

THE POPES AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

1823—1846.

A GREAT Pope of this century, who, during a long and bitter experience of emperors, of kings, and of other cut-throats wearing no crowns, lost neither the happy wit nor the genial humor that Heaven had kindly loaned him, once said: "When I read the correspondence that passed between my predecessors and Louis XIV., I perceive that his Majesty thought himself to be the fourth person of the Blessed Trinity." Where there is wit there is truth, and the saying of the good, wise Pope, may well be applied to almost every prince, great or small, that has ruled over men within our Christian times. From century to century, from throne to throne, the idea of the divine prince has been handed down. To-day it is as living as when an Augustus or a Nero deigned to consort with Jove and Mars and Mercury. A just and patient God has, time and again, given an awful warning to those who proudly laid hands on the things that are His. And yet, during this very century, princes called Catholic, as well as non-Catholic princes, have vied one with another in usurping the rights that one sole power on earth has been commissioned to exercise. And the new kings, the people, will they show more wisdom, more humility, than those, hating or despising, whose "teeth have been broken?"

Bonaparte aspired to a grandeur far above that of Louis XIV. The imperial campaign against the Papacy, though mad, was worldly wise. Dreaming of an empire whose limits would be determined only when he had sheathed his bloody sword, he argued that the surest, readiest way to effect his purpose would be to destroy the centre of Christianity, submit the Spiritual to the despotic, and thus unite in his hard hands the mighty power that ruled minds with the meaner power that ruled matter. In Austria, in Prussia, in petty principalities, he saw the Cæsar-popes. He had helped to make them more monstrously despotic than ever. To realize his ideal of a despot of despots there was only one way. In himself he would combine the power of the Emperor and the power of *the* Pope. A madman's fancy indeed. What were all his fancies? And yet Bonaparte made so many of his mad fancies appear to be practical, that we are still wondering at what is called his "genius."

The failure of all the schemes of the once mighty Emperor relieved neither Church nor state from despotism. Freed from the Corsican's destroying sword, emperors, kings, princes, dukes joined in asserting an absolutism equal to that which he had exercised. Religiously and civilly the people suffered. From all sides the rights of the Church were assailed. Everywhere were her spiritual liberties hampered. Absolute rulers made, were bound to make, a servile clergy and irreligious populations. Napoleon's attack on the Papacy was so bold, so persistent, so studied, that it seized the attention entirely. Our eyes fixed on him, we are apt to lose sight of the crowd of more cautious, though no less wicked, men who, before and after his downfall, hoped and tried to succeed in doing what he failed to do.

The last years of the reign of Pius VII. were years of struggle, constant, courageous, to preserve not alone the Temporal but also, and above all, the Spiritual Power of the Papacy. The Spiritual Power it is that despotism and iniquity hate. This it is that they would destroy were destruction possible. The attempt to abolish the Temporal Power is an attempt to abolish the Spiritual. There have been short-sighted men who could not see this most patent fact, but no Pope has been thus dull of vision. And indeed it is hard to understand how any one can avoid seeing and acknowledging this fact after a review of that short period of history which begins with the accession of Leo XII., and which ends with the death of Gregory XVI.

Leo XII., Della Genga, sat on the Papal throne during a scant five years and a half. (September 28, 1823, to February 10, 1829.) Only twenty-one months of honor and of trial were allotted to Pius VIII., Castiglione. (March 31, 1829, to November 30, 1830.) The brunt of tyranny, conspiracy, revolution, Gregory XVI., Cappellari, bore for well nigh sixteen years. (February 2, 1831, to June 1, 1846.) Of these three able, firm and kindly Popes, no one was imprisoned. Each of the three lived and died in the City of the Popes. For this good fortune they were least of all indebted to that land which claims to own the Papacy, and which assumes to dispose of the common Patrimony and of the common Father of the Faithful as though the Catholic Christian world were Italy's thrall.

Since the French Revolution, a new force has been directed against the Church—a force that, under the name of "the people," has disgraced, demoralized, and most shamefully abused all the peoples. The false philosophies, old or new, the heresies, the schisms of Christian times, have been combined; the heretics and schismatics of all countries have been united, secretly, into associations whose real aim is to destroy the Catholic religion, replac-

ing it by pagan naturalism. In order to attain this abominable end, the social structure must be overturned, and be builded anew. All governments, whatever their form, must therefore be undone. The vitality of Christian society, of just government, is centred in the Catholic Church. Logically, the Church should be completely disorganized if the Revolution is to be speedily and wholly successful. And the Catholic Church can be completely disorganized only by cutting off its head. Abolish the Papacy and there is an end to spirituality, to order, to law, to morality—such has been, such is to-day the argument of those who would sink mankind into a depth of slavery and of degradation lower than that out of which the Saviour lovingly lifted the world. In Italy it is, during a considerable portion of this century, that the most conscienceless, insane leaders of the most comprehensive of all heresies have been born and bred. Against the Papacy these leaders have fought with weapons filched from every armory. The sword and the dagger they have not despised, any more than the platform, the press and the pulpit. Of old the Church has faced the sword and smashed it, hilt and blade, with the irresistible arms of faith—prayer and sacrifice. The platform, the pulpit, the press, the Church has never feared. And the dagger? The dagger we begin to know. Even against the hidden dagger the Church has striven, will strive. What is its white, noiseless stroke to the glare, the thunder that rolls, that flashes from the gates of hell?

Throughout Italy the Carbonari were especially active after 1820, and especially murderous in the Papal States. To Americans the words *Mafia*, *Mala Vita*, *Camorra*, are not unfamiliar. These and similar associations of criminals and of bandits of high and low degree have long flourished in certain parts of Italy. With these associations, whose motive was protection in plundering and assurance of bloody revenge, the Carbonari did not interfere. Seeking immoral ends, they gladly used all ready-made criminal societies. The valuable, because trained, members of these societies, the Carbonari combined with men willing to commit crime, though still untrained, and with men less vicious, but passionate, easily moved by hot words and strange ideas.

Italy is not the only land whose civilization we measure by its public buildings and museums. And yet through all the years of art and poetry and song, the banditti have found a delightful abiding place under the mournful olive, the twining vine, and on the hills—purple, amethystine or blue. There are great names of princes, dukes, counts, who, within this very century, proudly confined themselves to the noble business of brigandage. Indeed, Italians, north and south, gloried somewhat in the brigands. They had never been put down. The conclusion followed, as might fol-

lows day, that the Italian was unconquerable.<sup>1</sup> Pius VII., Leo XII. pursued the brigands, who mastered no small portion of the Papal States, as late as the year 1825, and when the Abbate Pellegrini converted that hero of the popular song, Gasparone, the good Abbate and Cardinal Pallotti and Leo XII. were doubtless pleased with their good work.<sup>2</sup> And yet others, worse than Gasparone, were to come.

After 1821 street risings and assassinations were frequent in the Legations. In 1825, the year of the Jubilee, an attack was made on Cardinal Rivarolla, at Ravenna. The Carbonari had not yet acquired that skill which they afterwards gained by practice on their victims' corpses. The dagger missed the Cardinal, but lodged in a prelate's body and made an end of him. Similar efforts to "avenge the death of Christ and to re-establish His Kingdom" rejoiced the souls of Italian and foreign Carbonari up to 1830. On November 30th of this year, Pius VIII. died. His successor was not chosen until February 2d of the following year. The European governments that were so skilfully undermining their own authority were all anxious to lay hold on the Spiritual and Temporal Power of the Papacy. Through their ambassadors they tried to determine the action of the Conclave. In 1825 they had joined in opposing the proclamation of the Jubilee. "Nevertheless, the Jubilee shall be!" exclaimed Leo XII.<sup>3</sup> With few exceptions the governments were in the hands of Carbonari in 1825. Now, in 1830, they had a new ally in Louis Philippe, who had been lifted on the throne by the Revolution of July 27th—a revolution of which he had been one of the chief instigators, and, by all odds, the most contemptible.<sup>4</sup>

Neither Louis XVIII., nor his brother Charles X., had strengthened the hands of the good, inside or outside of France. They pursued a cowardly policy; a policy that Leo XII. disdainfully charged all the rulers of the day with following: "a policy of timidity towards the strong and of haughtiness towards the weak." When Charles X. was incontinently driven from the throne, there was little cause for regret. Louis Philippe was only a stop-gap. Gentlemanly revolutionists like Lafayette were not prepared for a republic. A revolutionary king could be removed by a revolution when he had himself prepared the country for the republic of the

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, vol. xviii., p. 421. Paris, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xi., pp. 340, 341. Wiseman: *The Last Four Popes*, p. 257. Boston, 1858.

<sup>3</sup> Wiseman, *The Last Four Popes*, pp. 247, 248. Cantu: *Hist. Univ.*, vol xviii., p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> An insight into the character of Louis Philippe and of his fellow Carbonari in France, as well as of the work of the revolution between 1830 and 1840 may be had from Louis Blanc's *Histoire de Dix Ans*.

Carbonari. Louis Philippe was a Carbonaro; so was his son and heir, the Duc d'Orleans; so were Lafayette, Guizot, Thiers, Cavaignac, Armand Carrel, Bayard, the Duc Decazes, Odilon Barrot, De Corcelles, and many other nobles, lawyers, officers, and adventurers—Voltairians, Huguenots, "Catholics"—who were willing to stoop low if, thereby, place and fortune might be attained or retained.

From such a government the Italian conspirators had everything to hope. Spaniards, Portuguese, Belgians, Poles had risen in arms, or were preparing to rise. There were grievances everywhere; but how many revolutions have bettered a people's condition? Carbonarism had spread over a large part of Europe within ten years. In Italy the youth and the middle class had been drawn into its net. As early as 1820 the order estimated its numbers in the kingdom of the two Sicilies at 800,000.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs did not favor a revolt. Buonarrotti, the head of the *Alta Vendita*—as the clique that, from Paris, governed the Carbonari of Europe was called—deemed the time unpropitious and "the people" not wholly prepared. But the local leaders hungered for plunder and office, and for larger opportunities to use the dagger and the gun. The treacherous Menotti, whose name has been fittingly introduced into one of Garibaldi's numerous families, struck a first and most weak blow at Modena, on February 3, 1831. Parma, Piacenza, Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Ravenna, Pesaro, Fossombrone, Fano, Urbino, Macerata, Camerino, Ascoli, Perugia, Terni, Narni, Ancona, followed quickly. The tricolor floated as gaily as though Bonaparte were alive and an emperor. His former consort, Maria Louisa, was expelled. At Bologna, the Cardinal Legate, Benvenuti, was imprisoned, and a provisional government established. Deputies from the various cities met and voted "the downfall of the Temporal Power of the Popes."<sup>2</sup> In Piedmont there were some ill-advised patriots. There the government favored only one sort of patriotism. The Piedmontese revolutionists were shot down. Ten days after the election of Gregory XVI. the mob fired the first shot in Rome. It was Carnival time—a time of gaiety and of "hearty pleasure." To the new Pope, who was considering what of good he could do for the real people, the revolution was a surprise. Evidently the insurrection had been timed, for the movement at Modena was made before the announcement of Gregory's election. Though crowds of expectant and armed strangers had gathered in the Holy City, and though money had been freely distributed to the Trasteverini, with corrupt intent, the insurgents were disappointed. The people drove out the dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Les Sociétés Secrètes*. P. N. Deschamps, S. J. Avignon, 1874, vol. i., p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *Hist. Univ.*, vol. xix., p. 25.

turburs. There were some wounded and some prisoners. The revolutionary force sought comfort and a livelihood among their more successful brethren, who had control of the Legations. Gregory XVI. was prompt in defending the Papal rights. His small army was at once sent against the insurgents. Probably their "deplorable rhetoric" and the jealousies of the leaders in the different cities would have, in time, revolutionized the peaceful citizens into loyal supporters of the Holy See; but it was important that order should be quickly re-established and maintained. Though the Papal army was not inefficient, the task seemed beyond its strength. Foreign aid Gregory would gladly have done without. Bernetti, his Minister, strongly favored an independent policy. Still the Pope looked upon foreign aid "as a necessity without an alternative." The provincial chests had been robbed, the finances disturbed seriously, obligations incurred. A strong hand was needed, and at once.<sup>1</sup> To Austria Gregory addressed himself, and to Naples. The government of Louis Philippe had adopted what was humorously called a policy of "non-intervention." This policy was meant for other powers; not for France. As the ministers interpreted it, no power excepting France could, with justice, interfere in the affairs of another country. Wherefore France objected to the Pope's receiving assistance from Austria. This officious intervention of France in the affairs of an independent sovereign neither Austria nor the Pope accepted submissively. Metternich sent troops across the Po. He was, he said, unwilling to admit "that brigands could object to the mounted police, or that incendiaries had a right of protest against the firemen."<sup>2</sup> On March 19th the Austrians entered the Papal territory. The powerful politicians who had so expeditiously abolished the Temporal Power, vanished like thinnest mist before a norther. Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna opened their gates. At Rimini the insurgents made a stand and were badly beaten. Within ten days Ancona had fallen, the revolution was ended and the "brigands and incendiaries" were in the hands of the mounted police or of the firemen, or had escaped by sea or by land from the punishment they well deserved.

Why did the Carbonari fail in their scheme to overthrow the Papacy: a scheme evidently planned, if not well planned? Mazzini charges the French government with the failure. He is not a good witness. One of the most consummate liars that has ever darkened the shadow of the earth,—and his deliberate and con-

<sup>1</sup> Wiseman, *loc. cit.*, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Van Duern, Charles, S. J., *Vicissitudes Politiques du Pouvoir Temporel des Papes de 1790 à nos Jours*. Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. Lille, 1891.

tinuous untruthfulness are proven on page after page of his own "Life and Writings,"—no dependence can be placed upon his word. Doubtless his true life will be written some day; and when it is written the world may, or may not, be astounded at the vice and the villany that may be concentrated in a single human soul. However, Mazzini claims, and his charge has not been denied, that, before the insurrection, various influential Italians had drawn up a memorial inquiring of Latour Maubourg, the French ambassador at Naples, what the action of France would be in case an Italian revolution should provoke the armed intervention of Austria. This being true, we need not doubt that Latour Maubourg was a Carbonaro. And here it is worthy of noting that this same ambassador at Naples was chosen by the French ministry to enforce the policy of "non-intervention" on Austria and the Pope, when there was question of assuring the Sovereignty of the Papacy by putting down the insurgents of the Legations. How did Latour Maubourg answer the Italian Carbonari? "On the margin with his own hand he had written that France would support the revolution provided the new government should not assume an anarchical form, and should recognize the order of things generally adopted in Europe." These are Mazzini's words.<sup>1</sup> The requirements of the French Government are not too exacting. Did the Italian Carbonari show a disposition to exceed them? Their short rule was certainly not more anarchical than that of which Latour Maubourg was the mouth-piece. Why did the "last Voltairian of his age," as Louis Philippe claimed to be, the crowned Carbonaro, who was squeezed into a royal seat by the loving embrace of the Carbonaro, Lafayette,—why did his Carbonaro ministry, in part Voltairian like himself,—encourage and yet hesitate, and finally prove false?

Perhaps Metternich will assist us in unravelling the mystery. The Popes had been the first to warn the Christian world against the secret political societies. Pius VII., Leo XII., had only repeated their predecessors' words of wisdom. Of all the political men of his day, Metternich was the only one who grasped the full meaning of these warnings, and who, refusing to use, or to be used by the secret political associations, watched them closely and followed their devices with an experienced and a critical eye. From his "Memoirs" we learn not only somewhat of his estimate of the Carbonari, but we are especially informed about the Italian Revolution of 1831. From a letter to Apponyi, the Russian ambassador at Paris, dated February 15, 1831, we quote: "This vast network of conspiracy, which has been weaving in France

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<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.* London, 1864. Vol. i., p. 82.

for some time back, bears the visible impress of Bonapartism. The plan, as far as we yet know, is to deprive the Pope of his Temporal Power, and to form a Kingdom of Italy under the constitutional King of Rome." "There is nothing Italian in the measures by which the revolts have been accomplished. The Italian Revolution is a Bonapartist Revolution, supported by the party of anarchy in France."<sup>1</sup> On February 19th he again charges the Bonapartists with the responsibility of the Italian insurrections, and then informs Apponyi that during the Parisian rising of July, 1830, Joseph Bonaparte and Lucien, Prince of Canino, had approached him, offering to put the Duke of Reichstadt on the throne of France if he, Metternich, would consent to the Duke's *escape* from Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of these dispatches to Apponyi we might doubt were it not for facts that cannot be doubted. Louis Philippe's position was a delicate position. A revolutionist, crowned by revolutionists, he had to establish his throne by gaining the recognition of the absolute governments that ruled Europe. As yet he dare not openly assist the anti-Papal revolutionaries. Carbonaro, Voltairian, he dare not, would not openly, oppose them. To use them he was willing, and he did use them. As things stood in Belgium, the Italian revolutionaries were serviceable to him, Bonapartist or not. If they were Bonapartist, he dare not assist them to victory, even if the Temporal Power of the Papacy were destroyed,—a Power he would gladly have finished. Was the Italian revolution a Bonapartist revolution? And did Louis Philippe owe his throne to an embrace which the *Alta Vendita* had afforded him because they were not certain upon whom to lavish it? Let us answer these questions with facts.

During the lengthy sitting of the Conclave that finally elected Mauro Cappellari, the Camaldolese monk, to the Papacy, Rome was not threatened by diplomatists alone. Bands of veterans and of Corsicans raced through the streets exciting the people to insurrection. They had a cry: "Italy!" first, and "Liberty!" last of all.<sup>3</sup> Corsicans—the word has a more definite meaning than the mention of it conveys. Mazzini's dictionary will make the meaning clear. "Carbonarism, introduced into Corsica by the Neapolitan exiles, was a ruling power throughout the island, and by the men of the people it was regarded—as such associations, when freely joined, should be—as a religion."<sup>4</sup> Who were the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881. Vol. v., pp. 103-104.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Prince Metternich, loc. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>3</sup> Cantu: *Histoire des Italiens*, vol. xi., p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.



leaders of these "veterans and Corsicans?" A certain Napoleon and a certain Louis, better and worse known in later years, both reputed sons of an ex-King of Holland. Their purpose was to make Italy a haven of liberty by placing on a new throne a new king—Jerome Bonaparte. The legitimacy of one at least of these Bonapartes has been questioned. But can there be any doubt of it? Did he not prove his direct descent from that Emperor whose scattered family found an asylum in Rome, where "they were allowed to have their palaces, their estates, their titles, not only unmolested, but fully recognized?" Ingratitude is the natural offspring of tyranny.

The Bonapartist rioters were scattered. Some were jailed. In or out of jail they were not idle, and when the revolutionaries rose against government after government, in 1831, the nephews of the first Napoleon were there to cheer on the unthinking crowd. One of these nephews, who afterwards deluged France with liberty, wrote, during these Italian troubles, a letter which, though frequently published since 1859, when it was first printed, merits a still wider circulation. "Very Holy Father, Mr. X. will tell your Holiness the truth about the situation of things here. He has informed me that your Holiness was afflicted when you learned that *we were here amid those who have revolted against the power of the Crown of Rome.*

"The Romagnoli especially are intoxicated with liberty. This evening they reach Terni, and I render them this justice, that among the cries they lift up continually, there is not one which attacks the head of Religion, thanks to the leaders who are, throughout, men most highly esteemed, and who, everywhere, prove their attachment to Religion as forcibly as their love for temporal independence. They wish, as it seems, and very decidedly, the separation of the Temporal and the Spiritual Powers.

"I speak the truth, I swear it, and I supplicate your Holiness to believe that I have no ambition.

"I can likewise affirm that I have heard all the young men say, even the least moderate, that if Gregory renounce the Temporal Power, they will adore him; that they themselves will become the warmest sustainers of true Religion purified by a great Pope and whose basis is the most liberal book that exists, the divine Gospel."<sup>1</sup>

Metternich was evidently well advised. Though the Gospeler who wrote this letter "had no ambition," other less unselfish Bonapartists had an ambition, that was not satisfied until it had made a great people sweat blood and treasure, pushed another Carbonaro

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<sup>1</sup> P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 144.

usurper into the City of the Popes, and drawn down upon the name and the fortunes of the Napoleons a curse no less loud than that with which the Lord of Justice visited the Majesty that Pius VII. qualified as "immensely great."

"The Tartuffe of the alliance of the Kings," as Mazzini called Louis Philippe, might well hesitate to "free" Italy, when his ambitionless competitors were seeking a great crown in place of the lesser crown they had missed. For in the eyes of the Carbonari there was only one crown worth the having. "From Rome alone," said Mazzini, years afterwards, "can modern unity go forth, because from Rome alone can come the absolute destruction of the ancient unity."<sup>1</sup> "You know not that what elsewhere is but a word, becomes, if uttered by Rome, a fact, an imperial decree, *urbi et orbi*."<sup>2</sup> There are Catholics who pose as leaders of thought in this closing nineteenth and, shall we not say, in the coming twentieth century, and whose estimation of Papal Rome is not so great as Mazzini's, or Louis Philippe's, or Louis Napoleon's. The Carbonari view some questions from the house-top; and there are Canons and greater dignitaries whose vision is, unfortunately for them and us, limited by the four walls of a very small room. When the Catholic world estimates Papal Rome as highly and as out-spokenly as the Carbonari have done, and do, then the words that are spoken at Rome will indeed be facts, *urbi et orbi*. One fact known to all the world to-day is that Louis Napoleon, about the time he was "among those who had revolted against the power of the Crown of Rome," took the oath of a Carbonaro from the father of that Orsini who, after a fine Carbonaro fashion, tried to separate the spirituality of an emperor from the temporality of an emperor, by means of a fraternal bomb.<sup>3</sup> "To conspire against our august and only benefactor would be a nameless infamy," wrote the reputed father of Napoleon Louis and of Louis Napoleon, in 1821, to Consalvi, who knew where conspirators and conspiracies were hatched. "The Bonaparte family shall never have to address itself this reproach."<sup>4</sup> Can we wonder that an Orsini should conspire against a fellow-conspirator who had been condemned by his own royal sire to "nameless infamy?"

When the States of the Church had been freed from the insurgents, Louis Philippe's government showed a lively interest in the centre of Christianity. The Voltairians, as good Frenchmen, would not repudiate the tradition of the monarchy, a tradition to the effect that the Papacy could require no protection unless at such times as France was in a protecting mood. This beautiful tradition,

<sup>1</sup> Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. v., p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. v., p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> P. N. Deschamps, *loc. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

though seemingly founded in a deep religious sentiment, was really a political tradition. Protection of the Papacy was an euphuism for opposition to Austria. And now that Austria was in the Papal States, traditionally France must drive her out. The Papal government had no wish to keep Austrian troops on Papal soil. Bernetti was no lover of Austrian methods or tendencies. He was desirous of freeing his government from foreign influences on the first favorable occasion. But when the French ministry pressed upon the Pope and upon the emperor a demand for an immediate evacuation of the States of the Church, neither Rome nor Vienna were inclined to be hasty. The demand of Louis Philippe was not unsupported. There were other powers backing his policy. Leisurely the Austrians withdrew, July 19, 1831, four months after their coming to the Pope's aid. In the year 1891, Piedmont, which is "protecting" the Pope with the gallantry of a true Bourbon or Orleanist, or Josephist, claims to be acting in its own right, and to exclude the action of all other governments. The alliances that manipulated the affairs of Europe, through Congresses, in 1831, looked upon the Papacy not as the subject of any power; and jointly they guaranteed, not the *independence* but the rightful rule of the Holy See.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Triple Alliance of to-day has elevated itself to a higher place in the direction of human affairs than the witty and good Pius IX. attributed to Louis XIV.

From the novel, our men and women, of whatever age, are by expert guides advised to learn history. Prince Metternich's Memoirs will give an intelligent youth a fuller knowledge of men and affairs, during the period with which we are concerned, than he can derive from the ideal historical novel—which has not been written. A fortnight before the Austrian forces withdrew from the Papal States, Metternich wrote to Apponyi that the emperor was determined "to respond to future appeals of the Holy Father for fresh aid, which his Holiness might be justified by certain circumstances in demanding."<sup>2</sup> Metternich had a thorough acquaintance with the Carbonari, Bonapartist, Republican, Orleanist, and a keen sense of Austria's interest in maintaining a position in the Papal States not second to the Revolution. His forecast was admirable. The Austrians gone, the Carbonari took up their appointed work just where they had stopped. Before the middle of January, 1832, the agitation had grown into an insurrection. Against the insurgents the Papal army moved. There were victories and defeats at Cesena, Ravenna, Forli, Ferrara. The Pope desired peace, for the good of the people and for the welfare of the Church. On January

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, vol. xix., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, vol. v, p. 124.

10th, he wrote to the governments of France, Austria, Russia and Prussia, stating that he meant to repress rebellion by force, and asking support in the interest of order, justice, and authority. Austria, Prussia, Russia answered, promising armed assistance if arms were needed. Louis Philippe's government answered as a Carbonaro government would answer. The rebellion was subdued without exterior aid; but to save the country from renewed agitation, Cardinal Albani, the Pope's legate, called upon Austria to reassume the positions it had held in July of the previous year.<sup>1</sup> Radetski was not slow in answering the legate's request, and the Carbonari furlled the tricolor hastily. Need we say that the Austrians were received with joyous acclamations, *festas*, and the usual outbursts of "popular feeling."

To defend the Papacy from professional revolutionists, Louis Philippe was not willing, but Austria had hardly restored quiet when the Orleanists forced their "protection" on the Pope. A French fleet sailed into the harbor of Ancona, without invitation or warning, and seized the strong fortress. (February 22, 1832.) At this very time the Orleanist government was pretending to negotiate, through the Papacy, a joint occupation with Austria. Between the treachery of Orleanist and of Bonapartist, only a paid political casuist could formulate a nice distinction. The blow struck at the Temporal Power was direct; the encouragement given to the Carbonari was positive. England protested, Austria protested, the Pope protested; but the English protest was a sham,—a political protest, meant to influence France in the matter of the Belgian crown. The Casimir Périer ministry explained that the French commander had gone beyond his orders. Thus the incident was closed. The tricolor waved in Ancona, where the Orleanist soldiery remained until 1838, leaving Ancona when the Austrians withdrew from the Legations.<sup>2</sup>

Rightly did Metternich call the French plea of occupation "a farce." Rightly did he call the occupation an "inexcusable attack on the indisputable sovereign rights of the Holy See, rights consecrated by the sanction of so many existing treaties."<sup>3</sup> However, this bold attempt to discredit the authority of the Papacy, this public advertisement of Orleanist disdain for the Temporal Power, and of a readiness to use force against that Power in the interest of political scheming, was not remarkable when we recall the policy of the European governments, in regard to the Holy See, before and since 1815. During the Austrian occupation of 1831,

<sup>1</sup> P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> P. Van Duerm., *loc. cit.*, pp. 155-62, where quotations are made from some valuable documents, hitherto published, but here brought together usefully.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs*, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.

Russia, Prussia, Austria, France and England, through commissioners meeting in Rome, without invitation, of their own motion, drew up a so-called "Memorandum," which they presented to the Pope as a document worthy of his consideration. In this "Memorandum" they nominated modifications in the Papal administration which they deemed "vital." Five powers, two of them Protestant, one schismatic, one Voltairian, one not too Catholic, and all positively inimical, if we except Austria, deliberately sought to weaken the Pope's hand and to make the pacification of his territory almost impossible. England had done, was doing, would continue doing whatever it could devise to destroy the Temporal Power; the Orleans King was bound by a criminal oath, that he valued more than honor, to effect the same end; Prussia, Russia, absolutisms that owed their being and their continuance to persecution,—picture these powers counselling the Papacy how to manage the States of the Church. Shall we be surprised if, for years thereafter, not only the Patrimony of St. Peter but also France, Prussia, Austria, the whole of Germany, England itself, were nurseries of disorder, assassination, insurrection, revolution?<sup>1</sup>

"Joseph II. in Germany, and Leopold in Italy, assailed Papacy with the energy of reform. The priest Ricci, and the Synod of Pistoia, encouraged the emancipation. The Jansenists spread themselves everywhere, and endeavored to recall the ancient religious severity of primitive Christianity. Voltaire published a crusade against Catholic Rome, and supported it, if not with profundity of thought and historical philosophy, yet with an activity of weapons truly prodigious. Then the torrent broke forth; the revolutionary lava which swept the entire past from its throne. Then Napoleon, imprisoning the Pope, dragging him to Paris, threatening him, and obliging him to compromise politically with him, completed the disgrace and the abasement of the Papacy. Afterwards, the giant having fallen, and the political inertia allowing a return to the peaceful studies of philosophy, the spiritual and eclectic schools arose; schools which, without denying the religious sentiment, ceased to recognize the Papacy as an essential element thereto." Joseph Mazzini wrote these words.<sup>2</sup> They are quite as connected as any words that came from his frenzied mind. They are not truthful in detail, they are not philosophical, and yet in a general way they do state facts and show their intimate relation. Joseph II. in Germany, Leopold in Italy, Voltaire, the Revolution, Napoleon and his successors in France, Gallicanism, Jansenism, the eclectic philosophies and false "liberalism," aided one

<sup>1</sup> P. Van Duerm, *loc. cit.*, pp. 150-154.

<sup>2</sup> "From the Pope to the Council," 1832. *Vid. Life and Writings*, vol. v., p. 309.

another in misleading minds, corrupting hearts, debasing churchmen, and abasing the power of the Papacy. Thanks to the accordant opposition of governments, Christian and infidel, to the Spiritual and Temporal Authority of the Holy See, the pulpit, the professor's chair, the press, history, poetry, the novel, were turned against law, against morality, against all right, human and divine. And a secret conspiracy directed, in good part, each of these powerful engines to a common end.

The Carbonarism of Italy was merely a development of Weisshaupt's Illuminism, which long controlled not only German courts and universities, Catholic and non-Catholic, but also German bishoprics and archbishoprics and German seminaries. If its influence has been almost wholly removed from German Catholic circles within recent years, no small share of the glory is due to the Papacy. To-day we have many scribblers and talkers pushing hobbies of all sorts. Weisshaupt had synthesized the heresies and hobbies of the past. The new revolutionists, communists, socialists can offer us nothing wicked that he had not dreamed of and taken the means to realize. And never were means more cleverly, more reflectingly devised. In an oath-bound society, having some ninety or more degrees, he purposed to combine rich and poor, learned and ignorant, with a purpose disclosed only to the adepts, whose vice and intelligence fitted them for admission to the inner circle. This purpose was the overthrow of all hereditary and irresponsible power, the destruction of Christianity, and the renovation of the earth by the establishment of Naturalism. To carry out this purpose, Weisshaupt labored first among the powerful and the educated. Princes, diplomatists, clerics, teachers he sought and gained. He entered the seminaries, he went among the youth of the schools,—it was they, above all, whom he coveted. The "common people" he did not neglect, though he counted on their capture as certain, once he had gained the well-to-do, the learned and the youth. His success was notable; the corruption that followed more notable. Men of ability were blindly led into treacheries, conspiracies, crimes. Many had the courage to reverse their steps, but ambition, greed, sensuality tied many more to an organization whose uses to those that controlled it were immeasurable. Governments that hoped to make it serve power by opposing the Church and degrading the people, learned to fear for their own safety. They tried to kill the serpent they had warmed into life; the name fell into disuse, but the thing itself was not to die. In other countries the tenets of the Illuminati had been welcomed, and the Bonapartists, adapting the ritual of the North to the Southern people, had spread the venom of Naturalism among the

Italians in the early portion of the nineteenth century. For Italian Carbonarism was practically German Illuminism.<sup>1</sup>

What the Carbonari were, many witnesses have disclosed. Mazzini, who entered the society at the age of nineteen, claims to have known nothing of it before he was admitted, and not much for some time after. At Genoa, where his father was a professor of medicine, Joseph met a mysterious personage who, not without his consent, initiated him. Having, in answer to his questioner, expressed a readiness to *act*, to obey the instructions which should be transmitted to him from time to time, and to sacrifice himself, if necessary, for *the good of the Order*, he knelt before an unsheathed dagger and took an oath of blind obedience, no aim being mentioned to him or means. Then he was taught the signs.<sup>2</sup> Into the second rank he was promoted without receiving other information. Those who selected him had taken a good measure of the youth. He was commissioned to implant Carbonarism in Tuscany, he says. Probably he was chosen to do some fouler work, for the Carbonari had a hold on Tuscany since early in the twenties. He had already learned of "cousins,"—thus the members of each section addressed one another,—who were appointed to stab fellow-members that had spoken against the chiefs. "The Order no sooner discovered rebels than it crushed them."<sup>3</sup> All the "cousins" carried sword-sticks. The leaders, whom Mazzini describes, were godless men and thorough-going desperadoes. "We young men," he says, "were treated like mere machines."<sup>4</sup> A liberal training! "Intellectually," he found the Carbonari "were materialist and Macchiavellian." "They called themselves Christians in their symbolic language; yet, confounding religion with the Papacy and faith with superstition, they contrived to wither up the virgin enthusiasm of youth by a skepticism borrowed from Voltaire and the negations of the eighteenth century."<sup>5</sup> Priests, nobles, literary men, soldiers and "sons of the people" were serving in the ranks. They had no principle other than revolution. Mazzini was not the only young Italian that was seduced at the age of nineteen by calculating and by hardened elders. He had in him, however, the blood of a "free companion," and made a trade of conspiracy and of crime from the day he joined the Carbonari until his death, forty-five years later. During a lifetime spent in deceiving others, he seems to have reached a state of self-deception truly appalling. From Ausonio Franchi we have learned

<sup>1</sup> For a careful exposition of Weisshaupt's work, see P. N. Deschamps, *Les Sociétés Secrètes*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, vol. i., pp. 13-16.

<sup>3</sup> Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, vol. i., pp. 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 25-27.

<sup>5</sup> Mazzini, *loc. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

that a man may be honest in leading others to ruin; but, regretfully we say it, Mazzini proves himself to have been thoroughly dishonest. If passion, pride, obstinacy, and a terrible hate of God, of Christ and of virtue were honesty, then no name deserves higher praise.

Mazzini inveighs repeatedly against the influence of Voltairianism and of French philosophy on the Italians. Why this should anger him it is difficult to conceive. From this same philosophy he drew the first breath of his intellectual life. A great portion of the youth of Italy were, like him, infected with the destructive ideas that came out of France. They had lost faith, and with faith morality. The Church they would abolish, or at least forcibly constrain. Excited by the spirit of revolt, natural consequence of the philosophical teaching they had received and of the propaganda initiated by Bonaparte and supported, for quite other ends, by England and by Russia, the efforts of the educated youth were directed, whatever the career they chose, almost wholly to the uprooting of religion and to the development of what they called "a spirit of liberty." The German, the "foreigner" in Lombardy and in Venice gave the northern Italians an occasion for protest and for appeals to patriotism and to unity; but the "foreigner" was, in many subtle minds, only a convenient target. Aiming at it, apparently, they were really pointing at a larger and more imposing object. If we run over the names of the Italians who, in literature, caught the popular favor, from 1800 to 1846, we shall see that the greater number were anti-Christian, revolutionary, or doubtfully "liberal." Mazzini's attack on the false philosophy of the eighteenth century was unjust. Were it not for this philosophy his cousinship in the family of assassins and the number of his teachers, friends, and victims would have been much more limited. Foscolo, Leopardi, Niccolini, Tommaseo, Alardi, Montanelli, Fusinata, Guerazzi, Prati, Canini—men after his own heart—owed their inspiration to the philosophy Mazzini pretended to despise; and yet they were revolutionists, and almost all of them were Carbonari. Men better known in English-speaking circles, like Silvio Pellico, had knelt before the naked dagger and sworn the slave's oath. Gioberti's friends have generally defended him against the charge of being a Carbonaro, but Mazzini's statement, fortified by the written words of the "Father of his Country," make one hesitate about expressing a verdict.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Gioberti was not influenced by the false philosophy of the eighteenth century, and should this be true, the use of his name just here would

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<sup>1</sup> See Gioberti's letter in *Mazzini's Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 312, 313. See also, *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*. Milano, 1889, pp. 146, 147.



be untimely. Ausonio Franchi testifies that German philosophy was not without a certain influence in Italy during the first half of this century, and that this same philosophy served Italy no more than it has advantaged Germany—or America.

To govern a godless mob, a sword in each walking-stick and a hidden dagger—Heaven knows where!—is difficult work, even when Judge Lynch rules with a despotic sway. With your American education about liberty, equality and the majesty of the law, imagine yourself a Pope and your States a prey to graceless villains—whatever their title, profession, education, assumption—of the Carbonaro brood! What would you have done to assure order, to protect property, to secure the comfort of peaceful men who could not bring themselves to stab a fellow-man, a fellow-countryman, in any cause? Your freeman's blood rushes hot through your veins. You think of brutal punishments as fitted for brutal men. Let the respectable mob hang them! is perhaps your hasty verdict. Had the reigning Pope been an American, even he would not have favored your ideas of right. No one was hung without a trial in the States of the Church; and during the sixteen years that Gregory ruled not a soul suffered the death penalty for a political offence.

Carbonarism was bad, but not wicked enough for a man possessed; and Mazzini was possessed. Ambitious, heartless, half-educated, ill-educated, immoral, selfish, he aspired to the leadership of Italian secret politics. The men that handled him and others, he had studied. What a sorry lot they were he knew. The mechanism of the Carbonari he had mastered. He determined to set up for himself. Bonapartist, French, the Italians should no longer be. Italians they should be. They had philosophers of their own, "minds which had exhibited a power of generalization to which Italy had been hitherto a stranger—Bruno, Telesio, Campanella. In the works of these great men would be found the genius of a fraternization of religion and philosophy and of those institutions so indispensable for Italy."<sup>1</sup> "In Giordano Bruno, above all, would Italians discover that synthetic power inherent in Italian genius." "That which Christ, the great 'Initiator,' had done, humanity"—as personified in Mazzini—"could do."<sup>2</sup> Who was Christ, after all? "His intellectual grasp did not extend beyond the requirements of a single epoch."<sup>3</sup> Mazzini, whose grasp included the whole past and future, threw off Carbonarism in 1831, at the age of twenty-three, and organized "Young Italy," a secret society, whose constitution he has partly

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. ii., p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 141, 142.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., pp. 364, 365.

disclosed. "The aim of Young Italy was revolution, though its labors would be essentially educational, both before and after the day of revolution."<sup>1</sup> This education was to be "directed ever to the teaching by example, word and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Secret in Italy, education would be public out of Italy."<sup>2</sup> The instruction and intelligence indispensable as preparatory to action would be secret "both in Italy and abroad." And on what day should the revolution begin? "When the insurrection had triumphed." Meantime, the society "will be governed by a provisional dictatorial power, concentrated in the hands of a small number of men." What is the meaning of the word "insurrection." Warfare by means of guerilla bands, a warfare that is invincible and indestructible.<sup>3</sup>

Every member of "Young Italy" swore "to obey all instructions, in conformity with the spirit of the society, given by his representatives in the brotherhood of Italians; and to keep the secret of the instructions, even at the cost of his life, NOW AND FOREVER." "Thus do I swear, invoking upon my head the wrath of God, the abhorrence of man and the infamy of the perjurer if I ever betray the whole or a part of this, my oath."<sup>4</sup> The name of God and of Christ Mazzini used as if he believed in one or the other, but he believed in neither. He was a pantheist. As for Christ—the Genoese revolutionist had elevated himself to a seat at least two ranks higher than that with which Louis XIV. was satisfied. These sacred names Mazzini used to mislead fools.

"Young Italy" made rapid headway. The land was soon filled with "affiliated." The Carbonari were won over. Local traditions, local beliefs, local prejudices, were accommodated. From the "Articles" of the Neapolitan branches we shall learn more even than Mazzini tells, and we shall see how elastic was the "Constitution." "Article 1. The society is instituted for the indispensable destruction of all the governments of the Peninsula and to form a single State of the whole of Italy, under the republican form. Art. 30. The members who do not obey the orders of the secret society, and those who disclose its secrets, will be poignarded without pardon. Art. 31. The secret tribunal will pronounce the sentence, designating one or two of the affiliated for its immediate execution. Art. 32. The affiliated who shall refuse to execute the sentence pronounced shall be counted a perjurer, and as such, put to death forthwith. Art. 33. If the condemned victim should escape, he shall be unintermittently pursued, and the cul-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 107-109.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *loc cit.*, pp. 112, 113.

pruit shall be struck down by an invisible hand, even were he to seek refuge in the bosom of his mother or in the tabernacle of Christ. Art. 34. Each secret tribunal shall be competent, not only to judge culprit adepts, but also to have put to death all persons whom it has condemned to death.”<sup>1</sup>

The civilization of the dagger Mazzini practiced and preached throughout his life. Thirty-five years after the adoption of “Young Italy’s” constitution, he proclaimed openly the “sacredness of assassination,” and defended the use of the dagger “to initiate insurrection.”<sup>2</sup> In at least one American city a monument has been raised to this libel on manhood, and a tender poet, whose locks were more than gray, eulogized this hater of Christ and apostle of the dagger. Let us hope that our American youth may not learn, from poet or statue, to estimate assassination as sacred, though the chosen victim cling to a mother’s bosom, or seek refuge in the tabernacle of Christ.

His own life Mazzini preserved carefully, though he claims to have carried on his person, for years, a powerful poison, with which to end life in case he were made a prisoner. His secrets he wished to carry away with him. Suicide he preached to others. It was “the elevated height of a sacrifice.” “When, owing to the wickedness of men, you feel yourself in danger of yielding to sin, cast away your life, and, rather than sin against others, charge yourself with a sin against yourself. God is good and merciful. He will shelter you beneath the vast wings of his pardon.”<sup>3</sup> Thus he incited his victims to kill themselves that he might live and enjoy. And as they assassinated at his order, so they took their own lives “rather than sin against others.” What a weight of woe this one bad man brought upon the world! How many homes he wrecked, hearts he broke, lives he blasted! Once, at least, remorse drove him “to the confines of madness.” He was still young. Unrepenting, his mind was, nevertheless, spared him, and he used it as of old to inveigle Italians into the noble army that he was rallying around “the banner of the fathers of the 18th century, which dyed red in the blood of Christ, was transmitted by Luther to the Convention, to be raised upon the corpses of those slain in the battles of the peoples.”<sup>4</sup> Students, the commercial class, many of the nobility, priests, soldiers, everywhere joined the new conspiracy. “On the educated youth especially, Mazzini exercised a demoniacal

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<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de la Révolution de Rome*, par A. Balleydier. Paris, 1854 (4th edition), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> “On the Theory of the Dagger,” 1856. See Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. vi., pp. 266-277.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., pp. 333-334.

<sup>4</sup> “Faith the Future,” Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., p. 121.

power of attraction."<sup>1</sup> The only religion, he told them, was Liberty. And "Liberty is the right of every man to exercise his faculties without impediment or restraint in the accomplishment of his special mission, and *in the choice of means most conducive to its accomplishment*"<sup>2</sup>—an inviting doctrine to young or old, and one that is too commonly accepted in and out of Italy. He taught the youth also that "an Italy such as the aspirations of our hearts foretell, can never exist until the Papacy shall be overthrown in the name of the Moral Law, and acknowledged as high above all pretended Intermediates between God and the People."<sup>3</sup> The Pope! The Pope! He was the one great enemy, an enemy to be crushed at all cost. "The moral power of the Papacy had long been dead in Europe. Luther destroyed it by withdrawing from it the North." "Though eminently a revolutionist, Luther rejected all other weapons than words," but men sworn to "substitute the sacred word PROGRESS for the dogma of direct revelation,"<sup>4</sup> would work with arms more effective.

Banished from Italy, banished, nominally, from France, Mazzini, hatched conspiracy in many lands. Hand and glove with ministers, kings, revolutionaries of all countries, and of all classes, he was cared for by rulers and by cabinets, by clergymen of all Christian and un-Christian denominations, and was lauded and petted by "tender" women, by "patriotic" men, and by keener folk of every degree. Many other secret societies were organized in Italy, but, one after another, they "accepted his creed and submitted to his direction." "Young Poland," "Young Germany," "Young Switzerland," with kindred aims and methods, were formed under his guidance. In "Young Europe" the revolutionaries were combined, with a creed whose tenets were simple enough: "One God, one ruler—His Law, and One sole interpreter of that law—Humanity." "Rejecting every doctrine of external, immediate, and final revelation," these societies "rejected the idea of any intermediate source of truth between man and God, other than genius united with virtue"<sup>5</sup>—through the sacred bond of the dagger, a musket and forty cartridges.

In the theories of Mazzini there was nothing new. The idea was the old one of a universal conflagration that should burn out the very roots of that "baleful plant sprung from Judæa's mould."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Neuern Litteratur*. Adolph Stern, Leipzig, 1884. Vol. vi., p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iv., p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 30-37.

<sup>6</sup> A. Balleydier, *Hist. de la Révolution*, etc., vol. i., p. 12.

His methods were not wholly new, though his application of these methods was in somewhat original. To the old idea of Italian nationality he gave a fresh impetus. He inflamed the Italian pride; he gave a body to all the hates of the vicious, the unbelieving, the ambitious, the criminal. Along with the dagger, he encouraged the press, the pamphlet, the novel. Good men were held up to scorn, were driven from honorable places, were libelled into retirement and silence. All honest leaders and teachers who would not forswear God and manly independence, were persecuted shamefully and shamelessly. Thou shalt lie! held equal place with Thou shalt kill! in the "law of Humanity." Austria had no need of spies in Italy. The remodeled Carbonari denounced every third man as an informer, a coward, a traitor.<sup>1</sup> Palmerston's immoral principle: Agitate, agitate! was followed out faithfully. Amid insurrections, demonstrations, a warfare of guerillas and of calumniators, what of unity, what of liberty, the real Italian people enjoyed between 1823 and 1846, may be easily imagined. The despotism of a mob made the despotism of dukes, grand-dukes and kings appear to thinking men most desirable.

The spirit of nationality was not cherished by Mazzinians alone. In Lombardy and in Venetia, where the Austrian rule was disliked, and not unreasonably, the men who, on account of their family, or their education, thought themselves entitled to honors and emoluments that went to strangers, were desirous of throwing off a foreign yoke. The Piedmontese dynasty, whose ambition it had been, for centuries, to hold the first place in the Peninsula, secretly encouraged the anti-Austrian feeling, and made use of it to extend Piedmont's influence. Revolutionaries who conspired to introduce republicanism into Piedmont could hope for no quarter; but in Tuscany, in the Romagna, they might freely do their worst. The d'Azeglios, the Balbos, talked and wrote fine words about the Church and the Papacy, but in their liberalizing way, devoted as they were to the enlargement of the power of Piedmont, and to the advancement of their own family and personal interests, they did more than enough to weaken respect for both Pope and Church. Like Gioberti and Rosmini, they assumed to apprehend the undisclosed designs of Providence, and to know more about civil and ecclesiastical government than all existing or pre-existing Popes and cardinals knew or had known. By their histories, novels, politico-philosophical writings, diatribes, spreading false principles, distorting history, creating divisions among well-meaning and not too well-instructed Catholics, calumniating the most intelligent and most competent defenders of the

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<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 118.

Church, they aided the revolution; for thus they fostered a spirit of unrest and of dissatisfaction. Exaggerating evils, they offered no practical remedies. Their view of the Papacy differed not, radically, from the revolutionary view. To them the Papacy was first of all an Italian institution. The union of the Italian States would add to the power, the glory of the people of Italy, the noblest, grandest, most civilized, most intellectual people that there was in the world. And this union should be made more glorious by the precedence conceded to the Pope as an Italian prince. The constitution of the Church, the relations of the Pope to the Christian world, these men did not understand; much less did they have any true conception of the rights of Christendom in the States of the Church. Conceited meddlers, they did immeasurable harm to religion, to the Papacy and to Italy.

Despotisms the governments of Italy were, but had the Poles or the Irish been as well treated as the Italians, what happy peoples they would have been! The Austrian government in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom was, in many senses, very good; no less good were the Tuscan and Neapolitan governments. From 1830 to 1846 the people of Italy enjoyed more comfort, more ease, and bore less burdens than do the "United" Italians of 1891. The finances were wisely administered, riches abounded, and the well-being of the people was carefully looked after. "An Arcadia," Cesare Cantu calls Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the development of the Carbonari and of "Young Italy," and their constant guerilla warfare during this period, are unanswerable proofs of the fortunate material condition of the country. How otherwise would this army of bravos, of idlers, of paraders, banqueters, and of *café* politicians—each with one dagger, at least, and a musket, not to mention the forty cartridges—have been supported? The throats of these fellows were not inflamed, nor their stomachs filled, nor their vices gratified by the use or exchange of spring water and of balmy air. The wealth of the country explains in good part not only the number of these loafing conspirators, but also the light hold of religion on many of the clergy and of the people. Luxury breeds irreligion. Nowadays it is the fashion to charge poverty with all the evils mankind suffers. This is an evil of which Italians, sixty years ago, had less experience than they have since had. And how was it with the inhabitants of the Papal States? We have seen all they had to suffer from Napoleon; and yet, as early as 1817, Tito Mansi, a former Minister of Murat, speaking to Metternich who was journeying through Northern and Central Italy, testified to the wonderful success of Consalvi in

<sup>1</sup> See Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., pp. 69-102.

improving the condition of the people. The best evidence of how conscientiously Leo XII. and Pius VIII. pursued their predecessor's policy is found in the rapid growth of the population of Rome. On the return of Pius VII. there were only 77,000 people in the city. By 1830 this number had been more than doubled, the exact figures being 170,000.<sup>1</sup> Within a few weeks after his election, Gregory XVI. began the two great tunnels which dividing the waters of the Arno, secure the picturesque Tivoli from inundation; and during a long reign in which he had to cope not only with Carbonari, but with the cholera plague and with the losses occasioned by fatal earthquakes, he was constant in building public edifices, improving roads, forwarding all the arts, introducing meantime real ameliorations in the various municipal and provincial laws.<sup>2</sup> His public and private charities were unstinted. His reforms in the administration were numerous, and would have been more so had he not been hampered by the governments of Europe, as well as by the guerillas and assassins.

"A few individual exceptions apart—the Romans had never shared that ferment, that desire for liberty which had constantly agitated Romagna and the Marches," wrote Mazzini.<sup>3</sup> He might have added, truthfully, that not all the inhabitants of the Romagna and of the Marches were natives. There exiles and adventurers from many countries had gathered to do the appointed work of "Young Italy." From Ancona as a centre, the French, during their occupation, had exerted an influence prejudicial to the Papacy. False ideas about Liberty and about Nationality had been maliciously spread abroad. Provided Austria were hated, the Papacy might take its chances. This French propaganda favored the guerillas, who wished above all to be rid of the Papacy. "What the factions in the Legations want," wrote Metternich, in 1832, "is not to get good laws, but to shake off Pontifical rule";<sup>4</sup> and the judgment was as just fourteen years later as when it was written. "Perish the Papacy and long live Italy!"<sup>5</sup> Such was the motto that inspired the conspirators in Romagna and the Marches. Expectantly, they had for eight years been "educating" rich and poor, young and old. Beginning with 1840, they handled the stiletto more openly, more audaciously. Disorder everywhere, public speeches against kings and Popes, insurrections—such is the story of the last years of the reign of Gregory XVI. False news

<sup>1</sup> See a speech of M. de Falloux in *L'Expédition de Rome*, en 1849, par Leopold de Gaillard. Paris, 1861. Page 289.

<sup>2</sup> Wiseman, *Last Four Popes*, pp. 386-406-462.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Metternich, *Memoirs of*, vol. v., p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. v., p. 263.

was daily given out, telling of risings elsewhere. To excite minds, the lie was used savagely. The character of the insurrections in the Papal States and of the "education," not of six but of sixteen years, we know. "In Romagna nearly all those men who, rich in honors, employments and pensions, cry anathema upon us at the present day, were then the agitators who swelled our ranks. There are workmen yet living in Bologna who will remember Farini loudly preaching massacre in their meetings, and his habit of turning up his coat sleeves to the elbow, saying: '*My lads! we must bathe our arms in blood!*'"<sup>1</sup> And they did bathe their arms in blood, aye and did tear the flesh off from their victims' bodies—all in good time. From a blind hate of Catholicity, the Protestant rulers and peoples of Europe and of America have encouraged and honored these barbarians. Who knows? At home, the patrons may yet be forced to take payment in kind from grateful *protégés*.

"Young Italy" was ready to attempt a general insurrection. Thanks to England, the society had many centres on the Mediterranean, at Malta and Corfu, as well as at Leghorn. Here Italian exiles, the desperate and the exalted from France, Spain, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Corsica were gathered. In the north, Bologna was the centre of the revolutionary movement. Money flowed even more freely than "brothers'" blood. Nowhere did the insurrection succeed. The Bonapartists were active in directing the revolution. Faithful Bonapartists! How can the sustainers of "true Religion whose basis is the most liberal book that exists, the divine Gospel"—how can they ever compensate you for your knightly service?<sup>2</sup>

What had Gregory XVI. been doing for the world while the hate of the churches and of the knowing sons of Satan combined against the Spiritual and Temporal Power of the Papacy? He had been combating heresy wherever it lifted a viperous head. He had been re-establishing hierarchies, reforming the clergy, presenting to Christian society new models of holy, charitable living and dying—among others, Saint Alphonsus Liguori. Against Spain, robbing the clergy; against Portugal, Switzerland, South America, robbing all of Church property and invaders of Church rights; against persecuting Prussia, that attacked the Christian family, he had fought a good fight, quick to meet every enemy and strong to oppose injustice and immorality. The uprising of the Belgians against religious servitude, he did not disap-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Mazzini, *Life*, etc., vol. i., p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> A lively picture of the Italian States, between 1830 and 1846, Cantu gives, vol. xii., pp. 69-138. Cantu's views are not always reliable, however. They were not all based on self-evident truths. He had theories as early as 1830. His facts are colored by these theories.



prove. The hopeless revolution of Poland against Russia he wisely disapproved. The cruel, apostatizing Czar Nicholas, he held up to the scorn, and to the reprobation of the world. To this schismatic Pope, in person, he protested against the horrors to which Catholics in Russia were habitually condemned. Facing the Goliath, he said with calm courage: "Soon we shall appear before the tribunal of God; I should not dare to meet the eye of my Judge, had I not defended the religion of which I am the protector and you the oppressor."<sup>1</sup> Bearding the mightiest, Gregory, hand on hilt, was prompt to seek out and to defend the weak. The traders in the black flesh and red blood of the negro—flesh and blood which Christ despised no more than ours—the just, valiant, loving Pope excommunicated.

This Gregory, you can see, consulted no smooth-bore canonists, no chivalrous champions of the "independence" of the Papacy, no subtle propagandists of the theory that the cause of religion could be best advanced by centering sovereignty in the hands of the oppressor, and by abasing the one, sole, appointed protector of the spiritual to the uncushioned foot-stool of uncrowned and homeless helplessness, while the stilettoed pedagogues of theories not more illogical disturbed Romagna and the Marches. The Papal army pursued the brigand "liberals" determinedly. Again and again they were routed, subdued. The real "people" gave no free support to the Carbonari. At Rimini, the last revolt was attempted and suppressed in 1845.

On June 1st, 1846, Gregory XVI., who had long suffered from a fatal disease, fixed his eye, hopefully, calmly on the eye of the Judge. True to the Papal conscience, he had sacrificed no jot or tittle of the patrimony of Saint Peter, no right of the Church. The traditions handed down to him by his experienced, learned, Heaven-guided predecessors, he had preserved and handed down intact. No one was less likely than he to play the part of Judas. Before sitting on the Papal throne, an obedient servant within a monk's modest cell, he had written a work on "The Triumph of the Holy See." There he had not forgotten the rights of "nationalities" while defending the Papal rights. How could he? All rights rest on a common foundation. Listen to the monk's words! 'An unjust conqueror, with all his power, cannot deprive of its rights a nation unjustly conquered. By force he may enslave it, overturn its tribunals, kill its representatives; but never can he, without its consent, formal or tacit, deprive it of its original rights relative to these magistracies to these tribunals, that is to say, of its sovereignty.'<sup>2</sup> Not otherwise spoke Gregory, the Pope. Is there

<sup>1</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Cantu, *Hist. des Italiens*, vol. xii., p. 132.

a Pope to come that shall speak otherwise? No! The "liberals" of to-day, Catholic or revolutionary, may quibble, scheme, perorate, rave, but to the invasion of the unjust conqueror, Italian, Austrian or French, the Popes will neither formally nor tacitly consent. And without their consent, though force may imprison, overturn, kill boldly, or with the assassin's dagger, the Papacy cannot be deprived of its rights of sovereignty.

And how warmly, how courageously, how unitedly the Catholics of the world, hierarchy and laymen, should rally to the support of the Temporal Power of the Papacy! "The strength of the enemies of religion is in the feebleness of honest men," said a simple and clear-seeing Trasteverino during the revolution of 1849. Was there ever truth told in simpler, wiser words? The enemies of religion will defy God, glorify the devil, stiletto prelate and peasant, in the effort to annihilate Faith and its defender, while honest feebleness argues how it may stand from under, and let down gently, that Papacy which Donoso Cortes eloquently, rightly called "the dome of the edifice of European civilization." Under the dome of the sovereign Papacy must all civilization gather. For there is but one true civilization—the civilization of the one true Church, under one Head, sovereign with a sovereignty both spiritual and temporal.

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