

## PIUS IX. AMID FRIENDS AND FOES—1848.

“IF like St. Peter I had the power to strike down men of the same character as Ananias and Saphira, and if I willed to use that power, the Vatican would be the tomb of the diplomacy which has always deceived me.”<sup>1</sup> At Portici Pius IX. spoke these suggestive words, in February, 1850, just two years after the decisive *Non Voglio*. Suggestive words they are indeed to those who are seeking to know the truth about the dealings of European governments with the Papacy during the last half century. How many deceptions the truth-loving Pope must have suffered between 1848 and 1850! As for the Ananias outside of the diplomatic body, where would he have found a mausoleum capacious enough to contain them!

Within a fortnight after the remarkable scene in the Quirinal piazza, the puppet of a revolution, Louis Philippe, was flung aside. The Carbonari, Masons, Socialists, who lifted him on a throne he was not worthy of, had long been preparing his downfall. Beginning with 1840, not a year passed in which public order was not disturbed by one émeute at least. Nowadays revolutionaries affect the “Congress.” During the forties the banquet was in fashion. No less than seventy banquets were offered the French “people” in the course of the year 1847. The French and Italian methods were similar. They were devised by the same calculating heads. At length a monster banquet at Paris was announced—a banquet for the entertainment of one hundred thousand guests. The joke was serious, more serious than Guizot knew. When the government said nay, the genial banqueters brought out their guns and bludgeons. The ever convenient barricade was scientifically builded. Banqueters that might have been, found playful amusement in the cutting of fraternal throats and the robbery of equals who surely doubted their own freedom. (February 24, 1848.) Louis Philippe retired and the convenient “republic” bowed itself into his place. And such a republic! with the sentimentally sweet phrase-maker, Lamartine, to represent it before Europe, and back of him Ledru-Rollin, Felix Pyat, Proudhon, Crémieux, Louis Blanc, the Bonapartes, and others of that ilk. The possibility of a Socialistic republic troubles cool minds to-day. In 1848 the French had a short experience of such a republic. The Socialists were the first to tire of the experiment. Blanqui, Barbès, Cabet

<sup>1</sup> *La Souveraineté Pontificale*, Dupanloup, p. 238, Paris, 1861, 3d ed.

demanded something more advanced—the “ democratic ” republic, a republic in which all men should work, except the members of the Socialist party. Once more the barricades and the madmen behind them—three days of slaughter. (June, 1848.) Seven generals, an Archbishop, five thousand guilty and guiltless are sacrificed to Socialist “ democracy.” Thanks to Cavaignac who, by his firmness and courage during the three days, made up for earlier and later indiscretions, France was saved from another “ Terror.”

The Paris revolution of February was only the first of a series long planned. At Vienna, on March 11th, a demonstration was made against Metternich. The windows of his dwelling were smashed. On the 12th and 13th the students and the other mob threatened more forcibly. To pacify them, Metternich resigned. On the 17th, that proper enemy of the Jesuits, Lola Montez, danced out of Munich, and her royal patron removed the crown that was worth more than his head. The Berliners tried to hide themselves behind barricades on the 18th, and regretfully Frederick William shot down two hundred of them. The Milanese surprised their Austrian governors on the same day. Before the end of the month the whole of Lombardo-Venetia, Naples, Tuscany, Piedmont, had imitated Paris,

The rising at Milan was not unpremeditated. Under Austrian rule Lombardy and Venice were well governed—governed in the interest of the people and not of a class. With the government the people were satisfied; but the aristocracy and the secret societies had long before united their forces and determined to be rid of the German. From Turin the revolutionary aristocracy of Lombardy was managed. Without the assistance of Piedmont the Austrian could not be dislodged. Charles Albert, “ half devotee, half Carbonaro,” would, but dare not. The Mazzinians had made “ United Italy ” a watchword in the land; but Mazzini would have no king at the head of Mazzinian Italy. The revolutionary aristocrats meant to have a king, and that king was to be the Piedmontese king. To use the aristocracy to abolish kings was Mazzini’s game. To extend the power of a petty monarchy, with the aid and at the expense of the dagger revolutionaries, was the aim of Charles Albert. Piedmont had no cause of quarrel with Austria. Defeat in an unjust war the king feared. Still he greedily ambitioned the crown of Italy. The Giobertians pushed him on, nor could he hide from his sight “ the dagger of the conspirator ” with which Mazzini threatened him.<sup>1</sup> Anxiously the king provided against a military failure; and all things being ready, he insisted that the Lombards should revolt

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<sup>1</sup> See Mazzini’s letter of April 27, 1847.—*Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 58.

before his army moved. A revolution at Milan was accordingly planned, the date agreed upon being the 21st of March. Meantime news came of the Viennese riots, and the Milanese leaders thought it better to hasten events. Long Live Italy! Long Live Pius IX! Long Live the Sovereign Pontiff! With these calculated cries Milan was aroused on the 18th of the month. Radetzky, taken unawares, retired ingloriously. On the 20th a provisional government nominated itself and issued a manifesto under "the invocation of Pius IX." How deeply the aristocrats venerated the Pope!

Charles Albert was not ready. His minister, the Giobertian Balbo, assured the Austrian ambassador of the King's friendly and peaceful intentions, and at the same time the King was rehearsing his favorite rôle: the Sword of Italy. At length, after proclaiming his desire for the independence of "our beautiful Italy," and his purpose of placing himself and his son at the head of an army for the liberation of Lombardy, Charles Albert crossed the Ticino. Noble prince! He went to give "a brother's aid to brothers. *Let there be no word of recompense; when the war is ended the fate of the beautiful country will be decided.*"<sup>1</sup> Just now let us sing a Te Deum, and shout: Long life to Pius IX! Pareto, the colleague of Balbo, was at the same time writing to Abercrombie, British Minister at Turin,—like all Palmerston's agents, a backer of Piedmont,—a diplomatic letter, couched in these terms: "After the events in France, the danger of an early proclamation of a republic in Lombardy cannot be concealed. The king thinks himself obligated *to take measures*, which will hinder the actual movement from becoming a republican movement, and which will relieve the rest of Italy from the catastrophes that might occur, should such a form of government be proclaimed."<sup>2</sup> How many Ananiases were there in Turin? Time will tell. And here a suggestion, happily made by Léopold de Gaillard! The King of Sardinia is about to "take measures." From this time on you will see that the politics and the policy of the Piedmontese monarchy have a single end—to *take* something, and to take without right, and with the generous motive of protecting *the rest* of Italy against possible catastrophes. Altruism personified!

As soon as Charles Albert entered Lombardy, a swarm of raw recruits, idealists, brigands, patriots, Carbonari, Young Italians, and also of regular soldiers, followed him. From Naples they came, and from Tuscany. His whole army numbered a

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 195; Van Duerm, *Les Vicissitudes Politiques*, p. 181; *L'Expédition de Rome*, Léopold de Gaillard, p. 48.

hundred thousand fairly equipped though imperfectly organized men. Bands played the Hymn of Pius IX. The Pope's name glittered on flag and banner. A crusade, the anti-Austrian war was called. Many of the soldiers wore a cross on the breast of their uniforms. Under the protection of Heaven and with the blessing of the Pontiff, thus Charles Albert proclaimed, he set out to *take* Austria's provinces. Outside of his own territory, the Pope's name was still a convenience to the Ananiases. And at Rome, were the revolutionists, perhaps, once more using the Pope's good name to further their evil designs? Let us recall the facts that make up the history of Roman politics since the night of February 11th.

The Constitution fever was raging. The Italians caught the disease. One after another the princes supplied the quieting prescription—first, Charles Albert (Feb. 8th), and then Pius (March 14th). "Provided that religion be safe, we shall refuse no necessary innovation," said the Pope. "In our country a constitution is not a new thing. The States that have one to-day, copied it out of our history. Since the time of our illustrious predecessor, Sixtus V., we have had, in the Sacred College, a chamber of Peers."<sup>1</sup> The idea of a constitution may indeed have been suggested by the history of the Church; but the constitutions in vogue were not at all churchlike. Doctor Brownson's words fit them precisely: "constitutions drawn up with 'malice aforethought,' having no support in the habits and traditions of the people who are to live under them."<sup>2</sup> The Pope questioned the wisdom of a constitution, and would have preferred to see how his neighbors accommodated themselves to their new "statutes," but in the interest of peace he was ready to go to the farthest limit that conscience would permit. Each concession that he made was, however, only a new weapon placed in the hands of the desperate men who had sworn to destroy the Papacy.

To a war with Austria the revolutionaries had long looked forward. Again and again had they tried to embroil the Pope with the emperor. A division between these rulers would have pleased the Roman "patriots" better than this Piedmontese campaign. The Mazzinians guessed at the recompense which a victorious Charles Albert would demand. Assuredly he would not forthwith resign in favor of the socialistic republic. Still any war was better than none. It could be used to ruin the Pope. Either he must fight Austria, and thus, probably, cause a schism, besides making a powerful enemy and weakening his means of defence against domestic foes. Or he must refuse to fight, and thus draw upon

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 175; Balleydier, *Hist. de la Révolution de Rome*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Liberalism and the Church*, p. 77.

himself the hatred of all the infuriated "patriots" in Italy and unite them more defiantly against his powers, spiritual and temporal.

The pressure brought to bear on him did not move Pius IX. He refused to declare war. "Our name," he said, "has been blest throughout the world for the first words of peace that went forth from our lips; assuredly it could not be so, if words of war came from them."<sup>1</sup> He did, however, act as a sovereign, careful of his rights. An army of 17,000 men was despatched to the frontier to protect his territory from invasion (March 23d). Across the Po the commander was forbidden to move. He was a Piedmontese, Durando by name, and his chief adjutant was another Piedmontese, Massimo d'Azeglio. Painter, poet, novelist, d'Azeglio was now a politician, a "liberal," loving the Church devotedly, the Pope and the Papacy extravagantly, and himself somewhat more. In Piedmont his family had not despised office. By tradition, d'Azeglio was a staunch monarchist, devoted to the crown and filled with its ambitions. Like Gioberti, he thought he was the only man who could manage the affairs of the Church in the nineteenth century. He wrote and spoke much in a warning way, exposing all the "deficiencies" of the Papal government, appealing to the Pope to do what d'Azeglio told him, and thus lead the world. He was an *Italianissimo*, bitterly anti-Austrian, and looked upon war against Austria as a Christian act that any Pope might be proud of. As a negotiator with the secret societies he had helped to "harmonize" various political interests. Indeed, d'Azeglio was a typical "harmonizer," always ready to give away valuable things, not in his charge, for a handful of nothing. At Rome he had been recently attending banquets, and making fine patriotic speeches to the multitude. He was somewhat wiser before he died. Durando he had presented to the people from a balcony, as "the sword and buckler of Italian independence." Charles Albert was satisfied with being called "the sword." The Reverend Father Gavazzi, the Barnabite, with other patriotic priests—Ugo Bassi for instance—followed Durando and Azeglio to the frontier.

The generals of the Papal army had accepted a trust, with the intention of violating it. Arrived at the frontier, the Piedmontese, Durando, issued an address to his army, speciously conceived. "Radetzki is making war on the Cross of Christ," said the truly Christian general. "Hence, soldiers! it is becoming, and I have ordered, that all of us should carry the Cross of Christ upon our breasts. All those who belong to the army of operation will bear it on the heart, as I myself do."<sup>2</sup> The Ananiases of diplomacy

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

could not have done much better. In order that the soldiers should not mistake the fact that Durando, d' Azeglio, Bassi and Gavazzi were really engaged in a crusade, the old cry: "Dieu le veut!" was made the war-cry, and against the Pope's express command his army crossed the Po, and joined the Venetian insurgents. The Mazzinians were audacious. Treachery to the Papacy they counted a virtue. And yet these "patriot" traitors were not pure Mazzinians, but, on the contrary, true "liberal" sons of the Church—the *free Church*.

Five days after the Piedmontese Papal general's proclamation, Pius IX. protested. "The Pope," said he, "does not speak by the voice of a subaltern." But Durando's action was well received by the clubs, and they agitated the Holy City as only they could. Meetings, petitions, committees, there was no end of. The holy war,—the "people" demanded the holy war; and the Pope ought to open the Roman campaign by excommunicating the Austrians. Cicerruacchio, the perjured Carbonari, the patriot priests, the coward nobility were especially desirous that the spiritual weapons of the Papacy should be turned against the Austrians.

What could Pius do with these traitors and energumens? Nothing beyond making his record right before the world. He spoke often, but he prayed more often. On April 29th he delivered the famous allocution by which he relieved the Papacy of any responsibility for the anti-Austrian war. "We hold on earth the place of Him who is the author of peace, the friend of charity, and faithful to the obligations of our supreme apostolate, we embrace all countries, all peoples, all nations, with an equal sentiment of paternal love." The crusade that Pius ever preached was a crusade of peace, concord, charity. His intense desire for peace can be measured from the letter sent on May 3, to Ferdinand of Austria. "With an affection wholly paternal," writes the Pope, "I exhort you to withdraw your arms from a war which cannot possibly reconquer the hearts of the Lombards and Venetians, but which must bring in its train war's hateful calamities. The generous German nation will not find it amiss that I should invite an exchange of domination, depending only on the sword, for amicable, neighborly relations. We are confident that a nation so legitimately proud of its own nationality, will not put its honor to a bloody trial as against the Italian nation, but will rather recognize the latter as as a sister."<sup>1</sup>

Austria gave ear to the Pontiff's prudent words of warning. Pius wrote to the Piedmontese king, counselling peace and offering mediation; and had Piedmont wished peace, peace it could

<sup>1</sup> Van Duerm., *loc cit.*, pp. 185-186.

have had, "without the danger of an early proclamation of the republic in Lombardy." It is true that the Mazzinians were opposed to peace, and by means of local risings in the Tyrol and in Dalmatia tried to irritate Austria beyond the possibility of peace. And yet Austria made extraordinary efforts to reach an arrangement with Charles Albert. As early as May 24th, negotiations were opened through Lord Palmerston, Austria offering to give up Lombardy, provided a settlement of the debt could be agreed upon; nor did the emperor cease the negotiations until the beginning of July, when it became evident that England as well as Piedmont desired no peace on any terms other than forced terms.<sup>1</sup> The defeat and disgrace of Austria, Palmerston hoped for. A victory that should protect "the rest of Italy from catastrophes that might occur," was Charles Albert's dream. The great sacrifices to which Austria was willing to submit, were looked upon as proofs of weakness. The king, with his usual bravado, talked cleverly in public about the impossibility, in a war undertaken for *Italian unity*, of accepting any conditions other than that of complete deliverance.<sup>2</sup> The Emperor took the king at his word, and the octogenarian Radetzky delivered Lombardy and Venice completely from the various Italian armies that had crusaded there during a short five months. At Custozza (July 25th), Charles Albert's sword was whipped out of his hand. "It was not a retreat, it was a flight."<sup>3</sup> On the 6th of August, Radetzky entered Milan. Charles Albert dared not halt even there. Radetzky was received as a liberator by the people who had gained the credit of driving him out. Charles Albert the Lombards now despised. He was a traitor, they said. The Austrians, once he had crossed the river, left him to himself and the Piedmontese. His kingdom they respected. "*Italia farà da sè*," the Piedmontese king boastingly said when he began to "take measures to hinder the actual movement from becoming a republican movement." *Farà da sè*? The ex adjutant of the Papal army, Massimo d'Azeglio, after he had seen some of the sad results of his hot-headed, destructive "liberal" agitation, informed the public he had misled, that: "Italy was not prepared in mind, heart, morals, or military habits."<sup>4</sup> And what had the Durandesque Papal army done for united Italy? With the Cross of Christ on their hearts, what should the "Roman" soldiers not have done? In May, the Austrians drubbed them soundly, but then let the prisoners free on their promise to return to their own territory and to fight no more. Durando broke his promise. Early

<sup>1</sup> Van Duerm., *loc cit.*, p. 187; Cantu., *loc cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu., *loc cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Une Année de ma Vie* (1848-1849); Le Comte de Hübnér, Paris, 1891, p. 270.

<sup>4</sup> Cantu., *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii, p. 198, note.

in June they were once more beaten by Radetzky's forces, and again paroled. When the survivors did settle down on the Papal States, it is not difficult to imagine that, to the peace of the people and of the authorities, they contributed as freely as they had to rapine and bloodshed, causes of want and tears in so many disunited Italian homes. Gavazzi, like a true chaplain, betook himself to Genoa where he tried to help the unification of Italy by organizing revolution and a republic.

It was to La Farina, the Sicilian revolutionary who found a faithful friend in Ausonio Franchi, that Pius IX said: "I am more Italian than you are, but in me you will not distinguish the Italian from the Pontiff." The allocution of April 29th had shown that Pius willed to be both Pontiff and Italian. His letter to the Emperor made plain the same fact. The Pope's desire for unity was known to the Italian princes and people. In 1847 he had invited all the Italian States to take a first step in the way of political unity by forming a Customs' Union; but he found no support. The cry for a nation had, in fact, only one of two meanings: a republic with Mazzini in Rome, or a monarchy with a Piedmontese king in Rome. The Pope! He was the victim marked for destruction by royalist and socialist. "Unity" was a convenient cover for "robbery." When offering himself to Charles Albert as a mediator, Pius wrote that he acted as "the prince of peace, but always with a view to establishing the Italian nationality."<sup>1</sup> Put yourself in the Austrian camp and you will not wonder at hearing German protests against the Pope's Italianism. He was indeed the only Italian prince that honestly wished and worked for the unity of the Italian nation. And because he was honest,—but mark the course of the conspirators!

On the very day after the allocution, the clubs were hotly demonstrating. The Pope was a traitor, the enemy of the Italian cause,—death to all priests! A Committee on War and a Committee on Public Security were appointed by Sterbini, Ciceruacchio, Canino. The Committee on Public Safety saw that the cardinals were hunted and jailed, that priests were beaten in the streets, and that a shameful disorder made of the Holy City a brute's cage. It was a cage. The city gates, the Castle of Sant Angelo, were picketed. Violating the mails, all the letters addressed to cardinals and prelates were opened. Ciceruacchio was appointed public lector. He read the letters to the "people." A certain Angelo Fiorentino proposed that they have a general massacre of the priests. Ciceruacchio, another Angel, affirmed his readiness to manage the affair. Perhaps it is the Italian opera that

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.



leads many to associate the balcony with the idea of love-making. In 1848 the balcony was a part of the Italian demagogue's luggage. Mamiani had his balcony. "No priest in the public functions!" the philosopher cried from the balcony. There were at this time in the public functions about a hundred clerics to six thousand laymen. "Down with the ministry," all the professional bawlers shouted. A new ministry there must be, or — ! "You, my friends, can burn a mattress with a match, but it looks as if three days were needed to overturn a government,"<sup>1</sup> said Ciceruacchio, archly. The Pope was absolutely in the hands of a savage mob. They had their ministry. Mamiani, the determined enemy of the Papacy, was put at the head of the Papal government, and, of all men, Galletti took charge of the police. The public order—revolutionary order—was assured. In good time the conspirator, Mamiani, retired and was replaced by the more moderate Fabbri, whose years and moderation bore heavily on him. At length the Pope, on Fabbri's resigning, obtained a minister in whom he had some confidence, Pellegrino Rossi.

Mamiani would have no priests in the public service. Like so many philosophers, the Count was a poor logician. However, as a minister he acted logically. He proceeded to put the Pope out of the government. Opening the "constitutional" Chambers, composed almost wholly of Carbonari, Cardinal Altieri read the Pope's address, of which Mamiani had previous knowledge. The Minister had an address prepared. He frankly stated his notions about Italian unity and nationality. His Holiness, Mamiani thus dismissed: "The Pope, established and firm in the integrity of the dogmas of religion, *prays, blesses and pardons*; the Holy Father abandons to the Chambers the direction of the most important affairs of the State."<sup>2</sup> Brutus Napoleon in the Papal Ministry! And the temporal power abolished without so much as a blow! Pius protested against Mamiani's attack on the Papal rights and rejected the Minister's programme, except inasmuch as it agreed with the Constitution. The Pope not only prays, blesses, pardons, Pius said; he also *binds and looses*. Mamiani gave no heed to the Pope's words. The Minister's journal, the *Epoca*, spread his revolutionary ideas, and the Minister acted in a revolutionary manner. The Pope had refused to declare war against Austria. Mamiani incited the people to take part in the war and decreed the formation of a new reserve corps. Durando he pushed on. From the Pope, the minister demanded a solemn anathema against the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 212; *La Rivoluzione Romana*, Giuseppe Boero, Firenze, 1850, pp. 108–111; Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 120–126.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 213; *Les Sociétés Secrètes*, par Claudio Jannet, Paris, 1882, vol. ii., p. 297; *La Rivoluzione Romana*, p. 115; Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

Austrian troops—an anathema to be pronounced in St. Peter's amid draperies of black and from an altar lighted only by the gloom. No means did Mamiani omit that could excite the rabble, complicate the Pope at home and abroad, and permanently undermine the Temporal Power. When the minister resigned it was only because he counted upon adding to the Pope's difficulties. Having organized disorder, Mamiani argued that he had made it impossible for Pius to bring back order. The most imposing incident connected with Mamiani's ministry is the victory won by the Durando army. A roving troop of the Crusaders, having tramped back to Rome, made a dashing assault on a fortress within whose walls many a good soldier had fought the good fight. In a jiffy the Crusaders captured the proud citadel—the Gesù.

“A species of delirium took possession of men's minds in 1847.” Mazzini's testimony is worthy of remembrance. Nations as well as individuals may have a delirium, a temporary madness, mania, aberration. Mazzini knew mankind well enough to know that human wits can create and spread an epidemic of delirium. “Do not allow the people to fall idly into sleep, outside the circle of the movement. Surround them always with noise, emotions, surprises, lies and feasts. Let there be disorder everywhere.” These are notable words written by the founder of Young Italy, the apostle of the dagger; and he added with a devilish cunning: “Revolutionize a country one cannot with peace, morality and truth. In order to come to us, the people must be beside themselves.”<sup>4</sup> Delirium, in the physician's sense, is not a disease. It is a symptom of disease. Cut out truth and morality from the soul; insert lies, disorder; excite body and soul by means of noise, emotions, surprises, feasts, and you will have a complicated disease, a double delirium, a delirium physical and moral. This is the delirium we are studying—the delirium of Revolution; a frightful disorder—whose seeds are sown, developed, nurtured by men—lying, immoral, and methodically mad.

Told in detail, the story of the manifestations of the Italian delirium, during 1848, would be long in the telling. While Charles Albert was freeing beautiful Lombardy from the German, the whole of Italy was noisy, excited; noisy with the rhetoric of the demagogue, praising, attacking; noisy with the abuse bandied by rival politicians and with the rhetoric of the dilettanti and the dreamers. Everywhere the tricolor waved. The King's army carried it, against his will. In the journals any one, every one, was lampooned; the most radical doctrines were taught. Of honor,

<sup>4</sup> Claudio Jannet, *loc. cit.*, p. 298.

faith, decency, self-respect, the journalist had no more than the orator. To the Revolutionaries the news of a victory or of a defeat served equally. Indeed, they manufactured defeats and victories in order to intensify "popular" frenzy. The Kingdom of Naples was turned upside down. Tuscany was a great madhouse. Here the people could boast of two governments to-day; to-morrow of none. There the ministry that had been forced into office was promptly hooted and hissed into disgrace. Italy free, Italy independent, The King of Italy, The Italian Republic,—such were the uniting, dividing shibboleths. Archbishops were busy blessing flags and singing *Te Deums*; priests, monks, friars applauded the wildest, most blatant spouters. In the army of liberation there was more than one company of promising seminarians. After Custozza, imagine the emotions, surprises, lies, disorder! And the losses, the debts, the taxes,—perhaps the undelirious alone suffered and paid.

The "Moral Dictator of Italy," was he idle, was he neglectful of the Fatherland, while his pupils were doing such glorious work? Idle! Listen, and then answer. To free Italy without Gioberti's aid seemed ridiculous. He was elected a member of the Piedmontese Senate. Thus an end came to his fifteen years of exile. To Turin he hurried and was received with exultation. Here an example or two of the contradictions of the "law of gradation" may not be out of place. In 1847 Gioberti wrote in this vein: "What does Austria fear? Perhaps that Charles Albert or some other Italian prince may take up arms and invade Lombardy. Nonsense! Austria knows as well as others know that such an undertaking is to-day impossible, and that ideas of this kind cannot enter into, nor find a place in the mind of a prince as wise as the king of Sardinia."<sup>1</sup> And one of his mouthpieces later proclaimed: "He who cries 'Death to Austria, Long live the King of Italy,' is the enemy of Pius IX., and hence, a schismatic; he is the enemy of Charles Albert, and hence a rebel; he is the enemy of Christian civilization, and hence a barbarous traitor." Meantime in Piedmont they were debating about the proper form of government for the future Italian nation. Should there be a republic or a constitutional monarchy? Gioberti was clearing the way for his election. On February 26, 1848; he wrote a "gradational" letter. "I do not see a great difference between the two forms of government. A constitutional prince is nothing more than a hereditary head of a republic, and a president of a republic is only an elective prince."<sup>2</sup> A senator at Turin, the "Moral Dictator" forthwith devoted himself to a propaganda in

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 193, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 205, note.

favor of the anti-Austrian war. Besides he acted as the agent of the Piedmontese Ministry in carrying out their scheme of absorbing Lombardo-Venetia by a specious process called fusion; a scheme that was just about completed when Charles Albert scurried away from Custozza. Gioberti's labors were confined neither to Piedmont nor to Lombardy. The Pope's allocution had divided him from Italy. The evil must be corrected. Gioberti will go to Rome to convert Pius IX. But if the Pope decline to be converted, then the Moral Dictator will proclaim Charles Albert king of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Is this the work of a compound "schismatic, rebel and barbarous traitor?" No friend of Gioberti thus qualified him. The Dictator's journey to Rome was that of a conqueror. In many of the cities that were honored with his presence, the *Te Deum* was chaunted. The bells rang, the bands played. At night the houses were illuminated. Deputations waited on him; there was much emotion, much noise; there were feasts and surprises. Picture to yourself forty armed priests guarding the approach to the Reverend Dictator's sleeping room! Gioberti was particular about having at least one balcony convenient, and he preferred lodging directly on the public square. Deprive the dear people of a speech, the soft hearted moralist could not.

At Rome he was treated quite as if he were a Giobertian Pope. The civic guard patrolled the street in front of his hotel. Equipages were provided by the nobility. In his honor a street was re-named. Professors and students crowned with laurel and olive "the philosopher who was second to none of his contemporaries." A café was called after him. Ecclesiastics paid court to the patriot. Crowds followed him, cheering, as he paraded the streets pompously. The Pope thrice granted him audience. Pius was not converted; but he gave some good advice to Gioberti. Retract your errors and repair the scandals done to the Church by your writings,—thus the Pope advised the Dictator. But he, going out on the balcony, told the people how well-disposed he found the Pope to the Italian cause, and having relieved himself of many *Evvivas*, passionately thundered against the King of Naples. The homeward journey was a continuous demonstration. Everywhere the Dictator sounded the praises of Charles Albert; and yet, at Genoa, the king's partisan paid a visit of "veneration" to Mazzini's mother, and at Milan he changed his quarters in order that he should be under the same roof with the Carbonaro president. These beautiful actions may have been inspired by a deep sense of the responsibility of the priestly office. When Gioberti's journey

<sup>1</sup> Antoni Rosmini, von Franz Xaver Kraus, *Deutsche Rundschau*, April, 1888, pp. 65-66.

was over, be sure the delirium had not moderated. If the people were more than ever beside themselves, no sane person would be surprised.

Balbo, the popularizer of "Il Primato," a thorough Giobertian, was a prime mover in the anti-Austrian campaign. As chief Minister of the Piedmontese cabinet, he enjoyed the honor of declaring war; and to him the success of the so-called fusion was due. But divisions and disasters proved fatal to him, and he was forced to resign. On July 29th a new ministry was formed with Casati at the head. Gioberti entered the cabinet and was recognized as the real leader. This ministry lived ten days. Gioberti now became the leader of the opposition, a *democrat*. As an "Albertist," he had "stumped" Italy. Within a few weeks he is practically a Mazzinian. He had not changed, of course. Had he not said that he saw no difference between a constitutional monarchy and a republic? To the clubs he now appealed, and he supported the ultras who demanded an immediate renewal of hostilities against the Austrians. The demand was laughable, and, in the true sense of the word, unpopular. In fact, the Lombard people did not desire a war, which was the work of "the unnatural alliance between the aristocratic party and the secret societies." Neither the agricultural nor the middle class loved a lord.<sup>1</sup> The people's opposition to the war was officially established by the Piedmontese general. It was on August 9th that Charles Albert, beaten, secretly dodged out of Milan, and hid himself in Alexandria. Two days later General Salasco signed an armistice with the Austrians. At Turin he was accused of exceeding his powers. His answer is telling: "The people make insurrections, and soldiers fight in wars. Now this was a war, and since the people did not move and gave no sign of acting, and because the soldiers showed themselves disordered and recalcitrant, our only safety lay in a suspension of arms."<sup>2</sup> Nor did ministers fail to give evidence that even in Piedmont the war was not a people's war. "The soldiers march away Italians and return Austrians," said Perrone, Minister of War. Brofferio, an irreconcilable, with whom Gioberti joined in an attempt to force later ministries to renew the war, confessed in writing, that "the army did not wish war, at any price."<sup>3</sup> The "people" of Piedmont and Lombardy escaped the delirium.

Gioberti did not desire war. He was merely using the "law of gradation" so as to overthrow a ministry. The disasters in Lombardy set all the practised tongues in Piedmont wagging. In parliament deputies baited ministers, ex-ministers, and fellow deputies.

<sup>1</sup> Comte de Hübner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 261, and note.

Balbo, the once "popular" Balbo, felt safe in his seat because of the dagger he carried. To the friends who had glorified him, the "Moral Dictator" proved false. Combating them, he united with the revolutionaries of Rome, Naples, Tuscany. The idea of an Italian Federation was not novel. On Pope and prince, Gioberti had long pushed an artful scheme of his own devising. Now, he adapted his scheme to suit the Mazzinians; and, on October 10th he gathered at Turin a "Federative Congress." The purpose of the Congress was to provide for the "calling of a Constituent Assembly of all the Italian States, the sole authority of the Assembly being to draw up a federal pact which, respecting the existence of each state, and leaving unchanged the forms of government, would serve to assure the liberty, union, and independence of Italy, and to aid the well-being of the nation."<sup>1</sup> A clever scheme! The character of the Congress may be judged from the fact, that the revolutionary clubs everywhere elected deputies and sent them to Turin. Rome was represented by the Bonaparte prince, Canino, with Mamiani and Sterbini. A federal pact fabricated by these three statesmen would have assured the everlasting well-being of any country. The journey of the Roman deputies was like Gioberti's "Albertist" swing around the circle,—noise, emotions, surprises, lies, and feasts. Would that the Congress had not intensified the delirium by methods more criminal!

Only six days before the opening of the Congress, strange to say, a prominent Italian resigned a quasi-mission to which Minister Gioberti had appointed him—a mission to the Pope. The missionary was no less a personage than the Abbate Antonio Serbati Rosmini, who had been negotiating at Rome for a confederation of the Italian states. Rosmini was himself a limited moral dictator, and he tried to play so considerable a part in Italian politics that he deserves more than a passing word. A friendly "Lite" of the priest, politician, and philosopher, has been prepared for the benefit of English readers, and we have within reach friendly studies of his philosophical system, and translations of a few of his many books. It is Ausonio Franchi, however, who has presented the latest and the most original criticism of Rosmini's philosophy and politics. The great critic knew Rosmini as well as Gioberti. Laboriously working his way out of Mazzinianism and Rationalism, and year by year correcting his own errors, Ausonio put several contemporary Italian philosophers into the crucible. Coming from a specialist, the results of his analysis are valuable. Until recently, any one who could not admire everything that Rosmini did and wrote, might expect to be called a "jesuit." Ausonio has spoiled the trick.

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<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.*, p. 232.

Not far from Trent, in the Austrian Tyrol, at Roveredo, among the vines and the mulberries of the beautiful valley of Lagarina, Rosmini was born in 1797. The Rosmini family were patricians, tracing their lineage back at least four hundred years. According to all accounts, Antonio was an infant phenomenon; "a reflecting child at two years of age, an alms-giving boy at five, a most studious youth at seven, a practical ascetic at twelve, a brilliant moral essayist at sixteen, and such a proficient in philosophy at eighteen that his professor became his disciple; marvellously gifted all his days from the cradle to the grave."<sup>1</sup>

Before Antonio had attained the age of five he was *thoroughly* versed in the Sacred Scriptures, his biographer says. From a child so fully equipped at five years of age, what may we not expect when, ceasing perhaps to be a child, he reaches fifty? The possibilities are astounding. A studious and pious youth was Rosmini. At seventeen, he determined to be a priest. Then he began the study of philosophy under Don Pietro Orsi, a graduate of the University of Vienna. Rosmini spent a good portion of one whole year with Don Orsi, and, as we have seen, was teaching Orsi before the year ended. These absorbing philosophical studies did not hinder Antonio from writing "profound reflections on Dante's 'Divina Commedia,' and comments on the 'Monarchia,' which were deemed beyond the powers of one so young and so little acquainted with actual politics."<sup>2</sup> Nor did the youth rest here. "He wrote *learnedly* on mathematics and literature." At the end of 1816, Antonio entered the University of Padua; six months later, the degree of A.B. was conferred on him, and then he took the tonsure. In 1819, he finished his studies at Padua, and, his father dying, succeeded to the family estate. On April 21, 1821, he was ordained a priest. Even before his ordination, he had given practical proof of a deep interest in education, and the nobility of his own section and of Piedmont invited his assistance in an apostolate of the press. He gladly worked with them, and besides wrote some little books of religious instruction. From 1821 to 1826 Rosmini lived at Roveredo, especially engaged in harmonizing the truths of all the philosophers of all times. He read and wrote much, and engaged in many charitable works. The year 1826 was mostly spent at Milan in the society of literary men, of whom Manzoni was the leader. During this year and the following, the Abbate published several philosophical and educational essays, and, what was of more importance, took the first steps towards founding a religious order—the Institute of Charity.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbati*, edited by William Lockhart. London, 1886. vol. i., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 39-40.

Madame Canossa, a friend of the Abbate, who had established at Milan a religious Order of Charity for women, incited him to organize a similar order for men. He hesitated, but at length felt that he was called to the work, and, in February, 1828, opened a small convent at Domo d'Ossola, not far from the Lago Maggiore. During the following year, Rosmini passed through the press, at Rome, the "Nuovo Saggio on the Origin of Ideas." Writing, travelling, teaching,—he served a year as parish priest at Roveredo,—seven years ran by. The convent of Domo d'Ossola was removed to Stresa, on the Lake, in 1836. Not until 1838, did the rule of the Institute of Mercy receive approbation at Rome. From 1839 to 1846, Rosmini remained at Stresa, watching the Institute, receiving the visits of eminent foreigners, carrying on a large correspondence, and, at the same time, *renovating* philosophy. To be the Renovator of philosophy was Rosmini's ambition. He intended "to produce a philosophy which should be nothing less than an encyclopædia of the entire human *knowable—the totum scibile*—conjoined in a grand synthesis, resting on and springing from one most simple principle, and that principle, objective truth itself, evidence itself, or self-evidence." What greater intellectual achievement could he have proposed to himself? his biographer asks. The reader may answer, specifically, if it so pleaseth him.

When first we meet Gioberti and Rosmini together, in public, it is as philosophers. Rosmini was known to the philosophical world ten years before Gioberti, but when the latter had won his spurs he tilted full at the older writer. In the "Errori Filosofici d' Antonio Rosmini," printed in 1841, he resented the claim of the Tyrolese to autocracy in Italian philosophy, and passionately attacked him and his followers. He charged Rosmini with being a rationalist. When the latter made answer, in 1846, he retorted that Gioberti was a pantheist.<sup>1</sup> Neither harmonizer had been harmoniously disposed by the influence of his own system or of his brother philosopher's.

A story told by Father Signini, of the Institute, will indicate certain noteworthy characteristics of Rosmini's mind. "I was walking with him one day in Turin. We were on the Via delle Orfane, near the Church of San Dalmazzo, and he was in deep thought. All of a sudden he turned to me, saying, 'Oh, what would I give to have five minutes talk with St. Thomas! I am sure we should understand one another and perfectly agree.'"<sup>2</sup> Rosmini meant that St. Thomas should agree with him. And yet we know the Saint could not have agreed with the later Italian philosopher—in his errors. The patience, application, good intentions, talent,

<sup>1</sup> Kraus, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. ii., p. 42.



activity of the founder of the Institute are evident; but it is to be regretted that he did not content himself with following St. Thomas instead of competing with him. For he did compete with the great Saint whom he was always lauding. He tried to put himself in the place St. Thomas had for centuries held. What tempted him to aim thus high? We have the explanation in his own words. One evening, while he was studying philosophy with that Don Orsi who knew just little enough to be the pupil of his pupil, Rosmini strolled along a street in Roveredo. Speculating, he fell into a line of thought. By a process of analysis that seemed to him exact, he speedily "became convinced that indeterminate ideal being must be the first truth, the first thing seen by immediate intuition, and the universal means of all acquired knowledge, whether perceptive or intuitive." "A sudden flash of genius, if not a revelation, so illumined his course that he could clearly see 'the open portal of philosophical truth.'" <sup>1</sup> Now it was on this strolling "conviction" of a youth of eighteen—be it flash of genius or revelation—that Rosmini built up his SYSTEM OF TRUTH, as he called it. <sup>2</sup> "I noted down daily," he writes, "(while Pietro Orsi was my guide) the results of the artless and as yet inexperienced liberty to indulge in philosophical speculations, knowing that I thus stored up seeds which should bud forth in all the after-labors of my life on earth. *In truth, all the productions of my maturer years were the outgrowth of those seeds.*" <sup>3</sup> Could anything be more charming in its simplicity than this naive confession? A self-confident youth—and man!

The weakness of the Rosminian system was long ago exposed. Had he studied philosophy under a competent teacher, it is probable that Rosmini would have passed a quieter life. Certainly he would not have wasted much valuable time. Ausonio Franchi makes an admirable comparison between his schooling and methods and those of St. Thomas. <sup>4</sup> The boy philosopher is the real *enfant terrible*. On the airy basis of "the innate idea of the possible being," Rosmini builded his "Encyclopædia of the entire human knowable—the *totum scibile*." Rightly did Gioberti call the Rosminian principle "a soap-bubble." It was and is vain, most vain; indeed, it is contradictory and absurd, says Ausonio Franchi. <sup>5</sup> Now, St. Thomas is never absurd. Therefore Rosmini did not understand St. Thomas. What Rosmini needed was five minutes' correction from the Angel of the Schools. And yet he wrote to the Secretary of Cardinal Pacca: "I am persuaded (I beg you not to charge me with presumption, for God knows

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 45, 46; see also pp. 38–39.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ultima Critica*, pp. 114–117.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118–120.

that I do not dissemble in acknowledging myself unworthy of all favor), I am persuaded that my doctrine is from God, and that he alone communicated it to me, and I say to you also without much employment of human means and through the light of grace."<sup>1</sup> Not a word about the "flash of genius!" It is a revelation that we have to deal with. And yet the system is evidently absurd, and Leo XIII's condemnation of the forty propositions has buried Rosminianism! This sketch of the philosopher seemed necessary in order that, becoming acquainted with the temperament and mental characteristics of the man, we might more intelligently form a judgment on him when we see him in the rôle of a politician.

Only after the accession of Pius IX. to the Papacy did the founder of the Order of the Institute of Charity become publicly active in Italian politics. His close relations with Milan and Turin had favored an intimacy with Manzoni, who was, in fact, brought back from skepticism by association with the Abbate. Manzoni was the father-in-law of Massimo d'Azeglio. With Massimo and his father, Taparelli, Rosmini formed a friendship. The Cavours were welcome guests at Stresa; and there the Neapolitan, Ruggero Bonghi, later deputy and minister of public instruction under the unified Piedmontese administration, enjoyed the society of the agreeable priest, and such advantages as were derivable from a daily contemplation of the prodigiously large and filmy "soap-bubble"—The System of Truth. Silvio Pellico had long been a favorite at the Convent on Lago Maggiore. A Tyrolean had to be careful about expressing anti-Austrian views. However, Rosmini was not pro-Austrian and he was an Italian nationalist and unifier. Can we doubt that he had his own pet schemes for harmonizing all the political views current in Italy? And would it be astonishing if, having imagined himself the elected Renovator of philosophy and the chosen vessel of a philosophical revelation, he should assume that political wisdom had been communicated to him, through the light of grace, and "without much employment of human means?" If Pius IX. had to contend only with the diplomatic Ananias, his troubles would have been hard enough to bear; but think of the added infliction of gratuitous, inspired Prime Ministers—without a portfolio!

As soon as there was talk of a Roman Constitution, Rosmini assumed a confidential position in the Papal Ministry. "One man there was in North Italy," his biographer informs us, "to whom many minds turned at this moment. He had written several volumes on Politics and Constitutional right, and on Constitutional Forms and Parliamentary Government, which had placed him in

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117, note.

the first rank of Italian writers on these subjects. That man was Rosmini.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion is unmistakable. There was "one man" in North Italy who was not only competent but also ready to frame a proper Constitution, not for North Italy, but for the Papal States. At Rome, Rosmini had a friend, Cardinal Castracane. To him the Abbate sent a "Project of a Statute for the States of the Church." Then he wrote letters to the Pope and to his own Procurator. He stated "what he should wish the Pope to do." In answer, he was informed that the Pope had already granted a Constitution. Rosmini was not disheartened. As early as 1832 he had composed a work "on the spiritual liberty of the Church." The MSS. was now taken down from its shelf and printed for the public benefit, and especially for the advantage of the Church. Coming when it did, the *Cinque Piaghe*, or "Five wounds," was admirably calculated to serve all the enemies of the Church, and to embarrass the Pope. "Rosmini talks of the five wounds of the Church," said Gioberti. "I know ten at least." From the day it was published until the present day the "*Cinque Piaghe*" has served "liberal" innovators, who glibly rehash its ill-conceived and preposterous assumptions. In the United States more than one writer has gained the reputation of an original thinker by cribbing out of Rosmini. Theiner, answering the book, charged the author with a want of knowledge of history and of canon law, and with an incredible confusion of ideas with facts."<sup>2</sup> Cæsaropapism, as Theiner said, Rosmini would have replaced by a Popolopapism, whose lightest chains would be more galling than the heaviest the Church had borne.

After the Papal allocution of April 29th, in which Pius had declared that, "being the common Father of all the Faithful, he could not go to war with any of them," Rosmini felt deeply pained at the Pope's trials, and that at Rome no one had a notion of how to cope with the situation.<sup>3</sup> Forthwith he began to communicate with Cardinal Castracane, hoping through him to set the Pope right. "If he, Rosmini, were near Pius IX., he would advise the Pope to join with Naples and Tuscany, and by a collective note warn Austria that if she did not leave the Peninsula, the Pope and his allies, to save their own thrones, would join Charles Albert in an Italian war."<sup>4</sup> The Pope was much "struck" by this letter, as we learn from Rosmini's biographer. The founder of the Institute of Charity continued to strike the Pope with unheeded advice. His Holiness directed Cardinal Castracane to

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Kraus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-75.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 336-337.

<sup>4</sup> See the letter, *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 337-339.

thank the Abbate,<sup>1</sup> who undoubtedly had been more than kind. Having devised a constitution for the Papal States, Rosmini proceeded to formulate a constitution for Italy: *La Costituzione Secondo La Giustizia Sociale, con un Appendice sul' Unita d'Italia*.<sup>2</sup> A single passage from this work will give an insight into Rosmini's politics and the depth of his political science, "The unity of Italy! Such is the universal cry, and at this cry there is not one Italian heart from the Straits to the Alps that does not palpitate. To prove the utility and necessity of this unity would therefore be to throw words to the winds: where all agree there is no question."<sup>3</sup> Transparent, but not so very deep!

While the "one man in North Italy" was thus guiding the Church and the State, Gioberti entered the Piedmontese Ministry. We have heard him threatening to declare Charles Albert king of Rome if the Pope did not combine with Piedmont. We know that Gioberti, like Rossi and others, had a scheme for an Italian league of some sort. Once in power, the "Moral Dictator" lost no time. Piedmont was caught in its own trap. To entrap the Pope was the only hope; there was the League and there was Rosmini. On July 31st, two days after Casati and Gioberti came into power, a messenger was sent to Stresa. On the 2d of August the two philosophers—the rationalist and the pantheist—were conferring about the best means of inducing the Pope to take part in the war against Austria.<sup>4</sup> The Ministry wished Rosmini to accept a mission to the Pope. The Abbate was willing, provided that his mission "enabled him to treat of all that he judged necessary or useful for the prosperity of Italy and of the Church." We can see the opportune smile on Gioberti's face as he argued in favor of accepting Rosmini's proposal. The Rosminian ideas included a Concordat with the Pope, and a league between Piedmont, Rome, Tuscany and Naples. In Rome a Permanent Diet would sit. Of this Diet and of Italian unity the Pope should be the Protector—"Moral President."<sup>5</sup>

Without any official instructions or credentials, Rosmini started for Rome, where he arrived on the 15th of August. Gioberti was out of the ministry a full week before this date. His brother philosopher, still without credentials, worked conscientiously and hopefully at Rome. When his credentials did arrive, they made no mention of a Confederation of States, nor of a Concordat. However, Rosmini continued to hold conferences over his Confederation. At Turin they had been making game of the founder of

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Milan, 1848.

<sup>3</sup> *La Costituzione, etc.*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Life*, vol. i., pp. 347-348; *La Costituzione*, pp. 104-110; Kraus, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

the Institute of Charity. The Piedmontese meant to have their king—a king of Rome; and neither a diet, nor a pope protector, nor a “moral president.” Pius IX. and his minister Rossi, well knew the Piedmontese, and Rossi opposed the Rosminian scheme; but the eyes of the diplomat of Stresa, who so amusingly undertook a mission that was no mission, were not opened until he received a despatch from Turin, on the 4th of October, saying: “*Let us make a league for the war first; afterwards we will make a Confederation.*”<sup>1</sup> Then Rosmini resigned. Just what he resigned, the reader may have discovered—resigned himself to the circumstances. Meanwhile, the “pantheist” who had used him “opportunistically,” was posing as a democrat, and organizing a revolutionary Congress. “This is the way to govern,” said Napoleon the Great as he executed a pirouette. Gioberti could not govern, but, on a small scale, he was a pirouette politician. And Rosmini? Well, founders of orders are not supposed to be skilful in the art of the ballet-dancer.

Rossi, the Pope’s minister, with whom Rosmini had to deal, was a politician, practised, experienced. At the age of thirty, he followed Murat, and had been a more loyal Carbonaro than Mazzini. Exiled, he went to Geneva, where he lectured on law, and soon obtained a place in the University as a lecturer on Roman history. During the revolution of 1830 he went to France. There he made his mark, rising rapidly: professor of constitutional law, member of the Institute, peer, count. Louis Philippe, desirous of influencing Gregory XVI. against the Jesuits, chose Rossi as Plenipotentiary at Rome, and later appointed him ambassador. Residence in the Holy City, association with Gregory, with Pius and with the leading Churchmen, corrected old errors and prejudices. The ambassador cut away from the secret societies with which he had been long affiliated. Of the righteousness of the Pope’s cause and of the iniquity of the Revolution, he became convinced. After Louis Philippe was overthrown, Rossi withdrew from active political life and used his pen and influence in favor of the Papacy.<sup>2</sup> When Pius IX. selected him to lead the Ministry, many friends of the Pope and all his foes were displeased. Rossi was no reactionist; but he meant to re-establish public order, and to straighten out the finances of the government. He reorganized the army, pursued the thieves and assassins, protected honest citizens, repressed disorder, and soon gave to Rome and the Papal States a peace long unknown. An Italian league Rossi desired, but not an Italian empire under the sovereignty of the house of Savoy. It

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Cantu, loc. cit.*, pp. 234-238; Van Duerm, pp. 193-194.

was the Pope, as we have seen, who first proposed a league. The revolutionaries and the optimists had worked industriously to popularize the idea of a republic formed of all the peoples of Italy, with the Pope as President. In the Encyclical of April 29th, Pius repudiated this hypocritical scheme. Just one month after Rosmini's "resignation," Rossi stated his own and the Pope's policy, exposing at the same time the un-Italianism of the Turin government, which "by means of the armies and the money of its allies sought to obtain *magnificent accessions*." "Pius IX. asks nothing," wrote the minister, "desires nothing but the happiness of Italy, and the regular development of the institutions which he has given to his people; but he will never forget what he owes to the dignity of the Holy See and to the glory of Rome." Why Italy should be considerate of the dignity of the Holy See, Rossi eloquently told. "The Papacy is the sole living grandeur that remains to Italy. It is the Papacy that draws to Italy the respect and the homage of Europe and of the whole Catholic world. As Pontiff, as a Sovereign, as an Italian, Pius IX. will always bear in mind this fact."<sup>1</sup> Had Rossi been spared, the Piedmontese monarchical unifiers and the democratic revolutionaries would have had to deal with a man of ideas and of decision.

When Rossi penned the words just quoted his fate was sealed. Unity, liberty, order, the Revolution would not hear of. At Gioberti's "Federative Congress" the leaders had condemned the Minister of Pius to death. Meeting a second time at Leghorn, the horrible cut-throats, united at the social banquet-board, had affirmed the condemnation. The Minister was judged according to the "laws" of the Secret Societies—laws whose import we have seen. Not the breast of his mother, not the altar, could have saved him. Mazzini wrote that Rossi's death was *indispensable*. The revolutionary journals hinted broadly at the crime that was to be, and even named the day. Bonaparte of Canino promised openly what quickly came. Thirty and odd "Young Italians," chosen for their hardheartedness, were divided into three sections. Out of each section of villains one was again selected. The story of the three is well known—the corpse laid before them, and each ruffian, in turn, striking with his dagger at the jugular vein. On November 15th the Chambers were to open, and Rossi was ready with his programme. Again and again was he warned; but knowing no fear, and conscious of the rectitude of his cause, the Minister would not hold back. "The cause of the Pope is the cause of God," he exclaimed, as he entered a carriage. Rossi did not know that, through the treachery of Angelo Calderari—still

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *loc. cit.* p. 238, note; *L'Expédition de Rome en 1849, par Leopold de Gaillard*, Paris, 1861, pp. 79-80.

another angel!—colonel of the Papal carbineers, a man who had been thirty-two years in the Papal service, and who had not only acquired rank but riches through the kindness of the Popes, he was wholly at the mercy of sworn assassins. Soldierly, guards, all had been selected to protect, not the Minister but the murderers. Arrived at the *Palazzo della Cancelleria*, he descended from his carriage. A crowd has gathered in the court and on the stairway; they stand close together; Rossi mounts; some one touches him on the shoulder; he turns—the blow was true; he falls in his own blood—the jugular is severed. In a room close by he dies within a few short minutes—time for absolution. The assassin? Not a man laid a hand upon him. He was a hero!<sup>1</sup>

Sterbini, and many other deputies, were in the Chambers, expectantly awaiting. An audience of innocents and of adepts chatted in the galleries. Bonaparte enters. Coolly he announces the fact of the murder. The innocents are horrified, and express their horror. "Silence!" says Bonaparte, the anarchist. "Is the *King of Rome* dead, perchance?" The Chambers adjourned without expression of regret or resolution of inquiry. The journals either smothered the news or spoke of the murder as a patriotic act. Mamiani wrote: "The necessity of blood is repugnant to us; but, you other men of power, contemplating the death of the Minister, look to yourselves." In after years, the leaders of the revolution tried to shift from their shoulders the joint responsibility for Rossi's assassination. One charged the other with the whole responsibility. Mazzini, who gloried in murder, and who was not ashamed to give in detail an account of his purchase of Gallenga—afterwards the manufacturer for years of the Italian correspondence of the *London Times*—to assassinate Charles Albert—even Mazzini was not desirous of having the undivided credit of Rossi's death. According to the truth-loving Genoese, Mamiani, the ex-minister and philosopher instigated the crime.<sup>2</sup>

Could the fine art of murder be exercised with a purpose nobler than the stimulation of "delirium?" At once the clubs were in motion. The services of the traitor, Calderari, had not been exhausted. He placed the carbineers at the disposal of the managers. When a "popular demonstration" was on the club-programme, the Civic Guard—protector of Rome—was always convenient. Rossi's murder was celebrated in the cafés. The day was one long feast. At night, the maddened, drunken rabble was marshalled in the streets. Candle in hand, the hoarse-voiced mob

<sup>1</sup> Claudio Jannet, *loc. cit.*, pp. 299-300. *La Rivoluzione Romana*, pp. 126-135. Cantu, *loc. cit.*, pp. 241-242. Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192-194. Kraus, *loc. cit.*, pp. 222-226.

<sup>2</sup> See Mazzini's *Life and Letters*, vol. i., pp. 349-353, and vol. v., pp. 378-384.

paraded, shouting, "Blessed be the hand that poignarded Rossi!" The assassin was there. Heartless men kissed his hand. The "holy dagger," thus they termed it, fixed to a staff, was lifted on high. Deliriously the inhuman throng, bearing the poignard-staff yelled their awful litany beneath the windows of the woman whom they had just widowed and of the children they had just orphaned.<sup>1</sup> There are "gentlemen" who would abolish Hell. They cannot, before they have passed through its adamantine gates.

Rossi's murder was but a move in the revolutionary game. The Minister dead, officials corrupted or terrified, soldiers at command, the leaders had the Pope at their mercy. The reign of law was at an end. In its place reigned the Popular Club, as Canino, Mamiani, and Sterbini had named the Fiano palace, where they daily conspired. While the rabble consoled the weeping widow, Canino and his intimates were taking means to protect the people of Rome and to direct the government of the Papal States after a proper modern and democratic fashion. All the trusted men were in council. Duly they produced an address to the people. Obeying the "unanimous wish of the country," the Popular Club demanded that the Pope should "promulgate the principles of Italian nationality, convoke a Constituent assembly in accordance with the suggestions of Gioberti's democratic Federative Congress,<sup>2</sup> and accept Mamiani's measures for an anti-Austrian war. Long live Italy! Hurrah for the rights of the people!

To carry out this programme a competent ministry was necessary, and, therefore, the "people," unified in the Popular Club, nominated a ministry. The persons chosen should not be forgotten: Mamiani, Sterbini, Galletti, Campello, Saliceti, Fusconi Lunati, Sereni. In the hands of the famous trio of Ananias and Judases, the delirious people were sure of agreeable occupation. On the 16th of November a demonstration was organized at the Club. Shortly after midday, with bands playing and flags waving, a procession of civic guards, carbineers and "people" marched noisily to the Cancellaria. A deputation waited on the Chambers, which appointed a representative committee to accompany the demonstrators. Prince Corsini, Galletti and the veteran Armellini were chosen to present the Club's ultimatum to the Pope. Armellini, who was seventy-five years old, and who had sworn loyalty to the Papacy six several times during his career in the Papal courts, owed his wealth and standing to the favor of the government. Galletti and he should have embraced. Pius IX. was forsaken, were it not for the ambassadors of Spain, France,

<sup>1</sup> Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

<sup>2</sup> *La Rivoluzione Romana*, pp. 138-139.



Portugal, Bavaria and Russia, who remained at the Quirinal to support him in his trial. Minto, the agent of Palmerston and of the secret societies, was not with the Pope; nor was Pareto, the representative of Piedmont. The Pope did not receive the Club deputation, and, to gain time, suggested that Galletti undertake to form a new ministry. Pius would consider the names presented to him. The mob was waiting in the Piazza of the Quirinal. Galletti, coming out of the palace, announced the Pope's message, which was received with cries of protest and derision. The demands of the "people" must be granted immediately. Back to the Pope Galletti was sent. Pius was not to be moved. It was his right to select the ministers, he said, and to do this freely. Forced he would not be.

Receiving this answer, the Club proceeded to take the next step agreed upon. Barricades were constructed in the streets leading to the Quirinal. The Piazza was filled with armed men. Cannons were brought out. Soon shots were fired. The Pope's guard was the enemy. The gates of the palace were first battered with stones. Then came the Prince of Canino, who trained a cannon, stamped with the name *San Pietro*,—of all names,—on the residence of St. Peter's successor. Palace, Pope and all the orderly priests in Rome Canino would gladly have blown to pieces. Entering the Duc d'Harcourt's on the evening of the 16th, after a patriotic day's work, the Bonapartist Prince gaily asked the company: "Have you seen the sky?" The heavens were red with the peculiar glow which accompanies the Northern Lights. "The purple of the Cardinals is flying upward," added Canino, cynically. Down in the street the rabble spread the word that a sign was given unto them; the soul of Rossi had been condemned to everlasting flames. Before Canino could have conceived his pretty witticism, he had seen red blood flow at the Quirinal and had watched the red flames as they rose above the palace doors. A Papal secretary was shot. Bullets were deliberately fired through the windows of the Pope's apartment. The Papal guard, attacked while trying to put out the conflagration, sent a volley into the ranks of the insurgents. More than one unfortunate fell.

At night, about nine o'clock, Pius called the foreign ambassadors, and said to them that, "rather than a single drop of blood should be shed in his cause, he would submit to everything that had been demanded."<sup>1</sup> He submitted to force, as he called the ambassadors to witness, and, therefore, he submitted under protest. Then he sent for Galletti, the smirking, faithless conspirator, and accepted his ministry. Galletti informed the Pope that the

<sup>1</sup> Balleydier, *loc. cit.*, p. 233.

ruling powers had changed the personnel of the ministry within a few hours. They had chosen Rosmini to hold the portfolio of Public Instruction. A minister of Public Instruction! One should not laugh at the acts of these men. Playing a farce, they were always in dead earnest. It is the tragi-comedian that has made and still makes the people pay in blood and cash for their political instruction.

The founder of the Institute of Charity, it will be remembered, came to Rome on a self-appointed mission of the very first class. He had charged himself with "all that he judged necessary or useful for the prosperity of Italy and of the Church." The fiction of a diplomatic appointment on behalf of the Piedmontese monarchy, even the vanity of Rosmini could not keep alive longer than the 4th of October. And yet here he is in Rome, six weeks later. Why is he in Rome rather than at Stresa? Doubtless because of his conviction that he is the "one man," not only in North Italy, but indeed in the whole of Italy, who can right a crooked world. Rosmini knew that his patent Constitution would have fixed the Pope on the throne and that the Rosminian "Federation" would have pacified all the princes and peoples. But as the Papal advisers had been so short-sighted as to reject both his schemes, what could the good man do other than remain in Rome, and try, through the special graces vouchsafed to him, to save Pope and people from worse mistakes than had been made? Of Rosmini's loyalty to the Pope, honesty of purpose, good will, there can be no doubt; but he was not fitted, by nature or training, for practical politics. He could have written admirable parlor-essays on Civil Service Reform. The men with whom Pius IX. had to deal were too deep for the charitable, simple Abbate. Rosmini's biographer says that, before Rossi's murder, the Pope "must have discovered that the Rossi ministry could not stand, *for*, on October 16th, we find it noted in Rosmini's diary that Monsignor Stella, the Pope's Cameriere and Confessor, was sent by his Holiness to inform him that he intended to make him Secretary of State." Perhaps it is the loose arrangement of the pronouns in this quotation that gives it an oracular character. Certainly Pius IX. did not suggest Rosmini's name for any cabinet office, after Rossi's death. However, the biographer further informs us that, dining with the Pope, by invitation, in the Vatican Gardens, the Pope told Rosmini that he meant to create him Cardinal in the Consistory of December.<sup>1</sup> Rosmini did not decline the honor. Indeed he made every preparation to receive it in a dignified manner, purchasing carriages that would not be unbecoming to a real Cardi-

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 353, 354.

nal.<sup>1</sup> This unofficial "appointment," Pius IX. continued to reserve *in petto*; and we are not surprised. Rosmini did not interrupt the gratuitous admonition which he had long vouchsafed to Pius. December was near at hand. A Cardinal that was to be, might as well remain where the Cardinals customarily resided. Oddly enough, the revolutionary insurgents offer him the leadership of a ministry, not a mere Diary ministry but a live ministry. Why did Galletti, Mamiani, Sterbini and Canino choose the founder of the Institute of Charity as an agent? There were points on which he and they partly agreed. He desired a federation, so did they; he favored a war against Austria, and so did the revolutionaries. Rosmini might fairly be termed a liberal. He was not in any sense of the word, an intentional revolutionary. Not a few hours before the presentation of his name to the Pope, the insurgents had adopted several important measures. The Popular Club met, declared the country in danger, and appointed itself a Committee on Public Safety. All good citizens were notified that, hereafter, rules and regulations proceeding from the assassins' club should be accepted as "representing the true and absolute will of the people." The army officers as well as those of the Civic Guard acknowledged the club's authority, and so did Colonel Stuart, commander at St. Angelo. The Chambers were advised of the new régime, and requested to consult with the actual government. Sterbini lent a hand to Bonaparte at the Quirinal, and the Papal Guard had notice that if the "popular" demands were not quickly gratified, the Palace would be bombarded and every one within put to the sword.<sup>2</sup> At this juncture it was that Rosmini received the honor of a nomination to the Presidency of the Council, with the portfolio of Public Instruction. Desirous of knowing the Pope's will in the matter, the Abbate "sent to the Holy Father to know if it was his wish that Rosmini should accept this office, for he did not know whether he had been named by the Pope, or only included in the programme presented by the revolutionists." Pius left Rosmini quite free, answering: that "on the one hand he should be pleased if Rosmini accepted the charge, because he would have in him a bulwark; on the other hand, he did not know whether Rosmini would be able to resist his colleagues, or would rather be crushed by them."<sup>3</sup> From this politely careful reply, the Abbate "understood that the Pope did not oblige him to accept," and promptly resigned. To the ministers he wrote, that, "since the Pope was not free, the nomina-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Rosmini*, vol. ii., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *La Rivoluzione*, pp. 143-154.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of Rosmini*, vol. i., pp. 355-357.

tions were unconstitutional, and therefore he refused absolutely to form part of the Ministry." The next day Rosmini left the city.

As soon as the Pope accepted Galletti's nominations, the miscreants in the Piazza ceased their preparations for an assault. Deliriously they shouted; "Long live Pius IX. *alone!* Brotherhood and Union!" Then they forced householders to illuminate their windows. Decent people passed another night of terror. The Popular Club discharged the Papal Guard and committed the Pope's person to the tender care of the Civic Guard. Pius IX. was a prisoner. Villains of every degree and nationality were at the back of Bonaparte, Sterbini, Galletti. The Cardinals were not safe. To preserve their lives, one by one they slipped out of the Holy City. Day after day the position of Pius IX. was rendered more and more painful. His power had been usurped. The Chambers did not communicate with him. The Club was the Government. Surrounded by spies and assassins, at the mercy of malefactors who preserved his life only because they hoped, by conveniently threatening it, to force him to consent to their socialistic schemes, there was only one way left to the Pope of saving his dignity, his rights, and the rights of the Church. Convinced by the arguments of the foreign ambassadors and by his own experience and reason, Pius determined to foil the conspirators. On the night of November 25th, clad as a simple priest, he escaped his guards, entered a four-wheeler, and was soon out of the city and on the road to the Neapolitan frontier.

When the Popular Club discovered that the prisoner had escaped, more than one of the leaders must have recalled the words spoken by the Pope on the 11th of February preceding: "If ever—and pray God it may not be—an attempt be made to do violence to my will, to force my rights from me, if ever I see myself abandoned by the men I have so loved and for whom I have done everything, I shall throw myself into the arms of Providence, and Providence will not fail me." Pius had thrown himself into the arms of Providence and Providence did not fail him. But the Ananiases! Though many of them lie now in the tomb, their heirs are still plying the diplomatic avocation. The Church, Providence has never failed, will never fail. Still no man has found out its ways. On the morning of the 25th Pius arrived at Gaeta. Every Pope, under all circumstances, has protected the Sovereign rights of the Papacy. Two days after reaching Gaeta, Pius IX. issued a public protest against the illegal acts of the revolutionaries. "Solemnly we protest that we have been oppressed by violence, and therefore we declare all the acts consequent on violence null and of no value, of no legal force." Acting as the Sovereign of the Roman States, he nominated a Commission

which, during his absence, should govern according to his instructions. And to the revolutionaries he spoke words of bitter truth and of charitable warning. "There is a class of perverse men," said Pius, "who, in the face of Europe, have covered themselves with the stains of ingratitude; worse still, they are marked with the blot which an angry God has impressed upon their souls; a God, who, sooner or later, executes the chastisements pronounced by the Church." A Pope at Gaeta is the Pope. God is always and everywhere. The Church is God's Church.

JOHN A. MOONEY.

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#### EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM.

THE word *Symbol*, meaning literally, "that which is taken with," denotes, in its widest signification, an object by which through the sense of sight, some particular idea is suggested, awakened, and impressed upon the mind. When we pass in review the primitive monuments of Christianity, and especially the numerous remains taken from the Roman catacombs, we are immediately struck by the continual repetition of certain mysterious signs, characters, and, we might say, hieroglyphics, which are evidently meant to excite attention to some matter of faith or morals. This is early Christian sign-painting or symbolism. Sometimes, persons and events of the Old Testament are brought into relation with corresponding ones of the New Testament; sometimes, figures taken from the fables of paganism, such as Orpheus taming, by the sweetness of his music, the wild beasts that gathered around him; or Ulysses, turning a deaf ear to the melodious incantations of the Sirens, are ingeniously diverted to point a moral to the Christian observer; at other times, it is from pastoral life, or from that of the agriculturist and the fisherman, that the sacred symbol is taken. But the richest source of early Christian symbolism is found in a circumscribed circle of objects, whether real or chimerical, such as a bird, a fish, a dragon, the phoenix, the centaur, or a flower, a tree, an anchor, a crown. All these, and many more, now one of which the early Christian artist, who worked under strictly hieratic rules, was allowed to assume at pleasure, have been represented in a variety of ways upon the monuments of Christian antiquity, from the tomb of a pontiff-martyr to an insignificant