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THE VATICAN AND THE QUIRINAL

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY

ALEXANDER WOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF

'THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES OF LONDON AND ITS SUBURBS'

'ST. ETHELDREDA, AND HER CHURCHES IN ELY AND LONDON'

TRANSLATOR OF 'THE POPE AND ITALY'

'Nil violentum durabile'



R. WASHBOURNE
18 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.



HALF-A-YEAR since, carrying with us the manuscript of the translation of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' we left, in a moment of family distress and anxiety, Italy for England. It is one compensating quality of the greater anxieties of life that they swallow up the less, and we have consequently paid little attention to such criticism as the publication of 'The Pope and Italy' has evoked. Almost every work that proceeds from the press will meet with its meed of praise and of censure—with honest praise and with honest censure, we have no doubt, in a majority of cases. There are also critics to whom the railing of Semei* or the sinister predictions of Rabsaces† appear to commend themselves as models for imitation. Even such persons must have allowance made for them. In the dark days through which we are passing there is little hope for truly impartial criticism; and least of all where what may

* 2 Kings xvi. 5.

† 4 Kings xviii. 28-35.

be called the politics of religion are concerned. Radicalism is all-pervading—nay, dominant—at this time in England. It is the political ‘form,’ so to speak, of the nation nearest to our own. The Italian kingdom—cradled in revolution—is a species of upper chamber of Radicalism. There is a solidarity between the Radical parties in the three nations that admits of being tested at any time by the perusal of the press articles upon topics of moment appearing in the leading journals of the three capitals. These will be found so simply identical in thought, tone, and feeling, that it is matter of indifference whether they are penned in Rome, in Paris, or in London. What then has the author of such a *brochure* as ‘Il Papa e l’ Italia’ to expect from such press notice as may be accorded him by journals inspired by our Radicals, who are the same in all essential respects as Italian Radicals? True, they do not wear red shirts, and they frequent Dissenting chapels.

We turn to another class of critics. ‘Il Papa e l’ Italia’ is sharply treated by certain Catholic journalists in England. As we shall have some severe things to say in reply, we think it well to make the admission that an author who writes anonymously—as does the writer of ‘Il Papa e l’ Italia’—shows to great disadvantage. He is liable to be mistaken for a politician who has put on a semblance of theological knowledge, or an appearance of zeal for the Pope in order to mask his real design, which may be to make clerical training impossible, and to keep open for ever the breach of the Porta Pia. The path of the so-called regeneration of Italy has been so plentifully strewn with

falsehood, that anything new that comes out without full authentication is liable to misconstruction, and to be suspected of being a gift as fatal as was that of the wooden horse to the fabled ancestors of Rome.* That such fears are in this case altogether without justification is no blame to those who, in ignorance of the authorship of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' have entertained such fears. Still, we cannot acquit those writers from blame. They might have found in the pages of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' itself ample reason for a different judgment, or for suspension of an unfavourable judgment. With regard to the matter of parentage, there is a very significant passage which would, we think, if we had been in ignorance of the authorship of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' have determined for us at least the quarter of the compass :

'We reason ; and if the train of ratiocination leads by logical necessity to consequences hostile to the centralizing Liberalism, we are not responsible for it. Woe to human society if logic can be dealt with at the Court of Assizes !' The secret friends of revolution do not fear revolutionary tribunals. These are not the words of a revolutionary agent wearing a clerical domino.

The first charge we shall meet is that of a writer whom we shall speak of throughout as the critic, while the other witness whom we intend to interrogate we shall speak of as the reviewer.

According to the critic, neither the preface nor the text of the 'Pope and Italy' exhibit any novelty.

We can answer for the writer of the preface, that he did

* *Æneid* ii. 31.

not contemplate the introduction of any special novelty, to open out any chamber of mystery, to lead his reader to any wonderland, or to trace upon his retina the pictures of any magic mirror. That one of the very few pages of which that preface consists should be nothing else than a translation from an old Catechism of Father Perrone's, entirely excludes any such supposition. This may be a fault, but it is a fault for which he may be fairly said to have prepared his reader :

Ἐκὼν ἔκων ἡμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι
Θνητοῖς δ' ἀργῶν αὐτὸς εὐρόμην πόνους.'

ÆSCHYLUS—*Prometheus*, 226, 227.

As to the asserted absence of novelty in 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' such an allegation is, we consider, partly true and partly mistaken. If such a work as 'Il Papa e l' Italia' were truly new, it would be certainly false. Laying down new principles on the subject of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pontiff, it would soon run aground in the shallows of condemnal propositions. As everyone knows, a section of the well-known Syllabus is devoted to this subject.* Its best chance of escaping the ordeal of formal censure would lie in its having been already implicitly condemned. To say that in giving an effective *résumé* of the various proposals advanced *under present circumstances* for dealing with the Temporal Power of the Pope, 'Il Papa e l' Italia' breaks new ground, and that could not in the nature of things be occupied previous to the breach of Porta Pia, is to enunciate a truism. It is almost ludicrous to read in

* Section IX. Errors Concerning the Temporal Power of the Roman Pontiff.

the light of the present day the prelections of the Catholic press and the productions of independent Catholic authors prior to the Piedmontese occupation. No ecclesiastic of our day was more clear-sighted or more thoroughly conversant with modern politics than the late noble-hearted Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup. And yet in his work on the 'Papal Sovereignty,' upon which he expended much labour, and to which he devoted much thought, he exhibited no precise prevision of the form that would be assumed by the Government of Italy, and seemed to have no assured anticipation that it would assume Rome for its capital. Rather did he look forward to the desertion of Rome, so that it should dwindle down to be such a place as Soissons or Senlis, or at best such as Rheims or as Orleans itself. In particular, he anticipated that the numerous churches of Rome would be forsaken.

Never in our recollection, and indeed not in the recollection of anyone since the close of the Middle Ages, have the churches of Rome been simply proportioned to the actual requirements of the Roman people. Besides, the City has shifted. The churches meet the eye at the turnings of solitary country roads, and sometimes a cluster of them will seem to trace the outline of an ancient forum, and to indicate the haunt of ancient traffic, where now there are but grass and weeds and pendent vines clambering over the lofty walls of vineyards where goat-clad peasants labour and where green lizards bask in the sunshine. To such as these, then, the Bishop's anticipations cannot refer. No: he appears to believe that Rome, the

Rome that is known to us, the Rome that covers the Campus Martius, and the slopes and crests of the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Pincian, will shrink within its modern limits, and that it will be difficult to secure a congregation at S. Andrea della Valle, at S. Carlo in the Corso, or at La Trinita dei Monti. The simplest reference to the facts of to-day will show how far are such expectations from having been realized. The Italian Government has indeed struck blow upon blow against the Church. But the injuries inflicted by that Government have not arisen from the encumbrance of its own decrepitude, and from an incapacity to occupy and to extend Rome. There remains, then, for the writer of the present day the work of pointing out wherein lies the real weakness of the Government of Italy, that that weakness may be probed, and that the salve may be applied that may heal its wounds. Hence the usefulness and opportuneness of such works as 'Il Papa e l'Italia,' and 'Il Vaticano e il Quirinale,' of the former of which we have presented a translation, and the latter of which we here translate for the reader.

From the charge of want of novelty, the critic proceeds to a specific charge of inaccuracy against the author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia.' 'What,' he asks—'what does he [the author] mean by numbering Copernicus among the illustrious men of Italy?' Much the same, we should answer, as would a writer who should enumerate—to speak of the men of one generation—Francis Jeffrey, the distinguished contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*; his redoubtable opponent John Wilson, author of the 'Noctes

Ambrosianæ,' and John Gibson Lockhart, son-in-law and biographer of Sir Walter Scott, all of them natives of Scotland, as *members of the University of Oxford*. We believe that the present Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow took his degree at Glasgow, as Copernicus 'took his degree at Cracow,' before proceeding to Oxford: does he on that account not reckon himself an Oxford man? or has he forfeited that character by being made a Professor in the University of Glasgow, on returning from Merton College, Oxford, as 'when, about the year 1500, he [Copernicus] returned from Rome to his own country [Poland], he was made a Canon of Frauenberg in Prussia.' There is a parallel between the two cases, but not exactly in the critic's narrative of Copernicus. As newspaper criticism is infallible, we shall correct our account of Professor Caird as follows: 'Edward Caird' (we beg pardon for the liberty we take) 'was born at Glasgow in Scotland, and took his degree in the University of that city. When, about the year 1866, he returned from Oxford to his own country, he was made a Professor *at Belfast in Ireland*.' If history is to be written in this manner, it will not only deserve the epithet Charles V. bestowed upon it, but the first essential to a student of history will be to discharge from his mind the probabilities of time and space. We have advanced far in this direction under the conduct of Mr. Froude, and that historical myth-monger has an apt disciple in our critic. Leaving him, therefore, to settle whether Frauenberg is in Prussia or in Poland; or whether Frauenberg being, as it is actually, in Prussia, Copernicus

was there and in Poland at the same time ; or whether, finally, Copernicus was Canon of Frauenberg, but not at Frauenberg—an hypothesis consistent with reason, but, unhappily for the critic, inconsistent with fact — we present our readers with the explanation of the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' as communicated to us: 'I saw that a special observation has been made on the name of Copernicus occurring among the Italian names. It is true, Copernicus is not an Italian writer, though the Italians consider him as one of their own nationality on account of his long residence in Rome.'

The residence of Copernicus at Rome was under these circumstances. Having devoted himself to mathematics and astronomy, Copernicus was so struck with admiration for Regiomontanus, the then luminary of the latter science, that he undertook a journey to Italy expressly to visit him. He proceeded from Bologna, where he had tarried for a time, to Rome, where he was well received by Regiomontanus, and occupied a chair of mathematics for several years. Well may Italy, and especially Rome, reckon Copernicus among their intellectual products ; well may Italians, and especially Romans, smile at the frivolous objection that Copernicus was not intellectually their debtor, because he was born at Thorn in Poland, and because he became, *long after his return to his country*, a Canon of Frauenberg, in Prussia ! When the contents of the commonest of biographical dictionaries are decanted in the midst of a serious discussion, may not the critic who so abuses the patience of his readers be accused of *maunder-*

ing, with or without the capital. When lecturing upon accuracy, he says or seems to say that Frauenberg in Prussia is in Poland :

‘Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?’

JUVENAL—*Sat.* ii. 24.

Who will bear with such a professor of accuracy? It is the old case of ‘Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence.’

We turn to a more serious matter. The reviewer, in a certain Review, writing on ‘The Pope,’ says: ‘We will frankly confess that “Il Papa e l’Italia” is hardly a production which one would expect to come from the pen of a true—a Roman—Catholic.’ Something undoubtedly, and something very damaging, is intended by this, but if it is a matter of confession, ‘we will frankly confess’ that we do not know what on earth, in heaven, or in purgatory, the reviewer means to indicate. Where, according to our creed, or in our Catechism, is the Church that is Catholic, but not Roman? There are persons that distinguish between Catholic and Roman, but they show that they are Protestant by the mere fact of so doing.* There is no such use, or rather abuse, of terms among Catholics. Mgr. Dupanloup, in the introduction to his ‘Papal Sovereignty,’ says, that in writing that work he found himself under the necessity of abandoning a more grateful task, a work upon Catechisms, which he had begun for young people. May not the reviewer, in writing about ‘The Pope,’ have

* Cf. Canon Flanagan’s ‘History of the Church in England,’ vol. ii. p. 297.

forgotten the need of a catechism for young people, and for people no longer young? As the translator of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' is referred to by the reviewer in a footnote, for which, under the circumstances, we forbear thanking him, we may say that before beginning that translation, we were assured by a Professor in the College of the Propaganda, who was also a Consultor of the Congregation of the Index, of the perfect orthodoxy of 'Il Papa e l' Italia.' Indeed, so far from being heretical is it, that it appears to be a touchstone of orthodoxy, and to force its opponents frankly to confess as sins of other people what are nothing but blunders of their own, showing themselves the while

'Still so perverse and opposite,
As if they worshipped God for spite,'

as Samuel Butler has it.*

Let our zealous *Roman* Catholic make his frank confession at Rome; let him delate 'Il Papa e l' Italia.' Whatever else he takes by his motion, he will have a Roland for his Oliver.

A topic with this critic is that no one will maintain that the Pope has inspired the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia:' therefore he has undertaken to advise the Pope. No one, certainly, is in the secret, if secret there be, of the literary relations of the Pope and the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia.' We may well believe that the Pope does not suggest, and that he is not a corrector of pamphlets. The throne of S. Peter is not an editor's chair. It is not a Delphic tripod of inspiration. Printers' devils do not

* 'Hudibras,' part i. canto i.

ascend in hot haste the Scala Regia; they do not issue from the Vatican with striking articles to astonish people. According to the writer of the article on 'The Pope,' the Pope has his 'advisers.' Everyone knows of the College of Cardinals. But we do not suppose that the writer of the article on 'The Pope' has them exclusively in his mind. We suspect that the writer of the article knows little of 'advisers' of the Pope, except by common hearsay. Yet he supposes the existence of such persons, and attributes to them no criminality. Yet when he imputes to the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' that he 'has undertaken to advise the Pope,' he straightway finds fault with him, and runs glibly through the gamut of his imperfections. Here are two weights and two measures. Such an one may advise the Pope with impunity, and such another may not. This is the first flaw in the reasoning of the writer on 'The Pope.' The other is, that he should think it necessary for the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' to spike himself upon either horn of his dilemma. The writer of the article on 'The Pope' evidently did not know who the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' was,* or he would not have constructed that ingenious see-saw. The author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' has an equal right with himself to speak for the Catholic Church. He has no need to approach the Vatican by the back-stairs, and seek for inspiration. He does not 'advise' the Pope; he instructs an ignorant and

* The Reviewer speaks of 'thinly-disguised personages in the diplomatic world.' Certain it is that the thin veil has not, as in Queriolò's far-famed statue at Naples, disclosed the person.

fickle multitude who have strayed from the ways of justice, and tells Catholics of their duty.

If he speaks of the Pope *and Italy*, are not the Papacy and Italy both facts? United Italy may have been created by a singular mixture of force and fraud. We Englishmen cannot acquit ourselves of blame in the matter. If Italy is united under a usurping sceptre instead of being united in federal union under the Pope, is it not because with Mazzini, and Garibaldi, and Count Cavour, there was Lord Palmerston? It was an English fleet that protected the entrance of Garibaldi into Naples.* It was in large measure we who made Italy what it is for good, or for evil, or for whatever mixture of both. If we wish to alter the Government of Italy, let us reverse our policy, let us send an *ultimatum* to King Umberto, let us destroy his fleet, let us bombard his ports, let us handle him as we did that Egyptian the other day. This England cannot do because she is not Catholic. This England would not do if she were Catholic. We are inconsistent enough in all conscience, and dishonour dogs the footsteps of inconsistency. But inconsistency itself must wait its time, or it would be madness. We cannot reverse our policy towards Italy. We may be indeed thankful that our country had no hand in the dethronement of the Pope. Cavour and Palmerston died on their revolutionary Phasgas. But the Papacy has never wanted an enemy or a traitor. The betrayal of the Pope precluded the defeat; it has been followed by the abandonment of all Catholic polity on the part of France.

* This is a well-known fact. We have heard it repeatedly mentioned by an eye-witness.

United Germany is rather Protestant than Catholic. Austria has been driven from, or has abandoned, all her interests in Italy. What pretext or possibility for armed intervention is there anywhere on behalf of the Pope? Is it then disloyal for an author, who is an Italian subject, to take up the problem of 'The Pope and Italy,' and not that of the Pope and those foreign bayonets which no lover of Italy desires to see, and which anyhow are not visible on any verge of the horizon?

We English Catholics, too, owe a special duty to those of Italy, since, as we have said, England fostered in a special degree Italian revolution, and we are therefore bound to endeavour to forward the settlement of the Italian question in all peaceful ways. And of peaceful ways, and those only, does the excellent author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia' speak. One of the critics whom we are combating derides the very notion of peace. 'We observe,' he says—'we observe that he' (the author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia') 'does not look favourably on the idea of a permanent foreign army in Italy, which is,' he says, 'inadmissible under the political international system of Europe, actually sanctioned by treaties!' To this we would answer, what Christian, what rational lover of his kind looks favourably on the idea of 'a permanent foreign army in Italy,' or in any other country? So long as it remains 'an idea,' the conception of 'a permanent foreign army' in Italy may be favourably entertained by certain *vieux militaires*, as, were they Greek monks of Mount Athos, they might fix their eyes upon their breasts in search of the uncreated light of Thabor, and

nothing but the loss of their own time will come of it. But if they pass from idea to action, they will find themselves in sad trouble. Whose end does this tall talk serve? Of no one more, we should say, than of the writer of 'The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance,' and of 'Vaticanism,' who has represented the Catholics of Europe, or the Ultramontane party among them, as seeking the re-establishment of the temporal power of the Pope amid the whitening bones of the people of Italy. But indeed this writing seems so wild that we should prefer, if possible, to attach another meaning to it.

The same critic speaks of the line of argument and illustration adopted by the author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia' as somewhat Utopian. Now the author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia' uses this very expression 'Utopian.' And from whom does he expect to have to bear with that reproach? From the Liberals.* He is speaking of reconciliation. 'These thoughts,' he says, 'these thoughts will be accused of Utopianism; *the Liberals* will laugh at them to the utmost,' etc. Strange that our critic should be merry on the same occasion as the Liberals; that he should jeer at the same proposals as they do; that he should go, so to speak, into the same lobby with them. Extremes meet—they laugh together, they embrace one another. When will the fair order of society be restored, and the world be delivered from 'the extremity of both ends?'

Now for our witnesses, and their *concordia discors*. The critic is by the mere force of truth compelled to acknow-

* The reference is exclusively to the Italian Unitarian Liberals.

ledge that 'all that is said in "Il Papa e l' Italia" is admirable.' 'Oh, noble judge! Oh, excellent young man!'^{*} But this excellent judge has an eye to the bayonets. Either these must restore order in Italy, or order will not be restored. Reconciliation is good—blood and iron he thinks better. It is as if one should dream with Pilate's wife, and be prepared to act with her husband.

This critic ridicules the idea of a reconciliation at any early period[†] between the Papacy and the Governments of France and Italy. The author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' is not writing of France, and it is difficult to say why the name and condition of that unhappy country are dragged into the discussion. Surely the seat of the temporal sovereignty has been for centuries at Rome and not at Avignon. Let him, however, think if he will of France. Let him consider the restoration of the Papacy from Avignon to Rome. Let him come to the period immediately preceding that in which our lot is cast, and he will find reason not for despair, but for hope. Hope is a Christian virtue. The Church is as full of young-eyed hope as in the first epoch of its existence. The ebb of its fortunes is the prelude of their rise and flow. So it was with the Church of the older dispensation, to whose chequered history it has succeeded. Of those we can read in the inspired narrative, and from them learn the lesson never to despair. In the earliest poetry of the world is recorded in sublime antithesis the depression and the exaltation of the fortunes of

* 'Merchant of Venice,' act iv. scene 1.

† Yet the reviewer shows how largely the external relations of the Papacy have quite lately altered for the better.

Israel: 'In the days of Samgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jahel, the paths rested: and they that went by them walked through by-ways. The valiant men ceased, and rested in Israel: until Debbora arose, a mother arose in Israel.* The Christian Church could not exist if its existence were dependent upon ordinary chances and probabilities. So far is its existence from being decided by common causes, that the calculation of chances is against it. It is supernaturally sustained, although not by miracle properly so called.† Hence it is that the line of remark we are commenting upon seems so faithless. It is, in fact, under another name, simply that of the temporizing Liberals. Therefore we can use, in reply to the critic, the answer of the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' in his new publication 'Il Vaticano e il Quirinale' to Curci and the Conciliatori:

'Now to demonstrate that the loss of the temporal power is irreparable . . . it must be proved that Europe will never again reconstitute itself upon the basis of Christian principles. But that is a demonstration that can never be undertaken by a Catholic . . . *because* such a proposition is diametrically opposed to the great biblical maxim bearing upon politics, namely, the capacity for healing of the nations of which mankind is composed; *because* it would be to admit with the rationalists that Christian polity has run its course; *because* it would lead to the Jansenistic supposition that the Church which had strength sufficient to Christianize pagan society, has no

* Judges v. 6, 7.

† Cf. Dupanloup's 'Papal Sovereignty' (Eng. Trans.), pp. 17, 18.

longer the power so much as to keep it Christian after nineteen centuries of conflict and victories ; *because*, finally, it would compel us to shut our eyes to avoid seeing that precisely at the present time Europe is engaged in struggling with the supreme efforts of the neo-Pagan doctrinaire revolution, and that the secretly imparted breath of Christianity is reviving it afresh, and urging it, in its own despite, back upon the Vatican.'

Let, then, the critic acknowledge himself to be acting unwittingly with those who know not Scripture, with rationalists, with Jansenists, with the philosophers of despair. He has no desire to combine with them. Let him then cease to do so.

His formula is that 'Il Papa e l' Italia' is admirable, but Utopian : the reviewer's formula is that it is judicious or not injudicious, but not admirable.

They contradict one another, and the reviewer contradicts himself. The reviewer begins by seeming prepared to adopt the censure of a German publication, but finds himself unable to do so. The sauer-kraut is too pungent for his palate. So he says : 'To talk magnanimously of never surrendering a principle is not to solve a question of this kind. The Papacy has only one principle which it never surrenders, and that is its duty above all things to save souls for which Christ died. No Catholic can pretend to say what surrender of temporal power or what waiving of spiritual prerogative it might not consider expedient at a given moment.' This is intended to protect the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' from the Rhenish onslaught. But where has the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' spoken of any

surrender of temporal power or waiving of spiritual prerogative? These topics are started with an almost incredible maladroitness by the reviewer himself. He then proceeds to propose the dilemma upon which we have commented above, and takes his cue from the German writer he began by confuting. We cannot reveal in print the personality of the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia,' so that the reader must take on credit the truth of our assertion that in a passage in the article on 'The Pope' the reviewer praises for their fidelity all—without exception—of the order of men to which the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' belongs; and thus we have his own refutation signed by his own hand. He is thus not only at variance with the writer whom we have called the critic, but even assails himself with self-inflicted wounds :

'Di meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!'

VIRGIL—*Georgic* iii. 513.

All is well, however, that ends well. The critic has acknowledged that 'all that is said' in 'Il Papa e l' Italia' 'is admirable.' What else in effect does the reviewer say in writing the conclusion of his article upon 'The Pope' than precisely what has been said before him by the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia'? The duty of Catholics is to look to the Pope, and to trust to him for the solution of the matter. What other language than this has the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' held, or could he hold? He has, indeed, spoken of a concordat as the form of the reconciliation. His observations upon concordats are surely of a very mild and inoffensive nature. 'Mutual concessions,' in which

the two contracting parties yield whatever state or ecclesiastical reasons permit them to yield,* seem merely the application to the ecclesiastical and governmental sphere of a principle that runs through all social life. There is no necessary connection between concession and compromise. 'Mutual concessions,' indeed, seem incompatible with compromise of principle. If one of the parties simply went into an engagement as a sheep to be shorn, there would be every concession made by, and none to, that party. The truth is, that in holding the language he does regarding the wish of the author of 'Il Papa e l'Italia' 'to force the Pope's hand,'† the reviewer is playing to the gallery in a way quite unworthy of him, which, whilst it may injure individuals, will not aid the common cause.

And a common cause it is, and that in the strictest sense.

We have said, and we repeat it, that at the close of the article on 'The Pope,' the reviewer adopts the very conclusions of the incriminated pamphlet! We have seen what he says of the 'surrender of temporal power,' and the 'waiving of spiritual prerogative.' The reviewer considers it our duty 'not to go before the Pope.' That is a matter of etiquette. Perhaps he thinks himself the principal person, and intends to close the procession. But perhaps it is not a state occasion. He would not 'outrun Peter.' Certain it is that he here outruns the author of

* Cf. 'Il Papa e l'Italia,' p. 33: 'The Pope and Italy,' p. 41.

† Yet the reviewer says: 'What the writer of this pamphlet, however, has to offer in the way of practical suggestion does not amount to much. Perhaps not much was intended.' In other words, he is definite and indefinite, purposeless and exacting at the same time!

'Il Papa e l' Italia.' Where he speaks of 'mutual concession,' the reviewer speaks of 'waiving' and 'surrender.' To waive is, according to the dictionaries, 'to relinquish.' The author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' has said nothing like this. Let us put it down to our blundering English way, and imagine that the reviewer means less than he says. As we must suppose him to mean something—or why should he discourse at length about 'The Pope?'—he must mean something less than what he has said. He could not say more, and less would be precisely what the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' has had the candour to express in his suggestion of a concordat. A concordat with whom? The reviewer shall answer. He replies in the teeth of the critic, who derides the thought of all accommodation with Italy. But we need not trouble further with the disputes of this happy family. The reviewer—never more a reviewer than here—says, 'We are disposed to think that the solution of the Italian Question will come from the Italians themselves.' There is something peculiarly charming in this 'we.' Could there be supposed such a conjunction of temptation with opportunity, *we* should say the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' had been bathing, and the reviewer had 'walked away with his clothes.'*

The reviewer is fond of dilemmas. Let him take this. Either the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' is—what he

* We have adopted this now historical, satirical phrase as an effective, yet—considered in its bearings—not offensive expression for such copyism as we believe we trace in the review. The reviewer may say he came to his conclusion independently. So did the boy Pascal to the demonstration of many propositions of Euclid; but we call these propositions Euclid, and not Pascal.

claims to be—a faithful Catholic, or he is not. If he is not, and is a hypocrite, God is his only Judge. If, on the contrary, he is a faithful Catholic, if he loves the Pontiff and the Church with a love altogether filial, the reviewer has directed upon him a fire that was meant for the enemy, and not for his own troops. But, it may be said, the question is not of the intention, but of the performance. We answer, it is not. The reviewer has made it turn upon the intention, and not upon the performance. But let the question turn upon the performance. Undoubtedly a man may have the best of causes, and yet (to use a common phrase) make such an idiot of himself, that everybody wishes to hear nothing further from him. Well, the reader has now heard the witnesses for the prosecution against the author of 'Il Papa e l' Italia.' Have they established anything against him? have they convicted him (1) of deficiency in Catholic loyalty, of thrusting advice upon the Pope, of conjuring up fancy Utopias, of trying to force the Papacy into a *guet-apens*; or (2) of general incapacity, that, however good his intentions, has made him blur and blunder everything? We fearlessly await the verdict. One witness has admitted what he has said to be admirable; the other has paid him the sincere compliment of imitation.

The defence which we have been compelled to undertake of 'Il Papa e l' Italia' will, we believe, be a suitable introduction to 'Il Vaticano e il Quirinale,' the new pamphlet of the author, from the perusal of which we are desirous not further to detain the reader.

The translator is again indebted to the Very Rev. the Prior of Douay, who amidst multifarious occupations and anxious cares has revised the whole, exclusive of the Preface.

THE LAURELS, GEORGE-MEAD, HORSHAM,

September, 1882.



THE
VATICAN AND THE QUIRINAL.

THE QUESTION.

POLITICIANS frequently find themselves face to face with terrible difficulties that appear insurmountable. Persons of fickle and impatient mind, sensible of their want of intellectual power to study the problem, and still less to furnish its solution, betake themselves to the course, very easy in appearance, of denying its existence. Hugging themselves in a poetical optimism, they continue to advance, as if it were enough to say that there is no wall in front to avoid giving one's head a fatal blow! Men of serious character, on the contrary, never lose their presence of mind in the most perplexing embarrassments. Since they know that to untie a knot requires, before everything, notice taken of its entanglements, to succeed in laying bare the course of its intricacies, they boldly encounter the difficulty; and by way of reflection upon similar cases, taking into account all the most telling

circumstances, and aiming directly at the public good, which is and ought to be the only object of the true politician, are successful in explicating it to the benefit and with the approval of the nations. The most important public question now agitated in Europe, nay, in the world, is the Roman. A question such as this has not been put on the *tapis* by speculators into matters of right more or less pertaining to civil or ecclesiastical law. It is an essentially practical question contemplated by millions and millions of men belonging to the largest religious association existing upon earth. They are the Catholics who have said, and who will incessantly repeat until the final restoration of their rights: 'We desire the freedom of our Head, who is the Pope. Dethroned in Rome, he from the 20th of September, 1870, demands the restoration of the sovereign liberty taken from him, and protests against finding himself under a hostile sway. It is now eleven years that he is a prisoner, and cannot freely issue from the Vatican. Not only has he no longer either the freedom of a king or the unimpeded exercise of his authority as Pontiff, but he is finally deprived of his liberty as a simple citizen. This state of things cannot any longer continue.' Such is the Roman question reduced to its exact terms. The Catholics resolve it, as the ages have many times resolved it, by recognising in the Pope alone the one true and legitimate sovereign of Rome. The Liberals shake their heads in denial, and rubbing their hands with joy, as was the way with Count Cavour when he was on the point of completing some *balossada* of his, rave and keep repeating to one another: 'But what Roman Question? We are at

Rome, and here we shall remain ; moreover, we shall stay here best : *hic manebimus optime.*'

AN ENTHYMEME.

In order that the Liberals may know that we Catholics are not then so *intransigents* and intractable with opponents as they often give us the blame and ill-credit of, we are anxious to examine here with all possible calmness the nature of their assertion, which is in sum exactly that of their most authoritative journals, the *Opinione*, the *Diritto*, the *Gazetta d' Italia*, the *Libertà*, the *Fanfulla*, the *Capitan Fracassa*, the *Popolo Romano*, the *Nuova Antologia*, and the like. They say, then : ' We are at Rome, and here we shall remain ; moreover, we shall stay here best.' Either these words express nothing, or they really admit of being reduced to the following chain of reasoning : He who is at Rome remains here, and will remain here best ; since we are at Rome we shall stay, and remain here best. For this Liberal enthymeme to be logically correct, it must be true that one who goes to Rome to besiege the Pope remains there, and that he who stays there will remain to the best advantage. But unfortunately for the Liberals, those two propositions are utterly false. As a matter of fact, the exact contrary is the truth. The barbarians have gone to Rome several times, and have been compelled to leave it. Long before they entered there, the Emperor Constantine was afraid to remain, and ' the eagle turn'd against the motions of the heav'n ' (Cary's Dante—' Paradiso,' vi. 1). The Saracens, the Germans, the Bavarians gained the Leonine city, and had

to retreat. The Constable Bourbon, under Charles V., was slain beneath the walls of Rome. Napoleon I. was unwilling to enter there, and the Frenchmen he commanded were constrained to withdraw. Napoleon II., King of Rome, never could see his own capital. Napoleon III., when actually permitting the troops of the King of Piedmont to make their entrance there, yielded his sword into the hands of the Emperor William, and took the way of exile. And if the Minister Baccelli is now so much occupied upon the isolation of the Pantheon from other buildings, he does but give the greater majesty to a sepulchre. It is the Popes alone who continue at Rome. The series of their tombs begins with that of S. Peter in the Vatican Basilica, and has been continued for nineteen centuries down to Pius IX. If the live Popes have been compelled by the secret counsel of Providence to go into exile several times from Rome, they returned thither when they were dead. There, near the ashes of S. Peter, beneath the Cupola of Michelangelo and the Confession of Bernini, is seen in the posture of prayer the statue of Pius VI., who, although he died an exile and a prisoner at Valence, had his glorious sepulchre in his own Rome. The Revolution that on the 20th September, 1880, solemnized with such an uproar the first ten years of the capture of Rome, wished, we believe, to give herein a proof of the most delicate political foresight. If it had determined to celebrate the jubilee of the *liberation* of the capital of the Catholic world from the *slavery** of the Pontiffs after the common method at the end of twenty-

* This language has been recently employed by Mr Tennyson in his poem 'To Virgil.' That sort of thing is safer in the hands of Mr. Swinburne.—TRANSLATOR.

five years, it would not, perhaps, have ventured to hope for the power of reaching the first celebration. So clear and evident is the teaching that history conveys to the present and future conquerors of the Rome of the Popes.

MISFORTUNES.

And here it is next of importance to throw a glance backwards upon the eleven years of the Italian Government in Rome, to see whether that most excellent permanence that it assured itself of with so much confidence from the beginning has been verified or not. And first, we say it with a little shame for our native country, the Italy that down to the 20th September had nothing less than an embarrassment of choice between three different alliances, that united with France was able to conquer Austria, in league with Prussia to force the Porta Pia, eleven years subsequent to the famous breach has remained completely isolated in Europe; abandoned, that is, by England, threatened by France, watched by Germany, despised by Russia, complimented by Austria, mocked by Turkey, disregarded by Spain, and having no tie save that of genealogy with Portugal. Neither would this be a great evil, provided the Italian Government had in itself such economical and military resources as could render it equal to the management of its own affairs. Strong and wealthy nations boast that they never beg for alliances; nay, if to the power and riches that render them formidable they unite generosity, they make their glory consist in giving aid to the weak and entangled. But the financial situation of the kingdom of Italy is so well known, that we very gladly dispense our-

selves from discussing it. Our public revenues are habitually exhausted upon public and private expenses. The patrimony of the Church has been sold without there being experienced from it the smallest advantage, we do not say by the kingdom or a province, but not even by the meanest of Italian communes. Officials have been multiplied by an hundredfold, the poor increased in number, the townships almost entirely drained of blood, all heart taken out of families. Gold having been withdrawn from home circulation to pay debts incurred abroad, has found a substitute in the kingdom, even after the so-called abolition of the compulsory circulation, by a paper-money of highly hygrometrical qualities and rich in cutaneous exhalations.

As to the military forces of the new kingdom, we shall limit ourselves with the ex-Minister Ricotti to the observation that both the land and the marine service is insufficient. Italy, on account of being a peninsula, if it wanted to be really strong, should furnish itself with a first-class navy. But for more than ten years back the Ministers of the Italian kingdom have bandied amongst them the Byzantine question of ships of large and small model, as if in great fleets they were not wanted on every scale. Then they never bestow a single thought upon founding, by way of example, a great naval school for the formation of pupils capable of manœuvring the *Affondatore* and the *Duilio* without stranding them after a few miles of flight.

And the land force is in scarcely better condition than the navy. The ancient iron discipline of the Piedmontese army is perhaps rather a memory than a reality. The repose of now three lustres of the Italian soldiery will in-

fallibly produce its effect on the day of trial. Then our Ministers of War will come too late to the knowledge of the fact that the number of battalions habituated to barrack life becomes terribly thinned as soon as war breaks out. Then the changes of the regulations, of uniforms, and of the more important officers, succeeding each other with incredible rapidity, produce in troops, even those pervaded by the best spirit, a state of discouragement, of perplexity, and of scepticism to such a degree that, supposing them for the most part deprived of religious comfort, as is the case in Italy, they become completely demoralized. The Italian Government has navigated no less troubled waters in the parliamentary ocean. Shortly after they were seated at Rome in the Cortile of the Curia Innocenziana,* the Left overpowered the Right, and the old Moderates were compelled little by little to retire before the young men of the Left, the architects and contractors of the famous 'bridge' of passage from Monarchy to the Republic. But as the exercise of ministerial power has, in the vicinity of the Italian Court, a transforming influence altogether peculiar to it; the lovers of the Republic, when summoned to the Ministry, insensibly, to the stupefaction of the uninitiated, became Monarchists *pur sang*, without disavowing their character as Advanced Liberals. Hence has resulted such a confusion in the Parliament, that the Left govern our country upon the system of the Right, and the latter are constrained to combat their old adversaries to their own undoing. The National Assembly found itself henceforth destitute of a compact majority possessed of a programme distinct from that of the

* At Monte Citorio.

minority. Because a conflict of some kind is always necessary to maintain the prestige of the constitutional guarantees, a true and characteristic opposition being an impossibility, need was to wind up with academical disputes over portfolios, to the infinite discredit of Parliament both in and out of Italy.

There is no longer seriousness in the discussions. There is constant laughter. The voting is void for want of the legal complement. Laws are decreed in block. Provisory allowances are granted from the budget. There are the acrobatic see-saws of Ministers, the contempt for and fear of the extra-parliamentary Republicans, the eloquent speeches of Mancini, the most extraordinary discourses of Depretis, the seventeenth century medical and biblical phrases of Baccelli.

This proceeds so far, that on the 22nd of January, the day after the arrival of Garibaldi upon the Continent, the Government was compelled to throw itself into the arms of the unknown by the promulgation of electoral reform. The Republican party could henceforth hope for nothing better, and if a man were to say that the Minister Depretis in Rome is the forerunner of the *Riforma* of the ex-Dictator Crispi, he would not be far from truth. If, then, a Government can say that it progresses in proportion as it advances normally in the development of its own programme at home, and strengthens it abroad by a careful and farsighted diplomacy, by powerful armaments by land and sea, and by a severe discipline applied to political parties, the most fervent Liberals themselves, in the face of facts so clear, will be obliged to confess that the *hic manebimus optime* has been, at least for the first eleven years of

the occupation, a mistaken prophecy. For if from the past one can reasonably argue to the future, it is abundantly evident that where the actual rulers of public affairs are at a loss, the *optime* is upon the very brink of being changed into a *pessime*, whereof the history of Italy will never have recorded the comparative degree.

THREATS.

But wisdom comes not with shouting, with banter, and still less with threats, which, when directed against the immovable rock of the Vatican and against the Catholic Church, may be compared, without undue offence to the *amour propre* of those who threaten, to barking at the moon.

This is the more the case that the slaughter of the Pope, of the cardinals, and of the priests, as often as permitted by the inscrutable counsel of God, would only enlarge by such and such a page the glorious martyrology of the ever-living Roman Church. The Emperor Diocletian also swore in his anti-Christian madness to exterminate the Church, and eventually discovered, as such persons are always to be found, a stupid writer of epigraphs, who let him see engraved on stone the realization of his frenzied dream, with those well-known words: *Nomine Christianorum deleto*. The Italian revolutionaries may hold for certain that it is not they who will erect the column inscribed 'Here was Rome.'

If, as they keep shouting, they are anxious to erect a mausoleum for the grand Orient of Freemasonry present

and to come, for our part we here take the liberty of advising the architects to conceive it of vast proportions, since we are certain that it will have to serve for the whole batch, down to the last man. It is folly to believe that the epithet *eternal* commonly bestowed upon Rome is a mere phrase. It is, on the contrary, the most trustworthy sentiment of the human race with regard to the destinies of the city of Romulus, of Augustus Cæsar, and of S. Peter. All generations find themselves before Rome, the constant mistress of the world.

When, a short time since, at the excavations of the Pantheon, the Minister Bacelli struck his foot against an old vase, and saw issue from it a shower of mediæval silver coin with the sublime inscription '*Roma caput mundi*,' he might easily have learnt the lesson that to destroy Rome, it would be necessary to decapitate the world. That then the human race allow, *de bono et æquo*, its head to be cut off by the Radicals, by way of pleasing the Italian Unitarians, is a thing upon which not even the most transcendental of sceptics can entertain a doubt!

THE PRETENDER.

But let us leave off talking of these impromptus. Liberals of good sense, and there are not a few of them in Italy, are the first to consider them most injurious to the actual Government, as being what, sooner or later, if they are not disavowed at the proper moment by the holders of power, would come into collision with the interests the European Powers have, or believe they have,

in Rome, and would prompt them all to take measures of precaution of such a kind or on such a scale, that not only Rome as capital, but even recent independence would incur serious risk from them. Some journals have pronounced the word 'Pretender,' and have believed that the Roman Question might be settled (always reserving, be it well understood, the rights of the Pope) like the Modenese, the Tuscan, and the Neapolitan. They have said: The Pope, when dispossessed, is only one of the many princes whom the Italian revolution has consigned to private life. The ex-Duke of Modena, the ex-Grand Duke of Tuscany, the ex-King of Naples, have disappeared, and have had the good sense to resign themselves, after a few innocent protests, to the new condition of a life free from public responsibility. If ever they should wish to assume the attitude of pretenders, we, to get rid of them, should have nothing else to do than apply to them such and such an article of the Criminal Code.

Why then will not the Pope consent to accommodate himself to his fortune? If he murmur, if he protest, if he use means of any kind to recover the sceptre, he will be a *pretender* of some sort, answerable before our laws: nay, a *pretender* of the worst description, because, not content with universal dominion over minds, he will show himself grossly greedy for a few square miles of territory. We Catholics, in our love for the public peace, do not hesitate to take into consideration this new reply of the Liberals to the fundamental inquiry of the Roman Question. Counting more upon the good understanding than upon the

good will of our not over-chivalrous adversaries, we promise ourselves to convince them that the dethroned Pope, in reclaiming his temporal power, is not and never can be a mere *pretender*. The Liberals, setting aside their religious belief, must yet acknowledge as an undeniable fact that the Roman Pontiff is the one exclusive sovereign of the largest Christian communion upon the face of the earth; that he is not the head of some religion confined to this or that kingdom, to this or that part of the globe, but is the father, the ruler, the supreme judge of millions and millions of Christians, who, although ethnographically and politically divided, all centre in him, and depend upon him with regard to the first principles of Christian faith and morals; and as to the fundamental laws of ecclesiastical discipline, the monarch of an exceedingly vast and powerfully organized hierarchy—which, with better reason than even the empire of the Cæsars, can take the census of the whole world, divided and governed by diocesan provinces of more than a thousand chief pastors, belonging to every variety of the human family—who possesses the *imperium* of the Catholic Church, a Church that does not appertain to States, but which contains in itself and surrounds, as the sea does the islands, all the kingdoms of the world, absorbing and establishing in itself in the unity of dogma and precept all the infinite divisions of the human race. We, as we have already indicated, do not claim of the Liberals an act of faith with reference to these sublime and divine prerogatives of the Pope. We know only too well that Liberals either do not believe or pretend not to believe in the Pope.

We merely claim, and it appears to us that we can claim it with reason, that the Liberals cannot obstinately deny the fact of the supremacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff over so great a part of world that owes civilization to Christianity. That granted, if even since the fall of the Roman Empire, and since the Eastern schism and the heresies of the West, all the Catholic nations in every century have betaken themselves to Rome to venerate the Pontiff, and to listen to his authoritative teaching in the very seat of his sacerdotal majesty, it is necessary hence to infer that they have always wished and believed him to be thoroughly free in the exercise of his exalted ministry, and in nowise subject to any earthly dominion; since it can never be supposed that the Catholic nations, in order to see Peter, venerated by them as the Vicar of God, should be under the necessity of asking permission from any sovereign. Therefore the normal situation of the Pope is liberty, and independence of any political Power.

And this liberty and independence is not so much desired and demanded by the Pope as by the whole body of Catholics, so that if, to suppose an absurdity, a Pope were willingly to make himself the servant of a political Power, he would of himself deny his own authority in the face of the Church, which might in such a case be justly apprehensive for the liberty of conscience of the faithful. And see why history tells us of martyr Popes, of fugitive Popes, of imprisoned Popes, of exiled Popes, but never of Popes the voluntary and recognised subjects of a monarch. If, then, the Pope demands the temporal power that belongs to him, he demands it as the Pope who has the

right to the free exercise of the government of the Church, not purely and simply as an ex-sovereign who has a right to regain his State. The Roman Question then can never be resolved in Italy by way of fact, according to the ordinary resolution in the world of questions of the interests of mere dynasties and territories.

RESIGNATION.

Another solution most specious, especially through the ingenuity of the exposition, is that lately conceived by Bonghi in the *Nuova Antologia*. This indefatigable Liberal publicist, whom the famous *suoni inarticolati* (hisses) of the youths of the university of Turin could not deprive of his reputation as a man of singular talents, has acknowledged that it is only too true that the Pope finds himself inconveniently situated in Rome, the capital of Italy; that the guarantees have not been scrupulously observed by the Government; that many blunders have been committed by the Italian Ministers, and that the liberty of the press having degenerated into license, is almost constantly giving with impunity cause of offence to the Pontiff. Bonghi has added that the situation is strained; but there is no returning or possibility of returning. If the Pope will not and cannot reconcile himself with the new order of things in Rome, he should find in himself and in the lofty dignity that invests him the virtue requisite to make him quietly resign himself to the transformation that the course of events in the world has made the Roman Pontificate undergo. Since Bonghi has not perhaps believed that he was going beyond his own tether

in recommending resignation to the most authoritative teacher of evangelical morality, we may allow ourselves in turn to explain to the ex-Minister of Public Instruction, and moreover to Father Curci, the moralist, in what Christian resignation should properly consist, and if there be an appropriate occasion for the exercise of this heroic virtue on the part of the Pope actually despoiled of his temporal dominion. Resignation is a virtue that makes us resolve to suffer patiently some peculiar and special adversities that, after we have made our utmost efforts to free ourselves from them, show themselves to be beyond our power to combat. For example, a good Christian who finds himself in danger of losing his sight, avails himself of every aid of medicine and surgery to avert from himself this dreadful calamity. But when all remedies have failed him, and he has become blind, he *resigns* himself to his misfortune, and keeps silence. An atheist in a similar case would not be able to resign himself, and rather than live in blindness, would prefer to throw himself from a fourth-story window. In order, then, that the Pope should be able to resign himself as a Christian to the loss of his temporal power, it would be necessary before everything that such power should be a mere attribute of his august person. But it is very clear that the temporal power, as we have above observed, is not a mere personal appurtenance of the Pope, but in reality a necessary condition of the free and independent exercise of his supreme Pontifical authority, to be reckoned as the true and inalienable property of the Universal Church. The Pope, then, who, as the supreme ruler of Catholicism, is under the obligation

of obtaining and providing what is for the common benefit of Catholics, were he to yield to the seizure by violence of what does not belong to him as private property, and which he and the Church consider of the utmost necessity in the present circumstances of the world, would be very far from an example of resignation for the imitation of Christians. At least it would be necessary first to prove to him to demonstration that the temporal power had hopelessly vanished with the breach of Porta Pia.

CONCILIATION.

And this is precisely the contention of Curci, who, in his caprice on the subject of conciliation, has fixed it in his head that it is folly to hope for any restoration of the temporal power of the Pontiff.

For, he reiterates, God has permitted and decreed the fall of Rome by the arms of Italy. It is a marvel how Curci has been able to lose recollection of the very principle assumed by him to prove his own conclusion, which principle is as follows: 'The temporal sovereignty was merely a corollary of the Christian constitution of Europe in its early state. But,' assumes Curci, 'the old Christian Europe has disappeared, and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope has vanished along with it.' Now, to demonstrate that the loss of the temporal power is irreparable, and that therefore the Pope should reconcile himself to the new Italy, and resign himself to a new mode of existence, it must be proved that Europe will never again re-constitute itself upon the basis of Christian principles. But that is a demonstration that can never be undertaken by a Catholic

such as Curci is and has always avowed himself to be ; *because* such a proposition is diametrically opposed to the great Biblical maxim bearing upon politics, namely, the capacity for healing of the nations of which mankind is composed ; *because* it would be to admit with the rationalists that Christian polity has run its course ; *because* it would lead to the Jansenistic supposition that the Church which had strength sufficient to Christianize Pagan society, has no longer the power so much as to keep it Christian after nineteen centuries of conflict and victories ; *because*, finally, it would compel us to shut our eyes to avoid seeing that precisely at the present time Europe is engaged in struggling with the supreme efforts of the neo-Pagan doctrinaire revolution, and that the secretly-imparted breath of Christianity is reviving it afresh, and urging it, in its own despite, back upon the Vatican. If, then, we ought not to despair and cannot despair of the Christian re-constitution of Europe ; if it is a fact that cannot be denied that the voice of the most sage Leo XIII. has aroused nations and rulers from the mortal lethargy wherein they were prostrated, and has already assembled about his throne all the noblest and the most influential intellects engaged in European diplomacy ; if the dread question of Rome is now studied and discussed all the world over by the friends and by the enemies of the Pope—Father Curci will be compelled to allow us to draw here the logical conclusion from his own most exactly true assertion as to the origin of the temporal power, that the redintegration of this power is historically probable, and politically not far off. Bonghi and Curci may then simply leave off their ascetic

inculcation upon the Pope of the virtue of Christian resignation.

THE SEQUESTRATION.

But here come forward with the Minister Mancini all those Liberals who, having entered Rome on the 20th September, believe in their simplicity that they have succeeded in confining to the geographical boundaries of the Peninsula the Roman Question, and that they had already reduced the Pope to the modest proportions of a Primate of Italy. With loud voice and rhetorical gesture they launch circulars and articles in the sight of Europe, protesting that they will not and that they cannot admit any sort of interference in the controversies between the Pope and Italy—controversies, they say, of a merely internal description, and in our dwelling we do not wish for self-chosen advisers, and much less for foreign masters. We have ever kept in mind that of the three great blunders of the Italian Government in the year 1881—namely, the horrors of the 13th of July, the threats of the 7th of August, and the Circular of the 27th of July—the last has been the grossest and the most charged with terrible consequences for the new kingdom of Italy. A Cavour, a Ricasoli, a Visconti Venosta, would never have sent to the archives of the Foreign Offices of Europe a diplomatic note of such a kind as this. The most elementary prudence imposed upon Mancini a rigorous reserve, at least until the tribunals of the kingdom should have decided by which of the parties the crime of the 13th July had been committed. Yet the ardent Neapolitan kept no measures.

He accused the Catholics, who were afterwards discharged by the tribunal; he defended the Republicans, who were condemned; and, what seems incredible, intimated to Europe in good set terms that it should mind its own business, since Italy would never stoop to receive even the most respectful comment of any Power whatever upon the question, purely Italian and internal, of the liberty of the Pontiff. An *internal* question means in diplomacy a question relating exclusively to the interests of the inhabitants of a kingdom, in the same way as a *family* question means one arising between the members of the same family. And as the State is also itself a family, everyone understands that as persons cannot take part in family disputes without at all belonging to it, so a foreign Power should not interest itself in what happens in the privacy of another State, except in so far as it may have just reason to entertain fear from it for its own interests. To say, then, that the question of the liberty of the Pope is an internal Italian question, means *that* Italy alone has to deal with the Pope; *that* the Pope outside Italy is of interest to no one; *that* no Power has relations of any sort with the Pope; *that* external to Italy there are not Bishops who depend upon the Pope; *that* outside Italy there are not Catholics who believe in and obey the Pope; *that*, in fine, Italy has withdrawn the Pope from the Catholic world, and *that*, in consequence, the question of the liberty of the religious head of so many Catholic kingdoms must be treated of in Italy and by Italy alone, like that of a president of an appeal court, of a prefect, of a syndic, or of a commissary of some province or other of the kingdom.

This, and nothing else than this, Mancini wished to write and make known officially to Europe. And we here interpellate: either Mancini foresaw the offence that he would give with his circular to Europe, or he failed to do so; upon either hypothesis, no Minister in the world was ever less cautious or more simple than he.

When Bonghi and Curci say that if the Italian Government is now sailing in troubled waters, the fault is entirely that of the Ministers and of the Government officials, Bonghi and Curci speak truth. We therefore add, paraphrasing a highly spiced Latin saying,* that madness in those who should have sense both for self-regulation and the government of others is more than a misfortune, it is a terrible blow inflicted by Providence. How, indeed, without the conception of a Supreme Avenger of the Catholic Church can one explain the preposterous claim of the Italian Minister in giving Europe to understand that the question of the Pope is entirely local and internal to Italy, when a few steps from the Quirinal, where the King of Italy has taken up his residence, rises in majesty the Vatican, surrounded and defended by the ambassadors of all the first Powers in the world? But what are they in Rome to do, if no one outside Italy troubles himself or should any longer trouble himself about the Pope? But if all nations do interest themselves and have a right to interest themselves about the Pope, with what unblushing forehead can the utterly absurd assertion be maintained that the question of the Pope is a merely Italian one, and that it has already been definitively solved by Italy with the Law of Guarantees?

* Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.

THE GUARANTEES.

And *à propos* of this famous organic law by which the Italian Government believed that it had conveniently provided for the liberty of the Pontiff, and that from its very beginning was regarded as the one most suitable and convenient substitute for the temporal power, we are unwilling to repeat what has been already said by Catholic and Liberal publicists; and still less is it our intention to combat it, sanctioned as it is by the Italian code. What we can say is, that such a law, perchance because the exclusive conception of the moderate revolutionaries, has served for nothing else than an ingenious expedient to discontent all parties. And to say the truth, Catholics, to whatever shade they belong, by way of manifesting their profound convictions with reference to the necessity of the temporal power, have everywhen and everywhere disapproved of this *régime* of Bonghi's, not only because contradictory in terms, as being what claims with sovereign authority to guarantee a sovereign, who, precisely because sovereign, cannot be guaranteed by laws proceeding from others;* but, and much more, because at the very time that it declares the Pope an inviolable sovereign, it strips him even of the Vatican Palace, depriving him of all property whatsoever in movables and immovables of every kind. The law, in fact, by the declaration of leaving the Pope *the enjoyment* of the Vatican Palace and garden, by this very thing declares him despoiled of all real property, thus reducing the successor of Leo the Great, of Innocent III., of Julius II., of Leo X., of Sixtus V., of Pope Borghese, of

* Cf. 'Il Papa e l'Italia, p. 27; 'The Pope and Italy, p. 33.

Pius VII., and of Pius IX., to the condition of a mere free tenant of the Kings of Savoy, to the indescribable insult of the supreme Pontifical authority, with incredible ingratitude to the preserver of Pagan and the creator of Christian Rome, and with immeasurable injury to the honour and to the proprietary rights of the entire Catholic world. The Radicals, then—who, like fire, never burn except to reduce to ashes—dash themselves like maniacs against the Law of Guarantees, in the hope of being able, upon its abolition, to have a banquet one Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel, and to make thereafter a bonfire of the Quirinal and of the Vatican. And the self-same moderates awaken to the knowledge of the necessity of the reformation, whatever it may be, of their law, to free themselves, as they say, from the molestations the Government has already experienced in various rencounters, sometimes by home and sometimes by foreign remonstrances. So that the machinery mounted and handled by the Italian Government by way of presenting Europe with the phantasmagoric spectacle of a sovereign Pope in full possession of liberty in a vast and sumptuous palace, by the Government leaving him to *enjoy* its use as a compulsory residence, has completely and irrevocably failed.

WHAT IS IMPOSSIBLE.

Curci and his party of *conciliatori* continue to keep themselves in galvanic motion in order to persuade the Holy See to accept, through fear of something worse, the present state of things in Italy, pretending that the only possible solution is the renunciation by the Pope of the

temporal power; since, he repeats with Bonghi, it is impossible for Italy to leave Rome, and restore his sceptre to the Pope. To the said politicians it would now be time 'to murmur a requiem without so many discourses,' as they have been, in addition to their condemnation by the Holy See, confuted a thousand times both by Catholics and Liberals. We, because we desire to examine with loyal frankness all the ideas of the Liberals, and also the variations of the same ideas with reference to the great problem, beseech Curci and Bonghi and their followers to weigh dispassionately these last words of ours upon conciliation. When the Liberals proclaim that it is *impossible* for Italy to restore Rome to the Pope, they can mean nothing else than that it is extremely difficult and highly improbable for this to come to pass, since the Liberals cannot, without manifest falsehood, proclaim an impossibility of this kind in the name of history. History in fact teaches us that Rome was never the capital of Italy in any other sense than as Italy was the principal part of the Roman Empire; and that it possesses such a character of cosmopolitanism that it is impossible without degradation ever to reduce it definitely to the condition of the mere capital of twenty or thirty million souls. Moreover, it teaches that the capital of a State, especially a new State, cannot be fixed *à priori*, but must be more or less *provisional*, until political observation and experience have brought to light the advantages and disadvantages that accrue to the State from this or that city wherein the seat of public authority may have been established. The capital of the new Russia of Peter the Great travelled

from Moscow to S. Petersburg. The United States of America, amid so many fine and wealthy cities won in the War of Independence from England, preferred to make an entirely new one as the capital of the Republic. And if the Roman Empire retired from political and religious necessity from Rome to Constantinople, created expressly by Constantine the Great to correct the misplacing of the centre of gravity of the empire; and if the kingdom of Italy has already travelled from Turin to Florence, and from Florence to Rome, because it appeared that the new internal conditions of the State demanded such changes—we do not in reality find any historical impossibility, for reasons of the most exalted kind, namely, the constant expostulations of the Catholic world, in its having either to return to Florence or continue the journey to Naples. The impossibility, therefore, of leaving Rome reduces itself to a single difficulty, great, very great, if we will, but to nothing else than a difficulty of execution, exaggerated according to his wont by Bonghi in his well-known article in the *Nuova Antologia*.

On the other hand, the impossibility on the part of the Pope of renouncing the temporal power is exclusively of the moral, religious, and juridical order. The *non possumus* of Pius IX. and of Leo XIII. does not mean 'We cannot either historically, or politically, or diplomatically renounce our temporal rights;' but its meaning is: 'We cannot, without failing to our sacred ministry, abandon Rome, established by God on behalf of our See.' Therefore if peace is the object sought—and at the present time all persons desire it in Italy, and at the present time all Europe imposes it

upon Italy—that must not be claimed from the Pope which the Pope absolutely and conscientiously cannot grant, without trespassing upon his supreme duty and right of guarding, even at the cost of blood and life, the sacred liberty of the Church. If not owing to filial reverence for the Pontiff, or through respect for those most sacred reasons upon which he acts, at least for their own interests, to repel the imminent danger of more than diplomatic pressure from without, to gain the power of seriously attending to the reduction to good order of the internal affairs of the kingdom, that are all of them in a most wretchedly precarious state, to oppose a barrier to the socialistic torrent, the Italian Government should, if they truly love their country, if they do not hate the social life of the Church even to the political destruction of Italy, do their very best and utmost to satisfy the lawful demands of Catholicism, by rendering the Pope free in his own Rome. Grave as may be the difficulties, they will always be capable of being overcome by a Government that desires its own preservation, and that would come to be the more respected and feared in Europe, in proportion to its showing itself the more prudent and energetic in the selection of another seat, where the arms of Papal patrons engraven on the stones would not be a cause of fear or upbraiding to the august tenants.

DIPLOMACY.

When Italy was subdivided, and the foreigner enjoyed the northern part, the Liberals of the neo-Guelphic school of Balbo, of Gioberti, and of Manzoni proclaimed that

Italy would prove the cause of constant agitation in Europe until it had succeeded in recovering its independence, always preserving the rights of the Roman Pontiff. With this explicit condition *sine quâ non* (we set aside his personal ends) Napoleon III. was able to induce France to aid Piedmont in the war against Austria. Europe believed, or made a show of believing, the assurances of Piedmont with regard to the rights of the Pope, and allowed; by way of seeing finally extinguished the focus of intestine war, Italian independence to become an accomplished fact. But Italy was not contented prudently to conquer; she wished to gain more than was just. The metropolis of the Catholic world having been gained by a very easy military triumph, Italy naïvely indulged in the ill-founded expectation of being able to slumber under the laurels of Bixio and of Cadorna, without understanding—or, to put it better, without wishing to understand—that if Italy prior to its liberation had been for more than half a century a constant peril to the peace of Europe, Italy independent, with Rome as its capital, would prove an insult, an offence, a perpetual provocation to the Catholic nations of the whole world, who—sooner or later—either by diplomacy or by military means, would have the liberty of the Pontiff restored him. If Italy, then, with the permission and with the aid of Europe, could achieve its independence, thus ceasing to be for such and such a reason (whether believed or not little matters) an occasion of revolutions and of wars, it is easy to understand how to calm the ever-increasing agitation of Catholics in favour of the Pontiff, and not to discover herself at any time

face to face with all Europe demanding the independence of the Pope, she should have no other resource than reconciliation with the Pope, and the restoration of the Quirinal to the Vatican.

This, and we say it with profound conviction, is the only Italian solution of the terrible world-wide problem, and is, perhaps, that which through love for his country our great Pontiff, Leo XIII., in his magnanimous heart, longs for. Let not the Unitarian Liberals deceive themselves! If for the Catholic world this is the most important question of religious liberty, it is nevertheless a matter of time; whilst for Italy it is a question of existence or non-existence. If the Government will not undertake with good heart to fulfil of itself the programme of 'Pope Sovereign in independent Italy,' which satisfies the religious and political requirements of the Italians, who does not see that there are ninety-nine chances to one that for the sake of the peace of the Catholic world, the sovereignty of the Pontiff may concern Europe much more than the independence of Italy?

A DILEMMA.

It is said and repeated that reconciliation upon the basis of the restoration of Rome to the Pontiff, however good and fair it might be, is beyond the sphere of practical politics. We—perchance in this respect too simple—are of the opposite opinion. On the side of the Holy See, we do not see insurmountable difficulties. The Pope is the Prince, the Judge, the Supreme Ruler of the Catholic Church; but before anything else he is the Father of

Christendom, and the representative upon earth of the infinite Clemency and Mercy 'Who receiveth whosoever returneth unto Him.' If the nations, like individuals, are often guilty in the sight of God and the Church, *nations*, as individuals, are *for healing*; and the Pope, who as the father of individuals absolves them when penitent, in the plenitude of his divine power receives likewise to his bosom nations that have fled from him, and re-admits them to the Catholic family, on the condition that they make satisfaction, to the utmost of their power, to the demands of justice. On the part of the present Italian Government there is a difficulty. It would be folly to deny it. But let us understand this properly. The chief difficulty does not lie in the performance of the material acts needful for reconciliation with the Pontiff, and for the evacuation of Rome; since insurmountable internal difficulties never present themselves to a strong Government. The principal difficulty is in *the will*. Who, they say, is the person that is in the long-run to be willing to reconcile himself to the Pope? The King? If he wishes it ever so, he cannot, because he reigns, and does not govern. The Ministers? Besides not wishing it, they cannot, because they depend upon Parliament. Parliament? If it has the power, it has not the will, and will never possess it. But, we reply, the Parliament is either composed of competent deputies, or not. If they are reasonable men, as must be supposed, they should exercise the processes of reason upon the subjects of their deliberations. They should not adopt them at hazard, or through passion, or by the instinct of party.

If they represent the interests of the nation ; if they see, as they cannot fail to see, the extreme peril incurred by Italy through the question of the Pope ; if they know that they do not possess forces sufficient, either by land or sea, to hinder a foreign invasion ; if they have felt the terrible isolation in which Italy finds itself through the *impossible* policy of both Right and Left ; if to acquire some Italian provinces they surrendered Nice and Savoy ; if to make amends for the *Italia irredenta* they allowed the King of Italy to be accoutred at the Court of Vienna in the hitherto abhorred uniform of an Austrian colonel ; if they underwent in silence, through a fear of war, the humiliations of Berlin, of Marseilles, of Tunis, of Sfax, of the Bay of Assab, and of Egypt—should they find it difficult and impossible eventually to propose to the executive of the kingdom the solution the simplest, the most rational, and the most thoroughly Italian of the Roman problem ? Either then the Italian deputies will end in comprehending the political necessity of restoring Rome to the Pontiff to preserve the independence of Italy, or the Italian deputies, if the second edition has not been printed by the royal printing-press of Moncalieri of the German Circular of January 4th, 1882, will be responsible before the monarchy and the country for all the misfortunes that sooner or later will shower down upon the peninsula for their immovable Masonic determination to keep at all costs at the Vatican and at the Quirinal, prisoners each to each, the Pope and the King. The Catholics, who if they are at present restrained by motives of a superior order from official participation in public affairs, having been

lately roused to action by the most important Encyclical *Etsi** of the 15th February, will put in practice all the means proposed and inculcated by the Vatican to allay the tempest of anarchy that threatens us with the extreme of desolation. Their appeal to the Government on behalf of the safety of their native country and for the liberty of the Church, if it will be received with wrath or in silence by their foes, and perchance with distrust and mockery by some of their brethren in faith and hope, will not pass away empty.

History will register it in its immortal pages ; and in the future they will possess therein an infallible proof of the non-complicity of Catholics in the disasters of our beloved country. We therefore have done and will do our duty.

In the hour of danger we have cried aloud, '*Salus Italiae suprema lex esto.*' Leo XIII., with the heart of an Italian and of a Pope, with the mind of a diplomatist and of a sovereign, has more than once invited Governments to reconciliation, and all have not remained deaf to his paternal voice. Please God that the wise and benevolent Pontiff may not have one day to weep over our dear Italy, as Christ wept at the sight of His own Jerusalem !

* See Appendix.



APPENDIX.

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF ITALY.

ALTHOUGH We, in the authority and fulness of our Apostolic office, embrace both the universal Christian commonwealth and its several parts with the utmost zeal and charity, nevertheless, at present, in an especial manner, it is Italy that claims Our cares and thoughts.

And in these cares and thoughts We regard something superior to human and earthly things. We are anxious and solicitous for the eternal salvation of souls, upon which it is the more fitting that all Our efforts should be fixed and directed, as We see it beset with the greater perils.

Perils of this kind, if ever of magnitude in Italy, are especially great at this time, when the situation of public affairs is exceedingly fraught with danger to the safety of religion. And for this reason We are the more profoundly moved that there is special need of communication between Us and Italy, wherein God has placed the dwelling of His Vicar, the *magisterium* of truth, and the centre of Catholic unity.

Elsewhere I have warned the people as a whole to be on their guard individuals to understand their duties where occasions of offence present themselves. Still, increase, We are anxious for You, Venerable Brother Your attention closely to these evils, and, have highly surveyed the tendency of common affairs with diligence the popular mind, and strengthen every rampart, that the most precious of that Catholic faith, may not be taken from it.

A most pernicious of men, whose originators and leaders do not dissemble their intentions, has settled down upon us in Italy, and having declared a warfare against Christ, is endeavouring its utmost to deprive the people of the Institutes of Christianity. It has advanced in its audacious course there insensitively for saying here, especially since, Venerable, the injuries and ruin inflicted upon religion are present before Your eyes.

Amid the papists who have at all times been constant and in the religion of their fathers, the liberty of the know everywhere diminished, and this proceeds daily every day, so that the form and, so to speak of Christianity should be expelled from all institutions—that character for which the Italian has been deservedly valued. The houses of Monks have been suppressed; the goods of the have been confiscated; marriages celebrated without lic rites; no share has been

reserved for ecclesiastical authority in the education of youth.

And there is neither end nor limit to the bitter and deplorable conflict waged with the Apostolic See, on account of which the Church suffers to an incredible degree, and the Roman Pontiff is put to the most difficult straits. For having been deprived of his civil principedom, it was necessary for him to submit to the dominion and power of another.

Moreover, the City of Rome, the most august of Christian cities, has been exposed and lies open to every description of foe of the Church, and is profaned by impious novelties, by schools and by churches dedicated by heretical rites in every quarter. Nay, even is it said that it is this very year about to receive the delegates and leaders of the sect that is the greatest enemy of Catholicism, who are to come hither to some special council and congress. The reason is sufficiently evident for their choice of this city, namely, their desire to gratify the hatred they have conceived against the Church by insult and injury, and, by way of provocation to the Roman Pontificate in its special seat, to apply at close quarters the baleful torch of war. Assuredly it is not to be doubted that the victorious Church will one day put to rout the impious assaults of men; and yet it is certain and manifest that they wish by these measures to succeed in assailing the whole body of the Church, together with its Head, and, if it were possible, to extinguish religion itself.

That those who profess themselves the greatest lovers of Italy should indeed desire this would appear incredible;

for the Italian nation, if the Catholic faith were to perish from it, would be necessarily deprived of a source of benefits. For if the Christian religion has furnished the best protection for the safety of all nations, the sanction of laws, and the guardianship of justice ; if it has everywhere subdued by its own strength the blind and rash passions of mankind—the companion and assistant of everything that is honest, worthy of praise, and great—if it has everywhere reduced the several orders of the Commonwealth and various members of the State to complete and settled harmony, it assuredly bestowed the plenitude of these blessings more abundantly than upon others upon the Italians. It is indeed the foul disgrace of too many that they say that the Church is a hindrance and injury to the growth of the Commonwealth, and consider the Roman Pontificate hostile to the prosperity and greatness of the Italian nation. But their complaints and absurd accusations are manifestly confuted by all the monuments of former ages. For in reality Italy is under the greatest obligations to the Church and the supreme Pontificate ; because it spread its renown amongst all nations, because it yielded not to the frequently renewed attacks of the barbarians, and victoriously repelled the gigantic armaments of the Turks, and in many things long preserved just and equal liberty, and enriched its cities with numerous and immortal specimens of the fine arts. And this is not the least of the praises of the Roman Pontiffs, that they ever kept the provinces of Italy, varying in temper and customs, united in the community of faith and religious obligation, and from those discords which are the most

fatal of all. And in times of trouble and calamity, not once alone were public affairs on the point of being reduced to the most dangerous extremities, if the Roman Pontificate had not provided for the common safety. And it will not be the case that it will avail less in future, provided the opposing will of men do not interfere with its efficacy, or check its liberty. Truly the beneficent power inherent in Catholic institutions, since it results spontaneously from their very nature, is immutable and perpetual. As for the salvation of souls, the Catholic religion embraces all places and all times, it also extends and unfolds itself everywhere and constantly in civil relations as well.

When so many and such great benefits have been snatched away, the greatest evils succeed, since those who hate Christian wisdom, whatever they may assert to the contrary, call down destruction upon the State. For nothing is better fitted than their doctrines violently to excite popular passion, and to stir up the most dangerous longings. In sooth, in those things comprised in learning and science they reject the divine light of faith ; and when this has perished, the mind of man is as a rule carried away into error, fails to discern truth, and is readily disposed to fall into low and base *materialism*. They despise in the class of morals the eternal and unchangeable reason, and scoff at God, the supreme legislator and awarder. When these foundations have been removed, it follows that there being no sufficient sanction for law, the entire rule of life is drawn from man's will and caprice. In the State, moreover, license springs from the immoderate liberty they preach up and strain after ; and

license is followed by the disturbance of order, the greatest and most fatal disease of the State. In truth, never was a more hideous aspect or wretched condition of State affairs than when such men and measures were able for a time to prevail. And if recent examples did not occur to the thoughts, it would seem beyond belief that men inspired by reckless wickedness could rush into such frantic excesses, and retaining in mockery the name of liberty, revel in fire and slaughter.

That Italy has not yet experienced such a reign of terror we should first indeed ascribe to the special mercy of God, and next consider it as the cause that since the large majority of the people of Italy have zealously persevered in the Catholic religion, the hankering after the mischievous opinions of which we have spoken could not be prevalent. But if the safeguards afforded by religion were broken down, Italy would forthwith sink under the same misfortunes that have in time past shattered the greatest and most flourishing nations. For it must be that like consequences should follow upon similar doctrines; and since the seeds are sown in the same imperfection, it must follow that they should certainly scatter the same fruits. Nay, the Italian nation might perchance pay heavier penalties for the violation of religion, because the sin of ingratitude would be added to perfidy and impiety. For it was not by any mere accident, or slight determination of man's will, that Italy was made partaker from the beginning in the salvation wrought by Christ, and had placed in its bosom the See of the Blessed Peter, and through a long course of ages enjoyed the mighty and divine benefits that

spontaneously flow from the Catholic religion. Therefore has it occasion to fear for itself the threat of Paul the Apostle upon ungrateful peoples : ' The earth that drinketh in the rain which cometh often upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is tilled, receiveth blessing from God. But that which bringeth forth thorns and briars is reprobate, and very near unto a curse, whose end is to be burnt ' (Heb. vi. 7, 8).

May God avert this dreadful fate ; and let all seriously consider the dangers already partly present, partly to be anticipated at the hands of those who, not consulting for the common good, but for the ends of the sects, wage a mortal war with the Church. Certainly if they were wise, if they were under the impulse of true love for their native country, they would neither distrust the Church nor, at the bidding of unjust suspicions, attempt to abstract from its natural liberty. Nay, they would turn their designs from assaults upon it to its shelter and defence : and they would especially provide for the recovery of his rights by the Roman Pontiff.

For the conflict waged with the Apostolic See, the more injurious to the Church, is the greater danger to the safety of Italy. Concerning this, we have expressed Our mind elsewhere : ' Say that the public affairs of Italy cannot prosper and flourish or enjoy lasting tranquillity unless provision has been made, as all rights demand, for the dignity of the Roman See and the liberty of the Supreme Pontiff.'

Wherefore, as we desire nothing more than the safety of Christianity, and are moved by the present danger of

the peoples of Italy, we exhort You, Venerable Brethren, with greater fervency than ever, to combine Your zeal and charity in providing along with Us remedies for such great evils.

And, first of all, teach with the utmost care the populations the great value of the possession of the Catholic faith, and the great necessity for guarding the same.

Since the enemies and opponents of Catholicism, in order the better to deceive the unwary, in many matters do one thing and pretend another, it is highly important that their secret counsels should be disclosed and brought to light; that, forsooth, their true wishes and the cause for which they are struggling having been discovered, zeal and courage may be excited in Catholics, and they may defend the Church and the Roman Pontiff, that is their own good estate, with manliness and in an open manner.

Hitherto the courage of many, which would have been of the greatest efficacy, has appeared somewhat sluggish in action and relaxed in effort, either because their minds were unaccustomed to affairs, or because they had not sufficiently considered the immensity of the threatening perils. Now, indeed, that the times have been gauged by experience, nothing would be more harmful than negligently to suffer the persistent malice of the wicked, and to leave ground unoccupied for them longer to harass Christianity. They, indeed, more prudent than the children of light, have already ventured much.

Inferior in numbers, superior in craft and resources, in no lengthened time have they kindled a great conflagration of evil. Let, then, all who love the Catholic name understand

that it is now time to attempt something, and by no means to give themselves up to languor and sloth, since none can be more quickly crushed than those who repose in shameful security. Let them see how the noble and laborious courage of their ancestors shrank from nothing, by whose blood and labours the Catholic faith came to maturity. Now do You, Venerable Brethren, stir up the failing, urge the sluggards, by Your example and authority strengthen all to the constant and courageous performance of the duties in which the course of a Christian life consists.

To nourish and increase and extend this virtue, there is need to take care and provide that for continuance and co-operation in the management of affairs, *societies* should flourish and be increased, with, as their principal end in view, the maintenance and enkindling of zeal for Christian faith and other virtues. Such are confraternities of youth and of workmen, that have been constituted either as occasional Congresses of Catholics, or for the relief of the necessities of the poor, and the better observance of the celebration of festivals, and the education of children of the humbler classes; and several others of the same kind.

And as it is of the greatest interest to Christianity that the Roman Pontiff should be both in reality and appearance free from every risk, hindrance and impediment, as much as they legally can, by action, demand, and insistence on behalf of the Pontiff, should they strive to win, and never rest until there has been won for Us in truth, and not in appearance merely, the liberty wherewith not only the good of the Church, but also the prosperity of Italy and the peace of Christian nations, are inseparably connected.

Next it is of the very highest importance that sound writings should be published, and circulated far and wide.

Those who dissent from the Church with violent hatred have been accustomed to carry on their conflict with published writings, and to employ them as the weapons best fitted for injury. Hence the deluge of bad books, hence the unscrupulous and partial daily prints, whose frenzied attacks neither laws bridle nor modesty restrains. Whatever has been done in these latter years by mob and tumultuary violence they defend as rightly done.

They conceal or adulterate the truth. They assail the Church and the Supreme Pontiff with daily abuse and false accusations; and there are no opinions too false and pestilent for them not to attempt their universal dissemination. Therefore the power of this mighty evil, which daily spreads more widely, must be sedulously checked.

Assuredly the people must be seriously and anxiously warned to be carefully on their guard, and to be willing to observe a prudent selection in their reading. Moreover, writings must be met by writings, that the same art which is of the greatest power for injury may be converted to the use and benefit of men, and remedies be supplied from the quarter from which bad poisons are extracted.

For which purpose it is to be desired that at least in every province some method may be established for publicly demonstrating the nature and importance of the duties of individual Christians to the Church, by the circulation of numerous and, as far as possible, daily prints. Particularly let there be brought to view the illustrious services of the Catholic religion to all nations. Let its value in con-

ferring the greatest prosperity and security upon public and private affairs be estimated. Let it be explained of what moment it is that the Church be speedily recalled in the State to that position of dignity which both its divine greatness and the public benefit of nations imperatively demand.

For these purposes it is requisite that those who turn their attention to writing should remember many things : namely, let all aim at the same point in their writing ; let them ascertain and carry out with settled judgment what is expedient ; let them omit nothing, the knowledge of which seems useful and desirable.

Maintaining gravity and moderation of language, let them reprehend errors and faults, and yet let their chiding be without bitterness and avoid personality ; next let them employ a plain and clear style that the people can readily understand.

But let all those others, who truly and earnestly desire that ecclesiastical and civil affairs should flourish through their defence by men of letters, endeavour to store the fruits of literary talent by their liberality ; and in proportion to the wealth of each, let him the more effectually support them with means and fortune. For it is absolutely necessary that assistance of this kind should be granted those who devote themselves to writing, as without it their labours will either afford no fruit, or uncertain and immature.

In all these things, if any inconvenience threatens our Catholics, if any combat is to be undertaken, let them notwithstanding venture to bear the brunt of it, since there is

no better reason for a Christian man to expose himself to toil and hardship than the protection of religion from injury at the hands of the wicked. And the Church has not been their parent or reared children upon the terms, that when time and necessity demanded it, no assistance should be expected from them, but that each of them should prefer his own ease and convenience to the salvation of souls and the safe-guarding of Christianity.

But, Venerable Brethren, Your especial care and thought should be anxiously devoted to the proper training of suitable ministers of God. If it is the duty of Bishops to spend much labour and anxiety upon the due formation of youth as a whole, it is true that they should toil much more zealously in the case of clerics who are growing up as the hope of the Church, and who will one day be partakers and assistants in their most sacred duties.

Certainly grave reasons, and those common to all ages, lead men to expect great and numerous adornments of virtue in the priesthood ; and yet this age of ours demands them of higher quality and in greater profusion. In reality the defence of the Catholic faith, to which chiefly the industry of the clergy should be devoted, and which is so very necessary to these times, requires no common, but a complete and varied command of doctrine, embracing not only sacred but also philosophical learning, and enriched by the handling of physical and historical science. For the manifold errors have to be plucked out of men who are loosening all the foundations of Christian wisdom. The struggle has to be maintained with those thoroughly

furnished, and persistent in argument, who skilfully collect materials from all kinds of science.

Likewise as at the present day there is deep and widely-spread moral corruption, there should be in the priesthood an especial degree of virtue and constancy. They cannot by any means avoid the society of men ; nay, by the duties of their office they are compelled closely to approach the people, and that in the midst of cities where there is now scarcely any passion that has not sanctioned and free indulgence. Whence may be understood that in our time virtue in the clergy should be of strength sufficient for its self-preservation, and to conquer unharmed both all the allurements of passion and also the solicitation of bad example.

Further, as the diminution in numbers of the clergy has resulted from laws enacted with a view to the injury of the Church, it is evident that those who have a call from God to Sacred Orders must redouble their efforts, and compensate for paucity of numbers by their extreme diligence, zeal, and devotion. What useful purpose can they effect, unless they bear within them a mind tenacious of purpose, abstinent, unsullied, burning with charity, ever quick and ready to undertake labours for the eternal salvation of mankind? And for work of this kind recourse must be had to lengthened and diligent preparation, for the acquisition of these great qualities is not quick and easy. And those will pursue their course in the priesthood with integrity and sanctity who have followed in this way from youth, and have made such progress in the habit of, as to seem less trained in than born with, the virtues we have mentioned.

For these reasons, Venerable Brethren, do clerical semi-

naires demand the most frequent and the greatest share of Your zeal, counsel, and diligence. How the youthful period of the life of clerics should be amply furnished with teaching and training bearing upon virtue and morals in no way escapes Your wisdom.

In the more advanced course, Our Encyclical Letter—*Æterni Patris*—has shown the best way and method of study. But since in such an extended course of study, there are many wise and useful discoveries that cannot be with propriety omitted, especially as irreligious men are accustomed to twist whatever fresh materials time produces of this class into new weapons against the truths of divine tradition, labour, Venerable Brethren, to the utmost of Your ability, that the youths devoted to sacred study should be not only thoroughly instructed in natural investigation, but also particularly skilled in those sciences that are related to the interpretation or authority of Scripture.

We certainly are not unaware that there are many requisites that constitute the refinement of studies of the highest class. Yet of these, oppressive laws divert or lessen the opportunity in the sacred seminaries of Italy.

But here, too, the necessities of the times require that our countrymen should strive to deserve well of Catholicism by largesses and benevolence. The pious and beneficent goodwill of our ancestors had made ample provision for requirements of this nature, and the Church was able by prudence and frugality to effect that it should be in nowise necessary to commend the guardianship and preservation of sacred things to the charity of her children. But her

legitimate and most sacred patrimony, which had been spared from the losses incurred in former ages, the storm of our times has scattered.

Therefore there is fresh need that those who love the Catholic religion should turn their attention to renewing the liberality of their ancestors. Certainly the proofs are splendid of the munificence of the French, Belgians, and others in somewhat similar circumstances, most worthy as they are of the admiration, not only of contemporaries, but of posterity as well. And we do not doubt that the Italian nation, influenced by what they see of the general state of affairs, will strenuously endeavour both to show themselves worthy of their own ancestry, and to follow the example of other nations.

In the considerations We have mentioned We assuredly place no little hope of solace and security.

But in all designs, and especially in those undertaken for public safety, it is absolutely necessary that to human aid should be added the help of Almighty God, in Whose power are no less the wills of individuals than the course and fortune of empires. Wherefore God is to be invoked with most earnest prayers, and entreated that He would look favourably upon Italy, adorned and exalted by His benefits, and that He would defend therein perpetually the Catholic faith, which is the greatest of good things, to the expulsion of all causes of peril. Wherefore should be suppliantly implored the Immaculate Virgin Mary, the mighty Mother of God, who favours and aids good designs, and Her most holy spouse, S. Joseph, the guardian and patron of Christian nations. And with like zeal should we im-

plore Peter and Paul, the great Apostles, to guard in safety the fruit of their labours among the people of Italy, and to preserve the Catholicity, the seed of which was their blood, sacred and inviolate to the latest posterity.

Supported by the celestial patronage of all of these, We bestow most lovingly in the Lord, in pledge of gifts from on high and in token of Our special kindness towards You, the Apostolic Benediction upon You all, Venerable Brethren, and upon the people committed to Your charge.

Given at Rome, at S. Peter's, the 15th day of February, in the year 1882, the fourth of Our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

THE END.

OTHER WORKS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

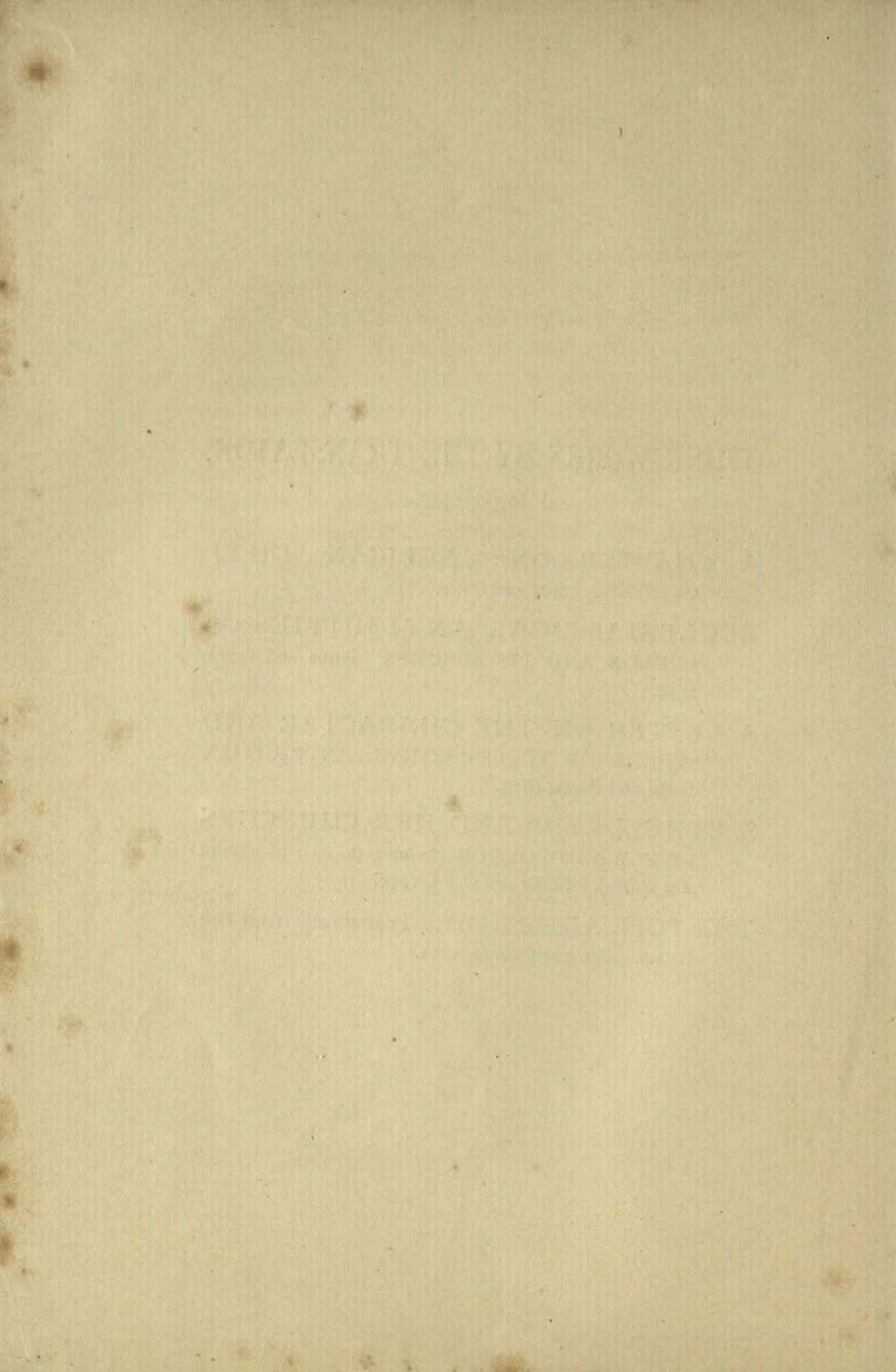
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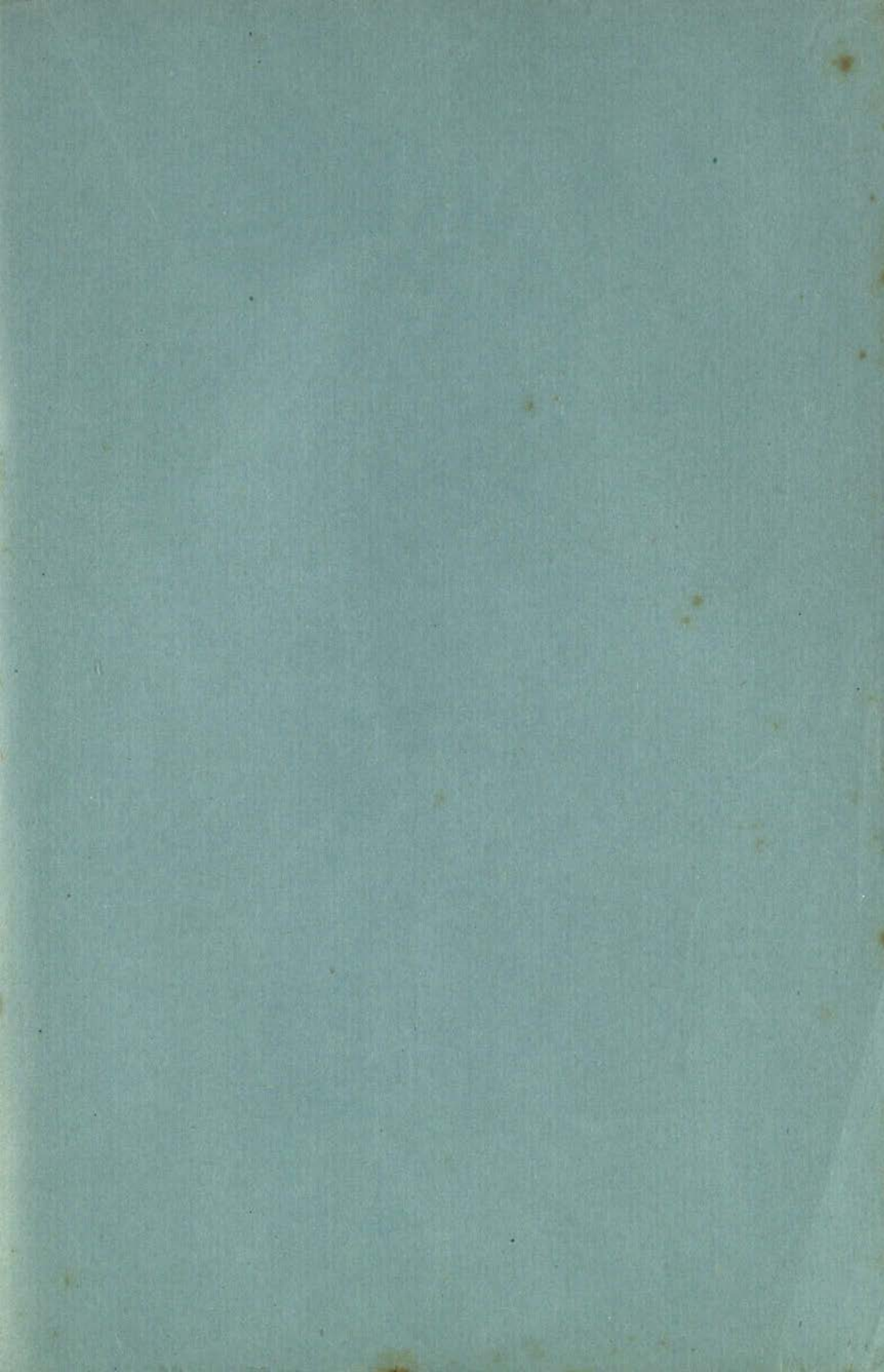
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