclesiam meam*.⁵⁰ It reminded many of the storm cloud in which Moses received the tablet of the ancient law on Mount Sinai. As the *Te Deum* was sung with tremendous emotion, the storm subsided and the sunshine suddenly shone upon the Holy Father's face, like the "gentle-air" in which he said God's truth is revealed. Those present have borne witness that the storm and its sudden subsiding, the singing of the *Te Deum*, and the solemn ceremony produced in them an exaltation which exceeded in intensity any emotion they had ever experienced.

23. *Piedmontese Invade Rome*

It was decided by the Fathers to suspend the sessions of the Vatican Council, due to the desperate crisis arising in Europe. The war had already begun between Prussia and France. This terrific clash of arms between two mighty giants soon usurped the European scene. To gain for himself the allegiance of that Italy which he was in no small degree instrumental in creating, Napoleon III withdrew the last detachments of French soldiers which had defended the Pope against his enemies.

On the very day (August fourth, 1870) that the Piedmontese soldiers were given what amounted to an invitation to

⁵⁰ Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church.

invade the last stronghold of the papacy — the Eternal City itself — France suffered a disastrous defeat at Weizenburg. Two days later, as General Dumont took formal leave of the Pontiff, a frightful battle was fought at Worth in which the French suffered a complete rout at the hands of the Prussians. One month later, on the tenth anniversary of the infamous "September Treaty," by which Napoleon had given Victor Emmanuel his formal consent to further encroachments upon the Holy See's temporal heritage, the Emperor of the Second Empire met a shameful defeat at Sedan, losing his crown, his throne, and his liberty; and becoming a prisoner of war.

The government of Victor Emmanuel, in return for all the favors lavished upon it by the Emperor for the past ten years, abandoned Napoleon III to his fate. The new Italy clasped the iron hand of Bismark, vowing eternal friendship, while France lay prostrate and bleeding. Powerful Protestant Prussia aided and abetted the new Kingdom in seizing the last portion of the patrimony of Peter. With the brazen effrontery of a practiced highwayman, Count San Marino came to the Holy Father, coolly requesting him to give his sanction to this supreme outrage. Pius IX met the messenger of the King with his accustomed dignity, but rejected his proposals with a stinging rebuke. To the assurances that the government would surround the independence of the Church with every safeguard, the Pontiff interrupted him with great vehemence: "Depart from me. You are whitened sepulchers. I know you not."

A Piedmontese army of sixty thousand men invaded the papal territory before the envoy returned from his mission to the Pope. At three separate points they penetrated the papal domain. This invasion was accompanied by a proclamation of a state of siege and the distribution of leaflets, promising to the Roman defenders aid and protection if they would desert their rightful sovereign. The loyal papal

Zouaves were not to be bought off. During the marches through open country, when they might easily have deserted, not one left his ranks as they fell back to defend Rome.

On the morning of the nineteenth of September the Italian army of Victor Emmanuel stood before the gates of Rome. In reply to the commanding general's summons to the Pope to surrender, Pius IX replied:

Though we may not prove strong enough to keep the invader from our homes, we will let him see that he shall never enter with our consent. If he persists in acting the part of a robber, we must treat him as such; if he will use violence and overpower us in our honest efforts to defend our property, our altars, and our firesides, let him do so in his true character. Let all right-minded men have an opportunity to judge his conduct and pronounce sentence.

The papal defenders numbered ten thousand men and were preparing vigorous resistance. When General Cadorna saw that his efforts to provoke mutiny in the papal ranks were futile, he determined to make the attack on the following morning.

With a heavy heart, full of foreboding, the Holy Father visited his own favorite Church, San Giovanni in Laterano, and there offered up fervent prayer. He then crossed the piazza to the Scala Santa, and in spite of his years and failing health, he climbed the twenty-seven steps on his knees. On reaching the top he entered the chapel and fell prostrate before the altar. His words, taken down without his knowledge by an attendant, have been preserved to us:

O great God! my Lord and my Saviour! Thou, of whose servants I am the servant, the unworthy representative, I implore Thee by the precious blood shed, of old, upon these very stones, by that blood of which I am the supreme dispenser, by the anguish, by the sacrifice of Thy divine Son, who willingly ascended these steps of opprobrium to offer Himself as a holocaust for the people who insulted Him and were about to slay Him; O have pity, I beseech Thee, upon Thy people, upon Thy

Church, which is Thy well-beloved Spouse, and upon me, Thy unworthy servant. If it be Thy holy will, hold back Thy chastising hand, turn away Thy just anger. Do not permit the sacrilegious feet of the enemy to desecrate Thy holy places. Spare my people for they are also Thine. If there must be a victim, O then, dear Lord, take me, but spare them. Sacrifice Thy unworthy servant, Thy undeserving representative. I am old, too long have I lived; let me be sacrificed. Mercy, O my God, mercy. But come what may, let Thy holy will be done.

As he walked calmly from the chapel with his attendants, Pius stopped for a few moments and looked down upon the vast encampment of the invading army. As far as his eye could see the military tents covered the landscape and he could plainly discern the cannon pointing in his very face. Without a word, he gazed long as if fascinated by the scene, with thoughts too deep for tears. Finally, turning his eyes from the enemies' army of sixty thousand, he looked wistfully at his own small force of ten thousand in the Lateran square. With a deep sigh he said: "Alas, they are so very few; yet they are too many to be slaughtered. God's will be done." Passing the Zouaves on his way to his carriage, he gave the kneeling soldiers his blessing. They arose and shouted with enthusiasm: "Long live Pius the Ninth, our Pontiff and our King." It was dark when Pius reached the Vatican. Did he realize at that moment that he would never again cross that threshold, and never again set his foot on Roman soil?

At five o'clock His Holiness was awakened by the sound of shot and shell falling in every direction into the Eternal City of the Popes. Though the walls were very old, they held firm when the besiegers tried to storm the fortifications. The papal troops fought with courage and skill. At every step they disputed the advance of the enemy. But their arms were weak; their numbers few. The enemy's artillery, by continuous pounding at one point between the Porta Pia and the Salaria, at last made a breach in the walls of thirty yards or so. Yet the defenders were not nonplused. Running

to the breach they met the besiegers with a hail of fire. The attackers halted. Meanwhile the papal troops kept up a continuous fire, crying in the faces of the hesitating soldiers: "*Evviva Pio Nono! Evviva Pio Nono!*" The besiegers recovered from their panic and shouted *Evviva Savoia!* The Zouaves drew their bayonets and stood massed to meet the enemy. At that critical moment a white flag of surrender was brought from General Kanzler's headquarters. Orders came from the Pope to stop the fighting. The Zouaves, chagrined and disappointed, openly wept and threw down their arms in shame and indignation. The officer who carried the flag of surrender approached the breach in the wall. It was half past ten in the morning.

The demands of General Cadorna were that "the City of Rome with its complete armaments, its flags, magazines, and every object belonging to the Pope's government, should be handed over to the army of His Majesty, the King of Italy." Thus, after so many years, as we have witnessed, from the time of Pius VI in the days of the French Revolution, the enemies of Christian civilization in Europe felt that they could write *Finis* to the temporal power of the Pontiff of Rome. The papal army lost in the battle sixteen killed and fifty-eight wounded. The Piedmontese never gave out their list of casualties. But the hospitals of Rome were filled with their wounded. There were more than a hundred wounded in the Hospital of Consolation alone.

That same morning Pius IX, with his cardinals, had celebrated Mass at the customary hour while the sound of the artillery punctuated the solemn sacrifice. It was nine o'clock when the Pope arose from his devotions and entered his audience chamber where his diplomats awaited him. When he approached them, they saw before them a face on which was written the most intense agony. He addressed each one personally,⁵¹ inviting them to sit down with him. His voice

⁵¹ There were seventeen present.

was shaken with emotion, yet his manner was deliberate and solemn. Sometimes he would stop for a moment and listen to the loud cannonading. He spoke reminiscently:

Once before, the diplomatic members gathered about me, to aid me in an hour of tribulation and sorrow. It was in 1848, not here, but in the Quirinal . . . I have written to the King. I do not know whether my letter has reached him. But, whether it has or not, I have now no hope of touching his heart, or of arresting his ungracious proceedings. . . . Bixio, the notorious Bixio, is here at our doors, supported by the Italian army. He is now a Royal general. Years ago, when he was a simple republican, he made promise, that should he ever get within the walls of Rome, he would throw me into the Tiber. In an hour or two, he may fulfill his promise. Were it not for the sin which he would entail upon his unhappy soul, I would not make an effort to thwart him. May heaven forgive him. . . . Only yesterday I received a communication from the young gentlemen of the American College, begging, I should say *demanding*, permission to arm themselves and to constitute themselves the defenders of my person. Though there are few in Rome in whose hands I should feel more secure than in the hands of these young Americans, I declined their generous offer with thanks; and bade them devote their kind efforts to caring for my wounded soldiers.

Yesterday, on my way to the chapel of the Scala Santa, I saw the flags of the different nationalities waving over their respective establishments throughout the city. I realized with pain that these colors were flying to the breeze by these people to save their property and lives from the invaders; to extort from them the security and respect which my poor flag is no longer able to afford. I would be glad, gentlemen, to say that I rely upon you, and upon the countries which you have the honor to represent, for deliverance from my difficulties and for the restoration of the Church, as was the case in 1848. But times are changed. The poor old Pope has now no one on earth upon whom he can rely. Relief must come from heaven.

Then, after a pause, Pius IX added with sublime assurance and serene faith: "Still, gentlemen, *remember — the Catholic Church is immortal!*"

After these cataclysmic events, Pius IX repudiated the

“Law of Guarantees” tendered by the Italian government, and became a voluntary prisoner in the Vatican. Refusing to touch the monies paid under this law,⁵² he and his successors relied for sixty years upon the donations of the Faithful all over the Catholic world to carry on the historic mission of the Church. The last eight years of his life were tranquil, but he never renounced his temporal heritage.

In Lent of 1871, as was the custom, Pius called to the Vatican the parish priests of Rome. He addressed them with feeling:

. . . One of the apologists of the Catholic religion, addressing himself to persecutors like those who prevail at this moment, [declared]: *Facere et pati, Christianorum est!*⁵³

With the present conduct of the Roman people before my eyes, I can justly apply these words to them. . . . Do we not daily witness the great things done in opposition to evil? Noble associations have sprung up for the purpose of expounding and defending the truth, and for succoring the needy. *The churches are crowded, people seek the word of God with avidity, and show an equal thirst for the grace of the sacraments.*

I do not go abroad; but you all know how much the Romans are doing at this moment to counteract by good works the efforts of falsehood and immorality. Well, then, precisely because I cannot go abroad, let the parish priests and preachers say that the Pope cannot but bless this people, and approve and encourage them. . . .

Say that I am proud of the Romans, and thank them for their patient endurance of present trials. Especially do I thank the large number of officials who have set their honor, loyalty, conscience, and the most cruel privations, above a preferment which they regarded as a felonious betrayal of my trust in them. Tell them that I know it all, and that I mean to bless them as men who do and suffer like true Romans!

24. *Silver Jubilee of Pontificate. The End*

The magnificent Pontifical Jubilee was held in Rome to

⁵² Since it would amount to acquiescence in what he deemed a theft.

⁵³ “To do and to suffer is characteristic of Christians.”

celebrate the twenty-fifth year of Pius IX's pontificate. In August of that year Pius IX had "reached the years of Peter." The outpouring of the Faithful in Rome and the world was enormous. Sixty thousand Roman citizens left their cards at the Vatican in the space of a few days. They wished to demonstrate their constant loyalty and to show the Holy Father that the change of government was not with their approval nor of their making. Deputations from Germany, England, and America were constantly arriving. Everyone was determined to manifest to the new government their reverence to the Holy Father of Catholicism. In replying to Prince Campagnano's address on presenting the gift of twenty-seven thousand, one hundred sixty-one signers of young Bolognese noblemen, Pius IX said:

They say that *I am weary*. Yes, I am weary of seeing so much wrong, so much injustice, so much disorder. I weary of seeing religion daily outraged in a city which was to the world a model of practical faith and morality. I weary of the oppression practiced on the innocent, of the outrages heaped on God's ministers, of the profanation of all that I most love and venerate. Yes, I am weary; but I am not disposed to let my arms fall . . . I am not disposed to treat with injustice, or to desist from the fulfillment of my duty. Thanks to God, in this sense, and for this work, I do not weary, and I hope I never shall.

Under the papal government of Rome the *Tata Giovanni*, so well beloved by Giovanni Mastai, was given an allotment of three hundred dollars a month for its maintenance. This grant was suppressed by the government of Victor Emmanuel. From now on Pius IX gave the sum from his own private purse, thus saving the institution he had watched over with such devotion as a young Abbate.

Hearing that a throne of gold and the title of "The Great" were to be presented to him on the day he reached "the years of Peter," Pius refused both honors and directed that the money for the throne be spent to purchase exemption from military service for young ecclesiastics. As for the title,

he said: "I wish to hear my name pronounced as it has always been, anxious only that all should repeat it to the praise of the divine majesty — '*Great is the Lord, and exceedingly to be praised.*'"

For seven years longer Pius IX continued to reign as Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ. His pontificate was the longest in papal history — nearly thirty-three years. Like Pius VI and Pius VII, Pius IX lived to be an octogenarian. It seems that the most persecuted pontiffs live the longest! His last years were years of great spiritual triumph.

Throughout his entire life Pius IX was dignified in his pontifical role; affable and bending in his personal contact with his intimates. His carriage was stately and his noble head was majestic in its proportions. Even in the later days, his presence brought forth the spontaneous exclamation in those who saw him for the first time: "How handsome the Holy Father is!" In conversation his face lighted up and his manner became vivacious. His smile was captivating, and he maintained to the last his gracious, whimsical personality. His wit was ready and his sense of pure fun was evidenced even in his eighties. It is said that at eighty-five he looked twenty years younger. His sense of humor over the premature notices of his death was healthy and droll. He declared: "When I look over certain Italian journals without finding the news of my last illness and death, it always seems to me that they have forgotten something." And again, with a twinkle in his eye, he excused his momentary preoccupation with the remark: "One cannot be an octogenarian with impunity, you know!"

In spite of his advanced years the news of the death of Pius IX came as a shock to Christendom and to the world. He had reigned so long he seemed to personify the papacy. Of a sudden time stood still. An era had come to an end.

Pius IX's life was one long struggle for the things of Christ against his foes, the worshipers of Caesar. Many

estimates have been made of him as Pontiff and as statesman. If Count Rossi had lived it is possible that the last years of his pontificate might have been very different and that the temporal power might have been preserved in essence, if not in size. But this was not in the order of things. Later, under another Pius, the temporal power was regained and vindicated, and the papacy restored to its rightful status as an independent sovereignty.

In the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura is the burial chamber of the great Pontiff. The walls are exquisitely decorated with the coats of arms donated by every country in the world. These are wrought in intricate fashion in mosaic, forming a pattern of rich, harmonious design. The tomb is of purest Carrara with the words engraved: "The ashes of Pius IX. Pray for him." It is protected by a semi-circular wrought-iron grating, the gift of Leo XIII, his immediate successor. Over the bronze statue of St. Peter, in the Vatican Basilica, hangs a vivid portrait of the Pontiff. From every point of view the lively eyes gaze directly into the eyes of the pilgrim. They are confident, smiling, reassuring.

PART II

WATCHERS ON THE VATICAN

Pius X

Pius XI

Pius X

1903-1914

THE temporal power of the papacy was dead. Certainly to her enemies, who had worked to this end with a dogged tenacity worthy of a loftier cause, the prestige of the Catholic Church was irretrievably lost. Her defeat seemed final and her demise seemed near at hand. Pius IX's death, and the indignities Roman ruffians attempted to perpetrate on the papal corpse as it was translated, under cover of night, from St. Peter's to its final resting place in San Lorenzo's, showed the implacable hatred of her foes.

1. *Pontificate of Leo XIII*

True, a new Pontiff, Leo XIII, was sitting on the Chair of Peter. But looking at history from a purely materialistic point of view, Leo XIII's semiprivate coronation in the Sistine Chapel seemed to symbolize the Holy See's own acceptance of her ignominy. Those who deny the supernatural in the affairs of this world could not be expected to foresee what lay hidden in the womb of time, nor how the imponderables of God refute and upset the most careful calculations of men. The enthronement of an ecclesiastic little known within high Church circles, and hardly at all to the lay world, could give no hint of the splendor of a pontificate lasting a quarter of a

century and unique in the annals of papal history for achievement of the highest order in the realms of scholarship, diplomacy, and spiritual ascendancy. Truly Leo XIII possessed spiritual genius in an exceptional degree! Even his erstwhile enemies conceded his transcendent qualities. Under his wise and saintly leadership the prestige of the Catholic Church shone resplendent. She manifested her universal appeal in the very teeth of her seeming defeat!

When apprized of his election Leo XIII had said to the cardinals who had elected him: "It is not the tiara you are giving me, but death." Such an inauspicious beginning for the frail prisoner of the Vatican, of sixty-eight years, was to culminate twenty-five years later in a spiritual victory of wonderful achievement, of universal respect, and of sincere good will.

The chief fruits of the pontificate of Leo XIII were garnered in the field of education. Bishop von Ketteler said of Leo XIII: "All the sound and vital elements of modern culture should be made serviceable to the Eternal Truth and to the Church. This is the great life-thought of Leo XIII." Certain it is that his act of throwing open the treasures of the Vatican archives cannot be sufficiently praised for the incalculable benefits rendered to science, art, and history. To the timorous dissent of a few clerics, Leo XIII courageously replied: "There are some of you who, if you had lived in the time of Christ, would have wanted to suppress the betrayal of Judas and the denial of Peter."

It was during his illustrious pontificate that the Vatican observatory was erected and fitted out with the most modern instruments. A great reference library was established by this scholar-Pontiff in 1891. More than forty thousand of these volumes have been catalogued. All the valuable documents from San Giovanni in Laterano were transferred to the Vatican Library and these were augmented by the purchase of the entire Barberini and Borghese libraries. The archives

of the Propaganda were also acquired by Leo. He established the College of St. Anselm on the Aventino, thus renewing the fame of the ancient Benedictine Order. He published an encyclical on the study of the Scriptures during the later years of his pontificate. The higher education of the clergy was his constant care and fondest desire. He established foreign colleges in Rome: the Bohemian, Spanish, Armenian, and the Oriental. He founded a Catholic University at Freiburg, Switzerland, and at Washington, besides a theological Faculty at Strasbourg. The Vatican Seminary was enlarged and free scholarships were increased. Two years before his death, Leo XIII established the Leonine College for the higher education of Italian clergy. But no act of his merits the gratitude of generations yet unborn more than that promulgated in the Papal bull, *Aeterni Patris Filius*, published on August fourth, 1879, reinstating in Catholic schools the teachings and philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Although Leo XIII possessed to an extraordinary degree that sensitive tact which is the quintessence of breeding and culture; he was, nonetheless, neither apologetic nor reticent in publicly proclaiming the glory due the Church of Christ of which he was the visible Head. During the Columbus celebration in 1902, he wrote an encyclical for American Catholics, in which he proudly affirms:

Columbus is ours . . . if a little consideration be given to the particular reason of his purpose in exploring the *mare tenebrosum*, and also the manner in which he endeavored to execute the design, it is indisputable that the Catholic faith was the strongest motive for the inception and prosecution of the design; so that for this reason also the whole human race owes not a little to the Church.

For America Leo XIII always felt a solicitous gratitude. To American Catholics he says: "Thanks are due to the equity of the laws which obtain in America and to the customs of the well-ordered Republic. For the Church amongst

you, unopposed by the Constitution and Government of your nation, fettered by no hostile legislation, protected against violence by the common laws and the impartiality of the tribunals, is free to live and act without hindrance." But he warns: "As regards civil affairs, experience has shown how important it is that the citizens should be upright and virtuous. In a free state, unless justice be generally cultivated, unless the people be repeatedly and diligently urged to observe the precepts and laws of the Gospel, liberty itself may be pernicious. Let the clergy . . . treat plainly this topic of the duties of citizens so that all may understand and feel the necessity, in political life, of conscientiousness, self-restraint, and integrity; *for that cannot be lawful in public which is unlawful in private affairs.*"

Anarchy is the fad of the day. "Why," asks the great Pontiff, "must science be Agnostic; or Democracy anti-Christian?" Can it be a true civilization which, under the guidance of Rationalists, Communists, and Freemasons, is making an end of the family, degrading or dissolving marriage, and throwing the reins on the neck of man's lusts? Let Catholics realize they have public duties. Citizens should Christianize the State. Science should be lifted up to heavenly things. Justice between the rich and the poor should be practiced. Journalists have a solemn duty to apply these principles to current affairs.

Of late years it has been customary to refer to Leo XIII as "the Pope of the Workingman." But this was only one phase of his many-sided and well-rounded genius. True it is that his great Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, sounded the trumpet call to heed the needs and rights and duties of the laborer and the obligations and Christian privileges of the employer of labor. Many Catholic statesmen have borne witness to their indebtedness to the great principles of this stirring encyclical, *On the Condition of the Workingman*, and its companionpiece, written forty years later by the great Pius XI,

Quadragesimo Anno,¹ in which the principles of Leo are brought up to date and made adaptable for our times.

During the quarter of a century of Leo's pontificate, by the Providence of God and through the instrumentality of His servant on Peter's throne, the nations had once again become reconciled. In a Boston paper² the editor draws a comparison between the condition of Europe when Leo deplored his own coronation, and that which obtained just before he laid down the crozier and tiara.

The nations are conciliated . . . the Church is free and strong in Germany, the German emperor the personal friend of the Pope, and the candidate for the protectorate of the Catholic missions in the Orient when that honorable office falls from the unworthy hands of France. Today, despite the Pope's refusal to crush Irish freedom with the cross . . . despite his reaffirmation of the invalidity of Anglican Orders, the Catholic Church is reconquering her old territory in England, and the English king breaks the precedent of centuries and ignores frantic Protestant objection by a visit to her venerable Head. Russia has cordial and definite relations with the Vatican, and the religious freedom of Catholics throughout her territory is assured; the Catholics of Switzerland have recovered their churches, and the cantons regulate primary education; Spain, Belgium, and Austria have cause for gratitude to the peace-making Pope; and if the Catholics of France are still suffering, it is because French Catholics have rejected the Pope's counsel to conciliate and Christianize the Republic.

As for America, "Nowhere am I more truly Pope than in the United States," Leo XII had pertinently said.

2. *Giuseppe Sarto Becomes Pope*

After such a fruitful pontificate, as surprising as it was glorious, who could be found competent to follow where Leo XIII had led? Such was the query of the cardinals during the nine days of the *Sede Vacante*, after Leo's death. When

¹ See *Pius XI: Apostle of Peace*, p. 210, by the author.

² *The Pilot*.

the Conclave convened an eager interest in Leo's successor was once more evident, not only in Rome, nor solely in Europe, but in the entire civilized world. Papal influence was once again manifest, due, under the Providence of God, to the acknowledged genius of Leo XIII. Into a decaying organism a new life had been infused. Phoenixlike the papacy was reborn from the ashes of despair.

In studying the faces of the senate of cardinals met in Conclave to elect a successor to Leo, one must acknowledge they were an assemblage of superior men. There is not a commonplace face among them. In no political gathering could one ever hope to see such notable distinction. What is it that so distinguishes them? Intellect? Yes, but it is much more than that; something intangible and indefinable. It was known that Leo had selected the men he created cardinals with the greatest care.

Among the *papabili*³ none stood so high as Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State to the late Leo. His portrait reveals a man of great intellectual power and of physical vigor. He is handsome and austere in appearance, a diplomat by calling, and a born leader of men. His abilities were deeply appreciated by Leo XIII. On his deathbed Leo thanked him for his service, saying with gratitude: "We have worked well together, you and I." It was understood the French cardinals supported Cardinal Rampolla. In fact, in the first scrutiny, he led with twenty-five votes. Gotti, General of the Discalced Carmelites, came second in the counting; and the Patriarch of Venice, Cardinal Sarto, was third with five votes. On the same Saturday evening the second scrutiny revealed Rampolla had gained four more votes, Gotti had lost one of his seventeen, and Sarto's vote had doubled. It still looked as though Cardinal Rampolla would be the next Pope. But at this critical juncture the Polish Cardinal Puzyna of Cracow,

³ Cardinals who are considered worthy and likely candidates of papal election are called *papabili*.

arose and asked permission to read a letter. The assembled cardinals were shocked to hear that the election of Cardinal Rampolla would not be acceptable to Austria. As soon as the reading ceased, Rampolla arose, and with great vehemence protested against outside lay interference in the Conclave proceedings; at the same time proudly asserting that he felt honored by the distinction paid him in his adherence to duty which had won him the enmity of old Franz Josef. Although the dean of the Conclave, Cardinal Oreglio, asked his colleagues to pay no heed to the letter, it nevertheless had its influence; for the cardinals knew the new Pope would be handicapped at the start by the animosity of so powerful an adversary. When Cardinal Sarto saw how his own name was gaining precedence over all the others, he begged the cardinals not to consider him, saying he had none of the qualities a pope should possess. He was plainly distraught by the final count which elected him the next Pontiff.

When the Cardinal-dean asked for the customary assent, Cardinal Sarto replied in a trembling voice and with tears in his eyes: "If this chalice may not pass away but I must drink it, Thy will be done." So sure had been the newly elected Pope of his return to Venice, he had bought a round-trip ticket when he came to Rome for the Conclave!

Who was Giuseppe Sarto, and what were the antecedents of the new Pope who chose the revered title, *Pius X*?

3. *From Village Home to Priesthood*

He was born at Riese, a pretty little hamlet of forty-five hundred souls, in the province of Treviso in Venezia. In 1835, the year of his birth, Venezia was under Austrian rule. Riese is situated in a flat plain, rich and fertile. The mountains enclose the plain — the lovely olive-clad hills of Asolo and far-distant Monte Grappa are on the north; and the Trentine Alps encircle the valley. They cut off the horizon and shut out the world beyond. The roads are marked off by

plane trees, giving the town an orderly appearance. Mulberry trees suggest the silkworm and from their branches hang garlands of grapevines. From the Brento, the Piava, and the Avenale, rivulets of water feed a system of dykes along the sides of which bend willows and alders. The irrigated fields assure abundant crops. Most of the inhabitants are contadini who raise wheat, oats, barley, and maize, and household vegetables. Peaches and apples grow in the orchards. Riese boasts a church with a tapering campanile, slender and graceful as they all are in Venezia. In the church is its sole treasure, a Tintoretto — *The Marriage of the Blessed Virgin*. Around the edifice cluster the plain, clean houses, and here in the open square the children play like a brood of chicks about their mother hen.

The people of this valley are the hard-working, God-fearing folk who are the backbone of a nation. The roads are studded with shrines and crosses which bespeak the devotion of the peasants. Of such stock was the Sarto household. Giuseppe was one of eight surviving children — the first-born and the last son dying in infancy. All except Angelo and himself were girls. There were Rosa, Teresa, Maria, Antonia, Lucia, and Anna. The father, Giovanni Battista, owned the house the children were born in, a cow, and a strip of land. Like his neighbors he eked out a livelihood from his land, supplemented in his case by fifty centesemi a day for his services as *curose*, or caretaker, of the town hall where various gatherings were held.

Margarita was twenty years her husband's junior. To help provide for her ever increasing family, when she was not cooking or scrubbing, washing and mending the clothes, she took in sewing for her more prosperous neighbors. Her face reveals that hard-working, disciplined type that reminds one of an oak tree — strong, weathered, enduring. Years of strict adherence to duty had molded that countenance into something almost hierarchic. Among old nuns one comes across

such faces. In the Sarto home the Office of the Day was said in common each evening.⁴

Little "Beppo" (Giuseppe) received his first formal education from an Austrian schoolmaster named Gecherle. Both he and the village priest, Father Fusarini, had high hopes of their young charge who often served at Mass. On Easter Sunday, 1846, Beppo received his First Communion. He was eleven years of age. Later he was confirmed at the Cathedral of Asolo by the Bishop Sartori Canova of Minde, a brother of the famous sculptor.

Father Fusarini was not slow to detect the latent talents of the little peasant lad. The friendly priest offered to give him private instruction in Latin, in preparation for the *ginnasio* at Castelfranco. After only a few months' tuition the apt pupil passed the examination with credit and was admitted to the school.

Thus, by his own hard work and with the help of the kind priest, Beppo's horizon widened. It was a good hour's walk from Riese to Castelfranco. Over this road the boy walked barefoot, slinging his boots over his shoulder to save the leather, putting them on only when he came to the town. At the end of the four-mile trot the old fortress and the palace and the wonderful cathedral rose before Giuseppe's eyes. Castelfranco is in reality two towns: the medieval walled-in town and the modern town on the outskirts of the ancient nucleus. On his way to the *ginnasio*, Giuseppe passed straight through the old town where the houses are picturesque and centuries old and there are ivy-covered towers and romantic ruins. Then he turned left and there on the corner of the Strada San Giacomo, where he must often have stopped to pray, was the beautiful cathedral. We can see the sturdy

⁴At Montecassino, in the summer of 1939, the author met just such a devout family at the Guest House. They had come up to the Monastery from the village below to participate in the joy of their young son's consecration the next morning. Three generations were on their knees saying their devotions together — old grandmother who worked daily in the fields, the parents, brothers, and sisters.

peasant lad going down the aisle to the altar of the Virgin Mother, crossing himself as he knelt and looking up confidently to ask some childish favor. Did he realize the altarpiece was painted by the great Giorgione for his native town in the fifteenth century, and that it is one of his finest masterpieces? At any rate, it is not of Giorgione that he is thinking. For there *she* sits upon her lofty throne with her baby Christ Child in her loving arms. She is infinitely tender and comprehending. St. Francis of Assisi stands at her feet facing the little worshiper, his hand extended in gracious welcome; and valiant in his shining armor, St. Liberalis, patron of Treviso, stands at her right, erect, youthful, and handsome.

Giovanni Battista's fortunes must have improved, for when Angelo joined his brother in the Castelfranco school, their father bought a donkey and cart for the lads to ride to school; Giuseppe, by virtue of his seniority, always driving, but allowing Angelo to crack the whip occasionally. Giuseppe was now tutoring three children for his noonday meal. When the boys returned at night to Riese they must milk the cow, weed the garden, or pitch the hay. The year round, the Sarto family was not idle.

Thus, for four years, from 1846 to 1850, in all kinds of weather, Giuseppe Sarto was laying the foundation for his chosen career of priest by conscientious study and unstinted application. After official examinations at the Diocesan Seminary of Treviso he was declared "eminent" in Religion, Latin, Greek, History, Geography, and Arithmetic. He was first of forty-three candidates examined by the Trevisian board. His sole ambition was to enter the great seminary of Padua, finish the course in the humanities, and take up theology.

At Padua there was a pious foundation where youths like himself might obtain a scholarship to study for the priesthood. Father Fusarini called the attention of his protégé, Giuseppe Sarto, to the venerable Cardinal-Patriarch, Mon-

ico,⁵ who had the right to choose the candidates. One day in August the good parish priest called at the Sarto home. "Kneel down, Beppo" he said, "and thank God, for He has surely called you to do some work for Him. You will soon go to the seminary, and like me, you will be a priest." So it was that at the age of fifteen young Sarto entered Padua seminary. This was in the year 1850.

According to the records kept at the Seminary, Giuseppe Sarto received his clerical habit on September nineteenth. A year later, in Asolo, Bishop Farina of Treviso gave the priestly student his tonsure. Thus began eight years of study which must have been, in retrospect, the most blessed years of Don Sarto's life. For if Castelfranco thrilled the simple country lad with its spacious vistas of culture and learning, what was the impression of Padua on the adolescent youth?

First of all, it was the home and final resting place of *Il Santo*, the venerated Franciscan, St. Anthony. Here the many-domed and towered cathedral rises in magic grandeur over the saint's tomb. It completely dominates the town. Even to one who is familiar with the cathedral glories of Europe, the first sight catches the breath. When we learn the cathedral was rebuilt by the mighty Michelangelo after it was partially destroyed by fire in the twelfth century, we get the key to its overpowering effect. How many times during the eight years of his sojourn in Padua the young student must have wandered down those aisles, passing from glory to glory, and always finding some new treasure! Here was a sculpture by Donatello, a bas-relief by Lombardi, pictures by Mantegna, Veronese, and by the incomparable Giotto who, like his youthful admirer, was of the people — a simple shepherd lad.

⁵ This Cardinal-Patriarch, Giacomo Monico, was a descendant of a family of smithies of Riese. The blacksmith, at whose family forge the boy, Beppo, had so often watched the sparks fly, studied for the priesthood. In 1822 he was made Bishop of Ceneda; in 1826 he was Patriarch of Venice; in 1833 he was created Cardinal.

Here in Padua is the great university, one of the finest of the Catholic universities of the Middle Ages, founded in 1238, and justly famed near and far, for its prestige in law and medicine. Many famous men came out of this university; among others, a friend of Petrarch, Giovanni da Ravenna; and the great educator, Vittorino da Feltre.

The Palazzo della Ragione, or Council Hall, is another architectural gem of the twelfth century. There is also the splendid church of Santa Giustina of the sixteenth century. And hidden away from the vulgar eye is the tiny Church of the Arena whose walls are completely covered with the frescoes of Giotto, which rival those at Assisi.

The Seminary was founded in 1577 and was expanded the following century. With what sensations of awe young Sarto must have entered the Refectory, built by the Benedictines, its walls still embellished with the exquisite carved and inlaid woodwork for which the Brothers were so famous, and which even today the Order perpetuates in such monasteries as Montecassino.⁶ Here the monks worked and ate and prayed until they were driven out from their own hallowed creation by the fury of the French Revolution. And the library! Giuseppe could pass from hall to hall of book-lined walls. He had never seen a library before and what a library this one was! Who could have guessed there were so many books in the whole world?

In the course of his training at Padua, all these treasures of the human spirit were unfolded to the admiring gaze of the Riese lad. Days passed into weeks, weeks into months, and months into years, busily and pleasantly for Don Sarto. On Sundays and holydays he assisted in the choir at the cathedral. The hours were so wisely apportioned that mind and soul grew to maturity naturally and without disruption.

⁶ Today at Montecassino the young monk, Dom Eusebio, is carrying on the Benedictine tradition of artistry and craftsmanship. There is nothing he cannot do with his hands, from hand-illuminated scrolls to painting and all kinds of repairing and decorating in stone, wood, and on canvas.

His robust peasant body had long become inured to endurance. His vitality seemed always to have reserves. Don Tito Fusarini had done so well by Giuseppe, and his training at Castelfranco had been so thorough, he at once entered the third class at the seminary. At the end of the first school year he took first prize. In the year '52 he again was at the head of a class of thirty-nine. All the records are on file at the seminary today. These were not given to the pupils, but were kept for reference for the superiors before the ordination of the seminarians. They were a guide to the bishop for the various appointments he had to consider among the newly ordained priests. Sarto's attention to his studies is recorded *intensa e costante*. Each subject is individually tabulated and most interesting comments follow, which show not only the application and aptitude of the student, but also how original and penetrating the pedagogues were. Sarto's rank for the entire period is summed up as *prima con eminenza*.

It was during Giuseppe's third year that he had a premonition that his father was seriously ill and he requested leave to go home. It was too true, for he arrived only in time to receive his father's last blessing. On the day of Giovanni Battista's sudden death, Margarita was giving birth to her baby boy who died soon after. Burdened with her brood of seven at home, it never occurred to the heroic mother to permit Giuseppe to give up his priestly career. Somehow she would manage. Her youngest was only four, but the older girls would soon be able to help her with the dressmaking that was to sustain the family for years to come.

So Giuseppe, who was now seventeen, returned to Padua to take up his studies and the Spartan mother carried on at home. Sarto distinguished himself and was liked by his schoolfellows as a good comrade. It was while he was a student at the seminary that, unknown to others, he shared his rations with a poor peasant who was old and ill. Because he

could not give money, he gave what he had — a part of his own food — which he daily carried in secret to the invalid.

Finally the glad school days were at an end and the goal toward which they all tended had arrived. Giuseppe Sarto was grown to manhood. He was only twenty-three and a man must be twenty-four before he can become a priest; but through a special dispensation from Rome Bishop Antonio Farina of Asolo who had tonsured him, anointed Don Sarto as a priest of Christ. This was on September eighteenth, 1858, in the Cathedral of Castelfranco. Of course, the good Margarita was there with her brood. But it was on the next day that her cup of joy was full indeed, for from her beloved son's consecrated hands she received the Host in their own church of Riese.

4. *Curate of Tombolo*

Within a few days after this supreme event, Father Sarto was appointed curate of Tombolo. He was glad of this parish to which he came, for he was among the poor he was so eager to help. Bishop Farina did not long remain in the diocese; but was transferred to Vincenza in 1860. His successor, Bishop Zinelli, watched fondly over his young curate, and it was through him that Father Sarto started on his career that was to end on the papal throne.

Tombolo is about the same distance from Castelfranco as is Riese in another direction. It is situated on the river Brento. The church of Tombolo is of Doric architecture — like old St. Peter's in lower New York. Its campanile stands apart, quite separate from the church, as many do in northern Italy. In other respects the church is distinguished. It has three altars, but, except for the stations of the cross, it is completely without interior decoration. In fact, both within and without, it is severely chaste in style.

Father Sarto set up housekeeping with one of his sisters. His salary was less than meager. Yet even this inadequate

income he managed to share with his needy parishioners. But Father Sarto was happy at Tombolo. The town had never heard such preaching. The pastoral labors of the young curate were a benediction. He himself taught the children their catechism. He was always available in sickness and in suffering. His presence had a tonic influence. Often, when the simple folk thought they were about to die, his chaffing good sense called them back to health and work. His sister complained that he burned up too many candles, for he studied far into the night. The young curate found in Father Constantini, his superior, a somewhat querulous and exacting chief; but he obeyed him with angelic sweetness.

Nine years after he came to Tombolo, the Austro-Italian war broke out; and all of the Lombardy-Venetian territory was ceded to Napoleon III, who turned it over to King Victor Emmanuel. For sixty years it had been under Austrian sway; and the foreign government was the only one that many of the inhabitants had ever known. Naturally the Sartos and their friends were rejoiced that Venezia was joined to Lombardy and Piedmont. Then occurred what was called an election, to ratify the results of the agreement. Father Constantini and his young curate urged their parishioners to vote. The list of voters is still preserved in the town hall of Tombolo, and is in Father Sarto's handwriting. The Austrian troops had marched through Castelfranco; and at Riese, in the home of the innkeeper Parolin, who had married one of Father Sarto's sisters, the Italian officers were quartered. It is little wonder, after the terrible defeat of Custoza, that the clergy, as well as the laity, were enthusiastic over their freedom from Austrian oppression. Little did the young curate, rejoicing in his people's deliverance, foresee that as a result, forty years later he would be a prisoner of the Vatican — a last link in the chain of events that began with the Austrian deliverance!

It was while he was curate that Father Sarto was able

to improve his financial straits by tutoring the children of a wealthy Jewish family who spent their summer vacation in his parish. Reviewing the young curate's life at Tombolo, one is convinced that he carried more human responsibilities and heavier burdens than any preacher of a wealthy church in a great city ever does. Like the country doctor, the country priest's life is one of tragic sacrifice and unstinted devotion. Thus, in fact, Father Sarto spent the first nine years of his priestly career. His activities were personal and individual. He was a true *pastor*.

5. *Salzano and Treviso*

In June of 1867 Sarto received his appointment to the church of Salzano, a town equidistant from Treviso and Padua, and nearer to Venice than either of these towns. There were six thousand souls in his new parish which embraced more territory than the town itself. The new priest lived in the *Kanonika*, or rectory, which is a stately, walled-in edifice with a garden. His sisters, Rosa and Lucia, kept house for him. He was not unknown at Salzano; for his fame had preceded him. At Tombolo many schemes had flitted through the young curate's mind for the improvement of his parish which he now felt free to put into practice. He created a *Casa Rurale*, which was a Loan Association and Savings Society. It became so successful that it embraced a membership far beyond the confines of his own parish. Here the members deposited their money; and, in times of need, they could borrow without paying exorbitant interest.

Many are the tales of Father Sarto's saintly devotion to his flock. They tell how he helped to carry, three miles to the cemetery, the bier of a dead man at whose funeral he had officiated. In order to visit his people more expeditiously he bought a donkey and wagon which he later sold to help a poor family in great need. But it was during the cholera epidemic that his truly heroic virtues were taxed most

severely. Day and night, with scarcely a moment he could call his own, the good priest hurried from one victim to another. He brought the consolations of religion to the dying; he buried the dead; he assisted the widows and children.

The *Pia Opera Bosa*, named for its benefactor, was one of many such institutions in Italy to supply young girls with money to marry or to enter a convent. Three hundred lire were paid to each girl of good character who applied for this sensible assistance to begin her life's career. Don Bosa had left the legacy for the seminarians; but the seminary rejected the bequest because of the strings attached; and Father Sarto went to law with the heirs of Don Bosa to claim the money for his charitable enterprise. He won the case; and, as a result, thirteen young women were yearly provided with the means to enter upon their life's work.

One of Father Sarto's sisters had married and lived at Possagno. He went frequently to visit her and her husband. Here, in the sculptor's native town, was Canova's monument which he had built as a tomb for himself. Nearby was a museum founded by the great sculptor. These were a constant delight to Father Sarto, a little starved in Salzano after the feast of art that had nourished him at Padua.

The parish of St. Bartholomew's had about forty-five hundred persons, also a hospital and an orphanage under five Franciscan Sisters. There was a splendid estate occupied by the Jewish Roman Senator, Romanin-Jacur,⁷ who owned a villa and a weaving establishment in which three hundred women were employed. All of the employees of his establishment were Catholics; and because of this, Don Sarto became acquainted with the wealthy Jew. The entire Jewish family became very fond of the Catholic Father; and the employer

⁷ When the former parish priest of Salzano became Pope, Romanin-Jacur was a member of the City Council; and due to his initiative the entire Council sent an enthusiastic telegram to his old friend, congratulating Pius X on his accession to the throne of Peter.

always insisted that his employees should keep their Holy-days of Obligation, and that the factory girls should attend Mass. He was a generous contributor when Father Sarto had some scheme that needed financial backing.

While Don Sarto was pastor of St. Bartholomew's he had the organ repaired, put in a new floor, and built a hall for catechism classes and other meetings. He revived the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament which had lapsed into disuse. His sermons gave him a deserved reputation so that he was called to Treviso and to Venice to preach. During retreats for priests he was Retreat Master at Casale Monferrato and Vincenza.

From Salzano Father Sarto was called to Treviso, a city of twenty-five thousand inhabitants; and on the main highway from Bologna through Venice to Vienna. This town played a great role in the history of the Venetian Republic, as its moat and wall around the city bear witness. It is a busy industrial town; and the surrounding countryside is very fertile — hence its name, the "Garden of Venice." It has been an episcopal city since the fourteenth century. Treviso's cathedral is in the style of Lombardy and was built in 1141. It is the proud possessor of masterpieces by such artists as Paris Bordone, a native of Treviso; Paul Veronese, Titian, and others. St. Liberalis, the patron of the town, is buried under the main altar. Treviso has four other parish churches, the finest of which is the former Dominican church of S. Nicola, built in 1221. Its seminary was founded by Pope Eugenius IV in 1437. The antiquity of the town goes back much farther; for once, on an Easter Sunday, Charlemagne worshiped here. Nicholas of Treviso was a Dominican brother at the monastery. He became Benedict XI, and is called "Blessed." The Cathedral of Treviso has fourteen canons, two of whom are dedicated to the furtherance of the Gregorian Chant.

Against such a treasured background, Bishop Zinelli, in

1875, called Don Sarto in his fortieth year to be a Canon of the cathedral, and made him a monsignor. The Bishop had cause to know how wise his choice of the new Canon was. Teaching was now his principal function. The Monsignor lectured in the seminary on dogma, morals, Church law, and liturgy. In the ecclesiastical court his opinions were always listened to with respect by his colleagues. He came into direct contact with an intractable government; yet in the delicate situations he was called upon to meet, his tact and geniality won the day. One promotion followed another rapidly; and he was soon rector of the seminary of the diocese, which means that the discipline and direction of studies of future priests were put into his hands. His discipline was firm; and he brought the course of study up to a high degree of efficiency. Soon he was made Chancellor of the diocese and Vicar-General. In this capacity he accompanied Bishop Zinelli in 1878 on an episcopal tour of the entire diocese. They went from town to town, inspecting every church, school, and convent; and no detail was too insignificant to be investigated. Without friction Monsignor Sarto brought about many salutary reforms. The bishop was getting old; and more and more he leaned upon his Vicar-General. Under these added responsibilities the Monsignor's energies and abilities flourished like the bay tree. His sermons were becoming famous; and people came from afar to hear him preach. His sole recreations were his visits to his aging mother and his other relatives.

The bond between Bishop Zinelli grew with the years; and when, in 1882, the good Bishop died, Monsignor Sarto's loss was great and his grief poignant.

Monsignor Sarto's activities had meanwhile attracted the attention of Cardinal Parocchi. His Eminence and Bishop Callegari called to the notice of the Pontiff, Leo XIII, the qualities of this apostle of Christ, and how he had succeeded in putting into practice many of the principles the Pontiff

was enunciating in his encyclicals on social problems and related problems.

Cardinal Lucido Maria Parocchi, a man of profound scholarship and experience, had been made Bishop of Pavia in 1871; but because of the obstinate opposition of the Italian government, the *exequatur*⁸ was denied him; and he delivered lectures in the seminary to support himself. He had been made Archbishop of Bologna; but here too he met with such antipathy from the government that Leo XIII called him to Rome and made him Cardinal-Vicar two years later.

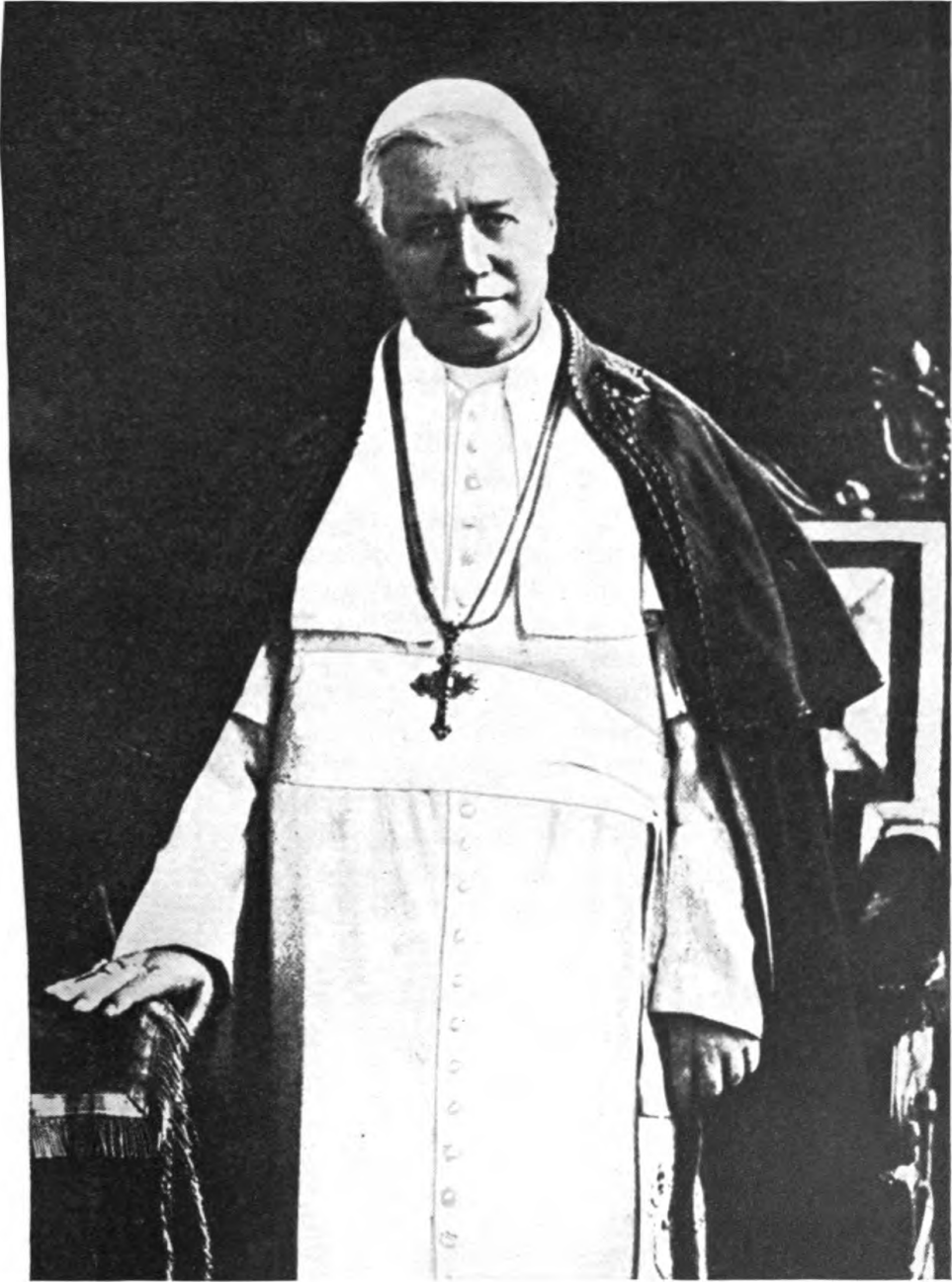
Bishop Peter Rota, of Mantua, had likewise been frustrated in the performance of his episcopal duties by the government's persistent refusal to grant the *exequatur*. The see of Mantua was in a desolate condition when Leo XIII called Bishop Rota to Rome. For ten years now it had been without a bishop. But when the Pope heard of Monsignor Sarto's work he felt that he, perhaps, might be the man who could conciliate the government and get along at Mantua.

6. *Bishop of Mantua*

In the church of the Roman College, St. Apollinaris in Rome, Canon Sarto was consecrated by Cardinal Parocchi; the former Bishop of Mantua, Peter Rota, who was now titular Archbishop of Thebes, and Archbishop Giovanni Berengo of Udine, assisting. This was in 1884, six days after Leo had appointed him. When Leo XIII received the new Bishop in private audience he presented him with a beautiful pectoral cross and five morocco-bound volumes of the *Pontificale Romanum*, speaking these affectionate words:

If the people of Mantua are not pleased with their new pastor, they never will be with anyone; for Monsignor Sarto is the most lovable of bishops.

⁸ Official recognition necessary in Italy to enable a bishop legally to transact his duties.



PIUS X: 1903-1914

Giuseppe Sarto, of peasant stock, born at Riese in Venezia, in 1835; elected to the papacy August 4, 1903.

The *exequatur* did not reach Bishop Sarto until the twenty-sixth of February, 1885. His letter to the Mayor of Mantua was a masterpiece of conciliation and confidence.⁹ At the same time the pastoral letter to his new flock bespeaks how utterly Giuseppe Sarto belonged to Christ and His Church:

For the good of souls, I shall spare neither trouble, nor time, nor fatigue; for I have nothing so much at heart as your salvation. One or other of you may perchance ask who will give me the power to keep my promises. I reply "Hope — hope, the mainstay of my life, my unfailing strength in doubt, the strong support of my weakness; hope — but not in vain — hope in Christ, which, resting as it does on the Divine Word, is able to uphold the weakest of men by the strength and greatness of God. God refuses no grace to those who trust in Him; our power is in proportion to our hope, and through it we can do all we will."

"I can do all things in Him who strengtheneth me," says the Apostle. God is possessed of infinite power; and shall I have less when I am supported by Him? He has infinite wisdom and can I, abiding by His doctrine, err? He has infinite goodness; and can I, surrendered wholly to Him, be forsaken? His providence is infinite; and if I place myself in His keeping, will it not watch over me? O Hope, which unites me to God, and God to me! Being fully conscious of my insufficiency to bear the weight laid upon my shoulders, I find all my consolation in the beautiful virtue of hope.

Bishop Sarto went home to Riese to spend Holy Week and Easter with his family. It must have been the most blessed Easter his mother ever had. When she opened the door her son held up his hand, and, with boyish pride, exclaimed: "Look, mother, at my beautiful episcopal ring!"

"Yes," she agreed, "it is beautiful; but you wouldn't be wearing it if I had not this one!" as she held up her wrinkled hand with her wedding band.

When it came to saying "Farewell" to his seminarians at Treviso, his kind heart could not face the ordeal. "Here,"

* See Appendix F.

he said, handing a letter of farewell to the rector, "read it in the refectory when I am gone."

A delegation of clergy were waiting at Verona on the eighteenth of April to conduct their new bishop to Mantua. It was seven o'clock in the evening when they reached the city. A long line of carriages followed the one in which the Bishop rode. They stopped in front of the cathedral adjoining the episcopal palace. There, in the Piazza San Pietro the crowd was waiting. From the balcony of his palace Bishop Sarto addressed his people. "For the salvation of others I must bear weariness, face dangers, suffer offenses, confront storms, fight against evil," he told them.

The reputation of Mantua was not promising for the new Bishop. He knew what he had to meet. His diocese had two hundred seventy thousand souls. There were three hundred eight priests and one hundred fifty-three parish churches; two hundred fourteen public chapels and two hundred seventeen private chapels. The town of Mantua presented a peculiarly difficult problem. Mantua had thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom fully a third were Jews. Even at the beginning of the century the see had been vacant for sixteen years until in 1823 Pius VII made Monsignor Boggi Bishop of Mantua. For ten years he had served the Mantuans when, at his death, another two-year vacancy intervened before Vienna would consent to Rome's appointment. In 1844 when the new appointee died, there was another three-year vacancy in the bishopric. This was repeated in 1868 after the death of Bishop Corti. Then Peter Rota was appointed as his successor in 1871, but government opposition made his episcopal activity impossible. Indeed, when he was sent to Mantua by Pius IX, the Italian government not only refused the *exequatur*, but imprisoned and then exiled him. Then Leo XIII called him to Rome in 1879 and made him titular Bishop of Carthage. Such is the story of Mantua's ignoble history up to the time of Sarto's nomination, in 1884.

The political uprisings in Mantua were notorious. When, in 1866, Lombardy-Venezia joined Italy, the new government, much to the amazement of the inhabitants who had helped to achieve this end, began to suppress the monasteries, to take over the pious foundations, and to load the Church with taxation so heavily that it amounted to confiscation. Even these evils might have been met, but the government soon showed its true colors, and a systematic persecution of religion began, until the masses became estranged from the Church. Religion was reviled and spat upon. Thousands in the cities never attended Mass. The prevalence of profanity indicated how "fallen-away" from the practice of their religion these former good Catholics had become.

Now that Bishop Sarto was a public character of such importance, he felt himself called upon to receive all who sought him out. They came at all hours. Whatever he was doing was set aside. He gave himself unreservedly to his caller. Rich and poor — especially the poor — were always welcome. This habit of informality remained with him all his life. His contacts were natural and unhampered by ceremony. Often he would go to the door and open it himself, inviting within whoever was there. On one such occasion, early in the morning, the Bishop was bending over his desk, writing. He heard a voice inquiring "May I come in?" A young monsignor stood apologizing for the early call. He introduced himself as "Achille Ratti from the Ambrosiana in Milano." He had come to Mantua to see the library.

"Have you said Mass, Monsignor?" the bishop asked; and on being told he had already offered it up in the cathedral, the Bishop continued, "May I bring you a cup of coffee," Thereupon Bishop Sarto began to call his sisters who lived at the episcopal palace with him — "Maria! Anna! Rosa!" No answer! They were all in church. "Come downstairs with me," laughed the Bishop.

There, in the kitchen, with the simplicity of Christ at

Bethany, the future Pius X prepared breakfast for the future Pius XI.

Bishop Sarto's reports to his Cardinal were sent, according to custom, every three years. They reveal how assiduously he sacrificed himself for the salvation of his flock. He points out how handicapped he is by the lack of priests and that he has no Religious to help him. His sole comfort were the Jesuits who, he says, had done "much good in Mantua and in the entire diocese." They taught in the several parishes and heard confessions. The bishop visited the seminary almost daily. He guarded the students like a loving watchdog, protecting them most jealously against the evil influences that were so prevalent in Mantua.

During the years 1885-1888 his report shows he was absent from his diocese only ten days; nine of these, at the request of the Archbishop of Genoa, were spent in preaching. He had visited his entire diocese of one hundred fifty-three parishes. In each parish he had preached and heard confessions, given communion, and administered confirmation when he could; for, as he said, "It gives me the longed-for opportunity to warn the Faithful against the machinations of those who put false teachings into the hearts of children, and to speak against those godless papers that despise the teaching of our holy religion and vilify the Vicar of Christ."

For two hundred years there had been no diocesan synod in Mantua. Bishop Sarto convened such a synod in September of 1888. One hundred ninety-five priests attended. Rules and regulations were drawn up which the Bishop submitted to Rome for approval.

Bishop Sarto induced the Franciscans to return from Venice to be the custodians of the Shrine of Madonna della Grazie. As a result of his zeal this hallowed shrine, built in 1399, became once more venerated by a hundred thousand pilgrims a year.

The eight hundredth anniversary of St. Anselm of Lucca, whose body rests under the cathedral's main altar, was celebrated in 1885. The celebration lasted three days. On the first day the Bishop of Brescia pontificated; on the second, the Archbishop of Udine; and the Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice, on the third. Their sermons on the saint made such an impression on all who heard them that Bishop Sarto had them published.

To keep a hold on the boys and girls, the devoted pastor-bishop formed them into clubs and societies. He gathered together orphaned and neglected girls and placed them under the guidance of Religious Sisters. He organized free public lectures to entice the adults to return to church. A thorough study of the catechism was begun. Questions from the audience were encouraged. In this way a revitalized knowledge of Catholic dogma was initiated. Twice a year, in the seminary, retreats for priests were obligatory.

Two dominant passions motivated the good Bishop — the perfection of his clergy in learning and spiritual living; and the instruction by them of the laity in the essentials of the faith. Steadily he urged the priests:

Preach, preach! Teach the great and the small, the ignorant and the learned. What is necessary before all things is that the people should know the truths of the faith and the commandments of God and the Church. If we teach them these things, their lives will become better morally.

The celebration of the tercentenary of St. Aloysius provided another occasion for the Bishop of Mantua to arouse the people of his diocese to a knowledge of the glory and honor of being a Catholic. In the report (covering the years 1888-1891) to the Cardinal, one can see with what fervent joy it was written. The jubilee had provided funds to repair the church of Castiglione and provide proper sacred vessels and other furnishings. A ten-day mission was held with four daily sermons to accommodate everyone. "They

brought," says the report, "great spiritual fruits." During the celebration a novena was held, nine bishops participating. Each morning and evening sermons were preached by notable preachers. In the churches of Castiglione confessions were heard and communions were given to over twenty thousand.

God grant [ends the report], that all may take this splendid youth as a model, and keep his virtues and his qualities before their eyes, striving constantly to imitate him, and thus to improve themselves!

As a result of his years of indefatigable service as pastor and bishop, Giuseppe Sarto saw many wholesome reforms and many reclamations in the lives of his people. One of the special interests of the Bishop he mentions in his last report. It has to do with the music at the anniversary in honor of St. Anselm. At that time he was quite swept off his feet by the flutes and violins at the pontifical Masses. But he had become acquainted with a famous musician, Don Lorenzo Perosi, who had come to him in the confessional. Because of this meeting the Bishop of Mantua became intensely interested in the musician's theories concerning reform in Church music, and there began a firm friendship between the two men which resulted in later years, when Giuseppe Sarto became Pope Pius X, in the promotion of Perosi to Director of the Sistine Chapel choir.

Bishop Sarto never deluded himself into believing that his labors in Mantua were phenomenal. The forces in the government and in the press were too strong to make his success more than substantial. He had to fight an antagonistic enemy which he would have characterized as the agent of Anti-Christ. These forces were powerful and had a grip on the lower classes especially. He had to combat a press whose influence was insidious, a press so conscienceless and vile that it did not scruple to attack him, personally, and all that he held dear and holy. But the Good Shepherd never wavered

in his duty to his God and his flock. He was patient and restrained, yet firm and resolute. He was, in practice, all that good Christians desire to be and only imperfectly achieve.

7. *Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice*

When, in 1891, Domenico Agostini, Patriarch of Venice died, Leo XIII bethought himself of Bishop Sarto as his ablest successor. In view of the previous history of Mantua, the achievements of Sarto were indeed, remarkable. In order to make the course of the new Patriarch smooth, Leo called the Bishop of Mantua to Rome; and in 1893 gave him the Red Hat and made him a member of the Sacred College. Three days later he made Cardinal Sarto Patriarch of Venice.

The brave Margarita, Cardinal Sarto's mother, witnessed the ceremony that made her "Beppo," as she continued to call him, a cardinal. Her son presented her to the great pontiff, Leo XIII, who received her with exquisite graciousness and congratulated her upon her achievement in having a son who was also a cardinal. This was on June the twelfth, 1893. In the autumn of the same year the Cardinal visited his mother in Riese. The following year the good woman died and it was not possible for her son to go to her funeral; but he had a solemn High Mass celebrated for her soul, and distributed alms among the poor of Riese in her memory.

In spite of the difficulties he had had to overcome and the obstacles he had to surmount because of government opposition, it was with a heavy heart the Cardinal bade farewell to his Mantuans. Nine years of devoted service had created strong bonds between the Bishop and his flock. Moreover he was reaping goodly fruits from the seeds he had so carefully planted. His priests and his flock wept when they bade him Godspeed to his new post.

The anticlerical government at Rome, headed by Francesco Crispi, refused the *exequatur* on the ground that it had the

right of nomination, by virtue of an ancient privilege granted the Doges of Venice by Pius IV. But in 1797 the Republic of Venice had come to an end and also the privilege granted by Pius IV! After the French Revolution and Napoleon's accession to power, conquered Venice had been turned over to the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, who by agreement with Pius VI transferred the patriarchate from San Pietro di Castello to San Marco's. Under this arrangement the Emperor of Austria had the right to express a preference and to petition Rome to make this preferred ecclesiastic a Patriarch. Four Patriarchs of Venice were nominated in this manner: Monico in 1827, Muttin in 1862, Ramazotti in 1858, and Trevisanato in 1862. When, however, Venice was incorporated in the new government, trouble at once began. The government refused to accept the appointee of the Pontiff of Rome, and the ancient privilege of the Venetian Doges was dug up and insisted upon as the hereditary privilege of the new Italy! Leo XIII advised Cardinal Sarto to present his credentials to the government of Venice. This was done and refused. Thereupon the Holy Father began legal proceedings; and, strange as it seems, he won the case which was handled with the greatest tact and wisdom. There was no loophole of escape, for publicity had made the populace familiar with the history of the case. The *exequatur* was granted and after sixteen anxious months, Cardinal Sarto entered his new home in Venice in November of 1893.

It was an impressive picture when the Cardinal-Patriarch, surrounded by white-robed Carmelites, walked slowly up the carpeted entrance of his palace. His benign face, so sweet and beautiful, lit up by an inner light; his large, impressive figure, and the snow-white, abundant hair above the broad forehead; his dark eyes that blessed whomever they gazed upon; and his gracious gestures — all bespoke years of Christ-like living and self-forgetfulness in the service of the Church

he represented and loved so much. Under the splendid robes he was at heart the same "Beppo Sarto" of Riese, the beloved curate of Tombolo, the patient priest of Salzano, the devoted canon of Treviso, the sacrificing Bishop of Mantua. The same unassuming obedience to duty was evidenced in the three-year reports the Cardinal-Patriarch sent to Rome. "Tell me what you consider necessary, and I promise faithfully to follow your commands cheerfully and submissively," he writes. Asking for a prayer for himself and his people, he closes the report with the invocation "May God help the shepherd to lead his people by word and by example; and may He help the people, that they may listen to the voice of the shepherd and follow him."

Often the Patriarch pontificated and preached in San Marco's. Here in the pulpit of alabaster pillars, his figure stood in relief against a background of jeweled richness, mellowed by time; its acre of mosaic dating back to 1100, a symbol of the Church Triumphant; and recalling a time in Italian history when religion was the chief concern and destiny of man.

The Patriarchal palace is beside San Marco's and faces the lion fountain. It is an imposing building, and contains some fine works of art. But the Patriarch's own quarters were of the simplest. There are three chapels. He chose for his own use the smallest and plainest. Here he offered up Mass each morning shortly after arising at five or five-thirty o'clock. The larger chapel was used for confirmations, for marriage ceremonies, and more elaborate functions. His three unmarried sisters and his niece, Ghilda Parolin, kept house for him, and received his guests. Don Perosi, who had sought him out in the confessional in Mantua, was probably the person closest to the Patriarch in Venice, outside the members of his own household. He says Cardinal Sarto always ate his chief meal at noon which he called "breakfast" and to which guests were often invited. His table was of the

plainest, as it had always been. He was a perfect host, and would enjoy mimicking various dialects of which he had a fund at his disposal; and would regale his guests with funny anecdotes, falling into the patois of each individual he was quoting. His own Italian was the soft mellow Venetian, very different from the crisp Roman or the exact and refined Sienese or Florentine.

The Patriarch's income was twenty-three thousand lire annually; or, in our computation, something like forty-five hundred dollars a year. Even this small stipend he divided with his people. He maintained ten poor students in the seminary, which depleted his salary by a thousand dollars. His gifts to charity were such that his sisters had to enter into a conspiracy and keep his linen under lock and key. Even his purple *magna cappa*, which had to be worn at solemn functions, was a secondhand cape bought from his predecessor's wardrobe. The violet cincture, or broad band which he wore as bishop was dyed, not very successfully, from violet to the required red. It came from the dyers a decided pink, and when his sisters protested, he laughed and said mockingly: "Well, it is better so. It is almost white. You see we are getting close to the papacy!" And, although he received a magnificent watch set in jewels for a present, he continued to use his old nickel one which had cost about two dollars and which he insisted kept better time.

To the Venetians he was a familiar figure on the lagoons and in the piazzetta. He loved to mingle with plain people; the fishermen, the gondoliers, the vendors. Children always followed him and knew his capacious pockets contained surprises for them which he carried as faithfully as he carried corn for the pigeons. He was their *Buono Cardinale*, their dear and revered friend and father. In the cathedral pulpit their Cardinal-Patriarch stood before them, preaching sermons which held them spellbound. Someone who frequently heard him preach, describes the scene:

Suddenly from the high pulpit there came clear, full-sounding words. An emotion went through the crowd around me. There was a sound of moving chairs — the moving closer of the people. Then there was such a silence as one rarely finds in the churches of Italy. Surrounded by the clergy on the right, and on the left by the symbols of his dignity, the crozier and the mitre, stood Cardinal Sarto, the Patriarch of Venice. His presence breathed dignity, mildness, and humility. This was the first impression we got of him. The high forehead, above which there is a snow-white crown of hair, stands out strikingly from the little scarlet cap. He has large dark eyes, which rest meditatively on the audience for a few minutes. There is a gentle, almost childlike look about the mouth, and yet that mouth can speak such powerful and moving words, every one of which sinks deep into the heart of the listener; driven home, so to say, by the calm and dignified gestures which accompany them. In the melodious tones of the Italian language, which alone steal on the ear like music, the sermon tells of the great conflict which is being waged between the spirit of the age and the words of Jesus Christ. Then he speaks of the means of ending it, simply and eloquently practical. Glowing with enthusiasm, bearing altogether the stamp of a noble and distinguished personality, the sermon makes an impression which is unmistakable. When an audience of Venetians remains so silent, it is surely a mighty spirit which has this extraordinary effect.

The *Syndico* (mayor) was an anticlerical, but the Cardinal-Patriarch won him over by sheer force of his irresistible personality. Toward the government Cardinal Sarto was circumspection itself. He tried by every legitimate means to conciliate and to appease, and to lessen the breach between the Quirinal and the Vatican. He never forgot that Venice was under the rule of the successor of King Victor Emmanuel. He omitted no courtesy or condescension to meet the administration of Venice halfway. Thus, on the occasion of the visit of King Humbert to Venice in 1895 en route to visit the Emperor of Germany, Cardinal Sarto wrote to Rome to inquire if he should call upon the king. Leo XIII told him to act according to his own desire and judgment.

Accompanied by an appropriate entourage, Cardinal Sarto not only paid his respects, but used the occasion to deplore the breach between the government and the Church and his own unhappy position by the lack of government recognition — for, at the time, he had not yet received the *exequatur*. Again by sheer force of personality, the Cardinal won over the King completely. Soon after the *exequatur* was granted.

When, in 1900, the King was assassinated, the Cardinal's *Manifesto* (which, in common with all Italian bishops he issued, asking the clergy and people to pray for the deceased monarch) expressed his horror for the crime, attributing the deed to "that spirit of deception and error which is such a great danger to the nations," and praying that the leaders of public affairs may be guided by "the spirit of wisdom and judgment, so that passions that are so dangerous to society may be effectually combated and restrained."

When, in 1903, King Victor Emmanuel III came to Venice, Cardinal Sarto called upon him officially. Although the King had asked that the Cardinal be given precedence over all others, the Prefect of Venice was admitted before him. The Patriarch waited quietly and unostentatiously in the anteroom, chatting with some officers. But when the King learned that the Cardinal was waiting, he had him conducted in at once, and after the interview accompanied the Cardinal to the door; thus placing the kingly seal upon the courtesies due the Church.

The Cardinal-Patriarch's tact was tested more than once in contacting civil authority. One such occasion was the laying of the cornerstone for the new campanile in San Marco's piazzetta. His speech is still remembered by the older inhabitants as a masterpiece of eloquence and diplomacy. It was delivered in the midst of a notable assemblage; in the presence of the Count of Turin and the Prince of Savoy and the Minister of Instruction. Cardinal

Sarto took care not to digress, as the former speakers had done, from the religious and social significance of the occasion. There was a dramatic note which Nature contributed to the event. As he was conducted to the speaker's rostrum by the Prince of Savoy who held his hand, the sun burst through the clouds (which had lowered over the city), creating a magical effect as it streamed from his mitre and his cross; and his white hair glistened like a shining halo. He said in part:

No spectacle is so worthy of admiration as that of a people which asks the blessing of God at the beginning of a great undertaking. Never, indeed, does human genius manifest itself so nobly as when it bows before the Eternal Genius, the source and center of all other genius. Never do the works of human genius show in a more majestic and solemn aspect than after the invocation of the Almighty Power which blesses and stamps them.

I congratulate myself, as well as you, noble representatives of Venice, that you have decided, as true interpreters of the feelings of good citizens, to inaugurate the rebuilding of our campanile by a solemn, public, religious act; and that, too, on the feast day of the Evangelist St. Mark, so that Venice which flourished for so many centuries under the protection of its patron, may awake once more to a new era of good fortune under his auspices. I congratulate myself and you, who are proving yourselves to be worthy sons of fathers who were convinced of the vital truth that they build in vain for whom the Lord does not direct the building, and who never approached an undertaking without calling upon the name of God and imploring the protection of the Blessed Virgin.

Through religion, united to patriotism, our ancestors honored their country with a most faithful love, with a profound veneration, with a heroic devotion. By the strength of these two sentiments, more than by the strength of their political ideas, they accomplished the glorious deeds of the past and raised themselves to prosperity and renown. Thanks to religion, Venice was the center of European culture, the city of learning and of fine arts, the queen of the seas and the circle which connected the Orient with the Occident commercially, at a time when other nations of Europe, and even the other cities of Italy, were sighing and suffering under the yoke of barbarism.

Cardinal Sarto knew his Venetian history. He felt the spirit of that ancient magical citizenship as if he were, not only of the identical race, but also of the period. Treading the paved piazzetta with reverend feet, he evoked the great and splendid deeds of the ancient Republic, finding in pillar, cornice, and bas-relief food for thought and sermons in stones.

Because religion was the soul of their labors, the guide of their deliberations, the inspiration of their laws . . . they built churches and altars, devoted asylums of piety and institutions of learning to religion, and immortalized its triumphs in superb monumental architecture.

The Bishop of Chioggia in the Adriatic invited Cardinal Sarto to participate in the diocesan celebration of our Crucified Lord. In the Church of San Domenico he pontificated; after which he bore the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the city. Thousands followed in the procession, which ended at the Ponte di Vigo, where the Cardinal ascended a marble pulpit and blessed the sea. Many who took part in that magnificent ceremony can vividly recall the event.

In the Holy Year, at the end of the century, the shrine to the Mother of our Lord atop Monte Grappa, five thousand feet above sea level, was completed and awaited only the blessing of the Venetian Patriarch. At dawn he mounted a white donkey, gaily decorated with flowers and covered with a red blanket; and amid the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, he led the procession up the mount. Part of the night was spent at the little shelter which the Alpine Club of Bassano had constructed in 1887. Shortly after midnight, however, the procession continued on its way, guided by the fires which had been built at vantage points along the route. People came from every direction and the mountain party was augmented until there were seven thousand when they reached their destination on the summit. All took part

in the pontifical High Mass which the Patriarch celebrated on the fourth of August¹⁰ in the massive Gothic Chapel from whose stone roof rises a statue of the Virgin. Then, from that lofty eminence, he turned and blessed the entire archdiocese. When they descended all the pilgrims registered in the Alpine Club shelter.

8. *Science, Arts, and Social Works*

Cardinal Sarto's eagerness to foster the sciences was well known to his contemporaries. This was manifest in the collaboration he gave the German scientist, Professor Paul Kehr, who had come to Venice while touring Italy in the effort to collect data for the publication of a new collection of older papal documents. Professor Kehr was representing the Royal Scientific Society of Göttingen. In a private letter Professor Kehr speaks of the exceptionally prompt and enthusiastic cooperation accorded him.¹¹

The German painter, Ludwig Seitz, had been among the frequent visitors at Canon Sarto's table at Treviso. Again, when he was Bishop of Mantua, the two men came into close contact. It was during the last illness of Leo XIII that Professor Seitz, who was the custodian of the Vatican art treasures, desired to leave his duties to fulfill a commission elsewhere. He asked his old friend, the Cardinal-Patriarch, to intervene with His Holiness, for the permission for a leave of absence. Meanwhile Leo died; and in an audience with the new Pontiff, Pius X, Seitz inquired of His Holiness if Cardinal Sarto of Venice had presented his petition to the late Pontiff, Leo XIII. Recognizing his old comrade, Pius X exclaimed with enthusiasm, "*Ecco il mio caro Ludovico!*"

¹⁰ Exactly two years to a day later, thousands again climbed the Mount to place a memorial tablet commemorating this event in the chapel. At the same hour in St. Peter's in Rome their beloved Cardinal-Patriarch was being crowned Supreme Pontiff.

¹¹ See Appendix G.

Playfully keeping up the pretense, he said "Cardinal Sarto will improve his first opportunity to present your petition to the Pope." In a few days Seitz received his formal leave of absence.

When asked by anxious artists what might be expected of the new Pontiff, Pius X, in regard to fostering the arts, Ludwig Seitz answered, "He will be less generous than Leo with his orders, but the Pope can do much without even giving great commissions. And as I know Pope Pius X, he will do much for art if only in the way of promoting the taste for it."

It was, indeed, Cardinal Sarto's fine, discriminating appreciation of art that made his opinions so respected among the élite of Venice. His insistence upon simplicity and artistic excellence was based upon true principles. Among his protégés was the artist Seitz; the mosaic artist, Godeaux; and the painter Stummel, who came from Cologne to Venice to make studies for the glorious church of the Apostles in the German city on the Rhine. "We have," the Cardinal told Godeaux on one occasion, "a wealth of the beautiful in Italy. . . . Sad to say, however, modern Italy seems to have lost the receptivity and the understanding of the language of this art, and it must be revived among the people. Thus, too, in the realm of sacred music — the great composers created those wonderful harmonies which had to cross the Alps into Germany after we had forgotten them, and be studied there and be brought to honor and dignity and then come back across the Alps to us before we moderns recognized their true worth."

The Cardinal's love of music was well known. It was at his suggestion that Don Perosi went to Regensburg to study under Dr. Haberl. When he returned from his studies, the Cardinal made him musical director of San Marco's.

It was while he was at Venice that the Cardinal wrote his dissertation on the Gregorian Chant which he submitted

to the Congregation of Rites in 1893; it is still considered the best work on the subject.

One of the chief objects of the Cardinal's constant vigilance was the growth of radical societies and organizations and of the enemy press. He felt that to successfully oppose these influences Catholic publications and Catholic societies must be cultivated. In Germany, due to the hard lessons of the *Kulturkampf*, the Catholics had awakened. It was the aim of the good pastor of his flock while he was Bishop of Mantua to counteract these antireligious influences, to recapture the allegiance of his diocese for the things of Christ and His Church. As Patriarch of Venice his interest in this very practical campaign had wider scope. When Bishop Farley (afterward Cardinal) wrote from Venice to the President of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in New York City, he describes how in Venice the Cardinal-Patriarch told him there was a Conference of the Society in every parish; and how very active the women of the Society were among the poor. The funds for these units were drawn from the savings banks the Cardinal had encouraged and to which the wealthy donated generously. These banks were the extension of the *Casa Rurale* which Father Sarto had started at Salzano. These rural savings institutions spread all over Italy.

Often, due to his intervention, Cardinal Sarto effected a conciliation between the employer and his employees. When the Workingmen's Society was founded, Cardinal Sarto was the first to inscribe his name.

After organizing the young people into various clubs and Catholic societies, he encouraged them to take a lively interest in voting. By these means the "Liberals" (who were always anticlerical) were defeated. Year after year the elections brought favorable returns for the Catholic population; that is, for the vast majority of the people. No longer was an unscrupulous minority ruling the lives and the destinies of Italian Catholics. Don Perosi declared that if the

Conservatives had not won at the polls in December, 1901, the Cardinal could not have remained in Venice, as the Liberals were so intensely bitter of all that savored of religion.

It was on July the twenty-sixth, 1903, that their Cardinal-Patriarch left Venice for the Conclave that was to elect a successor to the great Leo. A throng followed him to the train. He addressed them, asking them to pray for the cardinals and that he might return to them without mishap. As he blessed them from the train, there were some who echoed what many had often said, "He is another St. Borromeo."

9. *Now Pius X*

After the election which made Cardinal Sarto Pius X, a delegation of two hundred Venetians was received in audience in the Sala Clementina. It lasted two hours. Bishop Apollonia of Treviso spoke for the delegation which included the bishops of Padua, Concordia, Udine, Vincenza, and the spokesman, the Bishop of Treviso.

The appraisal of the new Pope by the Masonic paper, *Tribuna*, is interesting and probably accurate:

Pius X is a politician of the first rank. He understood marvelously well how to strengthen the clerical party in Venice, and by its help to influence the City Council, and the public life of the whole town, in fact.

To those who have followed the history of the struggle between the Church and the atheistic forces which have so long dominated the picture, it is a relief, at long last, to see the all-powerful minority party put in its proper place. Pope Pius X knew how to make Catholic organizations and the Catholic press telling weapons in the great struggle for religion and the uplifting of his people. It had been a long, hard school — Tombolo, Salzano, Treviso, Mantua, Venezia.

No pope ever ascended the throne of Peter who loved the common people more, or understood their needs better

than did Pius X. He had bowed to the will of the Sacred College in the spirit of a lamb led to the altar of sacrifice. He chose the title *Pius*, he informed them, "in memory of the holy Pontiffs whose assistance I so greatly need, and in memory of those who in recent times, especially, withstood in a most heroic manner the persecutions launched against the Church and against themselves."

Because he had never been a member of the Curia, nor involved in the solution of the intricate problems of the Roman Congregations, nor exercised any diplomatic function, many persons were astonished at the selection of Cardinal Sarto over more experienced cardinals in the Sacred College. His simplicity, they apprehended, would be taken advantage of by the enemies of the Church. In the broadest sense, however, he was a canonist; and he was a man of large vision.

Pius X's choice of Secretary of State showed perspicacity and sound judgment. Monsignor Merry Del Val had been Archbishop of Nicea and President of the Academy of Nobles. This nobleman, from whose countenance and dignified bearing radiated personal sanctity, possessed qualities of true spiritual nobility; and he was, moreover, endowed by nature with a handsome and distinguished presence. His paternal ancestry was Spanish, but his mother was English and he had been educated in England. When Pius X created the Archbishop a Cardinal, and appointed him Secretary of State, Del Val was only thirty-eight years of age. Through Pius X's reign of eleven years, Merry Del Val was the Pontiff's devoted and beloved friend. Their relationship may be literally described as "the communion of saints."

Pius X accepted the grandiose functions of his office as a penance. Formality had always irked him. He lessened his retinue to a minimum. Any attention to his own person, apart from the ceremonies due his office, he prohibited. His humble origin, the influence of his early education — all

militated against pomp and circumstance. His family never materially profited by his exaltation to the highest dignity on earth. When the Master of Pontifical Heraldry asked His Holiness what title he wished to confer upon his sisters, he replied "Sisters of the Pope."

Giuseppe Sarto's personal service to his flock did not cease when he was elevated to Peter's throne; rather its scope was widened. He wanted all his children to feel that their Father was near them. No man ever lived who had a humbler spirit or a more capacious heart. Like his Divine Master whom he represented here on earth, "he went about doing good." No one who came into his presence left it quite the same person. His stature rose, his heart softened, tenderness filled his breast. He desired only one thing — to be good and kind always.

His motto, *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, to restore all things in Christ, occurs again and again in his writings. Like St. Paul's, his vision was grand and splendid. As the barque of the Church sailed on under his pontifical guidance, his confidence was Pauline. "I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me." Perfect surrender to the Divine Will gave this Servant of God his supernatural hope — "not I, but Christ, who dwelleth within me."

There are three thousand three hundred twenty-two official documents in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (1903–1914), which give an idea of how fruitful Pius X's pontificate was.¹²

So holy a man was predestined to have enemies. His adversaries lost no opportunity to crucify him. With Christ-like humility, he ignored the insults and caricatures which appeared in obscene periodicals, vilifying his person and his office. Had he not said, when he took over the see of Mantua, "For the salvation of others, I must bear weariness, face dangers, suffer offenses, confront storms, fight against evils"?

¹² Dom Benedetto Pierami, O.S.B.

10. *France: Law of Associations*

His chief cross was France — or rather, *the French government*; which, from the time of the French Revolution had been a thorn in the flesh of the papacy, until reconciled, as we have seen, by Consalvi and Pius VII after that Pontiff returned to Rome. Without the customary acquiescence through the papal nuncio in Paris, the government now appointed two ecclesiastics to vacant dioceses; and it proposed the transfer of another bishop. This was done in a very disrespectful manner. The Vatican refused these French appointments on the ground of unfitness — and in regard to one of the candidates the Holy See protested him unworthy of the priesthood. This *impasse* was just what the French government wanted to provoke. Diplomatic notes between the Vatican and the French government followed the papal protest. From the French point of view everything the Vatican proposed was a violation of their sovereign rights! They gave no heed to the fact that the concordat had been working for nearly a hundred years unimpeded. They protested the formula *Nobis nominavit* of the Pontifical bull of investiture, claiming *nominavit* meant “to create,” rather than “to consecrate.” The Holy See agreed to suppress the word, and made other concessions to conciliate her “eldest daughter.” But the Vatican was adamant about the unfitness of the government’s two appointees, and refused sanction; while the French politicians would not agree to other candidates unless those two were first accepted by the Holy See.

The visit to Rome of the French President, M. Loubet, in April of 1904, aggravated the breach between the French government and the Vatican.¹³ Pius called to Rome the Bishop of Laval and the Bishop of Dijon, to clear themselves of the charges against them. But the government of France

¹³ Since it gave French sanction to the seizure of papal territory, especially of Rome.

prevented their departure. Thus began a long series of vacant dioceses. All this was in perfect keeping with the anti-clerical scheme of complete separation of Church and State in France. Diplomatic relations were broken off by the head of the French government; and the Apostolic Nuncio, Monsignor Lorenzelli, was given his passport in 1904. Then the French government prepared the Law of Separation which the Parliament ratified on December ninth, 1905.

The Law of Separation set up *associations cultuelles* which confiscated all possessions of the secular and regular clergy, as well as of all charitable institutions — to administer these as they pleased, and to hand over to the Prefect all receipts and expenditures. Many Religious were exiled and the documents of the Nunciature, contrary to the fundamental law of nations, were seized. Religious congregations were disbanded, nuns were driven from their work in hospitals, asylums, and schools, where for so many years they had served the sick, the infirm, the insane, and the little ones. Bishops, priests, and seminarians were exiled from their peaceful havens and were forced to accept the charity of the Faithful. In spite of the protests of the people, many churches were desecrated and despoiled.¹⁴ The popular opposition to these measures was so vocal that protection had to be given those who were engaged in the unsavory task of spoliation. Even then, fighting occurred between the guards and the people.

In Consistory Pius X protested strenuously. This was in December, and there was criticism among good Catholics that he did not act more speedily in vindicating the rights of the Church. To these well-meaning, anxious critics, the Holy Father answered:

God could have sent the Redeemer immediately after the fall, but instead of that, He made the world wait for thousands of

¹⁴This is why the tourist finds so many desolated churches in rural France. Gems of architectural beauty stand, like specters, mute witnesses of sacrilegious pillage.

years. Does anyone desire the Vicar of that long-awaited Christ to pronounce without reflection such grave and irrevocable words? For the moment I am passive in the hands of Him who supports me, and in whose Name I shall speak when the time arrives.

That moment did arrive in February of 1906 when he condemned the Law of Separation in the Encyclical, *Vehementer*. Calmly, and without rancor, he exposed the French sectarian government. He showed up the deceit by which the *associations cultuelles* were set up and the ecclesiastical hierarchy in France destroyed. He laid bare the unheard-of violations of the bilateral pact against the acknowledged law of nations. He castigated the infringement of the property right of the Church, a right that is hers "by virtue of her institution of a perfect society, and necessary to the fulfilment of her divine mission." He declared that by passage of the law French legislators were trying to undermine the foundation of the Catholic Religion and tear from the people the precious heritage of the faith. He counseled the Faithful to suffer persecution with resignation and with confidence in God; to remain firm in the faith and united to the Holy See.

This Law of Separation, as it was called, was, in fact, a measure of total spoliation of material possessions; and in the spiritual realm, it was a measure of tyranny and oppression.

Whether the *associations cultuelles* could be reconciled with Catholic action and whether the rights and principles of the Church could still be safeguarded in France occasioned much debate. Pius invited the French bishops to discuss the problems presented by France's dereliction, and to send their individual opinions to him; this in spite of his own firm conviction that no reconciliation was any longer possible. His conviction was so deep seated that he declared: "I pray the Lord to reveal to the French episcopate *what He has made known to me.*"

Pius X definitely decided the issue in his Encyclical, *Gravissimo officii munere*, on August tenth, 1906. He says:

In regard to the Law of Associations [*associations cultuelles*] as the law established them, We declare that it is impossible to form them without violating the sacred rights of the Church; as for the remaining canonical-legal Associations, We declare that they cannot be allowed, since it does not appear in a clear and legal manner that the divine constitution of the Church will be respected; and that the immutable rights of the Roman Pontiff and of bishops, as well as their authority over the necessary property of the Church and especially over sacred edifices, be irrevocably guaranteed by the said Associations.

There were not lacking critics of this policy of surrender of French ecclesiastical property. Some felt that the sacrifice might have been mitigated by further concessions to the French government. They did not consider, or refused to believe, that the government of France was bent upon complete submission to the sectarian will by the clergy — if they wanted to survive. Nor did the critics comprehend, as did Pius X, that the French aim was to detach their clergy from the papacy and the unity of the faith; and to create a schism and a National Church, as in England. But, as the Holy Father foresaw, God did not forsake His own. The Masonic government, far from achieving its aim (the resuscitation of the old Napoleonic Gallicanism), was the unholy instrument, of creating a truly sanctified French clergy; and of purifying, as in a crucible of fire, their hearts and souls. From their sacrifice in humbly submitting to the conditions imposed upon them, in their loyalty and devotion to the Holy See, there arose in France a saintly brotherhood which still wear their threadbare shabbiness as a badge of honor.¹⁵

¹⁵ Can the collapse of France, 1940, be traced back to these events, as Marshal Petain intimated? This would seem to be so, judging by the following passage of a pastoral of Archbishop Saliege of Toulouse carried in *The Denver Register*, August, 1940: "Did we really work and pray hard enough?"

In answering the Encyclical which had impoverished them, the French clergy declared: "Fortified by the union to which Your Holiness has given your approbation, guided by your sagacious advice, encouraged and sustained by your blessing, we begin our ministry in the fullness of freedom."

In outlining the course the French episcopate must pursue, the Holy Father had re-echoed the words of his Master, whose reign he was pledged to restore: "I have called you not to honor and glory, but to persecution and to the cross."

It was a great consolation to the Pontiff to have such a manifestation of devotion, not to his person, but to the Holy See; and it mitigated in no small degree the deep wounds he had received. Gallicanism became a dead issue, and the Church (in France) continued to fulfill her mission with renewed and reconsecrated vigor. Pius X outdistanced his enemies by opposing to their shrewd and cunning weapons, the Christlike principle of submission to the law of God.¹⁶ To show his gratitude to the loyal French ecclesiastics, he added to the Episcopate fourteen devoted and learned priests, and on February twenty-first, 1906, he consecrated them with his own hands in St. Peter's.¹⁷ After the ceremony of consecration the new bishops met in the sacristy and embraced one another with great emotion. They knew how arduous their new task would be and how they would have to carry on the work in their dioceses with woefully deficient means.

Have we made up for sixty years of national apostasy; sixty years when the French spirit succumbed to every disease of the mind; when the French will relaxed, morality dropped, and anarchy arose to extraordinary proportions." With that the Prelate asks forgiveness for the exclusion of Christ from the schools, the despoiling of religion, bad literature, the multiplication of places of sin, desecration of Sunday, promiscuity in places of labor, and abusive child and woman labor.

¹⁶ He used often to say, "I fulfill my duty as Pope; as for the rest, God will provide — *Deus providebit.*"

¹⁷ In St. Peter's Basilica under the statue of Pius X, there is depicted in bronze panels this unique event. The design was commissioned by Merry Del Val and is the work of the artist Astorri.

11. *Important Encyclicals*

On the occasion of the tercentenary of the canonization of the great Archbishop of Milan, St. Charles Borromeo, the Holy Father was able to forget for a time the treachery of wicked men and to bathe, as it were, in the refreshing waters of that fountain of sanctity. In his Encyclical *Editae Saepe*, published on May twenty-fourth, 1910, Pius speaks at length of true reform, such as St. Charles inaugurated, and contrasts it with the so-called "reforms" of many contemporary innovators, which have so often led to absolute atheism. This modern "reformation" snatches souls from their eternal destiny, blighting their lives with deceptive promises, asserts the Holy Father.

The Protestant parties in Germany took offense because the Pope, in concluding the Encyclical, invites all who have been snatched from the bosom of the Church by "a false reformation" to return to the unity of the Christian faith, that the believers may be one, as Christ had prayed. This agitation in Germany would never have been aroused if a falsified version of the Encyclical had not been speedily sent from Rome by an apostate of Christianity, and published before the original copy reached Germany. Once again, as after the release of the Encyclical on Blessed Canisius by Leo XIII, irrational frenzy seized those who wanted to widen the breach between religious and political parties in Germany. Yet Pius X had not referred to Protestants in Germany in particular. He referred to the divisions caused in the ranks of Christianity in the sixteenth century at the beginning of Protestantism, which included those of Switzerland and other nations and of Italy herself, for whose salvation St. Charles had especially struggled.

In an official communication of *Osservatore Romano* of June eighth, 1910, it was stated that the Holy See had not had the slightest intention of offending the non-Catholics of

Germany, and the text of the Encyclical, as originally written, was given in support of the refutation. It was shown that the Holy Father had referred to rebellious Catholics for whose reclamation St. Charles had labored. On the very day of this explanation by the official Vatican Press, a diplomatic note was handed to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Merry Del Val, which discussed at length the cause of the German press agitation. Five days later Merry Del Val handed the papal reply to the German diplomat. The anticlerical liberal and socialist papers of Italy and of other countries were demanding the withdrawal of the Encyclical. To placate the conservative Prussian government, the Holy Father decided not to give the Encyclical any further publicity, and to request it should not be read in the German churches. Of course, the contents were well known to all, for it was now several weeks old, and it had received more attention in lay circles than is generally accorded papal encyclicals. Nevertheless, this papal gesture satisfied the malcontents, especially because they themselves now desired peace!

The *Difensa* of Venice summed up the controversy in these words:

From all this imbroglia of affairs nothing has resulted, except a great lesson of prudence, temperance and tolerance given by the Holy See to the blind intolerance of the Protestant sects. It is a lesson that should teach the world what sentiments animate the Vatican as regards religious peace, what sublimity of concept, what purity of intention, even in the face of deceitful and covetous schemes. It is a lesson that will be understood by well-meaning people, and the simple, or by those worthy of being numbered in the chosen flock of Christ.

Always it was the Masonic influences that caused trouble for the Holy See! It had been so in Ecuador where dreadful crimes were perpetrated against the Church; and as early as 1905, had called forth a papal letter addressed to the bishops of that country, *Acre nefariumque bellum*, condemning the sacrilegious acts.

Portugal, also, was causing the Holy Father grief and tears. After the Revolution, begun by the murder of King Carlos and the Crown Prince in the streets of Lisbon in February of 1908, and the deposition and flight of King Manoel in 1910, the church in that unhappy country was subjected to a persecution by the irreligious government even more violent than that of France. A complete separation between Church and State was decreed by the provisional government. Religious, priests, and bishops were exiled. The churches were deprived of their ministers, the schools of their teachers, and magnificent altars were pillaged and desecrated. The exiled clergy were given a warm welcome in Rome by the Holy Father who condemned the subversive laws in his Encyclical *Jam dudum*, released on May twenty-fourth, 1911. The priests who remained in Portugal continued to minister to their flocks in the same spirit as those of France had done, and under even harder conditions.¹⁸

Even the South American Indians of Peru in the lofty mountains of the Andes were defended by Pius X in a vigorous manner in his letter, *Lamentabili*, of June seventh, 1912, addressed to the bishops of Latin America. Everywhere, in the most obscure and out-of-the-way places, this champion of the rights of the Church and Pastor of his flock, stood inflexibly vigilant. But, although saddened and bowed down by constant combats with the forces of Anti-Christ, Pius X gathered abundant fruits that must have compensated for the tares and thistles the enemy was ever sowing.

In the contest for Christ against Belial he had carefully selected his weapons. His armor against the wiles of the enemy was personal holiness. He saw plainly the terrible consequences of the forces of evil: the threat of war, the

¹⁸ Under Salazar, Portugal is slowly recovering her former religious privileges; but he has felt it expedient to act prudently. The recent (1940) Concordat with the Vatican, signed by Salazar and Pius XII, will, doubtless, further the amicable relations between the Portuguese government and the Vatican.

lust for power, the jealousies of nations, and the sin of greed. He opposed these iniquities by employing Christ's injunctions and commands. Although he inveighed against these accumulating evils, and defined them as "the ragings of the nations" and "this iniquitous war waged against God," his confidence in the final outcome never for a moment wavered. "The victory will always remain with the Creator . . . for destruction dogs the heels of man most closely at the very moment that he is most presumptuous in his hope of triumph." He characterizes the struggle of men against one another in one terrible sentence, "We might call it a war of all against all." Although all desire peace, they foolishly seek peace where it will never be found; for there is no peace apart from God. "For if God be driven out, justice is banished; and once justice fails, all hope of peace is lost." Those who unite together "on the side of order," as they say, do not realize that their hopes are vain and their labors wasted; for "*Only those can be on the side of order and have power to restore calm in the midst of this upheaval, who are on the side of God. . . .*"

"The little ones have asked for bread; and there was none to break it unto them," Pius laments with Jeremias.

Almost as if in extenuation of the persecutors of the Church, this saintly man of God, like his Divine Master, cries out to the common Father of all, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." They are, perhaps, souls that have been led astray and must be reclaimed by charity and patience; for "they blaspheme whatsoever things they know not." This is true, not only of the ignorant, but also "of the more cultivated, and of those who in other respects are enriched with great erudition."

12. "Modernism"

It was those "enriched with great erudition," and their teachings of "Modernism," that Pius X combatted with a

firmness and a courage that only the pure in heart can summon. With this supernatural insight, he tore off the false veils that clothed what appeared to the unwary to be a virtue undefiled. He revealed that these educators, led by L'Abbé Loisy, were trying to cut the garment of religion to fit modern man, instead of bringing modern man to a realization of the eternal truths of religion. The modernists advocated that the young clergy abandon the sacristy and go out into the world among the people. They do not seem to realize that their advice would lead to the priest losing his sacerdotal character, that he would become a worldly hireling. Under the specious and attractive formula of "modern culture," they were acclaiming for their goal the spanning of the chasm between modern science and religion. (Between real science and true religion there can be no chasm.) Under the guise of bringing back the erring to the faith, the Modernists were telling the priests they should accept every latest fad in the sphere of science.

The Holy Father was familiar with their printed propaganda before he became Pope; for under Leo XIII it had been examined, but was not placed on the Index, due to the last illness and death of that Pontiff. From his lofty perspective, Pius X saw in this attempt to "enlighten the clergy" the beginning of an attempt to overthrow the Catholic faith; for if the Holy Father was gentle as a dove, he was, as a Defender and Champion of the Faith, as wise as a serpent. This kiss of peace between the believer and the heretic was discerned by the Pontiff's intuition as a kiss of death. It sought to tear down the barrier between Christ and the World, a barrier which Christ Himself had erected. These modernistic theories were revealed by the papal examination to be based upon Agnosticism and Immanence. They would destroy at a stroke the entire fabric of Christianity, the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, and the teaching authority of the Church. The result would be a complete separation of

the Church from all temporal questions and from civil institutions. Faith would be reduced to a vague, pious desire, and the sacraments would be mystical symbols. Miracles would be nothing more substantial than pious enthusiasm on the part of the simple-minded and of the early Christians.

With undaunted courage, since he knew it would earn him the appellation of "reactionary," Pius X girded himself for the combat. At all cost he must defend Catholic doctrine. In his celebrated Encyclical, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, released in September of 1907, he attacked root and branch this self-styled doctrine of "Modernism." He condemned its philosophical, theological, Biblical, historical, and social aspects. And he exposed its hidden implications and artifices, its concealed purposes, its hypocritical pretensions which were devised to deceive the unwary, and to beguile the would-be proponents of scientific learning. Every cleric, regardless of his rank or dignity, was compelled to make a profession of faith against the spirit of "Modernism." It is little short of the bare truth to say that this papal letter came as a bombshell, not only to the "Modernists," who were accustomed to work in secrecy, concealing their real purposes; but also to many within the Church, who had not realized how insidiously these forces had been at work. It was as if the searchlight of truth had suddenly exposed dark, sinister conspiracies. Of course, the Holy Father was charged with being reactionary, with giving way to pedantry, irrationalism, scholasticism, *odium theologicum*, etc. The secular press criticized the Pope in the strongest terms; not only for his condemnations, but for the excessive vigor of his utterance; so out of keeping, they said, with his general character. Thus, no doubt, those who had listened to the meek and gentle Saviour, must have felt when He castigated the Scribes, Pharisees, and the hypocrites of their acquaintance. Cardinal Luçon tells us that Pius X "knew very well that he would not be able to accomplish them [the reforms] without incurring

the displeasure of those to whom they were not pleasing; but he had the holy courage to sacrifice popularity to duty, in order to arrive at what he believed to be best for the Church and religion."

This Encyclical condemning Modernism had been preceded by a *Syllabus*, censuring and proscribing sixty-five erroneous propositions drawn from books and magazines written by modernists. One of the most talked-of errors was that having to do with the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. This error is stated: "The interpretation of the Holy Scriptures by the Church is undoubtedly not to be despised; nevertheless, it is subordinate to the more competent judgment and correction of commentators." Thus the "Higher Critics" were to be considered the infallible interpreters of the Bible. This is a denial of the Divine constitution of the Church. The help and guidance promised the religious society founded by Jesus Christ is usurped by the Modernists and placed under the authority of the grammarians and word-quibblers, the inventors of glosses and hypotheses! It had been done before and it probably will be attempted until the end of time. These errors declare man omnipotent. *He* creates truth! It is evolved in him and by him! God, Himself, becomes the product of man's inventiveness!

In the Pontifical Letter *Pascendi dominici gregis*, Pius quotes freely from the most powerful and venerable witnesses of the Church: from the Council of Nicea, the fourth of Constantinople, the Council of Trent, doctrinal decisions of Leo X, Gregory XVI, Pius IX, and from his immediate predecessor, Leo XIII.

"If the cause of these errors is carefully sought," Pius quotes Leo XIII as saying, "it will be found especially in this: as ardor for natural sciences has increased; the higher and more austere sciences have fallen into the background — some almost forgotten." Pius X showed how pride, self-esteem, and a passion for success lead men astray in philo-

sophical matters. They lose what he himself so aptly and beautifully characterized in his last consistorial allocution as "a virginal delicacy in matters of doctrine." He found it amazing that "ardent and generous souls can be led astray," and refuse their allegiance to tried and tested philosophical solutions; while they fall victims of shallow vagaries which happen to be the fashion of the hour! In doing so, they lose those very qualities which the Holy Father possessed so abundantly — the good taste and delicacy which true religion always inculcates.

13. *Social Action. Internal Reforms*

The spirit of "Modernism" had insinuated itself into Catholic Welfare work in Italy and had created discord and insubordination where formerly the workers had enjoyed freedom and had reaped glorious fruits. To remedy this condition, Pius X invoked the regulations Leo XIII had laid down in his scholarly encyclicals. Inserting a few modifications that the times demanded, he commanded the exact and faithful observation of these wise instructions. He combatted equally the so-called "Christian Democracy" movement which was refusing obedience to the bishops and was acting as if it were free from all authority. This movement was ruining the good work of the Catholic Congresses of Italy. For this chaotic state of affairs Pius zealously set himself the task of finding a remedy. In his early Encyclical, *Il fermo proposito* (June eleventh, 1905), he dissolved the *Opera dei Congressi* and founded the *Azione Cattolica* (Catholic Social Action) and subdivided it into three general groups: the *Popolare*, the *Economica*, and the *Elettorale*. He abrogated the *Non expedit* of Pius IX in this letter to the bishops, explaining his reasons:

Very serious reasons dissuade us, Venerable Brothers, from forsaking that rule decreed by our Predecessor of Holy Mem-

ory, Pius IX, and pursued by our Predecessor of Holy Memory, Leo XIII, according to which the participation of Catholics in the legislative power remains in general forbidden in Italy. If, however, for very grave motives the welfare of society demands an exception to the general rule, you, Venerable Brothers, may request a dispensation in particular cases when you are sure the salvation of souls and the highest interests of the Church warrant it.

The formula *Cattolici Deputati, non Deputati Cattolici* was adopted in conformity with papal instructions. This is the Catholic Church's stand in regard to politics everywhere. It means that Catholics may, as individuals, cooperate with the legislative power, but not as members or envoys of the Church, presented as a political party. The Church is above any and all political parties.

Pius X's reforms were not restricted to Italy. In France he urged Catholic social activities; in England he entreated Catholics to send their children to Catholic schools in order to preserve their faith; in Russia he implored the Poles to remain firm in their faith and he effected an agreement with Russia concerning the teaching of languages, history, and literature in Polish seminaries; while among the German workers he brought about a reconciliation between their workers' organizations and political organizations; he sent Monsignor O'Connell of Boston as Apostolic Delegate to Japan to found the University of Tokio conducted by the Jesuits; he opposed the Sillonists of France who, under the leadership of Marc Segnier, were stirring up trouble; and he called the attention of the Austrian bishops to a similar movement of apostasy, called the *Los von Rom* movement.

These were some of the labors of Pius X in his effort to restore all things in Christ, both within and without the Church. A vigorous revival of active faith was experienced throughout the Catholic world.

It was among the clergy that the Holy Father was most zealous for reform. He knew that Catholic society is as pure

and devout as are her clergy. They are the salt of the Church which preserves the Christian society from corruption. In his work of revivifying the clergy he not only chose the men who were most fervent, learned, and self-sacrificing, but he began an innovation in choosing, as bishops, prelates from other dioceses and other provinces, to demonstrate that the Church is one cohesive society under the guidance of the Supreme Pastor. To accomplish this he issued a *Motu Proprio, Romanis Pontificibus*, by which he suppressed the Commission of Cardinals for the election of bishops of Italy; and gave that duty to the Holy Office which is far more competent to get accurate information concerning the bishop to be elected.

He also forbade¹⁹ the founding of religious institutions without the Holy See's authorization, for it was discovered that many praiseworthy institutions had been established which had degenerated into undisciplined centers, injurious to the very purpose for which they were founded.

Pius X placed the supervision of the seminaries where young men are prepared for the priesthood in the hands of the bishops who examined the candidates, and they were instructed to weed out all who were considered unfit for their high calling. "It is better to have a few, but good priests, than to ordain those who are doubtfully good, or unworthy." And it was not only desirable that their lives be above reproach, but their learning in literary and scientific studies must be in keeping with the needs of the times. He promoted a uniform program of studies and discipline by which, he declared, the ecclesiastic would be strengthened in virtue and zeal for souls. The scholastic philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, whose study Leo XIII had revived in Rome, was encouraged and promoted by Pius X. He founded the Biblical Institute which he confided to the Jesuits; and the Pontifical Commission for the revision of the Vulgate he en-

¹⁹ *Motu Proprio, Dei providentis*, July 16, 1906.

trusted to the Benedictines. In France he urged purity of teaching in the Catholic Institute, and wrote to the Portuguese bishops concerning the education of their clergy. He prohibited the clergy of Italy from enrolling in the National Democratic League whose statutes were at variance with Catholic doctrine. In his first Encyclical, *Instaurare omnia in Christo*, he had said, "Let the priesthood increase in sanctity of life and purity of doctrine, and the people will be formed in Christ."

On the fiftieth anniversary of his own ordination to the priesthood, he issued his *Exhortatio ad clerum catholicum*, which for evangelical unction has been compared to the writings of Gregory the Great. In it he exhorts the priest to practice fervent prayer, daily meditation, the reading of pious books, especially the Scriptures, diligent examination of conscience; that they may be obedient to their Bishop and to the Holy See, charitable to all, protect youth from error and corruption, and devote themselves to the mission of peace, the preaching of the Gospel, the practice of spiritual exercises, and of monthly recollection. "The reform of the priesthood will be the most beautiful gift that the clergy can offer us on the occasion of our sacerdotal jubilee."

To provide an example to preachers of how to expound the Gospel, the Holy Father gave a discourse every Sunday in one of the courtyards of the Vatican. He himself revised the text of the Catechism so that it might be better adapted to the intelligence of the young. He stressed the necessity of instruction on the part of priests on every Sunday and feast day of the year without exception — to prepare the children for the reception of the Sacraments, and to found higher schools of religion for adults.

As a result of all these reforms among the clergy, new spiritual life was infused among them which was reflected in their work and in their contacts with their flocks. Everywhere it was noticeable how zealous the young men and

women were becoming who were enrolled as helpers in Catholic Action; and how, by frequenting the Sacraments and by Retreats, their own lives were being reconsecrated in a lay apostolate.

14. *Eucharistic Renewal*

But it was especially by the emphasis which the Holy Father placed upon the Eucharist, the core and center of Catholic worship, that new graces and spiritual favors were showered upon the Catholic world. Those who heeded the papal injunction to partake at least every Sunday of the *Panem Angelicum*, soon came to experience its regenerative power. Today millions follow the custom of frequent Communion, due to the solicitude of the "Pontiff of the Eucharist," as Pius X has been called. The Gospel tells us that the early disciples in the first centuries of faith "were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the breaking of bread."²⁰ This beneficent custom of the early Church was weakened, at later periods, and at this time in particular by many, due largely to the teachings of Jansenism, which demanded sinlessness as a condition, and taught that the communicant may approach the Table only as a reward of virtue. This doctrine represented God as a terrible Judge, rather than as a merciful Shepherd who sought the lost sheep. So it happened that fewer and fewer communicants approached the Altar. St. Vincent de Paul inveighed against this erroneous doctrine. "I assure you," he said "that this error is one of the most dangerous that has ever troubled the Church."

To correct this error and to restore the Sacrament to its original purpose — that of remedy, rather than of reward, Pius X published a decree, *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*, which preaches frequent and even daily Communion to all the Faithful who have reached the age of reason. He expounded

²⁰ Acts of the Apostles, II; 42.

the correct interpretation of the canon of the Council of Trent, and showed what dispositions were required and sufficient for frequent Communion. Because of this paternal blessing, there are today multitudes in schools, seminaries, and universities, as well as ordinary individuals, who avail themselves of Pius X's invitation. As a result a genuine Eucharistic revival has taken place all over the world. Special invitations and provisions are extended to the sick, the infirm, and to the little ones to feed their souls with the "Bread of Life." Children no longer wait until they are fourteen or fifteen, but as soon as they understand the simple doctrines of the Church, are admitted to the Altar. As if attracted by a spiritual magnet, the children of France came to Rome — four hundred of them — and from the Holy Father's own hands received the Host. "Let the little children come unto Me, and forbid them not." The white-robed and veiled innocents were a picture that Pius X never forgot, as in the Sistine Chapel, after the Reception, they filed past their good Pastor, waving their little hands, and crying out in French, "God bless our good Pope. Good-by, we will come back to see you."

As a result of this gift to Catholicism, the International Eucharistic Congresses, which have been celebrated all over the world, have gained a prestige and created an influence among non-Catholics which has been the cause of many conversions. Probably none was ever held which was more impressive than the one in Rome, under the auspices of the late Pope, Pius XI, in 1922.²¹ The following year the national Eucharistic Congress in Genoa was celebrated as a festival of holy ecstasy. From the barge in the harbor, while heads were bowed, knees were bent, and the eyes of the worshipers were wet with tears, the Papal Legate held high the *Ostensorium*, blessing the heavens, the sea, the land, and

²¹ For a description of this International Eucharistic Congress, see *Pius XI: Apostle of Peace*, pp. 126-128, by the author.

the city of Genoa. The cannon of the forts thundered, bells rang, hymns and holy shouts blended in one glad and mighty acclamation, while the chanters intoned the words of the Psalmist, "Oh, ye seas and rivers, bless the Lord! Oh, ye monsters of the deep and all that move in the waters, bless the Lord!"

15. *Codification of Canon Law*

The spirit of initiative has always been most active in the saints. It is one of their most striking characteristics. Instead of being terrified by the novel and the original, embarrassed by the difficulties and obstacles that would deter the sophisticated, they see only the need; and, trusting in God, they essay the impossible. In this spirit Pius X undertook the seemingly insurmountable task of codifying Canon Law. With simplicity and directness this holy Pontiff approached the staggering task.

Canon Law dates back to the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, about the year 1150. In 1230 and again in 1298, the collection was amended and to it were added many decrees of successive pontiffs. There was no order or co-ordination or sequence to this vast mass of laws which, nevertheless, embodied the basis of Church government.

In the very first year of his pontificate, Pius X gave an audience to Gasparri, then Monsignor, and secretary of the Congregations of Extraordinary Affairs, and famed for his erudition in Canon Law. Pius asked Gasparri:

"Is it possible to make a Codification of Canon Law?"

"It is, most Holy Father."

"Very well then, do it!"

It was as simple as that! The idea was not new to His Holiness. For on the feast of his patron, St. Joseph, March nineteenth, 1904, he had already issued a *Motu Proprio*, *Arduum munus*, in which he declared his intention of gathering together the texts of the law which were scattered

about in various collections; of classifying them, of weeding out all obsolete matter; of bringing up to date many more; in short, of creating a Code of Ecclesiastical Law. For this arduous undertaking he nominated a Commission of Cardinals to whom he entrusted the entire matter. The cardinals were to choose able theologians and canonists who would attack the different sections so that all the laws should have a complete review, clause by clause.

Monsignor Gasparri was put over the Commission as its Secretary. He reviewed the results of each section, and it was his task to create out of all these various segments a coordinated unity. He was the intermediary between the forty-two consultors and the Commission of Cardinals. But before beginning the actual task of the consultors, Cardinal Merry Del Val communicated the Pontiff's wishes to the bishops. The archbishops were "to consult with their Suffragans and forward to the Holy See, after a lapse of four months, and in a few words, their opinions as to what it was desirable to change, to omit, or to correct in their sections."

When these suggestions reached the Holy See, they were examined by the various divisions of consultors. After their preliminary examination, the sections were handed over to the Commission of Cardinals, who in turn reported to the Pope. As they passed through one scrutiny after another, the articles were remodeled several times. This work continued without interruption. Not even the World War interfered with the labor.

By March twentieth, 1912, the first copy of the new Code, drawn up by Cardinal Gasparri, was sent to the bishops, with the request to return it with any fresh observations and suggestions they might deem necessary. Their replies were numerous and interesting. After they were revamped by the Secretary of the Commission (Cardinal Gasparri), they were again submitted to the final judgment of the cardinals.

Thus the work went on and at the time of Pius X's death

it was almost completed. After fourteen years of uninterrupted labor, the promulgation of the Code was announced by Benedict XV in his Consistorial Allocution on the fourth of December, 1916. Benedict gladly gave to his predecessor, Pius X, the entire glory for this infinite labor, declaring him the Author of the Code of Canon Law, and placing his name as a Lawgiver with those of Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX. To Cardinal Gasparri, Benedict gave full praise: "Not only has he borne the weight of the undertaking from the outset, but he has shown in the compilation of the Code a very remarkable understanding and knowledge of law, a constancy of study and work which has never failed, even when he was necessarily occupied with important matters of State." (Cardinal Gasparri was then acting as Benedict's Secretary of State.) It was on the Feast of Pentecost, 1917, in the midst of the World War, that Benedict XV promulgated this legislative achievement.

Not only can Pius X be justly called the Pope of the Eucharist, and the Modern Lawgiver of the Church, but he may be designated, with equal exactness, the Pontiff of the Liturgy. Due to his indefatigable devotion, the Gregorian Chant was reinstated to its pristine dignity and beauty. Gregory the Great's name is eternally associated with the true liturgical chant, which formerly was universally employed in the churches. In the course of time the Church admitted the polyphonic music which reached its apogée in the sixteenth century through the compositions of Palestrina. Then followed a long period of decadent music — even in the Gregorian Chant, which became a perversion of its original purity. Many popes had issued decrees concerning the operatic music that had been introduced; but until Pius X took the matter in hand, there was little improvement.

16. *Pontiff of the Liturgy*

We remember how, in Mantua, Perosi had broached the

subject to the Bishop; and how, at Venice, where Dom Perosi was practically a member of the Cardinal's household, the Patriarch had sent the musician to Germany to study, and upon his return to Venice, had made him leader of the Choir of San Marco's. In his pastoral letter, dated May, 1895, Cardinal Sarto had expressed his views on the subject of sacred music:

By its sweet harmony, plain chant and sacred music ought to increase the devotion of the faithful and should dispose them to receive greater fruits from the solemn celebration of the most Holy Sacrifice. Consequently, Church music should possess the same qualities as the liturgical text to which it is so closely united. It should then have three principle qualities. It should be holy; it should be a work of art; and it should have a universal appeal.

One sole motive urged the Holy Father to his course in reforming Church music; namely, that God should be exalted and His House made worthy of the worship due His holy name. The profane must no longer come to church as they would go to a concert. Pius wrote a *motu proprio* at the beginning of his pontificate in which he made this important matter clear:

Among the important cares of the Pastoral Office the most important one, without doubt, is to maintain and promote the honor of the house of God. For there the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, there Christians assemble to receive the grace of the Sacraments, and there at the Holy Sacrifice of the altar they assemble to adore the most Blessed Sacrament, and to unite themselves to the official prayers of the Church in her public and solemn ceremonies. Nothing in the temple of God should impede or diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful. Nothing should give them a dislike for divine service or should be a source of scandal to them. Nothing, above all, should offend the dignity and sanctity of the solemn ceremonies. Everything in the House of God should be in harmony with the majesty of God.

The thirteenth centenary of St. Gregory the Great was celebrated by His Holiness with a Solemn Pontifical Mass.

The occasion was to be a demonstration of the beauty of the Gregorian Chant. Twelve hundred voices of members of Religious Orders and of seminarians rendered the *Mass of the Angels*. The immense congregation which completely filled the Basilica (over fifty thousand) was permeated with the thrilling joy of this edifying experience.

Pius X founded an Academy of Sacred Music where the secular and regular clergy of the entire Catholic World came to study the Gregorian Chant. They, in turn, taught the Chant in their several dioceses and monasteries. Thus, in a most practical and efficacious manner the spread of the reformed liturgical music throughout Christendom²² was effected; so that now the entire Psalter is sung by the Canons or monastic choirs every week.

Together with his reform in Church music, Pius X reformed the Breviary and the Missal by the Constitution, *Divino afflatu*, on November first, 1911.

17. *Works of Zeal and Charity*

Renowned for his devotion to the saints, he was always happy to celebrate their festivals. He beatified Jeanne d'Arc, the Curé of Ars, and the young Passionist, Gabriel dell'Adolorata. With appropriate ceremony he celebrated in the Greek Rite, the centennial anniversaries of St. Gregory the Great and of St. John Chrysostom.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, Pius wrote an Encyclical, *Ad diem illum*, which is a veritable paean of praise to *Maria Immaculata*, in which he celebrates her virginal beauty and benign influence upon humanity. He pleads with the Faithful to be loyal in their honor to their gracious Mother. To further honor the Advocate of Heaven, an international Congress was held in Rome; and Catholics every-

²² Church music in some Protestant denominations has been influenced by Pius X's reform in liturgical music.

where contributed to the precious crown which she wears in the choir of St. Peter's Basilica, which replaces the one set upon her brow by Pius IX in 1854.

Coincident with the fiftieth anniversary of the Pontiff's ordination to the priesthood was the celebration of the Apparitions of Our Lady of Lourdes. The double jubilee was observed all over the Catholic world.

The sixteenth centenary of the Edict of Constantine, by which freedom was granted to the Church by the first Christian Emperor, was duly commemorated in 1913. Here, again, through the zeal of Pius X, this event, dating back to 313, emphasized in the minds of the Faithful the venerable beginnings of the Catholic Church.

Many were the works this saintly Pontiff performed in his own diocese as Bishop of Rome which he desired should be a model for Catholic dioceses everywhere. Thus, on land adjacent to *San Giovanni in Laterano*, he constructed a new Seminary of St. Appollinare, to replace the old one now become too small for its growing needs. The new building was large enough to accommodate not only the seminarians of the old St. Appollinare, but also those of the *Pius*, the *Lombard*, and the *Leo Colleges*. The Lateran Seminary, as it is called, was dedicated on May third, 1914; and for the occasion a commemorative medal was struck.

The increase in the number of religious institutions in Rome and the inadequacy of the Chancery Building, caused Pius X to purchase the Marescotti Palace as a Chancery Office. He decreed, by a *motu proprio*, in 1912, that the Chancery should have four departments; each to be presided over by a prelate under the Cardinal-Vicar. These four departments were for business pertaining to *Worship*, to *Disciplinary Affairs*, to *Legislative Matters*, and to *Administration Affairs*. This new arrangement proved of inestimable value for facilitating speed and in saving confusion.

Rome was suffering from a housing shortage due to the

rapid growth of the city and the influx of government employees. In a few years the population had more than tripled. This brought about a congestion which was dangerous to health and morals. It was almost impossible to find living quarters; for while new houses were constructed, old ones were being demolished even more rapidly. Many large monasteries and convents were taken over for secular purposes by the government.

With characteristic initiative Pius X transferred parishes from one church to another, making use of churches that had practically been abandoned. He began to build new churches to follow the population trends.²³ Twelve million lire (nearly \$600,000) were expended upon these churches, presbyteries, and parish houses.

The Holy Father's deep interest in social welfare was demonstrated by his installation of day and night training schools, recreation centers, homes for students, study circles, and free clinics for men, women, and children. For the deficient children he fathered the St. Pancratius' Hospice and the Hospice of the Immaculate Conception. He himself supported, out of his own private income, and through the agency of the Propagation of the Faith, seven thousand children.

The charity of this saintly Pontiff was known to all. His heart embraced the whole world. Wherever there was suffering, disaster, poverty, or need of any kind, this Father of the helpless reached out a succoring hand. Poor pastors of des-

²³ Thus he formed new parishes at Testaccio (*Our Lady of Deliverance*); in the Quartiere Ludovisi (*St. Camillus de Lellis*); at the Porta Trionfale (*San Giuseppe's*); in the Prati di Castello (*The Holy Rosary* and *The Sacred Heart*); in the Via Casilina (*St. Helen's*); on the Via Appia (*All Saints*); and near the Porta Fuba (*Mother of Good Counsel*); while in the crowded Tiber section he formed the *Immaculate Conception*. Belgian Catholics furnished the means for the construction of the Immaculate Conception Church, its schools, college, and orphanage. Through the generosity of the Canons Regular of *San Giovanni in Laterano's*, and from his own purse, Pius X built the parochial church of *San Giuseppe in Via Nomentana*, and the parish churches of *St. Alexander*, of *Cervelletta* and of *Magliana*.

titute parishes, struggling religious communities — he assisted them all generously. When some calamity befell a population, his purse was always open to relieve the afflicted. To Calabria and to Sicily he sent a Commission to the scene of the earthquake in 1908. He rebuilt houses and constructed new ones; he called the refugees to Rome, sheltering them at his own expense at St. Martha's Hospice. The girls he housed in the Villa of the Roman Seminary at Monteverde, and the boys he distributed among other institutions.

Few realize how much repairing Pius X undertook in the Vatican, as it was done piecemeal, and when funds were available. The vaults of the papal apartment, whose weight threatened the entire building, were lightened and the wooden roofs were replaced with steel ones. He built a new and more convenient staircase for the workers of the Vatican to use; and for the families of the servants and workers of the Vatican he erected new and more commodious quarters. He removed the Secretary of State's apartments from the Borgia Apartments, which were covered with the Pinturricchio murals, to the third floor of the palace, in the Apartments of Sixtus V, in order that art lovers might have a chance to enjoy the paintings.

The physicians of Leo XIII had proposed that another exit to the Vatican Gardens should be found, in order to spare the frail and aged Pontiff the long detour through the Museums. But nothing was done about the matter, until a tunnel was constructed from the Belvedere Court into the Gardens, through the initiative of Cardinal Merry Del Val. Pius's aversion to spending the money for his own comfort was finally overcome by Merry Del Val when he came to the Holy Father with the necessary funds from a private benefactor, and on the ground that it would be a permanent benefit for his successors.

18. *The Great War. Farewell*

Long before the Great War broke out in all its terrible fury, Pius X clearly saw and prophesied the event. He expressed his fears to Merry Del Val, saying specifically that a terrible war would break out in 1914. Early in May of 1914, he again said to a representative of one of the South American governments, "How fortunate you are that you will not be here when war breaks out in a very short time!" On the twenty-fifth of May he again reiterated in a Consistorial Allocution his conviction that war was imminent.

Overcome with grief when he learned of the assassination of the Archduke Francis of Austria, and seeing clearly its full import, he cried out, "Oh, my poor children! This is the last affliction which the Lord is sending me! Willingly would I sacrifice my life to ward off this terrible scourge!" The seminarians of the foreign colleges of Rome came for their final "farewell" to the Pontiff. As they left his presence — many of them, he knew, for mobilization — the grief on his compassionate face was tragic.

The story is well known how the Ambassador of Austria twice requested that the Holy Father bless the armies of the Entente, and the papal reply, "I bless peace." His last pontifical act was his *Exhortation to Catholics throughout the world*. It bears the date of August the second, 1914. It is a cry of anguish and constitutes heart-rending reading. He exhorts the Faithful "to lift their hearts to Him who alone is able to help: Christ, the Prince of Peace, and all-powerful Mediator with God."

Then came the illness which appeared trivial — a slight case of bronchitis, not considered serious by the physicians. His strong peasant physique seemed able to withstand much graver attacks. But it was not this illness that felled the Holy Father. It was literally a broken heart! The end had come. His last words were, "His will be done." Conscious to the

last, although speechless, he pressed the hands of the prelates about him and looked happily into their eyes. His silent "farewell" to his devoted and beloved friend, Cardinal Merry Del Val,²⁴ was inexpressibly tender and eloquent of gratitude and love. He grasped the hands of his brother saint in both his own, and pressed them firmly.

It was a quarter past one in the morning of August the twentieth, 1914, that this holy man gave up his soul to his God. His face in death was suffused with the peace that passeth understanding. Such calm dignity, such childlike faith, such supernatural beauty has seldom been witnessed. "He giveth His Beloved sleep!"

Pius X's will was that of a saint. In it he says, "I was born poor; I have lived poor; and I wish to die poor. I pray the Holy See to grant a monthly allowance — not to exceed 300 lire — to my sisters, Anna and Mary; and an allowance of 60 lire monthly to my valet." He begged his Successor to decide if he might give to his family the sum of one hundred thousand lire (\$5000.00) left him by a generous benefactor. He requested that his body should not be embalmed, and that his funeral might be the simplest that pontifical requirements would permit. He desired to be buried in the crypt of St. Peter's.

Thus died another great modern Pius. Other popes may have been more illustrious, judged by worldly standards (although, as we have seen, Pius X's pontifical achievements were, perhaps, greater than his contemporaries have estimated); but certainly none was holier or more beloved. Words fail to do justice to his Christlike spirit. To think that such a soul should have walked this earth which has become so treacherous, leads us not to abandon hope for sick and troubled humanity. May his pleas before the throne of Grace

²⁴ Merry Del Val wrote to a friend: "My heart is fairly broken. You see I loved him with every fiber of my soul; he was more than a father to me, and I feel as if I could not live without him. He was indeed a saint."

intercede for us and bring us lasting peace, that peace which he knew so well how to radiate by his presence! Until that glad day comes, in spite of man's inhumanity to man, may that inner peace of the spirit that fortifies and sustains the hearts of men of good will, not die; nor their faith in the final outcome falter!

In the crypt of St. Peter's lies the plain white marble tomb. At his left rests his great Successor, Pius XI. Under the vaulted ceiling a few steps away, lies his immediate Successor, the War-Time Pope, Benedict XV; while across the aisle, and facing his own tomb, is the tomb of his beloved Secretary, Merry Del Val. Surely there can be no spot on earth, save in the Holy Land which the Master of these just men trod in His earthly pilgrimage, more sacred than this low-vaulted chamber! Usually there are numerous petitioners kneeling before the tomb of Pius X; but there are times when one can be quite alone here. When that blessed favor is granted, the pilgrim knows that here he kneels on holy ground.

Pius XI

1922-1939

DURING eight long heartbreaking years the War-Time Pope, Benedict XV,¹ labored unceasingly for peace. For four terrible years of the holocaust, when the hecatomb of victims piled higher and higher, this able, distinguished Pontiff, almost single-handed, tried to stay, or at least to mitigate, the forces of destruction.

1. *Peace Efforts of Benedict XV*

Message after message was sent to the rulers of Europe and America to heed the warnings of history and the demands of justice and charity — to arbitrate, to declare a Truce of God, to listen to the voice of reason and sanity. All these appeals, inspired by the most unselfish and holy motives, met with rebuffs, more from the Allies than from the Entente. After America's participation, President Wilson resented "papal interference," although he was not above incorporating in his *Fourteen Points* the *Seven-Point Program* which Benedict had initiated. Not only were these peace efforts frustrated and annulled by the Powers during the war, but any papal participation in the Peace Conference after the conflict ended was secretly foredoomed to failure by the conniving

¹ He was an aristocrat of fine and rare sensibilities, of the family of della Chiesa of Bologna.

influence of the Italian statesmen, Signori Sonnino and Salandra, as a condition of Italy's entry on the Allied side. As early as April, 1915, Article 15 was injected into the Pact of London,² by which the British government pledged themselves not to permit the Pope a hearing if he worked for a negotiated peace. Thus the only voice in the whole world, above national and sectarian interest, was silenced in advance. At Versailles the wise, calm deliberation that might have produced a sane social order out of the chaos of destruction and the mire of hate, was not heard and today we pay the price.

In spite of their rebuffs, the Powers were not averse to accepting papal help for their wounded and prisoners.³ *The Provisional Office for Prisoners of War* functioned admirably months before Italy entered the war. Without distinction of religious affiliation, the Swiss priests, commissioned by Benedict XV, worked in the prison camps of Germany and France.

Heedless of the slights offered his person and the Holy See, Benedict did not cease his thankless efforts to mitigate suffering and to allay the storm that seemed to engulf mankind. He exhorted the rulers of the nations to bear in mind the thousands of young lives sacrificed, the towns and villages ruined, the homes made desolate, the bitter tears shed. But above all he exhorted them: "Remember, *nations do not die*; in humiliation and revenge, they pass on from generation to generation the sorrowful heritage of hatred and retaliation."⁴

² This secret agreement between Italy and Britain was not made public until Soviet Russia, for reasons of her own, released the Secret Treaties after the war.

³ So, too, revolutionary Russia was glad later to accept financial and material assistance from the Vatican while she was persecuting Catholic priests in her own unhappy country.

⁴ Today (1940) we are witnessing the awful accuracy of Benedict's terrifying warning. Will men never learn that prudence and self-interest, no less than simple justice, demand the application of the lofty precepts of Christian charity which alone can bring salvation to human society?

A brief review of Benedict's peace efforts will afford the reader some idea of papal policy under a most able diplomat and sincere lover of peace.

On May twenty-fifth, 1915, after Italy's entry into the conflict, in a letter addressed to the Cardinal-Dean, Vannutelli, the Pope gave expression to his grief: "And now the conflagration has spread to our beloved Italy, threatening to engulf it in a flood of tears and horror, inseparable from all wars, even those which are victorious." And again, on the first anniversary of the war (July 28, 1915), the Pontiff issued an Apostolic Letter to the belligerent nations and their rulers:

Today our heart longs more intensely than ever for an early termination of the war and the restoration of peace. May this cry be heard above the terrible tumult of arms by the stricken people and their leaders and dispose them to make peace with one another. . . . Let all participants quench their lust for destruction . . . why not even now examine the rights and wishes of the people with conscientious impartiality? Why not inaugurate, directly or indirectly, an exchange of views in order to end the terrible conflict? Blessed is he who will be the first to reach forth the olive branch of peace. . . . The balance of power and *a permanent and salutary peace among the nations depends far more upon mutual benevolence and respect for the rights and honor of others than upon military prowess and the invincibility of fortifications.*

When the war was sixteen months old, Benedict deplored in sorrowful tone to his cardinals in Consistory that "although we have neglected no opportunity to hasten the advent of peace and the cessation of hostilities, the horrible war continues on land and sea." Again, on March fourth, 1916, the discouraged but indefatigable Pope said to his Vicar-General, Cardinal Pompili: "A father whose sons are engaged in a violent conflict is not at liberty to cease his pleadings for peace, even though they disregard his tears and exhortations. . . . Therefore, we must again raise our voice

against this war, which appears to us as the suicide of civilized Europe.

In the summer of 1917, Benedict believed the war had arrived at a breathing space where an attempt at mediation might be begun. The failure of the spring offensive and the outbreak of revolution in Russia, had brought France to the verge of despair. England feared the spread of Socialism, a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers, and American ascendancy in the money market of the world. Austria was at the end of her resources and had sought the intervention of the Pope. A note was addressed to the Pontiff with the approval of her statesmen, Czernin and Hertling, suggesting that the Pope mediate peace and publish an encyclical. Spain was also using her influence to the same end. Probably Benedict's hopes were higher than they had been since the war began; and he believed he might be able to bring about an understanding concerning Belgium, as a basis for further negotiation. In Belgium he was far more acceptable than President Wilson; for *he was not a party to the war*, nor was he a man of vague, pietistic, unrealizable theories; nor yet was he dependent upon political pressure. He was a practicable statesman and a diplomat of the first order; and he was absolutely free from personal vanity.

Consequently he commissioned his newly appointed Nuncio, Monsignor Pacelli,⁵ at Munich, to visit the Chancellor in Berlin. Bethmann-Hollweg told Pacelli that Germany was ready to restore Belgium, and to make adjustments favorable to France regarding Alsace-Lorraine. Benedict wrote the Emperor while his Nuncio was in Berlin; and the hopes of the Vatican rose to a height never before realized since the war had broken out. On June twenty-ninth the Papal Nuncio, Pacelli, had an interview with the Emperor in which Wilhelm expressed the hope that the Catholic Church, because of her supranational position, could most

⁵ Now Pope Pius XII.

effectively promote peace. A month later Pacelli again went to Berlin to submit the papal suggestions for the initiation of peace proposals. These constituted the famous Seven-Point Program, including the freedom of the seas, the limitations of armaments, an international court of arbitration, the restoration of Belgium, the settlement of economic differences, the boundary disputes between Austria and Italy, France and Germany, and the fate of Poland and Serbia.

At the same time peace feelers were sent to the Allies; for England's attitude gave rise to hope. On August first, Benedict sent an Official Note to the rulers of all the belligerent countries. It has been called a diplomatic masterpiece by unprejudiced authorities. In it His Holiness elaborated and explained his Seven-Point Program. This was written during the period when the hopes of the peoples for a negotiated peace were the highest. But France had learned of the internal weakness of Germany and Austria. The War Party in France rigorously put down her "Defeatists." America had landed troops in Europe. The Russians under Kerensky again took up arms. The French feared the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, or a part of it, through a plebiscite. Balfour, to mark time and to stall the issue, sent Count Salis to the Holy See with an evasive answer in which he said:

In our opinion it is not likely that the goal can be approached as long as the Central Powers and their allies have made no official statement regarding their aims, what restorations and reparations they are prepared to make, and by what means the world is to be protected in the future from the horrors from which it is now suffering.⁶

Yet, in spite of this discouraging affront by England and France, Pope Benedict XV and his able Nuncio, Monsignor

⁶The impartial student of history may well ask if the world was better "protected from the horrors" of another conflict under the conditions imposed by the victors at Versailles. The harvest Europe and the world have reaped by the machinations of these little statesmen was clearly foreseen by Benedict XV.

Pacelli, continued their efforts for peace. Pacelli told the German Chancellor that he would perform an immortal service for his fatherland and for all mankind if he would facilitate the peace negotiations by a conciliatory answer. But Berlin delayed; and Balfour recalled Salis, after instructing him to ignore all attempts by the Cardinal Secretary of State, Gasparri, to mediate semiofficially among the combatant nations.

Ignorant of these conversations, Pacelli continued to work for peace in Berlin. He was so successful in his efforts that on September ninth, Kühlmann assured Scheidemann, the Social Democratic leader, that in his opinion, negotiations with England on the Belgian question would be under way in three or four weeks. Kühlmann sought to assure himself of the sincerity of the English peace proposals through the Spanish ambassador in Brussels. The British government would not commit themselves.

By September twenty-second Germany's answer to the Vatican was vague and uncertain. Thus it was that all the peace parleys and the exhortations of Benedict XV proved unavailing. Even his urgent plea for a Truce of God on Christmas Day, 1914, had failed because of the opposition of Russia. But the papal suggestion to exchange prisoners of war was readily accepted, and a constant stream of the wounded poured through Switzerland to their homes. The housing and hospitalization of sick and wounded prisoners was successfully begun through Benedict's untiring efforts. Through the staggering labors of the Vatican, phenomenal results were achieved in locating lost prisoners. Bishop Schulte alone, through his Paderborn bureau, located more than two hundred thousand lost soldiers.

The Allies continued the blockade of Germany for nine months, condemning to death thousands of children and adults. Schulte, now Cardinal-Archbishop of Cologne and Munich, begged the Holy Father to end the torture. Ben-

edict wrote to each of the Allied Powers. From President Wilson he received an evasive answer that the matter would be given "serious consideration." The Pope told Cardinal Hartmann on March tenth, 1919, that he pleaded six times for the German and Austrian prisoners condemned to slow death in Siberia. His humanitarian efforts received a blank refusal. Thus, in the name of an idealistic war and under the guise of noble aims, the first World War was brought to a conclusion.

When the Versailles Treaty was enforced upon the conquered, the semiofficial organ, *Civiltà Cattolica*, ironically condemned its four hundred and forty "articles of peace" as "articles of war" and the result of incompetence and hatred.⁷ In a secret consistory the Pope castigated this implacable hatred which he denounced as a perverted nationalism, and he did not spare those ecclesiastics who had glorified national ambitions at the expense of Catholic charity.

To call Benedict XV a "political pope," as his enemies did, is an utter misconception of his role. He never addressed himself to politicians and industrialists as did Wilson, but to souls. He never appealed to the materialistic motives of the nations involved in the World War, but he pointed constantly to the eternal destiny of mankind. He divined in every political question the moral implications. The unswerving needle of his compass pointed to Christ and His charity. He rebuked the victorious statesmen and their shortsighted policy of *revanche* in scathing words, declaring "*He who has no charity is dead!*"

Yet, in spite of the seeming defeat of the Holy See as a mediator between nations at war, the prestige of the Vatican rose to new heights under Benedict XV. Holland and England requested ambassadors at the Roman Curia. The Dutch

⁷ It is reliably recorded that Clemenceau, cynic and atheist, true to his character of "The Tiger," threw the paper wet with his signature on the Versailles Conference Table with the scornful remark, "There — that's good for another generation."

Prime Minister, Van der Linden, asserted, "There is no more important political center that can labor in behalf of peace than the Vatican. The Pope is one of the great powers. His influence can be of tremendous importance in the work of restoring peace as soon as possible to the afflicted human race." Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Latvia sought diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Japan sent a representative to Rome. A papal nunciature was established at Berlin. France renewed diplomatic relations with the Curia which in 1904, under Pius X, she had broken off.

Toward the Italian government Benedict maintained a conciliatory attitude. The Holy Father and Gasparri sought a solution of the Roman Question, but Benedict declared it could not be solved by internationalizing the Law of Guarantees, but only by a just settlement dictated by intelligence. After the close of the World War, Don Luigi Sturzo founded a Catholic Party, known as the *Partito Popolare Italiano*, which was tolerated by the Pontiff as a bulwark against Bolshevism that at the time threatened to engulf Italy.

Benedict XV was so engrossed in international problems that the eight years of his pontificate brought no internal reforms nor outstanding ecclesiastical events. Had he lived longer these undoubtedly would have been added to his other achievements. That he was a true friend of peace and one of the great benefactors of humanity and a tremendous moral and spiritual force in a sick and evil world, cannot be gainsaid. Under him the spiritual prestige of the papacy increased immensely all over the world. On January twenty-second, 1922, he succumbed to an attack of influenza. His last words were, "We offer our life to God in behalf of the peace of the world."

2. *Early Career of Achille Ratti*

When, on the second of February, the Conclave convened to elect Benedict's successor, Italian and French newspapers

mention Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, as a likely candidate. He was chosen on the fourteenth ballot on February sixth.

Achille Ratti's career is one of the most fascinating among the modern ecclesiastics who have ascended the throne of Peter. If he had never been elected Pope, he would be remembered for his distinguished and versatile achievements: among men of letters, as one of the greatest librarians who ever lived; among sportsmen, as a great mountaineer, having led mountaineering parties up Monte Rosa, the Matterhorn, and Mont Blanc, besides many lesser feats; and among statesmen, as a diplomat of no mean proportions. His energy and his ability for sustained endurance at hard tasks seemed to know no limitations. Everything he attempted or was assigned he undertook with a sort of spiritual gusto that carried all before him.

Pius XI was born at Desio, a little town of Lombardy, just north of Monza, in the diocese of Milan. He was the fourth son of a silk weaver. Unlike Pius X, who often knew hard poverty and want, Achille Ratti never was hungry; but his early education was like that of thousands of bourgeois Italians of his day. Plain living, hard work, simplicity, and modesty are environmental conditions that sometimes create great men. And in Achille's case an important factor must be added — the surrounding mountains, which exerted a potent influence upon his character. The Ratti family were simple, healthy folk who could trace their ancestry far back into the Middle Ages.

Achille early decided to study for the priesthood and to that end he entered the Seminary of San Carlo at Milan after a preliminary course of study at the *ginnasio* of Monza. His record as a student was as distinguished as was his predecessor's, Pius X's, at Padua. Not only was his memory prodigious, but his professors called his mental equipment "brilliant." Throughout his long, varied career Achille Ratti

never ceased to learn. His hunger for knowledge was avid even after he became Pope, and his equipment for his many complex tasks was remarkably versatile. His working knowledge of languages is exceeded only by that of his successor, the ruling Pontiff, Pius XII. Ratti and his friend, Lualdi,⁸ were sent to Rome to complete their studies at the Collegio Lombardo which the great Leo had reopened after it had been closed for eight years due to the political upheaval in 1870. Ratti was twenty-three when he entered the Lombard College.

Only three months later he was ordained a priest at San Giovanni in Laterano's and gave his first blessing to his brother Fermo on that great day. The following day he celebrated Mass, in the presence of his father and mother, at San Carlo al Corso, where the heart of the great saint, Carlo Borromeo, is enshrined. After two years of study Ratti took his degree in canon law at the Gregorian University and completed his course in theology at the Sapienza and in philosophy at the Academia di San Tommaso. It was while he was studying the Thomist philosophy at the Academia that he was summoned to the Vatican by the scholarly Pontiff, Leo XIII. Because both he and Lualdi had distinguished themselves in the course of study which Leo had resuscitated and which was precious to him as the apple of his eye, they were invited to a private audience with His Holiness. This visit made a lasting impression on the student priest and influenced his whole life, for the venerable Holy Father talked to the youths at length on the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. With the wisdom and unction of his words treasured in their hearts, the two priestly students departed from the papal presence with ardor in their souls for the Church he governed and which they were dedicated to serve.

The three years at Rome were fructifying years for young

⁸ Alessandro Lualdi, later Archbishop of Palermo.

Ratti. From the Eternal City he was called to the curacy of the little hamlet of Barni by the Archbishop, Cardinal Calabiana of Milan, who had watched over his youthful protégé with a father's tender solicitude from the time he had attended school at Monza. Barni is on the shore of Lake Como, not far from where Don Ratti has spent many a happy summer at his uncle's house at Asso. It was almost like coming home to return to the placid shore of Lago di Como.

After only a few months, however, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan called Father Ratti to teach at his old Seminary of San Carlo. He was made Professor of Sacred Eloquence and Dogmatic Theology in his twenty-sixth year, and here he remained for five happy, active years. His success as a teacher was testified to by his pupils who emphasized his tact and courtesy, as well as his stimulating lectures.

3. *Prefect of the Ambrosian Library*

Father Ratti applied for a vacancy at the Ambrosian Library and was accepted to that important post by the Prefect Ceriani who was a famous Orientalist. This was in 1888, when Father Ratti was thirty-one years of age. Here, in one of the great libraries of the world,⁹ hallowed by the memory of its founder, Cardinal Frederigo Borromeo, a cousin of St. Charles, and by so many illustrious scholars in the history of letters — by Angelo Mai, Oltrocchi, Giggi, Muratori, Sassi, and others too numerous to mention — Dr. Ratti worked under the supervision of the Abbate Ceriani for twenty years. Then it was that the old Prefect's death caused his mantle to fall upon his own devoted disciple, Dr. Ratti.

It was in 1907 that he became the Prefect of the Am-

⁹ Founded in 1609 and remarkable for its anticipation of modern research methods, and the vision of its truly great founder.

broiana. His passion for effective administration now found full vent. Through the reorganization of its many departments, he created a living organism, pulsating with energy and enthusiasm. It was during his first year as Prefect that he published his most important essay on Leonardo da Vinci. As Administrator he provided a room for the invaluable manuscripts and drawings of that master genius. He wrote a complete guide of the thoroughly modernized institution and a history of the Library with a full description of its art treasures.

It is said that this great librarian and indefatigable worker had three desks piled high with material relating to special subjects — a desk for each subject. At one of these he could be found by any tourist, to whom he would give generously of his time by displaying his treasures; for in spite of his learning, the Prefect of the Ambrosiana was no mere book-worm. His scholarship was acknowledged by all the savants of Europe who sought him out. He established a reputation for easy approach and for helpfulness to students who were doing research work. Father Ratti not only wrote numerous studies for Milanese journals while he was librarian (these to the number of over seventy, compiled and analyzed by Senator Malvezzi, and published by Treves Frères in 1923, under the title of *Pio XI, nei suoi scritti*) but his work gave him trips all over the Continent and two to England. Thus he came in contact with the finest minds of Europe. Through these human contacts and his insight into the lives of the men of his own time, Achille Ratti became one of the best-informed men of his time; and through his work among the poor children of Milan and the chimney sweeps of that industrial city, he had firsthand information concerning social conditions in the distressed areas. He never forgot the lessons he learned at Milan.

In his work at the *Cenacolo* (the Cenacle Convent housing an order of French nuns founded to provide retreats for

lay women) Father Ratti kept active in the duties of a pastor. He himself treasured this work so ardently that he continued it for thirty years, allowing no other duties to interfere with his function of chaplain to the nuns of the Cenacle.

For his magnificent achievements as Librarian of the Ambrosiana, Dr. Ratti had conferred upon him by the Italian government the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus; while from the Church, with his appointment as Prefect, came the rank of Domestic Prelate, one of the grades of the monsignorial dignity. During the twenty-three years of his encumbency at the Milanese library Dr. Ratti became a well-known figure in the élite society of that city and was much sought after in the homes of its distinguished citizens. The table talk where he was a guest was elevated and enlivened by his resources of wit and anecdote.

His patron, the Cardinal Calabiana, who had called him to Milan, died five years after Ratti was appointed pro-prefect of the Ambrosiana, and was succeeded by the saintly Ferrari who took charge of the largest and most difficult diocese in all Italy. When Ceriani died, Cardinal Ferrari made Dr. Ratti professor of Hebrew, and also Canon of the Church of St. Ambrose with the title of "Monsignor." Because of his well-earned reputation for tact and diplomacy, Msgr. Ratti was entrusted with many civic responsibilities by the Cardinal-Archbishop — especially after the Cardinal was stricken with an incurable disease. Thus the Monsignor ironed out the obstacles to religious instruction in the public schools of Milan that had been injected into the educational system by the anticlerical elements in the municipality. Under his skillful supervision the religious instruction classes were taught by one hundred volunteer priests. Together the Cardinal and his lieutenant, Monsignor Ratti, labored for the Apostolate of Milan, and under their joint efforts the organization known in Italy as *Azione Cattolica* (Catholic Action) grew in vitality and scope.

Dr. Ratti was nothing if not "catholic" in his interests and attainments. A great scholar, fastidiously dressed, spectacled, and serious of aspect as he bent over his desk at the Ambrosiana — so he was known and esteemed by the eminent men of letters in Europe. His spiritual life was that inner life of prayer, penance, sacrifice, and discipline that is the duty of a priest; but, in his case, this interior life was deepened and revitalized by his pastoral duties as Chaplain to the nuns of the Cenacle, and by his devoted helpfulness to the poor urchins of Milan. His religious life was made homely and lovable by intimate intercourse with his friends and neighbors, and especially by his frequent visits to his relatives. His mother lived on the Via Nerone with his sister, Camilla, and he saw her almost daily. His love for her received an enduring expression in a touching inscription to her whom he calls "mother of a rare and ancient type." It pleases him, he says in the dedication of a learned work on Milanese history, "to think that some student, in the faraway future, may read your name here and find a memorial of your son's love and veneration for you."

As close to his God as when he served Mass, Achille Ratti found Him on the mountain heights where in the thundering avalanche he heard His awful voice; or in the many-hued sunset; or in the mystical beauty of the snowy peaks; or in the blue serenity of tranquil Lago di Como. From a child Achille Ratti had scaled great heights. As a growing boy in his parent's home, the mountains beckoned and called him. He explored the surrounding foothills of Desio for the sheer fun of adventure and to satisfy an inherent urge of a vigorous will to overcome obstacles. Having exhausted all the lesser challenges, he followed up this elementary course in athletic achievement during the summer holidays at his uncle's home at Asso, and during vacations when he was a student at Monza and at San Carlo. He describes his ascents of Monte Rosa (for which he organized

a party and blazed a new trail on the Italian side of the mountain), of the Matterhorn and of Mont Blanc in articles contributed to his brother's magazine, *Revisto Mensile*, and to the *Bolletino* of the Italian Alpine Club. These contributions were collected in book form, *Climbs on Alpine Peaks*,¹⁰ and make thrilling reading. The passages descriptive of the glory and majesty of nature reveal the true artist. In spite of the author's great humility of spirit, the character of the mountaineer stands forth as a noble, heroic, and reverend spirit. Indeed, while he maintains that anyone can do the same with the proper proportion of preparation, prudence, and courage, it is this very rare combination of character that captivates and enthalls the reader and makes his writings so attractive.

In 1911 the Prefect of the Ambrosiana was transferred, by Pius X and at the suggestion of Cardinal Gasquet, from Milan to Rome to act as pro-prefect of the Vatican Library under Father Ehrle. At the same time he was made Canon of St. Peter's. In 1914, after the outbreak of the World War, one of Benedict's first acts as Pontiff was to request the resignation of Father Ehrle, as he did of all other foreigners in the Vatican household. This was done to forestall any criticism or suspicion from the belligerents and the Italian government. Then it was that Msgr. Ratti was put in charge of the Vatican Library with the title of Prefect. Benedict's choice of Ratti for this important post was due also to his familiarity with modern languages, plus a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and, of course, Latin.

During the terrible years of destruction and terror, the Prefect of the Vatican Library was engrossed with the reconstruction and modernization of the rooms containing the world's greatest literary and art treasures. The task was prodigious and probably no one in the world could have

¹⁰ This book is, unfortunately, out of print; but the author has devoted twenty pages to this attractive phase of Achille Ratti's life in her *Pius XI: Apostle of Peace*.

undertaken it with the calm assurance and eager zeal of Achille Ratti. All the most modern equipment for this age-old library came from the United States, and one of the librarians from the Congressional Library in Washington cooperated with his great chief in devoted enthusiasm. In the early years of Monsignor Ratti's pro-prefecture, just before the Great War broke out, the learned librarian traveled to Oxford to deliver a Latin address on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Roger Bacon, the great medieval friar-scientist. Ratti announced at dinner before the assemblage of distinguished savants, the recent discovery of two manuscripts of Bacon's in the Vatican Library by Doctors Nogara and Pelzer. Lord Curzon's tribute to their honored guest, after his Latin discourse, was glowing in its fervor.

4. *Diplomatic Mission in Poland*

With the outbreak of the war, Pius X's death, and the accession to the papal throne of Benedict XV, Ratti's duties as librarian did not prevent his talents from attracting the notice of Cardinal Gasparri, the great Canonist and Papal Secretary of State. Frequently the tremendous problems created by the devastation of Europe and the equally devastating "peace" which overhung the chancellories of the Continent, dominated by the victors, France and Great Britain, were discussed by the Prefect of the Vatican Library and the Secretary of State. It was probably due to Gasparri's suggestion that Benedict called upon Monsignor Ratti to leave his congenial tasks for a diplomatic appointment to Poland, the newly created state, which had requested of the Holy See that a representative be sent to assist in the religious reconstruction of a country torn by many dissenting elements.

Monsignor Ratti did not go to Poland entirely unprepared for his difficult task. His administrative genius had been

tested at the Ambrosiana and at the Biblioteca Vaticana; and in Milan, during the Socialist uprising of May in 1898, his tact and courage had secured the release of the Capuchin monks who had offered asylum to the rioters and had consequently been arrested unjustly as accomplices in a melee which had resulted in a hundred deaths. And had he not himself declared that mountaineering calls forth those very qualities which he now must demonstrate with delicacy and skill? He had indeed recommended that a little mountaineering develops in the climber the ability to make quick and accurate decisions, and the courageous will to carry them forward.

In no part of Europe was a more chaotic picture presented than in the East. Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia had been wrested from Russia. These freed countries were in the throes of rebirth. A new Poland has been created out of the slice which Russia had dominated, but the provinces held by Austria and Germany since the partition sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna in 1815 were not yet relinquished by the Central Powers when Monsignor Ratti arrived at Warsaw on the Day of the Feast of Pentecost (May nineteenth), 1918. The enthusiasm of the Poles knew no bounds as the Papal Visitor passed in procession claspng the Monstrance. His first official act was to hand over to the archbishop the substantial alms sent by the Pope to the poor of Poland.

After the exchange of many visits with the dignitaries of the city, Monsignor Ratti began extended travels throughout Poland in order to acquaint himself firsthand with conditions, and to listen personally to the points of view of a disorganized people. Throughout these visits the Papal Visitor stressed the religious aspect of his mission. By his tactful sympathy he won the hearts of all. He made it a point to visit the neglected shrines. Particularly did he single out the shrine of the Madonna of Czestochowa, celebrated for

centuries by religious pilgrims. He climbed its lofty campanile for the view of the surrounding countryside.

The Apostolic Visitor's welcome at Kielce was extended by the people and the dignitaries of the Church. Bishop Losinski presided over a dinner attended by seventy priests. In Kielce, Ratti visited Italian prisoners of war and left them a goodly donation before returning to Warsaw. As the train pulled into the Ostrowiec station the Papal Visitor was met by a joyous crowd carrying banners and the Faithful knelt along the roadside all the way to Wlostow where the Monsignor was met by his host, Michael Karski. "I am only a humble librarian," Ratti said to his secretary, Pellegrinetti,¹¹ "it is the shadow of the Pope they see behind me. Behold what the papacy means in the world!"

But again the Monsignor was off in September to visit the town of Sandomierz. Here a delegation came to meet him bearing the traditional bread and salt. At the episcopal residence he was welcomed by all the prominent personages of the city, including a number of Jews. The Rabbi of Galicia made a speech in which he made reference to the event falling on the anniversary of the creation of the world, according to the Jewish calendar. The Papal Legate responded with tactful courtesy by saying that, according to the Christian calendar the day celebrated the birthday of Mary, a descendent of King David, and one of the glories of the Hebrew race. The Rabbi was visibly moved and asked, in the name of the Jewish colony, the prayers of the Holy Father and of his Representative, the Monsignor Ratti.

The Papal Visitor's investigations took him everywhere — he left nothing to chance report. He explored the conditions of the churches, the libraries, the historical associations; and concerning all this accumulated information he sent minute and accurate reports to Rome. In Galicia, still dominated by

¹¹ Later Papal Nuncio to Jugo-Slavia and created Cardinal by Pius XI in 1937.

Austria-Hungary, Ratti's visits were, of course, unofficial. But he spent three profitable days in Cracow as guest of Msgr. Sapieha. At Chelm, the seat of the old bitter controversy between the Uniates who were loyal to Rome and the Russian Orthodox followers, he was a welcome guest.

For six months Ratti traveled from place to place and was given absolute freedom by the officials to send his telegrams in cipher in sealed envelopes unopened by the censor. His movements were likewise unimpeded. The sole exception to this courtesy was the prohibition to visit the Ober-Ost region where he desired information about Vilna, Riga, and Kovno. Two months later he was urged by the authorities to visit these cities; but at the time he was unable to avail himself of the invitation. It was another year and a half before he finally went there.

It was believed when Benedict sent Ratti to Poland that his visit would not extend beyond a period of three months. But the changes were so kaleidoscopic that an extended stay seemed all important. On New Year's Day of 1919, Padèrewski arrived in Warsaw and he and Pilsudski called a Constituent Assembly. The *Sejm* elected Pilsudski president of the Polish Republic in February. Minsk and Vilna fell to the Poles in battle with the Bolsheviki. The Ukrainians were driven across the Abrucz after six months of hard fighting. New Poland staggered on its untrained feet like a child learning to walk.

Monsignor Ratti gave the Church's recognition to the newly created state in the name of the Supreme Pontiff, Benedict XV. It was at this juncture that the Apostolic Visitor was made the first Nuncio of the new Republic. He was also made Archbishop of Lepanto and was consecrated to this episcopal dignity by the Archbishop of Warsaw in the cathedral, in the presence of notable ecclesiastics, the President of the Republic, the entire Cabinet and diplomatic corps, and throngs of the Faithful. It was a national event.

One by one the Ministers of Foreign Affairs came and went; but Monsignor Ratti stayed on at Warsaw and was considered the dean of them all. A description of his daily routine has been left us by his appreciative secretary, Pellegrinetti. It reveals weary days of work prolonged into the small hours of dawn when he completed his reports to Rome, which were always written in his own painstaking, characteristic handwriting.

The complexity of the Nuncio's tasks can be imagined when it is recalled that the three political regimes that had succeeded each other in Poland: the Russian, the Prussian, and the Austrian, were duplicated in the ecclesiastical circles. At the breakup of these empires the Church was threatened by overzealous champions of her liberty. This group urged an immediate Concordat with the Vatican. But Ratti felt that first of all it was necessary to establish a firm and undivided loyalty by eliminating the friction inherited from the three ecclesiastical legislations. In giving this advice he was exhibiting the very same caution and prudent preparation he had always shown before he undertook a new mountain trail. At the command of the Holy See he nominated an ecclesiastical commission to effect a *modus operandi* for untangling the snarled problems of the various dioceses. This was accomplished before the Nuncio had to leave Warsaw.

Meanwhile, the Nuncio was made Apostolic Visitor of the Orders and Congregations in Poland. He was now constantly on the move. He commissioned Monsignor Krynicki, Auxiliary Bishop of Wloclawek, to cooperate with him and to report to him on his progress.

Now it was that the Papal Nuncio visited Vilna, an apple of discord between Lithuania and Poland. Both countries claimed the city. This was a problem to test the diplomatic skill of the Nuncio of Poland and the Apostolic Visitor of Lithuania, both offices held by Monsignor Ratti. He knew

he was watched and suspected by both parties to the dispute, but he went out of his way to display an undeviating and scrupulous neutrality.

From Vilna, Ratti went to Kovno and informed himself concerning conditions there by means of conferences with the President of the Lithuanian Republic. Thence to Riga in Latvia where his reception was not limited to the Catholics who formed a third of the population, but was equally extended by the two-third Protestant population as well.

Although he made repeated attempts to visit Russia, the Papal Nuncio was never permitted to enter the country. But he was able to save the life of Monsignor de Ropp through an exchange of prisoners of war, and to bring life and hope to other imprisoned Russian priests.

The situation in Eastern Galicia was perhaps the sorriest in all eastern Europe. The Apostolic Visitor heard dreadful tales of the cruelties inflicted on both sides of the controversy — the Western Ruthenians who had set up a Western Ukrainian Republic and the Poles who constituted the majority of the Galician capital, Lemberg. Monsignor Ratti's distress on hearing of the outrages committed by the Polish Catholics and the Ruthenians of the Oriental Rite caused him to write appealing letters to the Monsignori of both countries, begging them to put an end to the scandal. He besought the victorious Poles to mitigate the repression of their former enemies.

War between Soviet Russia and Poland continued, in spite of peace negotiations. Although the Poles won the battle of the Dnieper River and entered Kief in triumph, the Russians broke through the Dvina sector, cleared the Dnieper, and won successively Minsk, Vilna, and Grodno, with terrific loss of life to the Polish soldiers.

When the Papal Nuncio returned from a hurried visit of six days to Rome after two years of crowded experiences in Eastern Europe, he hastened to Warsaw, but was im-

mediately summoned to Upper Silesia as Ecclesiastical Commissioner for the plebiscite. Hardly had he assumed control of his new post than he learned Warsaw was threatened at its gates. Hastening back, he dispatched his archives to Posen in care of his new secretary, Monsignor Farolfi.

In the hour of their extremest danger the foreign Ministers held daily conferences at the Nuncio's house; for they recognized his spiritual leadership. One by one they departed when the Bolsheviki advanced upon the capital. On the thirteenth of August the Russians were only seven miles from the city walls. Yet the Papal Nuncio remained, as did Mr. Gibson, the American Minister, and the Italian and Danish Ministers.

Both General Haller and General Weygand, whom General Foch had sent to help the Poles hold their capital, begged the Nuncio for his prayers. A procession of a hundred thousand Faithful paraded the streets on the Feast of the Assumption while they heard defenders and attackers in battle a few miles away. Then the miracle happened, for the Bolshevik army began a retreat all along the line after the Poles took the offensive at Lublin and Demblin.

In the midst of their rejoicings the Poles did not forget the Nuncio, Monsignor Ratti, who had shared with them their hopes and fears. The Press was enthusiastic in its eulogies, and in a parliamentary speech the President of the Council of Ministers, Witos, expressed the people's gratitude and praise.

But after Palm Sunday comes Gethsemane and the betrayal. For while the Nuncio was at Warsaw these three months of her greatest peril, the Ecclesiastical Commissioner of Silesia was absent from Oppeln, where, according to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, a plebiscite was to be held to determine whether Germany or Poland should get the rich mines of that region. As Pontifical Commissioner of Silesia the Nuncio of Poland knew that rumors of discontent



PIUS XI: 1922-1939

Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti, born in Desio,
a city of Lombardy, May 31, 1857; elected at Rome
on February 6, 1922.

had arisen during his three months' stay at Warsaw. These rumors had reached Rome. The Poles complained that their Commissioner was dilatory regarding his duties at Oppeln. The fact was that he could not be both in Warsaw and Oppeln, where the plebiscite was to be held, at the same time; and the need at Warsaw seemed more urgent. The Germans of Silesia claimed priority of authority for their Bishop, Bertram. Ratti's actions, which had been lauded to the skies in Warsaw, took on the suspicion of ulterior motive in Oppeln, where Bertram's decree forbidding the clergy participation in the plebiscite (without consulting the Pontifical Commissioner) brought upon Monsignor Ratti severe criticism and protests.

5. *Cardinal-Archbishop of Milan*

Days of loneliness and sorrow followed for the Papal Nuncio, but they were borne in silence. When his hour of trial was darkest, a message came from Rome expressing His Holiness' complete confidence in his Nuncio. After this severe test of his spirit the public attitude changed and when the news reached Warsaw, in March of 1921, that the Papal Delegate had been appointed Archbishop of Milan to succeed the lately deceased Ferrari, the loss of their loyal friend from their midst filled the Poles with remorse and regret.

On the third anniversary of his summons to Poland, on the Day of the Feast of Pentecost, Monsignor Ratti received the call to depart at once for Rome. He was accompanied to the station of Warsaw by the Cardinal-Archbishop, by Monsignor Kempinski, and many other ecclesiastics. Behind him were three difficult years of disciplined training. Were they designed by Providence in preparation for the hard upward road he must ascend?

"Despite its gravity, this Pontifical decision allows me to enjoy great peace and inspires me with deep confidence,

inasmuch as there was not the slightest possibility of choice or refusal on my part . . . for when one is reduced to mere obedience one feels as though one had the power of two men." So writes the Archbishop elect to his old friend, the notable scientist, Giacomo Bono. With such a spirit of submission and trust in God's guidance Achille Ratti entered Rome and was received by His Holiness, Benedict XV. That the Holy Father appreciated fully his Nuncio's services in Poland was attested by the bestowal of the Red Hat upon the new Archbishop and by the papal words of special commendation and heartiest approval. The Holy Father declared:

. . . by his wonderful tact and composure he was able to cement the union between Church and State during the most hazardous moments. "The Red Hat is the highest honor we can bestow on him — an honor which, we trust, will inspire him to assist the Pope in governing the Church over one of whose flocks he is to be the leader."

After his elevation to the cardinalate the new Archbishop of Milan went into retreat at the Benedictine Abbey at Montecassino for a month. While there he wrote long letters to his diocesans, telling them of his love unbounded for the sacred tradition of the Milanese and of his pride and gratitude in being numbered among the "Ambrosians," and outlining their mutual labors for a vigorous, dedicated apostolate. His stay at the ancient Monastery of Montecassino, hallowed by memories of St. Benedict, was a preparation for the tasks that lay ahead. So also was the pilgrimage to Lourdes which he undertook with a group of seven hundred "with the hope of obtaining the Virgin's blessing." Here he remained an entire week, conversing at length with the Bishop of Lourdes concerning the stories of cures, and receiving an intensification of faith in participating in the shower of spiritual favors that are the common gift of the suppliants.

On the fifth of September the Cardinal was at his old home of Desio in Lombardy. So overcome was he by the spiritual exaltation of all he had experienced during his long absence from these dear, familiar sights, and by the thought of what awaited him in Milan, that he alighted from his car when he caught the first glimpse of the Ligurian Appennines, fell on his knees, and offered up a sobbing prayer.

The next day he entered Milan. Thirty thousand persons awaited him in the piazza in front of the myriad-spired cathedral, from whose portals he blessed the assembled multitude.

In spite of the short duration of Cardinal Ratti's ministry as Archbishop of Milan, his influence was impressed upon his diocese. Reforms that did not terminate with his departure five months hence were productive of a heightening of the spiritual life among the clergy and the devotion and cooperation of the laity in Catholic Action. While he was fulfilling his duties with honor for the Church, Benedict XV, the War-Time Pope, suddenly died, and Cardinal Ratti was compelled to depart again for Rome to attend the Conclave from which he emerged as Pope.

6. *Pope Pius XI. The Roman Question*

Achille Ratti was sixty-five when he was elevated to the throne of Peter. His answer to the customary question of the Dean, *Quo modo vis vocari?* ("What name will you adopt?") was indicative of his policy:

It was under the Pontificate of Pius IX that I was made a member of the Catholic Church and started my ecclesiastical career. Pius X summoned me to Rome. *Pius is a name of peace.* As I desire to devote my efforts to the peace of the world, a task to which my predecessor, Benedict XV, acquitted himself so creditably, *I choose the name of Pius.* . . . It is my wish that my first benediction shall be, not only for Rome and Italy, but for the whole Church and the entire world. *I shall give it from the exterior balcony of St. Peter's.*

This last announcement came as a surprise to the assembled cardinals and was made on Achille Ratti's own initiative. The Roman Question had plagued the papacy through the last years of Pius IX's pontificate, and had continued to be a thorn in the flesh of Leo XIII, Pius X, and Benedict XV. None of these pontiffs had been seen outside the Vatican buildings and gardens. Each one had been a "prisoner" as a sign of protest against the usurpation of the temporal power of the Holy See. By the breaking of this precedent, Pius XI indicated that he, for his part, was willing to cooperate in every legitimate way with the Italian State. Was it not a challenge to the Italian government for the mutual need of Church and State for a settlement of what was a cause of serious mental conflict and split loyalties for Italian Catholics? While the gesture had its arresting significance, it was not Achille Ratti's method of procedure to precipitate the issue. Years of preparation must first lay the groundwork of a solution of the vexing question, work which was to entail the most complex and arduous labor and tactful compromising with the new Fascist government. For Mussolini had already appeared upon the scene and was soon to take control of the government after innumerable shifts of political power and incessant changes in the ministry.

Thus was launched the energetic reign of Pius XI. He seemed to have brought with him from his native mountain heights the clear, invigorating Alpine air which was sweeping through the ancient Vatican precincts with its cleansing, potent draughts. His first official act was to extend by a *motu proprio* the period of the interregnum from ten to fifteen, or at the most, to eighteen days;¹² thus providing the cardinals from Canada and the Americas ample time to get to Rome for future conclaves. He retained Benedict's Secretary of State, the able Canonist Gasparri; and Father Ehrle

¹² Cardinal O'Connell and the Quebec cardinal were too late to participate in the Conclave which elected Pius XI.

was reinstated at the Vatican Library and later rewarded with the Red Hat.

It was almost a year before Pius XI issued his first encyclical which the curious world anxiously awaited as an expression of his papal policy. The long-awaited document, *Ubi arcano Dei*, was announced ten days before its appearance by an Allocution which outlined its thesis, *Pax Christi in regno Christi*. The Fascists had marched on Rome only a few days before its release (October twenty-eighth, 1922) and the new Pontiff's mind was full of anxiety for the future. In this Allocution Pius XI drew the attention of the world to the cause of the misery of the times. He also reaffirmed the just claims of the popes to their temporal possessions.

In the Encyclical Pius XI makes it crystal clear that peace, the supreme need of the times, is not found in paper documents, but is efficacious only when it springs from the hearts of men permeated with love of God. He pleads with the rulers of nations to scrap their cruel, destructive hatreds and international intrigues and to embrace the true ideal of peace which is found in the Gospel of Christ. He pictures modern society as divided into two hostile camps — the one under the banner of Christ, the other imbued with the pagan philosophy of materialism. No treaty is worth the paper it is written on unless it is motivated by the spirit which the Psalmist expressed so beautifully — “Justice and Peace have kissed each other.” For “peace indeed was signed in solemn conclave between the belligerents of the late war. This peace, however, was only written in treaties. It was not received into the hearts of men who still cherish the desire to fight one another and to continue to menace the stability of society.”

7. “*L’Action Francaise.*” *The Fascists*

One of Pius XI's first combats against this spirit of negation of God in modern society was directed against M. Maurras,

the editor of *L'Action Française*, whose propaganda, like Albert Einstein's today in the United States, sought to eliminate the supernatural altogether from the mind and heart of man, and to predicate the salvation of society upon this negative concept of man's omnipotence. Maurras' intense nationalism called for the annihilation of "Christian insubordination"; his program would have crippled the Church and exalted national pride, and tempted politicians to plunder once more ecclesiastical possessions for political cupidity. With telling lightning-strokes Pius XI wielded formidable assault upon this poisonous cult of social destruction.

Pius XI inherited the disorders of his predecessor's pontificate, culminating in the attempts of Italian Socialists to take over the factories and railroads and all industry. There had also been street battles between the Blackshirts and the followers of Don Sturzo, the leader of the Catholic Popular Party. Among the Fascists were many anticlericals who continued the fight against Catholics, both clerical and lay.

Pius deplored that while other countries were manifesting a desire for unity with the Church and were entering into friendly relations with the Holy See, Italy still held back. Calling attention to this sad state of affairs in his first encyclical, the Holy Father tries to lure back fallen-away Catholic statesmen to their glorious heritage:

Italy, our own beloved Italy, does not figure among these nations — Italy, chosen by God to possess the throne of His Vicar on earth; Italy whose capital, once queen of an empire which, vast though it was, was bounded by definite limits, was destined to become the capital of the whole world as the seat of the divine principedom which, by its very nature overstepping the confines of the nations, embraces all the peoples of the world. The origin and divine nature of this power and the sacred rights of the communities of the faithful scattered over the whole world demand that such a power shall be independent of all human authority and that its independence shall be manifest to all. . . . Italy

moreover shall never have aught to fear from the Holy See, for the Roman Pontiff, whoever he be, can be actuated only by a desire for peace.

What influence these sagacious words may have had upon the leader of Fascism we do not know, but favorable comment in the Roman press presaged a new and saner policy looking toward reconciliation. "The accents of the papal encyclical sound serene and calm," says the *Giornale d'Italia*, and "we who are immersed in political passion give ear to the remote appeal and bend our foreheads in silence."

Although many within his party desired to pursue the old anticlerical policy toward the Vatican, and especially against Catholic Action, Mussolini himself made many overtures toward the Holy See which seemed to indicate a real desire for peace. He publicly declared himself a Catholic, at this period, and showed the folly of ignoring Italy's splendid Catholic heritage. In the Chamber of Deputies, Il Duce dumbfounded his colleagues when he openly espoused a closer relationship between the Fascist State and the Catholic Church, saying, "I maintain that the imperial Latin traditions of Rome are represented today by Catholicism." He declared that "the imperial strength of Catholic, universal Rome . . . is a factor of . . . national unity which [the Fascists] cannot afford to disregard." And he showed his statesmanship when he put to his opponents the penetrating observation in query form: "How can a nation be strong in adversity and great in victory if it gives itself up to the fallacious hedonism of selfish appetite and fails to translate its patriotism in terms of the absolute: God?" Like Napoleon, another Italian by birth, if French by adoption, Mussolini's intuitive grasp of historic teaching was sound, though naturally it was colored by his passion of creating a strong state out of that Italy which Metternich had derisively called "a geographical expression." In many respects the new Fascist leaders were an improvement upon the older Masonic

"Liberals." Openly the new Premier gave the schools back to the Church, in so far as officially declaring religious instruction desirable and indispensable; and permitting that the Church should determine who the teachers should be.

While Pius XI was grateful and gave full praise to the new order for all that was just, he strongly reproved, with frankness and courage, the dangers which a revolutionary dictatorship had brought into Italy. Within both Church and State there were two groups — the appeasers and the irreconcilables. Thus there were many churchmen who honestly believed that peace with the Fascists was possible and desirable; while there were others who were equally opposed to any attempt at compromise. The Pontiff himself counseled priests to abstain from political participation; and in doing so, he forced the Popular Party to resign, to the sorrow of many earnest Catholics. Within the Fascist party, also, there were two opposing factions; those who were out-and-out anticlericals, and those who desired amity with the Church. Among the latter were the monarchy, the King's army, the diplomatic corps, and Mussolini himself.

Il Duce had indeed declared himself in his inaugural address (after the King had publicly approved his leadership over the heads of an ineffectual ministry) when he affirmed that "all religious beliefs will be respected, particularly the dominant creed, Catholicism" and asked Divine guidance: "May God help me to bring my arduous task to a successful conclusion!" Not since Pius IX's pontificate had any President of a Ministry publicly acknowledged his dependence upon God!

Pursuing the same policy, Masonry, which had flourished undercover and even openly of late years, was declared by Il Duce as illegal. After a stormy session the Fascist Grand Council declared that "those Fascists who are Masons must choose between their allegiance to the National Fascist Party and Masonry." For over half a century the Masonic influence

had penetrated into every department of government, but nowhere more than in the schools of Italy. The Masons had controlled the Educational Ministry and had lowered the standard of education shockingly — so much so that the very senators and deputies who did not dare to oppose the policy of the Freemason Ministry, secretly sent their own children to the schools taught by the Jesuits, the Barnabites, and the Salesians, while shamefully voting with the majority!

Nevertheless, many Catholics felt wronged that Pius XI had dissolved the Popular Party. To such the Supreme Pontiff pointed out that “it is one thing to be facing a party which has already reached power, and another to open the way to this party, and give it the opportunity of arriving at power. . . . Why,” he asks, “should we give . . . our adhesion to a party whose program involves a neutrality, which *per se* would lead to abstraction from Catholicism itself?” This statesmanlike pronouncement was the expression of the very same attitude which had characterized him as Nuncio of Poland.

Yet his conciliatory attitude toward the new government was not to be interpreted as acquiescence to policies inimical to the Church of Christ! He made this quite clear when, referring to European politics, he spoke these pertinent words, “When politics draw near the Altar, then religion, the Church, and the Pope who represents them, have not only the right but the duty to give indications and guidance which Catholics have the right to request and the duty to follow.”

8. *Concern for World Welfare*

The new regime at the Vatican focused the eyes of the world upon its amazing Pontiff whose interests seemed to know no limits. Of no one could it more justly be said that “nothing human is alien to him.” For it was not solely the Church of which he was the responsible custodian, but

human society itself that commanded his concern. He saw modern society beset by destructive forces that seemed bent upon wrecking the civilization which the Christian religion and the Catholic Church had reared with such painstaking devotion and ceaseless effort. That his labors should be misinterpreted and maligned by the enemies of Christianity was only to be expected. An exaggerated nationalism took umbrage that he should champion the cause of the occupied areas in the Ruhr; for victorious France would not heed the solemn warning of the voice that spoke in the name of civilization itself.

I deplore that people of an ancient civilization should exhaust themselves for the moment with still greater potential damage for the whole of Europe and the human race.

In rewriting these words of wisdom, it seems incredible that, even if they had no charity in their hearts, wayward men could be so blind to their own interests; that revenge and lust of greed could so dominate the mad passions of those responsible for the destiny of nations and the happiness of the human race; that financial leaders could be willing to jeopardize their own and their families' safety in turning a deaf ear to such prophetic words. No Jeremiah ever uttered more solemn or awful warnings than did Pius XI to victorious France. Viewing the theater of shattered, war-torn Europe in the second great World War, we silently salute the papacy which in the person of this great modern Pope, Pius XI, tried to call a halt to the destructive, downward march of European and world civilization. But God has endowed his creatures with free will and even He does not abolish His law of "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Alas for statesmanship not anchored in the justice of God's kingdom! Alas for men who imagine they can rule others who cannot rule their own passions! Alas for the people whose rulers have forgotten their God, the Ruler of the

Universe! What a different picture Europe would now present for our contemplation if the following words of Pius XI had been heeded in time!

When the debtor gives proof of his sincere desire to arrive at a fair and definite agreement, invoking an impartial judgment on the limits of his capacity to pay, justice and social charity, as well as the personal interests of the creditors, demand that he should not be forced to pay more than he can without entirely exhausting his resources of productivity. Equally, though it be just that the creditors shall have guarantees in accordance with the amount of their debts, we put it to them to consider whether it be necessary to maintain territorial occupation which imposes severe sacrifices on the occupying nation and occupied territories alike, or whether it would not be better to substitute, though gradually, other more suitable and certainly less odious guarantees. . . . Were these peaceful criteria admitted by both sides, the bitterness engendered by the occupation would cease with the final abandonment of the occupation itself, and it would then be possible to reach a really peaceful condition of affairs at which no sacrifice should be considered too great.

At the ill-fated Genoa Conference Pius XI submitted for discussion a memorandum regarding guarantees for liberty of conscience for citizens and foreigners in the Soviet Union; but, as we know, no agreement was arrived at concerning these vital matters. The U.S.S.R. became the first country in the history of humanity to proclaim itself openly and officially Atheist, or anti-God. Yet, in spite of this cruel rebuff, the Holy Father sent his mission to relieve the suffering and starvation in that unhappy land. More than one hundred sixty thousand children were saved *in their own land* by the Pontifical Mission made up of three Jesuits, two Salesians, and six laymen. And, although Vatican finances were at a very low ebb at the time, the Pastor of souls contributed two and a half million lire to be added to the sum donated by the bishops of the Catholic world, for the succor of the famine-stricken population of the Soviet Union.

Although the disturbed state of Europe caused Pius XI to

study assiduously the problems arising from the aftermath of the Great War, there were periods of great spiritual uplift, and many heartening events which must have been balm to his anxious spirit. Such were the Eucharistic Congress in Rome which surpassed all others in its splendor and significance; and the visits of the Belgian, Spanish, and English Royal families to the Vatican. Especially gratifying was the visit of the Protestant King George V and Queen Mary. Then came Holy Year in 1925 and the solemn opening of the Holy Door of the Basilica of St. Peter. During Holy Year more than a million Catholics from all over the world came to Rome and renewed their Catholic vows. For this great event Pius XI had prepared a great Missionary Exposition where those who had sacrificed for Catholic Missions might see at a glance the tangible fruits of their contributions. For under this great Missionary Pope whose ardor for souls knew no lesser boundaries than those imposed upon him by his Master, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," the missions of Catholic charity increased one third.

9. *The Lateran Accord*

It was in 1929, after thirty months of arduous labor with his Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, that, on February the eleventh, the three documents constituting the Lateran Accord were at last signed. In the presence of many dignitaries of the Church and State, Cardinal Gasparri signed on behalf of the Holy See, and Mussolini on behalf of the King of Italy. No event in modern papal history quickened the imagination of loyal Catholic Italians more than this achievement which settled at long last the irritating Roman Question, and freed the Pontiff from his "prison," thus vindicating the Holy See's uncompromising claim to independence in carrying on the universal mission of the Church. Solemn and splendid and thoroughly Italian were the ceremonies

that attended this historic event. Although many a rift and hitch delayed the culmination of this long-desired moment, the satisfaction of Pius XI in effecting a settlement must have been very great indeed. It represented the highest ascent Achille Ratti had ever scaled, and the crowning achievement of his remarkable pontificate,¹³ which has earned for him the title of *Pontiff of Reconciliation*.

Pius XI did not, however, deceive himself regarding the Lateran Treaty. He recognized its limitations. But he felt, in common with many of his ecclesiastical associates, that under the circumstances, it was the best that could be wrested from the government. He knew his territorial demands would be considered ridiculously small by many; but as he pointed out, it was not *property*, but *peace*, that was to him the magnificent *desideratum*. Peace between the government of Italy and the Holy See was the goal which motivated the Vicar of Christ. His course, he says, is "not to perpetuate the superstitions of territorial integrity," but is directed by the holy incentive to "provide for a greater tranquillity, the first and most indispensable condition of a stable peace." This history-making document should be a symbol of that "religious pacification" which he hoped might yet dominate the rulers of nations. For the rest, the future was in God's hands.

In this threefold agreement known as the Lateran Accord — the Treaty, the Concordat, and the Financial Agreement — the Italian government agreed to pay to the Holy See seven hundred and fifty million lire in cash and a thousand million lire in 5 per cent state bonds.¹⁴

¹³ For the full story of this great diplomatic victory of Pius XI, see pages 162-179 of *Pius XI: Apostle of Peace*, by the author.

¹⁴ When the depression hit Italy, the Holy See accepted the labor of Italian workmen on the various repairs, demolitions, and reconstructions in Vatican City, instead of money payments, which could not be met by the Italian government because of a shortage of currency. All the work going forward on the *Via della Conciliazione* during the author's stay in Rome in 1939 was taken by the Vatican in lieu of money.

The Treaty created the Vatican City-State — covering a territory slightly larger than the Law of Guarantees allowed, and over which the Pope has absolute sovereignty. It moreover includes the Pope's summer home of Castel Gandolfo. The terms of the Concordat define the Church's position in the Italian state and the Catholic view of marriage, and make religious instruction compulsory in secondary and primary schools. Bishops residing in Rome are obliged to swear an oath of fealty to the Italian state.

It is altogether probable that at the time of the signing of the Lateran Accord, the intentions of the Italian government were of the best. But political attitudes are always in a state of flux. The four years following the signing of the document were by no means reassuring; for they were marked by conflicts between the Holy See and the government regarding education, the freedom of Catholic Action, the Organization of Catholic Youth, and the failure of the government to respect the compact with the Church regarding marriage legislation.

Some of the Pontiff's letters were suppressed by the Italian press and in the case of one, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, which was a strong protest against the attempt to break up the meetings of Catholic Action groups of the Catholic Youth Organization, the Encyclical was smuggled out of Italy to France by Monsignor Francis Spellman¹⁵ that it might get the circulation and publicity that the controlled press of Italy would not permit. The Letter was a masterpiece, frank and challenging, which reveals not only the quality of his enemies and the despicable methods they stooped to employ, but it portrays Pius XI in the role of Champion of the Right and invincible soldier of Christ. The pontiff does not evade the issue as with stinging words he castigates his accusers and charges them with bearing false witness. Like Christ Himself

¹⁵ Now Archbishop Spellman, successor to Cardinal-Archbishop Hayes of New York.

in the Temple, Pius XI, His Vicar, lashes his adversaries with righteous wrath, for he is protecting the things of Christ, His Apostolate, and in so doing he takes up the fight of the Church Militant.

The new doctrine of stateolatry is condemned "as most grave in itself and destructive in its effects." The rights of Christ and His Church and of the souls committed to her care are "inviolable rights."

Shortly after the publication of this famous encyclical, Il Duce's brother, Arnaldo, died. Whether his death caused Mussolini to ask for an audience with Pius XI, we cannot positively say; but the two events were coincidental. The two men who had never met before were alone together for an hour and a half; after which Il Duce went into the Basilica and knelt before the Tomb of Peter.

The Russian question, too, loomed large on the horizon. After the failure to effect a working agreement with Soviet Russia, and the return to Rome of the relief mission, it was inevitable that the imprisonment of Archbishop Cieplak and other churchmen should cause the Vatican to break off negotiations with the U.S.S.R. Ever since that time (1923), the Catholic Church has conducted an energetic and undeviating crusade against Atheistic Communism.

10. *Social and Economic Interests*

In his discourse of Christmas, 1930, and in his Encyclical *Nova Impendet*, Pius XI reiterates his plea for international peace. But he makes it clear that this peace, longed for by all peoples of the world, will never be achieved so long as men seek within their own passions the remedy for the incessant strife among nations. *Greed* is the root-cause of the evils afflicting mankind. Only in a civilization dominated by and permeated with the Christ-spirit can peace prevail among men. *Pax Christi in Regno Christi!*

Implicit in Pius XI's gospel of peace and conditioned by

it is his gospel of Social Justice which was eloquently expounded in his great Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (In the Fortieth Year) released for publication on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Leo XIII's great message, *Rerum Novarum* (On the Condition of the Working Classes). In this pronouncement Pius XI brings the teachings of Leo up to date so that together the two encyclicals form a consistent body of Catholic social doctrine, which has been declared by many eminent statesmen¹⁶ to be the sole guide and answer to the blatant injustices in the industrial and economic disorders of modern times. The whole problem of capital and labor, of class strife, and of the international money interests which hold in their hands "the very soul of production since they supply its lifeblood, so that no one dares breathe against their will," is examined with the courageous impartiality these basic problems demand, if the chaos we have inherited from the first World War is to be fashioned into a sane social order.

For the furtherance of the reign of Christ, Pius XI called the Catholic journalists to Rome for the World Catholic Press Exposition in the spring of 1936. Journalists from forty-five nations of Europe and the Americas and of fifty-three regions of Asia, Africa, and Oceania attended this great conclave of writers. Only two great countries were not represented — Russia and Germany — and their government-enforced absence the Holy Father deplored. It was on this unique occasion that Pius XI said to these molders of opinion that he speaks to them "not only as the Common Father of the Faithful, but also and above all, *as a man of his day*; not only for the good of the Church of which he is the Head, but *for the general good.*"

No Pontiff of the Catholic Church ever identified himself more intimately with non-Catholics, or felt more keenly his

¹⁶ Among others, Van Zeeland of Belgium and Salazar of Portugal, and the former Catholic leaders of Germany and Austria.

responsibility for those outside his own flock than did Pius XI. This constituted his greatness. He saw the papacy as the only force for genuine and lasting peace in the world, since it is the only disinterested organization, even in the natural order, upon this earth. If he did not succeed in impressing his philosophy of peace upon the selfish rulers of mankind, his words have not been lost and one day they will be remembered and honored by a sick and exhausted world. Then he will be acclaimed as the greatest force for peace that the modern world has known. Seldom does God permit a too-easy victory for the cause He watches over. The free, willful minds of stubborn and greedy men are permitted to run the full gamut of their reckless course until they exemplify in their own disastrous destinies the Biblical truth, "By what things a man sinneth, by the same also he is tormented." Today the final downward plunge resulting from the greed and wickedness of these satanic forces which prolonged the last World War is bringing terrible retribution to the very men (and nations they controlled) who are guilty before God and mankind.

In outlining the causes of the world depression in another great Encyclical, *Caritate Christi Compulsi*, on the Sacred Heart and World Disaster (1932), Pius XI had denounced the greed of "those, very few in number, who appear to have in their hands together with enormous wealth, the destinies of the world." These men of influence and power who, by their speculations, are "in great part the cause of so much woe" will themselves be the "first and most notorious victims, dragging down with themselves in the abyss the fortunes of countless others . . ."

"Sordid egoism . . . lust of earthly goods . . . in fine, *greed* . . . has brought the world to the pass we now see." Narrow individualism which subordinates everything to its own advantage, without taking account of others, which in fact "cruelly [tramples] underfoot the rights of others" —

these vices have created the disorder and inequality from which arises "the accumulation of the wealth of nations in the hands of a small group of individuals who manipulate the market of the world at their own caprice, to the immense harm of the masses. . . ."

11. *The War Against God*

The economic distress which resulted gave an opportunity to "the enemies of social order" to break through all restraints and we see "the war against God and against religion brazenly unfurled to the winds in the midst of all peoples and in all parts of the earth." There were always individual impious men who denied God, but in the past they were isolated and were lost in the great mass of believers; but, he goes on:

Today, on the contrary, atheism has spread through large masses of the people; well organized, it works its way into the common schools; it appears in theaters . . . it makes use of its own cinema films, of the gramophone and the radio; its own printing presses . . . it promotes exhibitions and public parades; it . . . has its own political parties and its own economic and military systems . . . It secures for this nefarious activity the moral support of its own universities, and holds fast the unwary with the mighty bonds of its organizing power.

This vast power of propaganda recalls to the papal mind the lament of Christ, "The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." So widespread has this propaganda of atheism become throughout the world that it is now an open contest to the end. "For God or against God" — this is the alternative that shall decide "the destinies of all mankind, in politics, in finance, in morals, in the sciences and arts, in the state, in civil and domestic society." Pius XI, in fine, conjures mankind and nations to remember that "belief in God is the unshaken foundation of all social order."

Very soon the revolutionary doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky drew the combat to other countries outside the U.S.S.R. Mexico's President Calles began an attack against the Church. Hoping this was only a phase of what had come to be regarded as a more or less perpetual revolution, Pius XI urged Mexican Catholics to refrain from all violence. Our own U. S. Minister, Dwight Morrow, used his good offices to effect a temporary peace between the Mexican government and the Catholic Church, and he achieved a certain measure of success. But soon it became all too evident that the identical forces at work in Soviet Russia to force the people to bend to the yoke of godlessness, were also at work in Mexico to accomplish the same ends. Ceaseless efforts were made by the Holy See to effect a reconciliation with the Mexican government, but the Catholic populace continued to suffer from the interference of Russian-inspired agents in the educational, charitable, and religious work of the Church. Innumerable churches were closed and priests driven into exile, or they remained to labor with their flocks in disguise and in hiding. One of the last encyclicals (1937) sent by Pius XI from his sickbed was a pathetic, heroic appeal urging the faithful priests of Mexico to continue their ministrations in private homes and in barns, and not to permit the faith to perish among the people.¹⁷

Spain, together with Soviet Russia and Mexico, formed that "*triangolo doloroso*" that was to continue to plague and grieve Pius XI as long as he lived. In 1936, on September the fourteenth, the Holy Father addressed six hundred Spanish

"For many years this condition of affairs continued in Mexico. Devoted priests, heroic laywomen, and splendid nuns who have laid aside their garb, continue to carry on their ministrations in that land whose primitive aborigines the Church had Christianized and civilized long before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. Underground Masses were extensively celebrated there, as they are in Russia, and as they were in the early days of the faith in the catacombs of Rome. Purified and renewed, the Church in Mexico will one day arise triumphant. For it is as true today as it was in the first centuries of Christian persecution that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."

refugees whom he received in audience at Castel Gandolfo. This was seven months after the elections in which the Popular Front made up of elements of left-wing Republicans, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Socialists, and Communists of the Russian variety, claimed victory at the polls, in spite of the proved fact that the counterrevolutionary forces scored a four hundred thousand majority. A series of frenzied street demonstrations proclaimed their stolen triumph. Eighty seats in parliament were scandalously stolen. Zamora, the former President of the Spanish Republic, wrote a signed statement on January seventeenth, 1937, in the *Journal de Genève*:

. . . in spite of the aid of the Syndicalists, the Popular Front did not obtain more than slightly over 200 seats in a parliament of 473 deputies. It became the most important minority, but it did not have an absolute majority. It succeeded in obtaining it, however, by two quick moves.

First, from the 17th of February — as a matter of fact, from the evening of the 16th — the Popular Front without waiting for the completion of the counting of the votes, and the announcement of the results, which was to take place before the provincial committees of verification on the 20th, unleashed a campaign of disorder in the streets and clamored for power through violence. There was a crisis; many governors resigned. At the instigation of irresponsible ringleaders, the mobs took possession of the electoral certificates, and in many places the results were falsified.

Second, having thus obtained a majority, it was easy to make it a crushing one. Strengthened by a bizarre alliance with the reactionary Basques, the Popular Front appointed a committee in charge of the validation of parliamentary credentials, which acted in a purely arbitrary manner. All the election certificates of certain candidates of the Left were declared elected. Many other deputies of the Right were expelled from Parliament. This whole procedure was not merely the blind passion of sectarian politics; it was the execution of a deliberate and widespread plan.

Thus it was that the vanguards of the Popular Front overran Spain. Criminals serving terms in jail were unloosed upon their fellow countrymen. Hatred, ferocity, sadism burst

forth from these demons in human form. The women¹⁸ were worse, if possible, than the men. Was it not Margarite Nelken who screamed, "We want a revolution, but not even the Russian one can serve as our model for we need gigantic pyres that will glow around the earth, and torrents of blood that will dye the seas red"? Self-styled *La Passionaria*, whose boast it was that with her own two hands she had slain over forty priests, was another of these feminine furies, whose subsequent flight by air to France where she was not permitted to land, brought her to northern Africa where she was swallowed up in oblivion, and is already forgotten by her one-time satellites. It is to be hoped that in her enforced obscurity she has had the leisure and the perspective to reflect upon her crimes.

In April José Calvo Sotelo submitted for publication in the *Dario de Sesiones* of the *Cortes* a list of outrages, attacks, burnings of churches, attacks on individuals, burnings of newspapers, political centers, clubs, and private dwellings — a list which filled many pages. In six weeks there were destroyed "fifty-eight political centers, seventy-two private and public institutions, thirty-three private dwellings, thirty-six churches," — a round total of one hundred and ninety-nine deeds of destruction. There had also been during this same period (Sotelo reads on) "eleven general strikes, one hundred and sixty-nine riots, thirty-nine shootings, eighty-five attacks on persons, seventy-four killed, and three hundred and forty-five wounded." On May the sixth this list was augmented and again Sotelo gave the figures in the *Cortes*. Gil Robles read gruesome statistics of acts of violence from June six-

¹⁸ Before the administration in Washington decided upon the arms embargo (imperfectly administered) and the systematic propaganda of the Leftist journalists began to reveal itself in such distorted films as the *Spanish Earth* and the *Spanish Terror*, the author saw a Fox News Reel which portrayed Spanish women in the uniform of the "Loyalists" who were amusing themselves by testing their markmanship on a statue of the Christ representing the King of Peace. This picture was immediately withdrawn. It did not suit the propaganda purpose of the news-makers of the Film Industry.

teenth to July thirteenth — a period of less than one month. Chaos was rampant in “Republican Spain.” For this state of anarchy the government was directly responsible. “Everything is progressing to our satisfaction,” proclaimed *Claridad*, the Marxist Daily. “We are approaching the ultimate implications of our electoral triumph. Shall we return to legality, as the Rightists demand? To what legality? *We know no law but that of revolution.*”

August first was set aside as “Red Day,” and was to be celebrated by the assassination of the generals and officers of the army. This was common knowledge. The military was to disappear in a mass slaughter. Spain was honeycombed with Russian Communists who were directing the revolution — men like Morris Rosenberg who had played a similar role in fomenting the Chinese Communist Revolution, and “Comrade Ventura” who was a special confidant of Stalin’s, and who had declared, “The day is approaching when we shall avenge the dead of Asturias. We will apply the severest forms of terror, and exterminate the bourgeoisie.”

They began with José Calvo Sotelo who was kidnaped at dawn, placed in an automobile by assault guards, and killed in the car. His quivering body was thrown at a cemetery gate. The leader of the Monarchist Minority had told Gil Robles that he feared for his life. Indeed, in the Spanish *Cortes* he had told his enemies that he had been notified by threats of their intentions. He said, “My shoulders are broad. I have worked for the good of my country and for the glory of Spain. More you cannot ask of me. I say what St. Dominic of Silos said to the Castilian king, ‘My lord, you can take my life, but you can take no more.’ And I prefer to die gloriously, than to live in dishonor.”

No steps were taken by the government (which, in fact, instigated the crime) to bring the culprits to justice. Neither was any comment made in the government-controlled press. Thus was Catholic Spain chained, gagged, and suffocated by

a gang of bullying, bloodthirsty criminals who, in the name of their glorious revolution, were plunging their country to her ruin. That the outside world was, perhaps, unaware of the true facts of the Spanish Terror is the most charitable construction to place upon their purblind infatuation for "Republican Spain" which the "Loyalists" were defending against the "Fascists"! American Liberals and American Labor were bemused by false slogans, contributing their help in money and "volunteers" to this modern hoax. True it is that Italy and Germany backed the Nationalists under General Franco and aided him with munitions, as the United States is today aiding Great Britain. But Russia had already instigated and abetted the revolution and had sent in troops before Germany and Italy sent in theirs, in order to make good the Soviet's proud boast that "Europe shall burn at both ends." Men embattled usually accept aid wherever they can get it and embrace allies whoever they may be, as all history proves.

This was the tragic picture of tortured and bleeding Spain when His Holiness, Pius XI, addressed the Spanish refugees at Castel Gandolfo. If the governments and the press of the outside world were ignorant of the facts concerning these portentous events, the Vatican did not err from their inability or unwillingness to search for the truth; and since its motives were pure, the streams of that information were unpolluted. There are innumerable ways of checking any inaccuracies of those whose delegated duty it is to give precise and exhaustive information to the Holy See.¹⁹

"God knows that war, even in the least tragic of circumstances, is always something so fearful and so inhuman, man seeking man to kill and to kill as many as possible, to destroy persons and property and with means increasingly, fatally effective. But what is to be said when war is fratricidal?" the

¹⁹ This is a most imperative reason for each country to have a representative at the papal court, as the countries of Europe and South America well understand. The United States and Soviet Russia are lone exceptions.

Holy Father asks as he faces his Spanish children who had reached Rome to escape the terrors of torture and death by violence.

Pius XI reveals the cause of this outbreak of civil war in Spain in its beginnings as

. . . a satanic preparation which has relighted . . . in neighboring Spain, that flame of hatred and savage persecution which has been confessedly reserved for the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Religion as being the real obstacle in the way of those forces which have already given a sample and a measure of themselves in subversive attacks on every kind of order from Russia to China, from Mexico to South America.

These forces are intent on subjecting the whole world to those absurd and disastrous ideologies which, once they have seduced and stirred up the masses, aim at nothing else than arming them and throwing them madly against every form of institution human and divine.

In spite of all the propaganda of a lying press, the distortion of facts and willful misrepresentation by "our own correspondents" who spent so much of their time in cafés across the border in southern France; in spite of the *Open Letter* pretending to reply to the Spanish Prelates' *Pastoral Letter* and signed by misguided Protestant Leaders of Public Opinion, whose responsibility should have given them pause before lending their names to a document which, in charity we must believe, they had scarcely read, Catholic Spain prevailed to fulfill her mission as a repository of the historic tradition of the Church — that tradition of chivalry and courtesy that has always characterized her noblest sons and daughters. How could it be otherwise with a land that had produced a St. Ignatius and a St. Teresa of Avila? Giving the lie to the charge of these misinformed Americans, Spain today, three years after Franco took control, is a land where freedom of worship is practiced without let or hindrance by the authorities. And, in spite of all that was predicted by our journalistic "wiseacres," Italian forces were withdrawn from

the Balearic Isles as soon as the war ended. So much for the record.²⁰

12. *The Rise of Hitlerism*

But troubles never come singly, or even in triplets, for the papacy. The rise of Hitlerism and the pretended aims of the Nazi's to defend civilization against the spread of Bolshevism (an ardently desired end in the papacy's eyes) made it seem wise to meet the new German government halfway. It was, however, with grave misgivings on the part of the Vatican that a Concordat was signed between the Holy See and the National Socialist Government in 1933. A year later violations of its most binding clauses began to be practiced, until it became clear that the Führer intended utterly to subordinate the Church to the German State. Yet the Vatican waited, hoping against hope; until, from his sickbed, Pius XI issued an Encyclical, *Mit brennender Sorge*, and released it on Passion Sunday, March fourteenth, 1937.

"In these grievous and eventful years [since the signing of the Concordat]. We have stood faithful to the terms of the agreement." The consideration which the Holy See has shown in spite of all the Church has suffered at the hands of the new German government is not to be interpreted, says the Holy Father, as motivated "by considerations of human expediency . . . but solely by the desire that We might not perchance tear up valuable wheat with the tares." He had been moved by the determination not to deny the good faith of others until hard facts tore away the "systematic camou-

²⁰ For future reference it would be well to keep in mind the overnight ignominious recognition of the Nationalist government of Spain as the *bona fide* authority, after the precipitous flight of the revolutionaries from Barcelona. Those governments, especially France, Great Britain, and the United States, hastened to jump on Franco's band wagon when they were convinced that further aid for the "Loyalists" was futile. From many of the returning soldiers who composed the "Abraham Lincoln Division," strange tales have leaked out of disillusionment and bitter hatred toward their former "idealistic deceivers."

flage" which disguised the attack on the Church. But "the campaign waged against the denominational schools guaranteed by the Concordat shows the dreadful seriousness of the situation," in the nullification of the freedom of the vote for "Catholics who should have the right to decide in the matter of [their children's] education."

The entire theory of the new religion of the State which the government was superimposing upon the people's faith, Pius XI asserted, was alien to the Christian faith, which is based upon the concept that God is universal.

He who takes race, or the people, or the State . . . out of the system of their earthly evaluations and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even of religion . . . and deifies them with an idolatrous worship, perverts and falsifies the true order of things. . . . Only superficial minds can lapse into the heresy of speaking of a national God, of a national religion; only such can make the mad attempt of trying to confine within the boundaries of a single people, within the narrow blood stream of a single race, God the Creator of the world.

Pius XI characterizes these idolaters as permeated with the "defying Promethean spirit of deniers, scorers, and haters of God." These men want to see the Biblical history of the Old Testament banished from the Church and school. Thus "they deny the true Christ, who appeared in the flesh, who took His human form from that people which was to nail Him on the cross." Against this new paganism the Holy Father reiterates the age-old claim:

The Church founded by the Redeemer is one — for all peoples and nations. Beneath her vault, that like God's firmament arches over the whole earth, there is a place and home for all peoples and tongues; there is room for the development of all the particular qualities, points of excellence, missions and callings, that God has assigned to individuals and peoples. The heart of Mother Church is wide and big enough to see in the development . . . of special qualities and gifts rather the richness of variety than the danger of separation. She rejoices in intellectual advancement of individuals and of peoples.

The Supreme Pontiff points a warning finger to the fate of other national churches, to "their torpor, their attachment to, or enslavement by earthly powers, and the consequent sterility that comes to every branch that separates itself from the living vine of the Church." He castigates the use of Christian terminology for un-Christian concepts, as "an empty play on words, and a willful effacing of distinction." Such a perversion of the true meaning of words is exemplified by the new pagan concept of "immortality." To call the "collective continued existence of one's people on earth for an indeterminate length of time in the future, 'Immortality' is to pervert and falsify one of the principal truths of the Christian faith. It strikes at the very root of every religious philosophy that demands a moral ordering of the world. If they do not want to be Christians, at least they should forego enriching their vocabulary of unbelief from the Christian treasure of ideas."

In answering the charge that Christianity makes believers unheroic, this has been refuted by the martyrs and confessors since the birth of the Church down to the present time. No other body can muster such an army of heroes as can the Catholic Church. The Church of Christ "does not need to receive instruction from quarters which prate of heroic purposefulness and heroic achievement. In its shallow twaddle about Christian humility being self-abasement and unheroic conduct, the disgusting pride of these reformers mocks itself."

This Encyclical, like Pius XI's *Non abbiamo bisogno*, was smuggled out of Italy to evade the Italian press censorship and was carried by airplane to Germany where it was read in the pulpit of the Berlin Cathedral by Bishop Konrad von Preysing.

In wrestling with Germany's deflection from the Christian orbit, Cardinal Pacelli, the Secretary of State who had succeeded the eminent Canonist Gasparri and was a protégé of

his, was acting in collaboration with the Holy Father in his policy of attempted conciliation with the new National Socialist government. Under Benedict XV he had been Papal Nuncio to Germany and had presented the Pope's Seven-Point Program of peace to the Kaiser, and had further distinguished himself in the eyes of German Catholics by his personal courage during the Spartican uprising when his residence in Munich was broken into and he had stood face to face with an armed mob. His self-possession on that occasion reminded Catholic writers of Leo the Great confronting the barbarian invader, Attila; and they might have compared it with Pius VII's brave stand when, as Cardinal-Archbishop of Imola, he had visited the French general's camp pleading that the city be spared from pillage by the Conqueror's invading forces; or again to Pius IX's heroic defiance of death when as Archbishop of Spoleto he entered the insurgents' camp and succeeded in persuading the misguided men to go home and not court suicide by foolhardy resistance at the hands of overwhelming Austrian forces; or yet again to Pius XI when he fearlessly championed the cause of the Capuchin monks before the authorities of Milan when a Socialist riot took toll of a hundred lives. Again and again in papal history heroism has been conspicuous in the men who have occupied Peter's throne, perpetuating the tradition of the early centuries of Christianity when the elected Pope knew his end would be a martyr's death. Yet, according to the Nazis' charge, the Christian religion debilitates man's moral fiber!

13. *Labors and Encyclicals*

For nine years Cardinal Pacelli worked with Pius XI in perfect accord and with ever increasing attachment to his person. Before his very eyes he had witnessed His Holiness' brilliant mind and untiring vitality combat evil in all its multiform disguises as he wrestled with the problems of modern society. Over thirty encyclicals left Pius XI's desk.

They dealt with a great variety of subjects; and while specialists were commandeered to report on the particular subject under discussion, and Cardinal Pacelli was naturally consulted, there is in each of these pronouncements the unmistakable imprint of Achille Ratti's own personality, and the incomparable style of his energetic pen. The vigor of his utterances is wholly expressive of Pius XI's monumental achievement in every department of his pontifical labors.

There were few of his projects for peace that could be realized in a stormy and revolutionary society. That does not detract from the splendor of his vision nor from the consecration of his purpose. In spite of manifold discouragements, there was much that gave him joy. He saw the household of faith increasing under the lay apostolate of Catholic Action, which he called "the apple of our eye." Holy Year was a long spiritual festival. During this period Pius XI elevated to sainthood Jeanne d'Arc, and the two great English martyrs to the faith, Thomas More and John Fisher, and that illustrious Jesuit, "faithful servant of God," Robert Bellarmine, who gave expression to the immortal principles from which Thomas Jefferson drew so liberally in the Declaration of Independence. The Holy Father also beatified the first American woman to receive such honor, Mother Mary Cabrini. During the reign of this modern Pontiff thousands of martyrs died for the faith in many lands. It was a period of mighty spiritual fortitude within the household of faith.

Twenty new cardinals were added to the College of Cardinals. The Pope named twenty-six native bishops in China and Japan and other lands; for Pius XI's missionary labors were fervid and unceasing. In the missionary fields he encouraged the use of the airplane and of motorboats. He was the first pope to use the radio, and the wonder of it as a possible instrument of peace and understanding never ceased to fascinate him. There can be no doubt that in the many broadcasts of Pius XI millions of Catholics all over the world

knelt to receive his blessing. Pius XI's scientific interests were significant. He created the Pontifical Academy of Science and it was a great personal joy to him when he placed the Marchese Marconi's name upon the roster in his first papal broadcast from Vatican City. That eminent scientist and distinguished benefactor of humanity spoke feelingly of his hope that the invention of radio would prove a powerful force for peace among nations.

In the Encyclical *Quas primas* the old Catholic ideal of Christ the King is restated. It was not a political document as the American press pretended to fear; but was rather a revival of the ancient teaching of the *Living Presence of Christ* in His Church. It had been formulated in the early centuries by St. Paul, by St. Augustine, and by St. Thomas Aquinas. The Pontiff of Christendom instituted a feast day of Christ the King, and the influence of this institution has deeply affected many believing Protestants, as well as devout Catholics. It quickened the desire in the hearts of the Faithful for a public avowal of Christ ruling in their individual hearts. This proud acknowledgment became the slogan in Spain and in Mexico for resistance to religious suffocation, and their rallying cry became *Viva Christo Rey!* Many a brave lad went forth to battle with the Crucifix on his breast and the cry *Viva Christo Rey!* upon his lips.

The inner life of Catholics received a quickening impulse from the Retreat Movement which Pius XI fostered, and by the numerous Eucharistic Conferences which multiplied all over the earth. It was the belief of Pius XI that as a city dweller needs a vacation for his mind and body during the summer months, so it is useful and of great spiritual benefit for the soul to retire apart and dwell in silence. But these retreats are not spent in indolence! They are periods of spiritual renewal and rededication on the part of the retreatant and are given under the supervision of a retreat master. Marked by hard "spiritual exercises," such as those of St.

Ignatius, they are conducted by a learned Jesuit or some other priest, regular or secular. Those who have taken these exercises bear witness to an inpouring of grace, as water flows into a reservoir.

The three great encyclicals dealing with the Family, with Labor, and with Catholic Education are models of clarity and of the profoundest study. With the greatest frankness Pius XI discusses in *Casti Connubii* the ideals of Christian marriage, and the papal abhorrence of sterilization, eugenics, and birth control. In reading these brave words it is well to remember that when they were written, these unnatural practices were widely approved (and still are in some quarters). Since they were written, their popularity is on the decline; for defeated France, in paying the penalty of her errors, justifies by her disastrous example the wisdom and foresight of Pius XI regarding the basic virtues of society. Many former advocates of birth control are today asking themselves searching questions on these moot topics.

It was *social peace* that occupied the mind and heart of Pius XI throughout his pontificate. *Pax Christi in Regno Christi*, the motto he took when he ascended the throne of Peter, became the obsession of his whole being. He showed with devastating logic that any social peace founded upon any other doctrine than the peace of Christ must necessarily perish. The aim of the Communist is avowedly the same as the true Christian's, but it will ever prove unsuccessful for its very premise is illogical, illegal, and founded upon the principle of hatred and envy, and is enmeshed in materialism. Not that Pius XI despised material means in the attainment of spiritual goods; but the end must be the life of spiritual riches Christ promises to all who accept His Gospel.

14. *His Works Are His Monument*

No papal documents have ever received the world-wide reading by non-Catholic thinkers as well as by Catholics, that

the encyclicals of Pius XI have commanded. No pope ever impressed his personality upon his contemporaries of all schools of thought so much as did Pius XI. All recognized his greatness and his high sense of responsibility "*as a man of his time,*" as well as Head of the Catholic Church. All human interests claimed his wise and sane consideration. He was probably the best-read and best-informed Pontiff that the papacy had ever had. So universal and all embracing were his affections and interests that his sudden illness, his partial recovery, and his final death were matters of newspaper comment all over the world. The world press outdid itself in eulogies. Leaders of public opinion all agreed that the anxious times could ill afford to lose the guidance of such a wise spiritual leader. All prejudice seemed for the time to be forgotten. Prayers for his recovery were not confined to his own flock. He was a tower of strength to the dispossessed and persecuted of all races and of all lands. He was a faithful shepherd to all men of good will. He had never ceased to pray that the minds of rulers might be moved to charity, and that they might find the moral strength to make righteous decisions. When he lay sick unto death, he whispered to those who watched beside him "There is so much to do!" From his sickbed he issued three encyclicals and his temporary rallying was the triumph of his indomitable spirit over the spent flesh.

It was no vision of a world at peace that he saw as he viewed the future human family of nations. He foresaw all the destruction and suffering that another war would inflict upon weary humanity. Because mediocre statesmen in the chancelleries of Europe would not listen to the brave program of Pius XI the woes he foretold have descended upon the peoples. Since then the dread harvest of diseased and dying civilians have awaited the reaper of the Four Horsemen. Pius XI inveighed against the mediocrity in which statesmen of puny stature take refuge. Viewing Europe, it ap-

pears to our limited outlook that the continent is doomed. But we have only to remember the barbarian invasions, the Thirty Years War, the Black Death — when Europe seemed about to perish — and how the Catholic Church, besieged and threatened with dissolution, kept the light of civilization and culture burning for the New Day. Who dares say that the light Pius XI caused to illuminate his immortal pontificate shall not prevail at last “until the Church will arise more resplendent and better adapted to the necessities of the actual hour”?

Viewing the extraordinary achievements of Pius XI evidenced on every side in Vatican City where his spirit seems to pervade the gardens he beautified, the colleges he erected, the library he enriched, the museum he created (so incredibly beautiful that one must see it to believe), the radio station — one cannot begin to enumerate the substantial and artistic creations which sprang into being under the initiative of his versatile mind — the author used frequently to ask herself when she was making copious notes for this book in the library he had modernized, whether this amazing modern Pontiff, the Eleventh Pius, will not go down in papal history as *Pius the Great*.

Epilogue

ON THE second of March, 1939, when Eugenio, Cardinal Pacelli, assumed the papal tiara and in honor of his beloved Predecessor, took the revered title of Pius, there was universal rejoicing, not only among informed Catholics, but also among men of good will everywhere. The swift election seemed to indicate the determination of the Sacred College to protect the barque of Christ, as far as human ingenuity craving the guidance of the Holy Spirit could do, from the impending catastrophe that is resulting in "Total war." In the second World War we are witnesses today of the inevitable consequences of all that had gone before. It is the terrible harvest, reaped in fire and blood, of the long train of methodical sowings by the tireless enemies of Christ which we have traced throughout the pages of this book.

On assuming his new pontifical dignity, Pius XII besought, in the midst of the "difficulties, anxieties and trials of the present hour" solidarity in the Catholic ranks. He thanked "all those who do not belong to the visible body of the Church" for their heartfelt good wishes.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Pius XII used every means at his disposal to preserve the peace of Europe. We have his own words for it!¹ He wrote to the heads of the European governments begging them to negotiate, to arbitrate, to adjust their differences by peaceful means. He wrote to the President of the United States to use his good

¹ Read *The Pope Speaks*, by Charles Rankin and published by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

offices to save Europe from suicide. He did not accept the thesis that the *status quo* must be maintained at all costs, even at the price of obvious injustice. *Opus justitiae pax* — Peace is the labor of justice. “War settles nothing,” he warned again and again. “Stop before it is too late!” War destroys the possibility of a just settlement. Over and over, even after Great Britain had declared war, Pius cried out in the name of humanity, in the name of sanity, in the name of Christ.

“Truth is always the first casualty of war.” So speaks Pius XII. He shows how prejudice and partisanship befog the atmosphere, distort the judgment; how foul hatreds poison minds until corrupted men can no longer discern the truth. Ugly passions blind the vision. How clearly Pius XII states these basic truths in *Summi Pontificatus!*

The obligation the Vicar of Christ owes to his high office, owes to the world at large, compels the Pontiff to follow the mandate of his divine Master “to give testimony to the truth with apostolic firmness.” He who uttered the sublime words, “For this was I born, and for this cause came I into the world; that I should bear testimony to the truth” enjoins it upon his servant, the Vicar of Christ, to uphold the banner of truth, that those who may come to know the truth may be free — free from error, free from hatred, free from sin.

In searching for the root-cause of the woes that have befallen human society, the Holy Father points to “the head of the road” that has led to the spiritual and moral bankruptcy of the present day. It is found, he declares, “in the nefarious efforts of not a few [who sought] to dethrone Christ, in the abandonment of the law of truth . . . and the law of love . . . which is the breath of His Kingdom.”

As in a vision the Pontiff sees one hopeful sign in the darkened heavens. “Perhaps — God grant it! — one may hope that this hour of direst need may bring a change of outlook to those who have walked with blind faith along a path of

popular modern errors, unconscious of the treacherous and insecure ground on which they trod. Perhaps many who have not grasped the importance of the educational and pastoral mission of the Church will now better understand her warnings, scouted in the false security of the past."

In concise and unequivocal language Pius XII makes it clear where lies the original cause of the chaos we have inherited from the time of the French Revolution to our own *dies irae*. "It is the rejection of a universal norm of morality, as well for individual and social as for international relations. . . ." There we have traced the crux of the problem. The Pontiff prays for a return of a salutary "thirst for the truth, justice, and peace of Christ . . ." that "to those who are indifferent as yet, or hostile to Christ, may come a ray of that Light which once transformed Saul into Paul. . . ." Here we have "the patience and faith of the saints."² Little wonder that wise men everywhere are unreservedly conceding that, above the din of conflicting passions, there is one sane voice in Europe today—the voice of the reigning Pontiff of Rome, the twelfth to bear the glorious title of Pius!

² The Apoc. 13:10.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO PIUS VII

Most Holy Father:

The happy effect experienced in the morals and character of my people by the restoration of the Christian religion, induces me to beg Your Holiness to give me a new proof of the interest you take in my destiny, and that of this great nation, in one of the most important junctures presented in the annals of the world. I beg you to come and give, in the most eminent degree, the stamp of religion to the ceremony of consecration of the first emperor of the French. This ceremony will acquire a new lustre, when it is performed by Your Holiness in person. It will draw upon us and our peoples the blessing of God whose decrees regulate at His will the destiny of nations and families.

Your Holiness knows the affectionate sentiments which I have long borne you, and may thence judge of the pleasure that this new juncture will afford me of giving you new proof.

Therefore, we pray God to preserve you, Most Holy Father, long years to rule and direct our Holy Mother Church.

Your devoted Son,
Napoleon

APPENDIX B: AMNESTY ACCORDED HIS SUBJECTS BY PIUS IX

*Pius IX, to His Faithful Subjects, Health and Apostolic
Benediction*

During these days when the public rejoicing on our exaltation to the pontificate touches us to the depth of our heart, we have not been able to refrain from grieving at the thought of so many

families among our subjects debarred from sharing in the general joy because in their saddened homes they are made to bear a portion of the punishment incurred by some one member of their household through offenses committed against social order or the rights of the sovereign. The eye of our soul could not help looking with pity upon the multitude of inexperienced young men lured by dazzling prospects into political disturbances; and, to our mind, to be considered rather as the victims of seduction than its accomplices. Wherefore, since that thought first took possession of us, we have been considering whether we ought not to stretch forth a forgiving hand to our erring children, and offer peace to all who are ready to give proof of their sincere repentance. The love shown to us by our good subjects, and the many evidences of veneration they have given to the Holy See in our person, have convinced us that we can pardon with safety.

APPENDIX C: POPULAR CONSTITUTION PUBLISHED BY PIUS IX

Organization of the Council of State (March 15, 1848)

The Council of State is to be composed of a Cardinal-president, a prelate-vice-president, and twenty-four councillors, nominated by the Sovereign Pontiff and selected by the people.

The College of Cardinals shall continue to be the Pope's personal cabinet of advisers.

For the framing and enacting of laws two houses shall be established; the higher council called the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies, or House of Representatives. Both Houses shall be convened and adjourned by the Pope. The sessions shall be public, and the proceedings printed and published. The members of the higher council shall be appointed for life; the deputies shall be elected by the people, every thirty thousand souls being entitled to one representative. All persons paying a tax of twelve dollars or over, and having attained their twenty-fifth year, shall be entitled to vote. To be eligible to office the candidate must have reached his thirtieth year. The House of Representatives shall choose its own President. Church matters do not come within the province of either House, neither the diplomatic ecclesiastical questions of the Holy See. Both Houses may legislate on questions of finance and commerce, may levy taxes,

imposing direct taxation for each year, and indirect taxes for several years. Only the House of Representatives has the right to demand the impeachment of any minister. The civil list of the Pope is established at \$600,000. Justice must be untrammelled, personal liberty protected, a moderate taxation enforced upon all citizens.

The Civil Guard shall be a State institution.

Official censure in political matters shall cease; the Church shall continue to be above and independent of the civil power. The theatres shall be subject to government surveillance.

APPENDIX D: THE SYLLABUS OF ERRORS OF PIUS IX

The eighty propositions condemned by Pius IX in the *Syllabus* raised a storm of protest at the time of publication, yet nine tenths of them would be heartily subscribed to today by Protestants, no less than by Catholics. They dealt with Pantheism, Naturalism, and Absolute Rationalism, with Indifferentism or Latitudinarianism, with Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Clerico-Liberal Societies, etc. The accompanying encyclical defined the Church and her rights. Studied in the light of the events of the past quarter century, they anticipate and refute the claims of the Totalitarian State to control completely the lives and property of her citizens. Pius IX defines and defends individual rights and asserts unequivocally the superior rights of religion in its insistence of the worth of man's immortal soul. Some of these condemned "Errors," chosen at random, read:

Moral laws do not stand in need of Divine sanction, and it is not at all necessary that human laws should be made conformable to the laws of nature, and receive their power of binding from God." (Allocution: *Maxima quidem*, June 3, 1862.)

"Authority is nothing else but numbers, and the sum total of material forces." (*Ibid.*)

"The injustice of an act, when successful, inflicts no injury upon the sanctity of right." (Allocution: *Jamdudum cernimis*, March 18, 1861.)

"The violation of any solemn oath, as well as any action repugnant to the eternal law, is not only not blamable, but it is altogether lawful and worthy of the highest praise, when done through love of country." (Allocution: *Quibus quantisque*, April 20, 1849.)

"No other forces are to be recognized except those which reside in matter, and all the rectitude and excellence of morality ought to be placed in the accumulation and increase of riches by every possible means, and the gratification of pleasure." (Allocution: *Maxima quidem*, June 3, 1862.)

"Rights consist in the material fact. All human duties are an empty word, and all human facts have the force of right." (*Ibid.*)

"Kings and princes* are not only exempt from the jurisdiction of the Church, but are superior to the Church in deciding questions of jurisdiction." (Apostolic Letter, *Multiplicis inter*, June 10, 1851.)

"The Civil Authority may interfere in matters relating to religion, morality, and spiritual government: hence, it can pass judgment on the instructions issued for the guidance of consciences, conformably with their mission, by the pastors of the Church. Further, it has the right to make enactments** regarding the administration of the Divine Sacraments, and the dispositions necessary for receiving them." (Allocution: *In Consistoriali*, November 1, 1850.)

These "Errors" chosen from the eighty propositions, indicate the trend of the *Syllabus*, which should be studied by the contemporary student of affairs in this year of war and frightful apprehension for the future, 1940.

* Substitute "Presidents and Dictators."

** As an example in our own day, the House of Commons ruling on the Prayer Book in England.

APPENDIX E: VATICAN COUNCIL BULL OF INDICATION BY PIUS IX

The Roman pontiffs, in the discharge of the office divinely confided to them in the person of Peter, of feeding the entire flock of Christ, have unweariedly taken on themselves the most arduous labors, and used every possible means in order to have the various nations and races all over the earth brought to the light of the Gospel, and, by truth and holiness, to eternal life. . . .

Whenever great troubles arose, or serious calamities threatened either the Church or the social order, the Roman pontiffs judged it opportune to convoke general councils; in order that with the advice and assistance of the bishops of the Catholic World, whom the Holy Ghost hath established to rule the Church of God, they might, in their united wisdom and forethought, so dispose everything as to define the doctrines of faith, to secure the destruction of the most prevalent errors; defend, illustrate, and develop Catholic teaching; restore and promote ecclesiastical discipline and the reformation of morals.

No one, at the present time, can ignore how horrible is the storm by which the Church is assailed, and what an accumulation of evils afflicts civil society. The Catholic Church, her most salutary doctrines, her most revered power, the supreme authority of this Holy See, are all assailed and trampled upon by the bitter

enemies of God and man. All that is most sacred is held up to contempt; ecclesiastical property is made the prey of the spoiler; the most venerable ministers of the sacraments, men most eminent for their Catholic character, are harassed by untold-of annoyances. Religious orders are suppressed, impious books of every kind and pestilential publications are disseminated, wicked and pernicious societies are everywhere and under every form multiplied . . . the education of youth is intrusted to teachers of error and evil.

In consequence of all these facts, to our great grief and that of all good men . . . impiety, corruption of morals, unbridled licentiousness, vice and crime, the violation of all laws, human and divine, prevail . . . to such an extent that not only religion but human society itself is thrown into the most deplorable disorder and confusion.

Wherefore, following in the footsteps of our illustrious predecessors, we have deemed it opportune . . . to call together a general council, as we have long desired to do. . . .

This ecumenical council will have to examine most diligently and to determine what it is most seasonable to do, in these calamitous times, for the greatest glory of God, the integrity of faith, the splendor of divine worship, the eternal salvation of men, the discipline of the regular and secular clergy, and their sound and solid education; the observance of ecclesiastical laws, the reformation of morals, the Christian education of youth, *the common peace and universal concord*. With the divine assistance our labors must also be directed toward remedying the peculiar evils which afflict Church and State . . . in order that our holy religion and her saving doctrines may acquire renewed vigor all over the earth . . . and that, thereby, piety, modesty, honor, justice, charity and all Christian virtues may wax strong and flourish for the glory and happiness of our common humanity.

APPENDIX F: LETTER TO MAYOR OF MANTUA FROM PIUS X

In virtue of my sacred office, and of my firm conviction that only where concord prevails can the priest exercise his influence, I protest to Your Excellency that in my sphere of action I shall do all in my power to maintain peace and harmony; and be ready, were it necessary, to make any legitimate sacrifices to avoid the slightest disturbance.

I assure you of my sincere regard, and look forward to the day when I shall be able to fulfill toward those I am proud to call my fellow-citizens and my children, the duties of a father and a friend. I feel confident not only that I may count on support in the exercise of my prerogatives as citizen and bishop, but that my mission will be rendered fruitful by the good will and assistance of all.

While expressing these sentiments to Your Excellency, I desire likewise to extend them to your colleagues in the municipal administration and to members of the town council, and to assure all that their new bishop, though he may be lacking in every other quality, has at heart no other ambition than to procure the salvation of souls, and unite all his people into one family as friends and brethren.

APPENDIX G: LETTER FROM PROFESSOR KEHR, ROYAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF GÖTTINGEN

My collaborator, Dr. Schiaparelli, is full of praise of the Cardinals of Venice and of Capua. Of all the prelates of the Church from whom we received courtesies and to whom we had introductions, these two were the most gracious, and advised and assisted us most materially, with unbounded kindness and almost fatherly interest. Such prompt and enthusiastic cooperation as that of Cardinal Sarto and Cardinal Capecelatro we do not expect to meet with very often. The Cardinal-Patriarch received Dr. Schiaparelli and asked him as to the purpose of our researches, and then not only gave him introductions that gained admittance to the Venetian archives, especially to the extremely important archive of the chapter, but also a general letter of introduction to all the priests and prelates of the province. How much the Patriarch himself is venerated in his province was shown by the fact that wherever Dr. Schiaparelli showed his letters he was received at once in the most liberal and cordial manner, and every possible assistance was given him. Dr. Schiaparelli wrote with such positive enthusiasm in regard to his treatment that I myself was impressed with a lasting sense of gratitude.

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