

THE PAPACY AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

1870-1882.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy, February 15th, 1882.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic World, December 28th, 1878.

OUR Holy Father, Leo XIII, has occupied the chair of Peter only four years, but in those years some significant changes have taken place in the attitude and bearing of several of the great European powers towards the Holy See. Still more remarkable are those changes when viewed in connection with the great political events that have marked the last decade in Europe, since, in fact, the occupation of Rome by the troops of Victor Emanuel, September 20th, 1870. Under that occupation the Papal States, which had been restored to the Pope and guaranteed to the papacy by the Congress of Vienna, disappeared as a principality, and were absorbed into the newly-formed kingdom of Italy. The Powers that, at Vienna, had solemnly sanctioned the restoration of the Papal States, now stood by and quietly permitted, where they did not covertly assist at, their spoliation. On May 13th, 1871, the "bill of the papal guarantees" was passed by the Italian Chambers. This measure guaranteed to the Pope the title of Sovereign; a most gracious concession to a sovereign without a state. But no; he had a state, for the same bill guaranteed him, out of all the papal territories, the palace and basilica of the Vatican, with a yearly revenue from the "Italian" treasury of \$645,000. By way of compensation for this yearly revenue the omnipotent Italian Chambers, in 1873, declared all the church property in Rome and its immediate territory to be the property of the nation, and since that date there has been a steady, or rather rapid, sale of that property to defray the royal expenditure and the ever-increasing public debt. Since that date, also, the Pope has been immured within the Vatican, for his capital has been filled with his enemies. The appearance of the late Pope Pius IX. even at a window of his palace before the crowd of people that filled St. Peter's Square on a great public festival, was the signal for a popular tumult, with danger of a revolt, attended by volleys of insults and blasphemy in the public press and in the streets. The removal of the remains of the same Holy Pontiff at dead of night within the past year was the signal for a repetition of such scenes, and an attempt on the part of a crowd of miscreants, undeterred by the police and military,

to seize upon and outrage the venerated remains. The few people who were arrested for such an insult to humanity received the slightest possible punishment from their lenient judges, and were set up as heroes and martyrs by the dominant faction in Rome. Subscriptions were opened to defray the expenses of their trial, and medals were struck in their honor; while the press known in Rome as democratic,—an insult to a noble name,—regretted that “the remains of the old fool (Pius IX.) had not been cast once for all into the Tiber.” So much for the law of the papal guarantees, for the Pope’s honorary title of Sovereign, and for his freedom of action and of movement in the city and the capital of the papacy, which the omnipotent Chambers had converted into the capital of Italy. If such a position be not one of actual imprisonment, attended by grave danger of personal violence, as well as by daily insult, it is hard to say what actual imprisonment means,—save that the Pope is not chained in a dungeon and fed on bread and water.

This last outrage, perhaps more than anything that had occurred since the seizure of Rome in 1870, opened the eyes of the Powers and of all honest men to the actual position of the papacy. Pius IX. to the last raised up his voice against the spoliation of the estates of the Holy See, as well as against the personal dishonor put upon the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church and the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ. He spurned the insult of the pittance offered him from the Italian treasury as he would have spurned any such offer coming from that quarter, in return for the revenue of which the papacy had been robbed, and which was more than made over by the sale of ecclesiastical property. In both positions he has been followed by his successor, Leo XIII.

Meanwhile other things had happened abroad, during the interval of the seizure of the city of the Pontiff and the present time, to open men’s eyes to the position of the Pope and to the place the papacy held in the affairs of this world. It must be remembered that although the Powers tacitly permitted or covertly aided the seizure of Rome and the absorption of the States of the Church by the House of Savoy, they never gave formal sanction to an act that repudiated the action of the Congress of Vienna. It was altogether the act of an individual and ambitious power, the culmination of a series of invasions and spoliations of the Italian states. The pretence of justifying the act by the popular suffrage of a packed city and state after the event, was eminently worthy of the statesmen who compiled the bill of the papal guarantees. The question as to whether or not it is better to have a united Italy, be it kingdom, republic, or whatever form of lawful government, is not the question now. Pius IX. was an ardent and intelligent

advocate of a united Italy. The present fiction of union is before the world. It was a union effected from first to last by force of arms, bribery, intrigue, and revolution. There was never a free popular consent to it, as in the more recent case of the North German Confederation amalgamating into the empire of Germany with the kingdom of Prussia as the leading power.

This is an important point to be considered, especially in the light of more recent events. The European Powers have never formally sanctioned the absorption of the States of the Church and the confinement of the temporal principality of the Holy See to the palace of the Vatican. Nor have they sanctioned the dependence of the Pope for support and freedom of action on the good-will of the King and Parliament of Italy. All that has been done in the so-called unification of Italy has been done in direct violation of the Congress of the Powers at Vienna, especially in regard to the Holy See. That great congress did not act unadvisedly in restoring to the Pope his temporalities and his sovereignty, which had been absorbed by the rapacity and tyranny of the first Napoleon.

Another important fact to consider is this: The very framing of the law of the papal guarantees shows that the Piedmontese King and Parliament felt and knew that they were dealing with a very different power from the other states of Italy which they had invaded and absorbed. We hear of no bill of guarantees for the King of Naples, or for any of the other invaded principalities. Then why draw up one for the Pope, who was perhaps personally the weakest sovereign of all in the matter of armaments? The reason is obvious. These men felt that they were here dealing with a different power and principality from all others; that the man whom they despoiled of his small estates in Italy was a ruler of the greatest empire in the world; that he had loyal and devoted subjects in every land, attached to every court, and the robbers could not count upon the issue. In touching the sacred ark they broke the covenant of all Christendom. Not bold enough to take the full consequences of their act, to formally dethrone the Holy Father and banish him from his stolen capital, they made the double mistake of keeping him there, in constant possession, on his own soil, a living witness and testimony of the wrong done, not to a mere personality, but to the whole Catholic world, and to all right and law, national and international. They kept him there, offering him a pitiful bribe out of the revenue of his despoiled estates, the constant object of the gibes and jeers and insults of his enemies, and of the devotion and affection of the Catholic world. Then occurred a repetition of the prophecy of Calvary, "When I shall be lifted up I will draw all eyes to me."

That was the mistake of the Italian government. The Pope

might be banished, but he could not be kept under lock or key with the fiction of freedom and sovereignty in the city that was his. The situation was an anomaly that could not last for any length of time. It creates a dual sovereignty and divided allegiance in Italy, and is a necessary source of internal disturbance and confusion to Italy itself. How the whole Catholic world felt in the matter was shown by its immediate rallying to the Pope. This imprisoned man showed himself, if possible, more powerful than ever over the vast millions in this world who recognize in him the authority of Jesus Christ, the succession of St. Peter, and the final power of decision in all that concerns the faith in which they believe, and the code of morals that they accept. With him they spurned the Italian offer of a pension, and eagerly took upon themselves the support necessary for himself and his court, and for carrying on the vast business of the Catholic Church at its centre.

Such a state of public feeling and action could only exist with regard to the papacy, which is essentially a spiritual power, and needs a certain stretch of soil where it may freely conduct the affairs of its spiritual kingdom, undeterred by menace and uninterrupted by insult. Such territory was given it in remote ages by free consent of the Christian Powers. With the disappearance of the Roman empire the See of Rome belonged to the successor of Peter. Again and again the Popes saved the city from the arms of the barbarians, and from the ambition of rapacious chieftains in and out of Italy. Its civil guidance fell naturally and by consent of the people into the hands of the Pope. Wars and invasions often drove him out, but he was invariably restored in the long run; the principality of Rome being recognized as his by right of possession and by international consent. International consent has not yet formally pronounced on the present situation; but in all former instances it has pronounced in favor of the Pope, not so much always out of personal regard for him as because when men come face to face with the question of the Pope's place in international affairs it is felt and recognized that he is the centre of the most conservative force in this world, and that to touch him is to touch the whole Catholic world in his person. The Pope at ease, the Catholic world is at rest; the Pope in trouble, the Catholic world is troubled with him, and more deeply than by war, or famine, or pestilence.

What has become of the other despoiled Italian princes? The world has forgotten their names. What has become of Napoleon III., before whose nod a world trembled just previous to the seizure of Rome? His very dynasty is wiped out, and his memory is detested in France. In 1872, two years after the seizure of Rome, the Prince and Princess of Wales, while on a visit to Victor Eman-

uel, paid a visit also to Pope Pius IX. In speaking to them of England he referred to his favorite hope of seeing that country restored to the Catholic faith. The Prince and Princess smilingly shook their heads at what they doubtless considered the visionary views of the venerable Pontiff. "Ah! my children," said the Pope, "the future is always full of surprises. Who would have imagined two years ago that we should see a Prussian army in France? Your wisest heads expected a thousand times sooner to see the Pope at Malta than Louis Napoleon in London. I am much happier than those who call themselves the masters of Rome, because I have no fears for my dynasty. God takes care of it. I may be driven away for awhile; but when your children and your grandchildren come to visit Rome, whatever may be the temporal possessions of the Pope at that time, they will see, as you do to-day, an old man dressed in white pointing out the road to heaven."

The Franco-German war of 1870-1871, created a new power in Europe, and shook France to its centre. To France came the republic, to Germany the empire. The French government, at first moderately anti-papal, finally showed itself as it does to-day, distinctly and aggressively anti-Christian. Nevertheless it has throughout maintained official diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Count von Bismarck had, for reasons best known to himself, early sought a rupture with the Vatican, and Baron von Arnim, the Prussian ambassador at the Papal court, rode proudly in with the Italian troops through the breach of Porta Pia. Later on the Prussian legation was withdrawn, and diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Prussia ceased. The history of the quarrel between Prince Bismarck and the Holy See and the Catholic subjects of Prussia is too well known to call for more than mention here by way of illustration.

Here then, after the seizure of Rome, at the time of and subsequent to the Franco-German war, was the Pope cooped up in the palace of the Vatican, despoiled of the Papal territory and possessions, and without a single government in Europe that he could call friendly, or which was ready to manifest its friendship by stretching forth a kindly hand towards him. He fell back upon the world of his spiritual subjects. France had withdrawn its troops, and though Thiers, a statesman who always defended the temporalities of the Holy See, was in power, the country was in such a state of confusion and distress, that he could not even if he would have helped. Moreover, France had been reduced for the time being to the condition of a second-class power. England was, as usual, steadily anti-papal. Germany, under the lead of Prussia and the policy of Prince Bismarck, became ferociously so. Russia, under Alexander II., a bitter persecutor of the Catholics,

stood coldly aloof. Austria was silent. Spain had troubles of its own, and even if it desired, was not in a position to help the Pope. Mindful of the prerogative and character attached to his office the Pope, on the eve of the outbreak of the war between France and Germany, had ventured to intercede with the combatants to stay the dreadful conflict. His offer was received with cool politeness by the King of Prussia, and laughed at by the public press of Europe as a piece of audacity or senility. Yet, suppose for a moment his intercession had been well received on both sides, as the intercession of Popes under similar circumstances had often been received before, would Europe have been the sufferer or the gainer?

There was another thing that intensified the hostility of the Powers to the papacy at this time. This was the definition and immediate acceptance by the Catholic Church throughout the world of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which set down in indelible words, forever, beyond doubt or cavil, that "when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* . . . he possesses, through the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." This decree, following not long after the publication of the Syllabus, in which the evil tendencies and teachings of the age were so admirably summarized, set forth, and condemned, set the whole non-Catholic world ajar, and filled it with a clamor of rage and resentment against the Holy See, the papacy, the person and the supremacy of the successor of Peter. The whole edifice of the papacy was condemned in turn to be swept away and destroyed by those whom it so boldly and in such unmistakable terms had condemned. The secret sects saw the moment they had so long waited for at last at hand. Now was their hour and that of the powers of darkness. The pseudo-protection of Austria had been swept away by France and Sardinia. France in turn had to withdraw her feeble protection. Over broken France and shattered Austria rose triumphant, Protestant Prussia, yoking all Germany to her chariot-wheels. All the world was against this old man of the Vatican, who presumed to rebuke and teach a world. So these sects, with their tool, Victor Emanuel, marched in and shut up the Sovereign Pontiff and supreme teacher, as he called himself, of a universal Church, in a little corner of his own city, which they left him as house-covering with the gilded bauble of a sovereign title to amuse him in his dotage.

Such was the view the wise men of the world took of the situation immediately after the occupation of Rome, the issue of the Franco-German war, and the inauguration of the new and power-

ful German Empire, with a distinctly anti-Catholic and anti-papal policy, not only in its own dominions but actively throughout the world. Whatever power dared allow its subjects to criticise adversely Prince Bismarck's measures against the Catholic Church was warned and threatened. The Catholic press in France, Austria, Italy, and Belgium was compelled to use very diplomatic language in its treatment of Prussian, and especially Catholic, affairs. The English government even was remonstrated with, but, much as it detested the Pope at the time, it had regard enough for its own freedom of speech to tell the Prussian government, diplomatically, to mind its own business. It is understood that similar remonstrances were sent to the government at Washington regarding the attitude of Catholics in this country, with what effect may be easily imagined. Thus, while all the non-Catholic world was prepared to be adverse to the papacy, the most powerful of European governments set on foot an extensive anti-Catholic propaganda at home and abroad.

Things looked badly for the Pope and the papacy. They could not look much worse. The Pope's hands were tied and his tongue was tied. He was not allowed to communicate freely with his spiritual subjects. The dispossessed bishops and priests of Italy flocked around him begging for actual subsistence. The Church in Prussia was broken up. One by one the bishops were compelled to leave or were imprisoned. When priests died, there were none to take their places. There was no means of ordaining them. The ecclesiastical seminaries were invaded and closed. The religious orders of men and women had already been driven out. A complete stop was put to Catholic education. In many places the faithful gathered around desolate altars to pray to God. The anti-Catholic propaganda spread to Switzerland and similar scenes were witnessed there. Spain had already felt its influence. The Belgian liberals were busy at work, and, later on, France took the lead of all, while Italy continued desolate. Truly said Pius IX. to a party of American visitors: "I am more Pope in the American Republic than in any other country;" for here he was free to do and speak as he pleased. Even Mr. Gladstone took up the anti-papal cry, and exerted his great powers to the utmost to convince Englishmen, and all persons who could come within reach of his eloquence, that because of the Pope, and because of papal infallibility, it was impossible for a true Catholic to be a true Englishman and loyal subject of the sovereign. This was just what Prince Bismarck strove by act as well as word to impress upon the world. While Mr. Disraeli, who never spoke of the Pope without respect, and who entertained much the same views as M. Thiers regarding the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, in the

debates on the Irish university question, warned the House of Commons that in Ireland there was a greater power than that of the Queen,—the power of an irresponsible sovereign, the Pope.

Thus did the Gentiles rage and the people utter a vain thing. Thus were the princes of this world arrayed against the Lord and against his Christ. Through all those trying years and scenes Pius IX. bore himself with invincible fortitude, patience, and hope. To his enemies, who were the enemies of the Church and of Christianity, he never yielded a jot. He never ceased, when occasion called for it, to maintain the claims, the dignity, and the inalienable rights of the Holy See. He never used fine words to oil over the acts of violence, outrage, and robbery that had deprived the papacy of its territory and the Pope of his personal liberty and freedom of action, and that had put him and the vast affairs he necessarily controlled on the charity of the faithful in all lands for support. He drew the attention of rulers to what these acts of robbery and open violation of every right, sacred and profane, meant. He warned them repeatedly and in burning words of the consequences of their own acts, not only with reference to the Holy See but still more with reference to their own subjects. They were stopping up religion and the channels of divine grace. They were teaching the people that there was no God. They were turning them away from religion to irreligion. In Prussia, according to the Falk laws, there was no further need of religion at birth, marriage, and death. Man's life could pass very well without it. He could come into life, marry, and go out of life without the blessing of God. The sacraments of baptism, of marriage, and of extreme unction were thus tossed aside as useless, and so with the rest of the sacraments. And what substitute had the people for the hand of God? The hand of the state. A civil magistrate signed a piece of paper and all was over. For "in the dominion of this world," as Prince Bismarck proclaimed in one of his speeches at this time, "the state has dominion and precedence." If recollection serves, it was in the same speech that he gave utterance to the much-applauded phrase: "We will not go to Canossa."

Those were brave days for Prince Bismarck. He had, in the phrase of Napoleon III., "crowned the edifice." He had taken the German supremacy from Austria and the European supremacy from France, and made Prussia the head and centre of the greatest German Empire that had ever existed. The people of Prussia and of Germany, in the first flush of their brilliant conquests, were ready to follow their leader anywhere and to any extent. With him they raged and scoffed at the feeble old man of the Vatican. They gave Prince Bismarck full rein to suppress the freedom of Catholic worship in Prussia, and to turn, if possible, good Catholics into bad or

into no Catholics, with a view of making them better servants of the state. They allowed and welcomed the same measures for the Lutheran believers as did the Lutheran believers themselves, for the reason that the measures were so distinctly aimed at the Catholics. The warnings and protests of the Pope were unheeded, or only called out fierce rejoinder, and the work of consolidation of the German Empire went bravely on.

But there are greater and more lasting forces in the world than bullets and bayonets. There are the forces of truth and conviction, and the central truth is an omnipotent and just God, from whom all truth and power proceed. This doctrine was steadfastly denied by Prince Bismarck when he declared that in the dominion of this world the state has precedence and power. It has, but only as it accords with the revealed teachings of the King of kings and Lord of lords. Among Christian peoples those teachings are sufficiently well known, and the common Christian conscience is convinced of their truth, and recognize them as the only safe and lasting guidance and bond of human society in its way through this world up to heaven. That conviction lasts over all things, over the power of kings and tyrants, the changes of dynasties, of circumstances, of time, the absolute disappearance of great empires and nations. Over all the honest reader of history sees that an omnipotent power, to which the schemes and the passions of the mightiest men are often opposed, lives and reigns and governs, while allowing men to recognize or reject His power and His reality. Those who rebel against His divine law invariably disappear under the load of their sins.

Pius IX. spoke with the voice of a prophet and inspired teacher. He warned rulers that in depriving the Church of Christ of its free ministration among men, and in robbing the people of their faith in the central authority of Almighty God as expounded and inculcated by his divinely-appointed teacher, the Church, they were unconsciously sapping the roots of all authority and digging their own graves. In proportion as they drove out God they made room for the Devil and his angels. Very active among these latter were what are known as the secret societies, who had shown their hand in the French Revolution, and who subsequently, in 1848, had for a time succeeded in overturning nearly every throne in Europe. The avowed object of these societies was the overthrow of all existing order, "the strangling of the last king with the gut of the last priest." The warning, as usual, was unheeded, though so sagacious a statesman as Mr. Disraeli took it up and repeated it on the very eve of the outbreak of the Commune in Paris. Later on he distinctly charged that the revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to the Turco-Russian war, that came

so near involving all Europe, was precipitated by the machinations of the secret societies.

These secret societies were not an unknown force in European politics. They were as old as the Albigenses, and older. They were the formidable assassins of the "Old Man of the Mountain." Possibly some of the knightly orders, whose vow was to defend honor, maiden purity, and Christendom, degenerated into secret sects. Frederick the Great of Prussia availed himself of the Illuminati, and from that time down they increased and multiplied in European society. They joined hands with the Encyclopædists of the school of Voltaire, and counted among their members the chiefs of the French Revolution. Louis Napoleon was a Mason, and after he became Emperor his life was attempted by Orsini for his supposed desertion of the sect. It is more than probable that his subsequent Italian policy was dictated by his old associates. He was used as their instrument to effect the "unification" of Italy and the presumed downfall of the Pope. The Popes had constantly pointed out the dangers of these societies from the time that they first became prominent as a force in European politics. Leo XII. denounced the principles that, calling themselves liberal, were undermining Church and state. Pius VIII., in 1829, repeated the warning of his predecessor, condemned the false philosophy of the day, indifference in religious matters, and the secret societies whom Clement XIII., Benedict XIV., Pius VII., and Leo XII. had condemned before him. The societies, therefore, saw in the person of the head of the Catholic Church, whether that head were Leo, or Clement, or Benedict, or Pius, their worst enemy.

Prince Bismarck, an associate—if not a friend—of Lassalle, the chief expounder and propagator of Socialism in Germany, used the Socialists and their press—as he is always ready to use any instrument at hand—in his conflict with the Catholics. They served him with zeal. The Catholic Church in Prussia was broken up so far as the order of its every-day life went. It was gagged and put under the ban of the Empire. The state was made supreme over it and all churches, and Prussians were emancipated, made free to go to the Devil without hindrance or warning from what before was recognized as the voice of God speaking through his Church, whether of the Catholic or Lutheran faith.

And what came of Prince Bismarck's triumph? Precisely what Pius IX. had predicted. A motto of Prince Bismarck's, which he applied to the Reichstag, is that "any stick will do to beat a dog." This is his policy. He uses whatever instrument he may have at hand to accomplish his purpose, and drops it when he finds no further use for it. Thus he, a sworn foe by tradition and disposition to everything that is called liberal or representative in govern-

ment, coquetted early with Lassalle, and later on, when the German Empire was formed, made use of the National Liberals, the Lutherans, and the Socialists in his war on the Catholic Church. These agencies enabled him to carry out his purpose and so alter the laws of Prussia that it was made penal to be a faithful Catholic. It took some time to effect this, for a number of able Catholics appeared in the Reichstag and disputed the ground inch by inch. Meanwhile the milliards wrung from France were working havoc in Berlin. Prussia is a poor country, and the sudden accession of so much wealth drove some people mad. As in Birmingham in the days of the Crimean War, so in Berlin after the entry of the milliards, workmen drank champagne out of pewter pots and rode to work in carriages. The riot was soon over, for the money was soon spent. Business grew dull, and pockets were empty. This is the first step towards revolution. In rags and hunger most revolutions are born. People existing under a rigid paternal rule like that of Prussia naturally turn to the government when they are in difficulties, saying: "We are poor; give us money. We are hungry; give us bread. We are naked; give us clothes." It is useless to prate to them of having wasted their means and opportunities. Prince Bismarck's legislation, his Falk laws, his "reptile" press had combined to eliminate Christianity from the minds and hearts of the German people. Respect for Divine authority had disappeared in great measure. There was little room left for respect for any authority.

So came up the Socialist party in Germany, in Prussia more particularly. This, which is the party of the secret societies, had its strongholds in the chief towns and leading cities, where men were employed in masses, and where strikes would paralyze industry and commerce. They were not of accidental growth. Their leaders were in league with all the secret societies of Europe, who saw with misgiving the uprising of so strong a power as that of Germany over the ruins of the empire of the Napoleons. Women joined with men in their advocacy of the people's cause, and sat and debated side by side with them in taverns over the wrongs of the people in the newly-erected empire. In a breath they cursed God and cursed kings, denounced priests and denounced the government.

Prince Bismarck and the Emperor saw with dismay the rise of this new party, whose advent they had invited and paved the way for by their war on the Christian religion. The Socialists sent their representatives into Parliament to obstruct Prince Bismarck's measures. They were bold and clever men, and they had a good ground for grievance in the constant increase of the army, of military armaments, and taxation for such purposes. On the other

hand, the Catholics showed a surprising strength. They rallied to the polls, they rallied to the faith, and in a short time mustered quite a strong party in the Reichstag, under leaders more able, in a parliamentary sense, than Prince Bismarck himself. The chancellor found himself obstructed on all sides. He is an ill-tempered man, faithless, when it suits him, to his promises. He broke with the National Liberals who had helped him to carry his anti-Catholic measures; he strove to quench the Socialists; he found the glamour of his conquests disappearing before the rags and hunger at home. The Catholics worked loyally together against him under the letter of the law. The Socialists worked disloyally, after their fashion, and broke out into open sedition. Within a short time two attempts were made on the life of the Emperor of this new and great empire, the second attempt nearly succeeding.

What might be called an epidemic of royal assassination ran around Europe about this time, nor has it yet ceased. Not an assassin, whether German, Spanish, Italian, or Russian, but was a member of a secret society, and the avowals of all on trial were much after the same pattern and showed a uniformity of doctrine. Meanwhile, prominent members of secret societies, such as Garibaldi, were pensioned off by the governments they conspired against, as they had been welcomed with honor by the government, people, and heir-apparent of such a power as England. Lord Palmerston would doff his hat to Garibaldi, while Mr. Gladstone would flout at Pius IX. Bismarck would take wine with Lassalle, and order Count Harry Von Arnim, whom his persecutions afterwards killed, to close the Prussian legation at the Vatican unless the Pope broke through the papal etiquette and allowed the Prussian ambassador to drive through the inner court of the Vatican in a one-horse conveyance. This last seems a ridiculous *canard*, but is a veritable fact, so much so that the Pope, who was as witty as he was holy, bade Cardinal Antonelli write to Prince Bismarck that His Holiness, taking compassion on the embarrassments of the diplomatic body, would in future allow the representatives of the great powers to approach his presence with one quadruped of whatever sort pleased them, an answer that must have delighted Prince Bismarck, who can appreciate a joke when he makes it himself.

Between the growth of the Catholic opposition, of the Socialistic body, and the gradual defection of the National Liberals, Prince Bismarck began to feel embarrassed. The German Empire enjoys, at least in form, a representative government, and under such a government the Parliament rules through the ministry under the crown. Prince Bismarck constitutionally chafes under any restraint, and to have these members from here, there, and every-

where, whose very names he did not know, opposing his measures and policy, was positive torture to him. In his impatience he pursued his practice of finding a majority anywhere he could to pass his measures, until he finally woke up to the hard fact that his home policy, at least, was opposed by the great body of the German people. Thus the question of the government of Germany, which Prince Bismarck thought lay wholly in his own hands, under the shadow of the Emperor, became more and more, day by day, a direct issue between the people and the crown.

But the people, where were they? Under the new laws they had gone socially and morally to wreck. Mr. Baring-Gould, in his *Germany Past and Present*, has been at pains to gather statistics as to church attendance. In all Germany only fourteen per cent. of the population attend religious service of any kind, while the Catholics, under the Falk laws, were in great measure actually prevented from hearing Mass and attending the sacraments. In Berlin, the capital of Prussia and of the new empire, only two per cent. out of 630,000 Protestants attend church on Sundays. In Hamburg 147,000, out of a population of 150,000, do not go to church at all. According to Mr. Gould, between thirty and sixty per cent. of marriages and deaths in Germany to-day, speaking more especially of the central power, Prussia, are without any religious ceremony whatever. While in Geneva, the capital of the republic that so readily took up the Falk legislation, out of a Protestant population of 25,000, Mr. Gould found 200 females and 23 males attending the solitary Sunday service in the city of Calvin.

There is no need to dilate further on this subject. The rulers of Germany woke up to find themselves confronted by a people, the great mass of whom were practical infidels. The rulers had helped to make them so in order to destroy, if possible, the one true conservative, social, and religious force that the Empire could count on,—the Catholic Church. Those who read history will always find that sooner or later the Lord makes his enemies his footstool. The noise of the conflict of the German giant with the Catholic Church had gone through all lands, and men looked with eager eyes to see the issue. What had been read of all the heresies and all the persecutions was being here enacted under the eyes of an age drifting to unbelief. The proud cry, the foolish and unnecessary cry, "We will not go to Canossa," was caught up and applauded through the world, at a time when the world was especially resentful against the papacy that had dared tell it it was going wrong. Step by step it watched the issue of the conflict between this German giant and the old man pent up in the Vatican, who, like Tennyson's infant, "crying in the night, had no language but a cry." And the world saw that things fell out just as

the old man had predicted. Prince Bismarck himself, and the Emperor, though sore reluctant, saw the same thing; that of all the elements of German society, the Roman Catholic, and those most nearly approaching to it in belief and practice, was the only conservative force in the best sense. Thus, as of old, the stone that the builders rejected was made the head of the corner.

In a social sense, but more immediately in a political sense, Prince Bismarck found the aid of the Catholics absolutely necessary in order to enable him to carry on the government of the country. In 1880 he was so disheartened at the condition of affairs that he offered his resignation, and advised the Reichstag to form a coalition government out of the Catholic and Conservative parties, as the only government that could keep the empire together and save the state. The Emperor refused his resignation, and he still retains power. Meanwhile Pope Pius IX. had died, following Victor Emanuel after a short interval; and a new Pope, Leo XIII., had been peacefully elected, succeeding his predecessor in the prison of the Vatican. But even before the death of Pius IX., there were attempts at negotiation between the Court of Berlin and the Vatican, with a view of establishing a *modus vivendi* in Prussia between the Catholic Church and the state. There was only one effectual *modus vivendi*, which was to undo Prince Bismarck's vicious anti-Catholic legislation.

Leo XIII. succeeded to all the onus of Pius IX. But the world at large was less hostile than it had been. The lesson of the Prussian persecution, of the visible social disorder in Europe, of the Paris Commune, of the attempts on the lives of sovereigns, was before it. It was seen in a broad way that there were grave dangers ahead to rulers and peoples; to morals, to law, and to property; and that unless heaven sent some safeguard, bullets and bayonets would not suffice. Curing was wanted, not killing; and the great healing force of the Catholic Church came largely into view. Its power had been exemplified in Germany. Its men had fought like honorable men for their rights through and by means of the very laws that proscribed them; while the Socialists, who recognized no higher law than their own will, flew to the dagger and the pistol for redress. The one force was constructive and conservative; the other destructive and hellish. Berlin, and several of the chief cities of Prussia, are in a state of semi-siege to-day, not by reason of the Catholics, but because of the Socialists.

Then came also the war between Russia and Turkey (1876-1877), and its results. It brought the great powers together at Berlin to rearrange the map of Europe and restore or create anew some Eastern principalities out of the territory that the Protestant Reformation and the jealousy of Christian princes, Catholic as well

as Protestant, had allowed the Turks to seize. A primary article in the constitution of the new principalities was religious freedom. The war, like all wars, let into Russia some new ideas, or gave a new impulse to hidden forces that had been working beneath the surface of Russian society.

The Freemasonry of Italy, the communism of France, the socialism of Germany, suddenly appeared in Russia in the wake of a disastrous war, in its naked form of Nihilism; a social Ishmael, its hand against every man's. The Czar, Alexander II, after many escapes, finally fell a victim to it, while his son and successor dare not show himself abroad for fear of it. It is seen on all sides that the great Russian empire, so full of capabilities for good to itself and the world, full of heroism, devotion, and faith among the masses, full of corruption, venality, and rottenness in the church and in the state, is rocking in the throes of a new birth, which may be one of destruction.

There is not a nation in Europe to-day that stands without presage of change, and speedy change. England, the most conservative of all, is engaged not only with the everlasting Irish question in a form that appeals to all the world, but with an absolute revision and alteration of its own constitution. France, still calling itself a republic, advancing materially, has, under the inspiration of those whom it allowed to attain the power, arrayed itself directly against the Christian Church. Austria is full of troubles at home and troubles on its border. Turkey is waiting for dismemberment. Italy is between its own Scylla and Charybdis. And under all are the people. Kingdoms and kings disappear; but the people remain. What is to become of the people? is the question of the future.

And here the head of the divinely inspired and assisted Church of Christ comes in, in the beautiful words already quoted of Pius IX., to "point out the road to heaven." All history shows in the appearance and disappearance of races and powers that there is only one lasting code of morals: that of Christ, that stretches from the Redeemer to us and back to Adam. Following their own way, worshipping the gods of the Gentiles, great powers and peoples have gone down. The keeper, the guardian of this code, and the personage who, in this sense, is the centre of all history from Peter down, is the Pope. The Pope, like the Church, is everlasting. There is not an era, an epoch, a reign, in which he does not appear as a most important agent in human affairs, more important and more potent than all the bills that were ever passed by all the parliaments. Popes have been buried in the catacombs, have been banished from their see, have been imprisoned, have been martyred, and what comes of it all? The Church of God

elects a new head, and whether from the catacombs, the prison, or the throne, the voice of the Vicar of Christ is all-powerful, all appealing to the Catholic world.

This is the personage and power that yesterday's king and parliament of Italy undertake to coop up in a corner of the city that they stole from him; the man, no matter by what name he may be called, whose authoritative word is felt at once, as no living monarch's is, through all the Christian world. What is Rome, what is Italy to the Pope? A place to abide in, nothing more, save by the associations of history, of suffering, and of glory. Wherever he may go, wherever he may be, he is equally Pope and equally powerful. He cannot remain as he is much longer, politically a prisoner in his own territory, and dependent on a king who is an accident, a man of yesterday and not of to-morrow, who is and may not be in a day.

And this the whole world in its soberer sense is beginning to see. The taking of Rome and the seizure of the papal territory has effected what? The unification of Italy? Hardly. The pacification of Italy? Hardly. There is no throne in Europe so insecure as that of Humbert. Has the seizure and the robbery destroyed the papacy? Not a jot. It has only served to stain history with a new crime, and send abroad among the peoples a new example of sacrilege and violence. Is the Pope to remain forever a dependent on the bounty and the good-will of the Italian king and parliament? The Catholic world has already said no, and the man who would not go to Canossa says no.

In permitting the occupation of Rome and the seizure of the States of the Church, the European powers have saddled themselves with a lasting difficulty. Some were foolish enough to imagine that with this seizure ended what they considered the fiction of the papacy and its pretensions. Other monarchs disappeared with dispossession of their thrones. Not so the Pope. All the Popes may say with Pius IX., "I have no fears for my dynasty. God takes care of it." The Pope is of necessity a personage of unequalled international power and influence, who even in the affairs of this world cannot be counted out of statesmen's calculations. His decisions, his words, his actions, his very being intimately affect the affairs of states. The Pope may be Italian; the papacy is universal. The papacy has no nationality. Its power is the same in Germany as in Italy, in England as in Austria, in the United States as in Belgium. It can never descend into a pensionate of the kingdom of Italy; and if the king of Italy and his parliament make the position of the Pope untenable, as it is at present, and as it has been ever since the occupation of Rome in 1870, there is nothing left for the Pope but to seek freedom and

asylum elsewhere than on the soil of Italy. The law of guarantees secures nothing that it professed to secure. There is only one possible solution of the difficulty on Italian soil, and that is by undoing the wrong that has been done, restoring Rome to the papacy from which it was stolen, and thus realizing Cavour's maxim of a free Church in a free state. Does any one imagine, if the question were put to a fair Italian vote, that the will of the vast majority of the people of Italy would not be in favor of restoring Rome to the papacy, and thus securing the freedom of the Pope on Italian soil?

The question is beset with difficulties on every side. One thing is certain: the Pope cannot continue as he is. He must either leave Rome or be wholly free there. Rome cannot endure a dual or rival sovereignty. No city and no power could. The Pope could not walk the streets of Rome to-day without raising a riot and being insulted or slain by his enemies.

The Catholic world cannot permit this state of things to continue. It cannot permit its head to remain longer in dependence and danger. As said before, while he is restless all Catholics are restless with him. The question may be asked, "Who and what is the Catholic world, and what can it do?" Well, it is a part, and a powerful part, of every great nationality. In these days of loosening morals and growing social disorders, statesmen who look beyond the movements of the hour see in it the real and only safeguard of society. Prince Bismarck and the Emperor William have learned a bitter lesson from the anti-Catholic persecution that they either set going or sanctioned. Banish Catholicity from their empire, and how much faith would be left in a decade? The statistics already quoted show. On celebrating his eighty-fifth birthday recently, the Emperor, addressing a deputation, said that every new period of his life reminded him that it was the Almighty who at certain times chose his instruments. And going back to a text that has been frequent with him of late, he asked who among the monarchs could in these days consider himself safe? "The times are serious," said the aged Emperor. "Considering that the Czar a year ago had fallen a victim to party anarchy, who could now deem himself safe?" And he went on to lay stress on the importance of the spread of fervid religious feeling among the peoples, which is really the only safeguard of states; the very thing that the Falk legislation strove to banish from the heart of Catholic Germany.

It is quite possible that apart from the exigencies of politics and the strength displayed by German Catholics in parliament, that a man of Prince Bismarck's mind and understanding sees plainly the necessity of Catholic life as a national bulwark and sure social

defence. So he has actually gone to Canossa; that is to say he has gone back to common sense in his dealings with a great question. The question is this: Whether or not it were better for the state to have its Catholics good or bad. The object of the Falk legislation was to make them bad. It happily failed, but left a spiritual dearth and desert behind it, which Prince Bismarck, by a reversal of the legislation, is now attempting to make bloom again with the flowers and the fruit of divine faith and worship.

It was to the very Pope against whom he launched all his thunders that this great statesman turned in his hour of need. "The times," as the Emperor William said the other day, "are serious, and have been so for a long time past, and are growing more so every day." There is not a throne or government in Europe to-day that is not challenged by the people. In the minds of the masses the divine right of kings is an imposition and a superstition, for kings and statesmen have striven strenuously during two centuries to teach them that there is no divinity at all beyond the imperial I. Monarchs have assumed the awful title of "I am who am," and have been punished for their blasphemy. They have been shot and turned out and hustled through the world, and the people have discovered of what very common clay they are made. The tamed tiger has tasted blood, and is ready to make havoc. But the "old man, dressed in white, pointing out the road to heaven" remains.

To Pius IX., the prisoner of Victor Emanuel, the all-powerful German chancellor turned to help him govern the German people. Pius IX. died before the negotiations came to any head, and another old man dressed in white succeeded him. The negotiations were resumed with new eagerness. The German Chancellor, the embodiment of the strongest material power in the world, said to the prisoner of King Humbert: "Only tell your Catholics to vote my measures and I will undo all that I have done against them and against the papacy." The Pope did nothing of the sort. He confined himself strictly to his office of teacher and guide and guardian, not of German Catholics alone, but of the universal Church. He let German Catholics, saving religion and morals, go their own way home about home questions and policy. Then came the English government, a more persistent and subtle and ancient foe than the new German empire to the old man of the Vatican, to say to him: "Your Irish are turbulent. We can do nothing with them. Help us. Tell them to be quiet, and perhaps we may send you a representative."

And so, whenever a great social or political danger or difficulty arises, statesmen and all men of thought look at once to the head of the Roman Catholic Church to see what action he may take,

what advice he may give. Who looks in such emergencies to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Patriarch of Constantinople? Men's eyes go at once to the centre of Catholic and Christian unity, who is to-day a prisoner in his own house and city. Prince Bismarck now discovers that the position of the Pope is an international rather than an Italian question. The Emperor of Germany has just as much interest in the person and office of the Holy Father as has the King of Italy. So has the government of the United States. So has any government that counts among its citizens a Catholic people; and what great government is without them? Here is how Prince Bismarck replied to Herr Virchow when asked about the new relations between Prussia and the Holy See:

“The King of Prussia,” said Prince Bismarck, “as well as the sovereigns of other confederate states, had a vital interest in, as well as a responsibility which they could not neglect, of not neglecting the interests of their Catholic subjects at Rome. And the government had, therefore, the intention of introducing into the Prussian Budget on the next occasion, a vote of credit to enable it to carry on direct negotiations on questions which concerned persons, on local questions which were awaiting decision, and other more important questions in which principles were involved. The suppression of the embassy which formerly represented Prussia, and subsequently the Empire, at the Vatican had not been inspired by those principles which had dictated what was called in Prussia the *Culturkampf*. Some of his audience would remember how he had once declared that the government had been wounded by the tone adopted by Rome towards the Prussian government and the Emperor himself. It was for this reason that the embassy had been suppressed. But now,” continued Prince Bismarck, “the subject of our displeasure has disappeared. We are on the most courteous and friendly terms with the present Sovereign Pontiff, and there is no reason why we should not occupy ourselves with Catholic interests of each confederate state. If, according to my view, this task concerns Prussia rather than the Empire, I am not influenced by a consideration of principles so much as by the actual facts of the situation. Still, if Saxony, Baden, Wurtemberg, and other States agreed that they had the same interest in the matter as Prussia, there would be no reason why the Empire should not be represented at the Court of the Holy See, ‘which we consider not in the light of a foreign power, but as the Head of a Church.’”

There is the whole question stated with characteristic brevity. The question of the Papacy enters into every Power. Wherever a Catholic is, there is the Pope. The Powers, in their hour of dan-

ger, are getting over the mania of regarding the Pope as an enemy forever infringing on their prerogatives and power. They see him now, more especially in his hour of darkness and of desolation, as the heart and centre of the greatest moral force that this world knows. So Germany, England, Russia, Austria, throwing aside the fatal doctrines of the eighteenth century, hold out their hands to the Pope, and say: "Help us! our people are going astray! Help us to guide them to good!" And what answer can the Pope make? "I am chained. I am robbed. I am a beggar. I cannot move. I cannot act or speak with freedom. My city and my patrimony are taken from me, and I am as a stranger in my own land. The charity of the faithful supports me and enables me to carry on my work in a measure. But the work is obstructed on every side, and as I am, I am not only in danger myself, but a constant danger to this usurping Power."

The Pope cannot longer remain a prisoner in Italy in the city that belongs to the Papacy. He must be either made wholly free or given free asylum elsewhere. It is for Italians to say whether or not they are to lose the Pope. -The loss would be Italy's rather than his. It is for the European Powers to say whether or not the head of the Church whose members form so important an element of the nations shall be in a position becoming the dignity and great demands of his office. It is for them to say whether or not the greatest sacrilege and wrong of the age shall be atoned for, and rest restored to the Catholic world.
