A Study of the Expressed Opinion of the Papacy in the American Secular Press

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A STUDY OF THE EXPRESSED OPINION
OF THE PAPACY IN THE AMERICAN
SECULAR PRESS, 1824-1850

by
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of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
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LIFE

John V. Mentag was born in Michigan City, Indiana, November 16, 1915.

He was graduated from St. Mary's High School, Michigan City, Indiana, June 1933. After a year at Loyola University, Chicago, he entered the Society of Jesus at Wilford, Ohio, August 1934. He studied Philosophy at West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana, and was graduated from Loyola University, Chicago, June 1940, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

From 1941 to 1944 the author taught History, Civics, and English at St. Xavier High School, Cincinnati, Ohio. He returned to West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana, to study Theology. He was ordained to the priesthood on June 18, 1947. He began his graduate studies in the field of History at Loyola University, in the Summer Session of 1949.
PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to survey the American attitude, as expressed in the secular newspapers of the time, towards the Papacy from 1824-1850. The twenty-five year period covers the reigns of Popes Leo XII, Pius VIII, Gregory XVI, and the early years of Pius IX. The expressed attitude as used here has to do with the several Popes relative to their persons, to their positions as Vicars of Christ, and as the Pope-Kings of the Papal States.

Up to the present no work has appeared treating the matter under consideration in this study from the point of view herein taken. Certain phases of Pius IX's reign have been touched upon by Howard R. Marraro in American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, and Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag, in her doctoral dissertation, American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867. Doctor Ray Allen Billington, in his volume, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860, limited his study of anti-Catholic feeling and American Nativism to the current Protestant religious press.
The materials for the study were chiefly secular newspapers and periodicals, with the primary emphasis being upon the former. The journals that were used were those in the files of the Congressional and Newberry Libraries. For the most part, attention was confined to the publications of the more important American cities of the time, as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Charleston, and New Orleans. Thus, a chain of newspaper opinion was investigated that was indicative of the whole nation and its attitude towards the Papacy throughout a generation.
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INTRODUCTION

The general tone or spirit of the period had an influence upon the American attitude towards the Papacy. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the United States passed through the stage of national adolescence. Her politics, society, and economics bore the marks of the vigor, impetuosity, and idealism of youth. In foreign affairs, America with assured self-reliance proclaimed before the world her devotion to and conviction of the principles of republicanism, and lavished unconsidered praise on any people seeking political freedom. At home, her legislators indulged in colorful oratory as they debated about States' rights and slavery. Her presidential campaigns were conducted with the attractions of a carnival side-show and mud-slinging speeches of youthful immaturity. The nation endorsed national growth by Western expansion that was pursued with equal aggressiveness against Indian and Mexican. All men plunged into the task of developing a national industry as new inventions turned America into a land of optimism and opportunity. In her society based upon equality, the ambitious, bold, take-chance individual often and easily won success. At the core of the national spirit was the democratic ideal. Whence came a feeling...
of national pride and confidence that, at times, tended to frown and look with disdain upon the out-modeled and stodgy pattern of life in the Old World.

The general tone of the Papacy, 1824-1850, was almost the exact opposite. The Popes as supreme spiritual leaders contended with civil rulers as they struggled to keep the dogmas and authority of Christianity intact. Their temporal power in the Papal States was a faded replica of a glorious past. Deprived of temporal power by the Emperor Napoleon, and restored by virtue of the principle of legitimacy invoked at the Congress of Vienna, the Papacy was suspicious of the new ideas broadcast over Europe by the Revolution. Popes Leo XII and Gregory XVI accepted and ruled according to the scheme of reaction that held any concession to liberalism was political suicide. Consequently, those two Popes have been adjudged as intransigent and rocky in their opposition to the "modern" ideas, which included a lack of enthusiasm for material progress. The very short reign of Pius VIII in no way altered the general picture, which until 1846, was marked by cautious conservatism of old age. The first few years of the reign of Pius IX, the last of this survey, portrayed a spirit of youthful daring and idealistic desire to meet the new challenges.

It is this contrast of national spirits that accounts to a degree for the expressions of American opinion of the Papacy in the present study.
CHAPTER I

LEO XII IN THE AMERICAN PRESS

The attitude of the American press towards Leo XII must be determined from the attention given to him in the columns of the contemporary papers. It can be derived from the treatment of the man, of the spiritual ruler, and of the ruler of the Papal States. This chapter presents such a summary of the news as found in the secular press of the period covering the reign of Leo XII.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the papal spiritual office was still connected with considerable temporal power. Moreover, the Pope was the only remaining sovereign who was elected to his office, for the successor of St. Peter was not an hereditary ruler. This fact made every conclave a matter of public interest and speculation. In 1823, after the death of the much persecuted Pius VII, the American press gave attention to the coming conclave. In the Niles Register appeared a lengthy discussion concerning the next pope. Among the qualifications for a satisfactory candidate, there was first the point of nationality. A Frenchman was ruled out since, in the opinion of the writer, the time of French influence over the Papacy was on the wane. Spain was sufficiently occupied with
domestic problems to keep her from intrigue for the position.

"As for Austria, she is more powerful than ever in Italy; and an attempt has been made, within a short time, to bring an archduke before the public as the probable successor of the Holy Father."\(^1\)

However, the unidentified archduke was too young at the moment, so there was no possibility of an Austrian. Moreover, the cardinals were too jealous of Roman authority to desire any greater portion of Austrian influence. Consequently, the writer believed that an Italian would receive the honor after a brief conclave. Though the Pope's nationality might be of minor importance, this enlightened and liberal writer held that the new pontiff should be of an enlightened spirit, of pacific character, and a man who had learned the spirit of the times from the events of the past thirty-six years. The future pontiff should be one capable of rising above prejudice and one who would be pontiff before prince.

Such a pope would recognize the fact, that spirituality is the principle of religion, and that it is corrupted by being rendered subject to a temporal principle; that if, the alliance of religion and politics has often procured advantages to Rome, it has always proved a detriment to religion; and that it is a very very worldly view of the subject to consider religion advanced by increasing the temporal power of the popes.\(^2\)

By the time American readers had digested the above

1 \textit{Niles Register}, Baltimore, Nov.15,1823.

2 \textit{Ibid.}
speculations concerning the conclave, Cardinal Genga had been elected and installed as Pope Leo XII. Little information was given about the new pontiff at the time of his election. That came later. Attention was soon fastened upon the poor health of Pope Leo. That corresponded with a remark made by the newly elected Pope to the cardinals of the conclave to the effect that their wisdom in making a skeleton the pope was to be questioned. An attack in the early months of his reign substantiated his statement and was the background of much of the early publicity given the Pope in the American press. February 18, 1824, the Boston Daily Advertiser declared that "The recently Elected Pope is said to be seriously indisposed." The same dispatch was reported in the Washington Intelligencer and the Niles Register. The former paper reported that Leo was "seriously ill," while the latter stated that the "pope, but lately elected, was so ill with the dropsy, that his life was despaired of." The Boston daily continued the interest in the Pope's state of health when on March 1, it noted improvement according to the Paris papers. The return to normal health was noted March 9, when the Pope after

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3 Chevalier Artaud de Montor, Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs, New York, 1866, I, 726.

4 Boston Daily Advertiser, Feb. 18, 1824.

5 Washington National Intelligencer, Feb. 18, 1824.

6 Niles Register, Feb. 23, 1824.
sixty-four days in bed was reported to be in a more favorable condition. In November, of the following year, the Intelligencer again referred to the Pope's health as it was noted that he had insisted on continued audiences despite his illness. During the remainder of Leo's reign, the American newspapers were silent concerning the Pope's state of health.

The newspapers of the period did not make a practice of dwelling upon the hobbies of important people. There was a departure from custom as the Intelligencer noted without comment that the Pope spend a good deal of time shooting quail.

The death of Leo XII received more attention in the contemporary press than his election. One Saturday in April 1829, the 16th, the ship Ann Mary Ann under the command of Captain Clark arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, with papers containing the latest news from Europe. On the following Monday, the local Courier announced to its readers as an item of important foreign news, "HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XII. died at Rome on the 10th of February." It was seventy-two days after the event, but it was the latest news in Charleston. A long article followed the above headline. The data was taken from the Paris Moniteur of February 18, 1829. The restored Bourbon monarchy, which was represented at

7 Boston Daily Advertiser, Mar. 1, 9, 1824.
8 National Intelligencer, Nov. 10, 29, 1824.
9 Ibid., July 1, 1825.
Rome by the outstanding Catholic layman, Chateaubriand, was on good terms with the Holy See at that time. Hence, the very favorable tone of the Pope's obituary appeared in the English version.

The Government has received the news of the death of his Holiness the Pope. His health had been slightly affected for two or three days, when on the 9th of February the physicians declared that his life was in imminent danger. His Holiness expired on the 10th, at nine O'clock in the morning.

The loss of a Sovereign Pontiff, so enlightened, so pious, and so moderate, is a real calamity to Christendom. France, more than any other Catholic State, has reason to deplore the premature death of Leo the Twelfth, who had a particular affection for it, as he had a just and entire confidence in the virtues and religion of the King; his exalted wisdom displayed in every affair a spirit of conciliation and peace. He appreciated times and conjunctures; he has found means to maintain unity in the two worlds by watching with indefatigable solicitude over the government of the Church, and by providing for its wants with zeal and firmness.10

The Courier also reported the death according to the Italian journal, Diario di Roma, dated February 11, 1829. It was the most complete biographical sketch of Leo XII reported by the American press; therefore worthy of full reproduction.

DEATH OF POPE LEO XII

In the evening of the 5th his Holiness commenced to suffer violent pains of strangury. During the night the physicians were called in. In spite of all remedies, his malady increased during the 6th and 7th. On the 8th he felt somewhat better, and hopes were conceived. In the evening, however, the patient grew worse, and next morning the danger becoming more urgent, the Holy Father himself demanded the Viaticum, which was immediately administered to him, by Monsignor Barbelani, and some time afterwards Monsignor Socu,

10 Charleston, S.C., Courier, April 18, 1829.
the Archbishop of Ephesus, his Holiness's Almoner, gave him the extreme UNction. In the meanwhile Cardinal Bernetti, the Secretary of State, communicated the melancholy tidings to Cardinal della Sommiglia, the Dean of the Sacred College, to Cardinal Zurla, the Vicar, and to the diplomatic corps, when the former went in his grand costume to the Vatican to ascertain the state of the Pope personally. Cardinal Castiglione, and Grand Penitentiary, visited the Chamber of the august patient, and the theatre was ordered to be closed. Towards the close of the day (the 8th) the Holy Father, who had never lost his recollection, fell into a profound lethargy from which he did not recover till at nine in the morning of the 10th, to fall into the sleep of the just.

Leo XII (Hannibal della Genga) was born at the Castle of Genga, in the territory of Spoletto, on the 2nd of August, 1760. He descended from a family of great distinction. He had received the title of Archbishop of Tyre from his Holiness Pius VII., who, in the Consistory of the 3rd of March, 1816, named him Cardinal Priest, by the title of St. Mary Frastevera. He afterwards governed the Episcopal Church at Senigallia, was Arch-Priest of the Basilican Church at Liberiana, and Vicar-General to Pope Pius VII. He was named his successor, exalted September 28, 1823, crowned on the 5th of October following, and took possession on the 13th of June. His Pontificate, therefore, lasted five years, four months, and thirteen days.

As soon as the Senator of Rome was informed of the Pope's death by the Cardinal Chamberlain, the bell of the capitol, and afterwards by order of the Cardinal Vicar, all the bells of the churches announced to the people of Rome their loss.

The same evening the Dean of the Cardinals assembled the heads of the orders residing at Rome.... Their Eminences Cardinal Fesch, of the order of priests, Cardinal Gacia Patie of the order of deacons, and the Secretary of the Sacred College, proceeded to the Dean of Cardinals.

This morning Feb.11, the Roman Senate assembled the militia of the capitol as well as the chiefs of the police, and ordered the colonel of that militia, to open the new prisons and those of the capitol, where only individuals convicted of slight offences were confined.11

11 Ibid., April 17, 1828. The printer erred in the edition as to the year, which was 1829.
The *Courier* continued to publish articles on the death of Leo XII for several weeks. April 29, excerpts were given from English papers which varied somewhat from the French and Italy respectful reporting. Rome was said to be dull since the Pope died. The libraries and museums were closed and foreigners were forced to seek amusement at Naples and Florence. The conclave was already in session to elect a new pontiff. The critical conditions demanded a pope of "tried wisdom, integrity, and moderation."

These qualifications were possessed—"it was thought"—by one Cardinal Gregori, who had travelled over much of Europe and was distinguished by his profound knowledge of European policy as well as virtue and piety. The Roman journals reported that the conclave was begun with the usual pomp and no civic disorder. The final notices about Leo XII appeared in the latter part of May.

Another French account from the *Courrier Français* of February 18, at Paris, was translated in the columns of the Charleston paper.12 It added nothing which the previous accounts had already recorded.

The Charleston press gave a fitting finale to Leo XII with the account of the Solemn Requiem Mass celebrated in the local Cathedral of St. Finbar. The church was properly draped in black. The sermon of dignified length was preached by Bishop John England, who, even though he had been too ill-disposed to celebrate the

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12 Ibid., April 29, May 22, 1829.
Mass, spoke for one hour and fifteen minutes. That ended the series of obituary accounts, which for the most part, expressed reverential respect for the departed Pontiff.

Besides the interest manifested in the health and the death of Leo XII, the American newspapers devoted a certain amount of attention to the official acts of this Pope. These included his relations with other countries, domestic affairs in the Papal States, and one of his Encyclicals.

It was the inaugural encyclical, *Ubi Primum*, May 5, 1824 that was especially noted in the secular press. In this letter Pope Leo exhorted the Bishops of the Church to be faithful to their duties and zealous for the spiritual needs of their flocks. He warned of the evils of the period as liberalism pushed into the realm of religion to bring forth a spirit of indifferentism, Deism, and naturalism. He continued in some seven paragraphs with the condemnation of Bible Societies; namely, those groups who translated the scriptures into the various vernaculars so that the gospel of Christ became that of man, or worse still, the gospel of the devil. Those groups had already been condemned by two briefs of Pius VII. Leo exhorted the bishops to keep their flocks free of this evil and abide by the regulations of the Congregation of the Index. He warned that these translations

were the source of heresy, and described the fact that the Bible societies distributed their translations free of charge. His final paragraph was a plea for unity and cooperation with the Chair of Peter. 14

Since the portion dealing with the condemnation of Bible Societies was particularly interesting to Americans owing to the numerous units at that time, Leo’s condemnation was reproduced in full translation by several editors. The excerpt from the Pope’s "Encyclical Letter" was printed without comment by the Boston Advertiser, the Washington Intelligencer, and the Niles Register. 15 But the mere fact that the papers printed it indicates that the editors believed the excerpt would be of interest, either pro or con, to their readers.

Pope Leo XII manifested great interest in the Church in the New World. During his reign the reorganization and reconstruction of the hierarchy of the Church in Latin America was begun, and attention was bestowed upon the missionary Church of the United States. The generosity of the Holy See towards

14 Bullarum Romanii, Rome, 1854, XVI, 45-49. A comparison of the original Latin text and the translation used by the American press showed conclusively that the English version was substantially accurate and correct.

American Catholics made the news in 1824 in the short article.

The Pope has made an additional grant of 24,000 dollars annually to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide for the special purpose of encouraging the progress of the Catholic religion in the United States of America.\(^\text{16}\)

Again, the editors withheld comment, and readers—then and now—were free to interpret the item as a means to warn American Protestantism of the advance of Popery within our country, or as objective reporting of Pope Leo's solicitude for American Catholics.

News of ecclesiastical negotiations with the new Republic of Latin America and the Holy See was in accord with the rather universal American sympathy towards the sister republics. Accounts which noted the arrivals and departures of Latin American agents at Rome, and attempted neutral mediation were printed from time to time. The New York National Advocate gave the typical press treatment of those affairs.

A letter of the 12th inst. from Rome announces the arrival of Mexican Plenipotentiaries in that city, where they met with a most gratifying reception. The object of their mission is the establishment of a Patriarch at Mexico, the nomination of an Apostolical Vicar, and the definitive organization of the Bishoprics.\(^\text{17}\)

In 1827, it was reported that the Colombian agent would soon

\[^\text{16}\] Washington National Intelligencer, June 7, 1824, Niles Register, June 12, 1824.

sail for Rome, and before long the whole list of American envoys would be appearing in the Eternal City. The move for concordatas brought forth mention of the fact that the Holy See had concluded agreements with the Netherlands for the Belgians. The determination of the Holy Father to support establishment of Bishoprics in Latin America regardless of Spanish opposition was recounted.

Mention of Leo XII often appeared in the miscellany columns. For example, the Pope made the news when he purchased the library of the Marquis of Cicognara for the Vatican. The collection filled seven cases. The purchase price was given at two hundred thousand francs. Material progress in Rome was indicated when the Papal government repaired the water system of Rome. The project included the renovation of the present canals, and the uncovering of some long out of use, one thought to have been from the time of Agrippa. The estimated cost was put at forty thousand crowns.

Judgment on the feminine fashions of the day stood out in a letter from Rome. The writer, an unsympathetic traveler, in

18 Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser, Aug.21, Oct.15, Nov.29, 1827. Note: It may be added that the sources, in great part, were the Augsburg Gazette and Galgani's Paris Messenger.

19 Salem Gazette, Nov.26, 1824.

20 Boston Daily Advertiser, Friday, Aug.13, 1824.
Italy, found that "the most important affair that has lately happened at Rome" was the "pope's fulminating" about the dress of women. May 3, 1825, the Washington National Intelligencer, in quoting the news from the New York papers, reported the Pope's refusal to crown the king of France. Later the same year Leo made the columns of the Washington daily when he donated the relics of St. Nemesius (d. 350) to a Geneva church honoring the saint.

After some hesitation Leo XII proclaimed the jubilee year of 1825. This traditionally great religious event was little noticed in the American secular press. There were only two references to it. The Niles Register printed the fact interwoven in an account of Papal-Spanish relations. When the Holy Year had got under way, Mr. Niles told his readers that the number of pilgrims attracted to Rome by the jubilee was excessively small in comparison with past records. He offered as explanation the "severity exercised by the police of each state in the examination of" passports of the persons going to Rome.

21 Niles Register, June 4, 1825.
23 Ibid., Oct. 1, 1825.
24 Niles Register, Aug. 28, 1824.
In 1825, the editor of an New Orleans paper reprinted an English account on Roman events. It related that Pope Leo XII had instituted an asylum for assassins in Ostia and three other unhealthy cities. Thus the Pope hoped to re-populate those regions which were about ten leagues from "the spot where the greatest number of travellers are murdered." Flight to one of the sanctuaries would free a criminal from further pursuit. The article left the impression that the penal code of the Papal States was most lax. Apparently, the English writer and his American copy editor did not understand the use of the asylum. 26

The implied laxity of the above item was not shared by the National Intelligencer when it printed an article dealing with the arrest of persons carrying weapons by the papal police. Approbation was given in the following comment:

26 New Orleans Mercantile Daily Advertiser, Sept. 17, 1825. Note: The term "asylum" is derived from an application of the principle of ecclesiastical immunity. It was a place of refuge for a man under the ban of the law, be he guilty or innocent. The custom was in use among the ancient Hebrews, Romans, and Christians. The Church continued to promote the practice as a safeguard against savage revenge until judicial decision was duly rendered. Certain heinous crimes were not covered by the privilege of asylum. The rise of modern criminal codes has done away with the custom. There is in its place protective custody and the right of trial given to all accused of crime. For further information on this point, one may confer the article by John Baptist Sagmiller in the Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 440. Consequently, it seems safe to say that the newspaper editors of the above case completely misunderstood the meaning of the term.
We have no fondness, it is known, for the combination of spiritual and temporal authority in any Government, whether of one, or of many heads. We cannot help wishing, however, that there were any authority that had the power as well as the will to follow the example of the Papal Government....

In line with the strict discipline of the above, the editor in New Orleans published a similar article taken from the Paris Etoile of July 2, 1825. He added the comment "somewhat mysterious" because he failed to realize that the press of France after the restoration of the Bourbons was naturally reactionary and viewed all liberalistic activities as movements bent upon the destruction of European peace. Americans, of course, did not accept the principles of Metternich's Concert of Europe. Hence the opinions expressed by the French journal in the following citation were most mysterious to the Southern editor.

The preliminary examinations of the persons arrested at Rome... are to commence on the 17th. Let us hope that they will throw some light upon the horrible schemes of those secret societies, which, in the midst of the peace we were enjoying, discover, by blows of the dagger, their fearful existence, and the wounds which thirty years of revolution have inflicted upon Europe. Assuredly, there does not exist a milder government than that of the Pontiff, and yet there are madmen who dream, in the midst of the tranquility and liberty of Rome, of a better system and social order, and it is by means of crime that they would establish it.... A great number of persons have been arrested in Rome on suspicion of being engaged in secret societies.... Arrests have also taken place in the provinces.

27 Washington National Intelligencer, May 1, 1826.
There was, on the other hand, the patent adverse criticism of the civil government of Leo XII by an American traveler, Mr. Carter. He judged that Papal officials were far from zealous in the performance of their duties. He wrote, "We have now entered the dominions of the Pope, and our trunks were consigned to the hands of a host of hungry custom-officers who throng the Dogana of his Holiness...[but] a moderate fee blinded the vigilance of these papal arguses...." Mr. Carter also complained of the coachmen, who in his opinion, tried their best to overcharge travelers by requiring more horses than were necessary to pull the coach. However, not much attention should have been accorded Mr. Carter, for the travelers of any age in any country could relate similar encounters with custom agents and cabmen.

Papal government was given another black mark in the Intelligencer column "ITEMS FROM ENGLISH PAPERS." According to "Private correspondence" from Rome on December 10th,

... Leo XII was going to re-establish the feudal system. The affair ... will speedily produce the most disastrous results. His infallibility has just reconstituted, as a perpetual fief, the vast estate of Conca in favor of the Most Holy Congregation of the Inquisition. A few days afterwards the same prerogatives were granted to the famous chapter of St. Peter, in Vaticano, by conferring on it the equally great estate known by the name of Campo Marto, with the entire criminal and civil jurisdiction. These two estates are in Romanga. The jurisdiction which is granted

29 Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser, March 19, 1827.
to them carries with it the right of immunity or asylum, and the criminals who take refuge in those places are safe against the demands of justice. The contents of this Bull, as well as those of all Papal Bulls, were known some weeks before it was published, and it has already produced its fruit. The populace of Rome were no sooner acquainted with this sovereign order, than they manifested the most lively joy. They may indulge with impunity in all kinds of excess. Accordingly ever since the beginning of December, we hear in the streets the cry of "Asylum! Asylum! his Holiness has re-established the Asylums!" It is but one step between the desire and necessity of profiting by them.

The writer of this letter professed liberal views, but the author of the next item was not only liberal but also anti-clerical. While treating of political conditions of France in 1325, he launched into a diatribe on the Jesuits. He asserted that the Jesuits were seeking to control the country, and the Minister M.de Villele, though he hates the Society, is unable to take any action. He extended his spiteful criticism to the Pope.


31 Portfolio, Philadelphia, June 1825, 451,455. The article was a Reprint from an unidentified London magazine. The editor of the Portfolio entitled it "Men, Measures, and Manners in France." This was one of the few notices concerning Leo XII in the several contemporary periodicals studied. The remark about "libertinism" may have been an allusion to the supposed blot on the reputation of Leo XII. While Nuncio in Vienna he was said to have been a talented man but lacked strict morals. "As nuncio in Germany and France, Della Genga was reputed the father of a number of illegitimate children." (Cf. Nippold, II,75; Nielsen, II, 5) The charge of these non-Catholic authors, was not mentioned much less refuted in the works of Wiseman, Artaud, Leflon, or other accounts of the life of Leo XII. Since proof is lacking, judgment must be withheld. However, the charge never appeared in any of the publications of the American press studied for this thesis.
"This pope (Leo XII) now an ultra and a fanatic, was in his youth a man of intellect and pleasure, nay, of libertinism." Again, the writer referred to him as a "narrow minded and impudent fanatic." Since the author did not give any justification for such abusive labels, we do not know how to evaluate his mind.

* * *

While formal diplomatic relations were not entered into by the Holy See and the United States until the reign of Pius IX, there were acts of an official nature between the two governments during the pontificate of Leo XII. Several notices of these affairs appeared in the pages of the National Intelligencer, the source of most government news until the origin of the Congressional Globe in 1830. There were the official proclamations of President John Quincy Adams announcing the appointments of Samuel Wright as the authorized Vice-consul of His Holiness Leo XII at the port of Savannah, Georgia; of Charles Le Carron to Charleston, South Carolina; William D'Azet Senac to the port of Norfolk, Virginia; and Mariano Cubi y Soler to the port of Baltimore, Maryland. In 1827, President Adams declared that the Pope had removed all discriminating duties on American vessels; therefore, the United States would grant the same favors to vessels of Papal subjects.32

Besides the newspaper accounts, the ordinary American could form an opinion of Leo XII from the factual biography in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*. The account related that Annibale della Genga was born of a noble Romagna family in 1760. He served as the Nuncio of Pius VII in Germany and France. Created a Cardinal in 1816, he was elected Pope in 1823.

He was well acquainted with diplomacy and foreign politics, and in the exercise of his authority and in asserting the claims of his see, he assumed a more imperious tone than his meek and benevolent predecessor. He reestablished the right of asylum for criminals in the churches, and enforced the strict observance of meagre days. 33

Moreover, he was the declared enemy of the Carbonari and secret.


Note: When the *National Intelligencer* published (Jan. 27, and June 18, 1827) official proclamations, it used the form:

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To all whom it may concern:

Satisfactory evidence having been exhibited to me that Samuel Wright is appointed Vice-Consul of His Holiness Pope Leo the Twelfth for the Port of Savannah, in the State of Georgia, I do hereby recognize him as such, and declare him free to exercise and enjoy such functions, powers, and privileges, as are allowed to the Vice Consuls of the most favored nations in the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the letters to be made patent; and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

(Date)
societies. He proclaimed the jubilee year in 1825. Leo XII violently attacked Bible Societies as being contrary to the Council of Trent. He negotiated with the new republics of South America to fill vacant sees. He corrected abuses and strove to maintain order and a good police system within the Papal States.
CHAPTER II

POPE PIUS VIII

On March 31, 1829, Cardinal Albani appeared on a balcony of the Quirinal to inform the waiting rain-soaked Romans and all nations of a great event in the election of another Pope.

Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum; habemus Papam eminentissimum ac reverendissimum dominum Franciscum-Xaverium, Episcopum Tusculanum S.R.E. Cardinalem Castiglioni qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius VIII.¹

That Latin sentence had long diffused into the ether before readers of the American press were aware that a new Pope reigned at Rome. During the months of April and May, the editor of the Charleston Courier was retailing news of the conclave and usual speculations about the new Pope. On April 22, he published an excerpt from the French Journal des Débats of February 21, giving information on likely candidates for the papacy. They were the aged Cardinal Sommaglia, the confirmed favorite of Austria; the youthful Cardinal Zurla, the former monk and of plebian origin; and the princely scions, Cardinals Doria and Barberini. The last possessed poor qualifications since the former was blind while the

¹ Charleston, South Carolina, Courier, May 21, 1829.
latter was weak in both mind and body. 2

A week later the same editor copied from the London Times, which had in turn quoted the Gazette de France, an item on Roman civil conditions during the conclave. The article was permeated with the spirit of Italian liberalism and nationalism. The French editor had reported that insurrections of the Roman Carbonari were "trying to influence the election of the new pope." In a somewhat cynical vein the Times' editor commented:

This we think extremely improbable. Of what use has been the Papal and Austrian police, if a single member of a Carbonari club now exists? Besides this celebrated association . . . so far from wishing to influence the election of a Pope, was the inveterate enemy of all Popes, all Kings, and all Emperors. The conclave, or sacred college in its vocabulary, would be called a den of thieves, and the princes of the Church conspirators against the rights of people. If there has been any insurrection at Rome, an Austrian intrigue is more likely to be at the bottom of it than a lodge of Carbonari. 3

More news appeared about the conclave when the Courier published a lengthy letter that was dated from Rome on March 12. The writer states that ten days had passed since the conclave had convened, but "nothing that is entitled to reliance has emerged." He described the strict enclosure of the meeting and the method of bringing food to the cardinals, and other necessary dealings with the outside world. The wickets are

. . . narrowly watched by Prelates, and other dignitaries, within, who scrutinize most minutely everything that is

2 Charleston Courier, Apr. 22, 1829.
3 Ibid., Apr. 29, 1829.
brought "(articles of food inclusive) for their eminences, in order to obviate the introduction of notes, or any clandestine correspondence, that might be supposed to have a tendency to influence the election. It would be somewhat amusing to see a Bishop sounding a turkey, or a Prothonotary Apostolic dragging a coffee pot, in quest of a contraband billet. The conveyance of those Cardinalitian provisions to the scenes of discussion may be reckoned among the sights of the day. His eminence's repast prepared in his Palace, is packed in an appropriate apparatus, and placed in his own carriage, in which, moreover, one of his gentlemen takes his seat. The vehicle is then drawn very slowly to the Quirnal Palace. His maitre d'hôtel, clad in a black silk mantle, walks at one side of the coach, which is preceded by two footmen bearing staves covered with cloth of the colour of his eminence's livery. In some instances I have seen two additional servants, bearing between them a covered box; whence I concluded that all the Cardinal's meals had not found room in the coach itself.

He describes the conclave chamber as the "gloomy precinct" where the cardinals, after they have invoked the guidance of the Holy Ghost, vote and drop their ballots into a chalice. When the vote has been counted, the ballots are burned so that the smoking from the chimney signals the election of a new pope. At the time of his writing, the author notes that no smoke had come forth "telegraphing" an election, and he fears that soot may have accumulated in the funnel of the Quirnal. According to his observation, every Pope since Adrian VI (d.1523) had been an Italian. Therefore, in his judgment, the new pontiff would be from the Papal States, and the narrowed field of candidates would find the ultramontane cardinals hard pressed to decide upon the eligibility of those for whom they must vote "in opposition to their own wishes and (they may think) their rights."
These and other considerations must operate in such a scene of deliberation, where so many interests must be reconciled, and so many opponents be conciliated. Besides this, in the actual state of men and prospects, the Jesuits must come in for a share of calculation. The Cardinals belonging to other religious orders cannot be supposed to contemplate this body, so much caressed and endowed as it latterly has been, with any excess of predilection; and several others are said to be not favorably disposed towards the renewed generations of the sons of Loyola. Hence may arise a clashing between their partizans and opponents.

Moreover, the correspondent points out that the election could be impeded by either the Emperor of Austria, or the Kings of France and Spain, who might make a regular election "subject to arbitrary inhibitions of foreign and distant authorities." The concluding paragraph noted that the French and Austrian Ambassadors had gone in state to the Quirinal in order to present their credentials to the Cardinals of the conclave.  

Speculation concerning the new Pope came to an end when the packet ship Canada arrived at New York, May 12, from Liverpool bringing London papers up to April 15, and those of Liverpool up to April 17. Nine days later the people of Charleston read, "The Cardinal Castiglioni was elected Pope, at Rome, on the 31st March."  

Francis Xavier Castiglioni was born November 20, 1761, of a noble family in the town of Cingoli. At the age of thirty-

4 Charleston Courier, May 16, 1829.
5 Ibid., May 21, 1829.
nine his elevation to the purple brought him the Bishopric of Montalto. During the Napoleonic control of Italy, he incurred the enmity of the French authorities and was banished from his see to Milan and Mantua. He became the right-hand man of Pius VII when the trouble between the Holy See and Napoleon became acute regarding jurisdictional claims. The services that he rendered Pius VII as a canonist were rewarded after the restoration. On March 8, 1816, Castiglioni was raised to the Cardinalate and named the Bishop of Cesana, the Pope's own city. In the course of time, he was brought to Rome and given the title to the see of Tusculum or Frascati. At Rome he served as Penitentary and prefect of the Congregation of the Index. He had not been mentioned as one of the possible candidates by the journalists writing of the conclave in 1829. Nevertheless, he was elected. Out of reverence to the Pontiff who had raised him to the purple and prophesied he would someday be Pope, Cardinal Castiglioni chose the name of Pius VIII.

The election caused some confusion in the French press, and this is told by the Courier. The Messenger in turn asserted that the new Pontiff was precisely the one desired by France, and who was described by the noble speech of Chateaubriand. Moreover, M. de Chateaubriand has . . . worthily accomplished his mission to the Sacred College. Catholic France has acquired an ally at the same time as a Sovereign Pontiff, and, instead of being afflicted at such a choice, the
friends of the Gallican Church have reason to congratulate themselves upon it. 6

The Gazette de France did not agree and argued that Chateaubriand had favored the election of Cardinal Zurla. The Charleston editor, reprinting these despatches, added no comment.

The coronation of the new Pope was noted in the Niles Register during the month of August. Its source of news was a letter from an English student at Rome, dated May 17. The comment indicated the feeling of the Romans for their new ruler.

This pope appears to be a great favorite with the Romans, but the generality of them are a fickle set, and if he were to die tomorrow, I feel confident that the most bitter sarcasms and pasquinades would come out against him. 7

Pius VIII's extremely short reign of twenty months denied him opportunity to give full expression to his policy; hence, not much appeared in the newspapers. There was some approbation of his reign in the liberal press when he restored to Jews and Christian dissenters certain privileges taken from them by Leo XII, and the Charleston Courier said he "is disposed to act with liberality." 8 The Penny Cyclopaedia, however, declined to credit him for that action.

Pius VIII did nothing remarkable during his short reign.

6 Charleston Courier, May 21, 1829.
7 Niles Register, August 29, 1829.
8 Charleston Courier, June 16, 1829.
His early death saved him from dealing with an abortive, liberal insurrection in the Romagna that was inspired by the "July Days" of 1830, in France.9

Some few other items about Pope Pius VIII made print. The editor of the Courier erroneously reported a rumor, that was copied from a New York paper, to the effect that "the Pope has decided upon granting permission to Roman Catholic clergy to marry."10 There was also a short notice saying the Pope had held a consistory with the intention of elevating several personal friends and the Governor of Rome to the Cardinalate;11 another item informed the public that the Marquess of Palma, Ambassador of Brazil, was engaged in secret meetings with the Pope to obtain approbation for several Bishops appointed by the Emperor.12

Under date of September 9, the editor of a New York paper printed a short filler article entitled "Ages and other Particulars of the European Sovereigns." When he came to the Pope, he stated that Pope Pius VIII "is sixty-eight and in

9 Penny Cyclopædia, XVIII, 204.
10 Charleston Courier, July 14, 1829, citing the New York Commercial Advertiser, July 6, 1829.
11 Charleston Courier, Sept. 22, 1829.
12 Ibid., Nov. 7, 1829.
tolerable vigor," and added the comment that "the Church is usually considered favorable to longevity." This was not too true of Pius VIII, for Mr. Niles, citing a letter from Rome of November 26, under the column "Foreign Intelligence" reported Pope Pius VIII to be "suffering from the gout which had ascended to his stomach and is at death's door." 

By the time Mr. Niles had told his readers that the "Pope was at death's door," Pius VIII had already died, but it was January 31, 1831, before Mr. Cardoso of the Southern Patriot could print the eventful news delivered by the ship Ospray out of Liverpool on December 13. The terse notice read: "Intelligence has been received of the death of the Pope. He was sixty-nine years of age." A more complete account of the Pontiff's death was printed on February 9, at Charleston; on February 4, at New York; and on February 5, in the Niles Register. All three journals copied from a common source, the London Herald.


14 Niles Register, Jan. 8, 1831.

15 Charleston Southern Patriot, Jan. 31, 1831.

16 The three papers carrying the account were; Charleston Southern Patriot, Feb. 9, 1831; New York American, Feb. 4, 1831; and Niles Register, Feb. 5, 1831.
ITALY—Pope Pius VIII died in November. This prince says the Herald, was raised to the Holy See in 1829, was a man of mild manners, and unassuming good sense. The possession of the latter he proved in a high degree by the instand and cordial acknowledgment which he made of the change of government in France, almost the last act of his reign. The impression his death has made at Rome is certainly that of regret; not so much, however for his loss, as that the sitting of a Conclave will close the theatres, and drive, for a time, the visters [sic] to Naples or Venice.17

Two of the three papers, the Southern Patriot, and the Niles Register omitted the last sentence, which was scarcely complimentary to the departed Pope, and showed no understanding of a custom of public mourning. The latter journal mentioned the Pope's death again on February 12, along with the funeral account according to a Paris paper:

The funeral services of the late pope took place at Rome on the 14th Dec. He had been a liberal patron of the fine arts, and all the professors, with their pupils attended. Three times have these services now been performed by cardinals, and, on each occasion, five members of the conclave pronounced absolutions in behalf of the deceased.18

It is evident from the preceding pages dealing with the reign of Pope Pius VIII that the expressed opinion of American journalists was, for the most part, reserved and unmarked by feeling of prejudice towards the Pope or the Papacy. Perhaps the brevity of his pontificate was the chief reason.

It seems that the general impression of Pope Pius VIII was that

17 New York American, Feb. 4, 1831.
18 Niles Register, Feb. 12, 1831.
he was a kindly mild mannered old man. Such is, also, the verdict of historians and writers like Nielsen, Nippold, Wiseman, McKilliam, Piree, Farrow, Corrigan, Browne-Olf, and Leflon, who treated his pontificate. In a word, Pius VIII, in the contemporary American press and in the verdict of history, deserved the judgment given in his death notice in the Niles Register, that he was "a man of mild manners, and unassuming good sense."
CHAPTER III

GREGORY XVI, POPE IN UNSETTLED TIMES

Since Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846) owed his position as Pope-King to election in conclave by the Cardinals, it was rational that the American press give the conclave some consideration. When the brief reign of Pius VIII ended in 1830, the Cardinals gathered again at the Quirinal to choose another Pope.

A Papal election ranked high in news value; consequently the press gave considerable space to the conclave. The New York American mentioned it in the "Important from Europe" column. The writer hoped that the work of the Cardinals would come to a speedy termination with an amicable result. Cardinals Gregoria, Pacca, Cappelari, Offisoni, and Zurla were mentioned as qualified candidates. Zurla seemed to be the popular favorite. He had been chosen by the Emperor Alexander of Russia to conduct a survey of his realm; England admired him for his two volume work on Marco Polo; and France approved of him especially because of his ability as a theologian. Cardinal Capellari ranked high because of his extensive knowledge and solid piety. Cardinals Rudolph of Austria and Fesch were eliminated because of political reasons. It was hoped that the new Pope would be elected by the early part of
January. In Charleston, a month later, the editor of the Southern Patriot printed without comment an article from the English papers that was based on pure wishful thinking. The English writer said:

As it is now considered almost certain that Cardinal Weld, will be elected Pope by the Members of the sacred college, the following particulars of this second Englishman who has ever occupied the chair of St. Peter, will not be without interest.2

He then proceeded to give some of the details of the life of Cardinal Weld.3

If any hope for an English Pope ever existed in the United States, it was completely discredited when the Nimrod arrived from Liverpool with the European papers that carried the news of the latest papal election. April 12, the Southern Patriot made the terse announcement, "Cardinal Mauro Cappellari was elected Pope on the 1st February, under the name of Gregory the 16th."4 Two days later appeared a more complete account taken from a French journal. The article supplied certain details

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1 New York American, Feb. 9, 1831.
2 Charleston Southern Patriot, Mar. 17, 1831.
3 Thomas Cardinal Weld (1773-1837) belonged to an old and important English Catholic family. The family was most generous to the Catholics of England, one of the benefactions being the land for the Jesuit college at Stonyhurst. Thomas Weld became a priest after death of his wife in 1821; Bishopric in Canada until 1830; raised to Cardinalate at Rome in 1830.
4 Charleston Southern Patriot, Apr. 12, 1831.
concerning the new Pope, namely, his birth at Belluria, September 18, 1765; his distinction because of ecclesiastical learning; his life as a monk; and his appointment in 1826, by Leo XII as head of the Propaganda. It was noted that in 1828, Cappellari was among the most respected candidates outside the conclave, but he was violently opposed by the Austrian party. Cardinal Albani—who has been called the Austrian patriarch—strongly supported Pacca against Cappellari. However, the impression was given that the election of Gregory was well received in Rome and Italy, and would remain such,

... provided the dispositions for a revolution do not turn the attention of the public from a decision which, in calmer times, would be highly interesting.\(^5\)

The French looked for good relations with Gregory because he had received Ambassador Latour Maubourg with extreme kindness and expressed a great attachment to France and Louis Philippe.

Many writers have declared that Gregory was thoroughly anti-liberal, but at the beginning of his pontificate the Charleston Southern Patriot printed the favorable observations of an English editor.

In this liberal and enlightened period the spiritual Sovereign of the Catholic World has shown that he can appreciate his situation and his age. The predecessors of the present Pope Gregory XVI have always shown a reluctance to confirm the nominations of Bishops made by the new

\(^5\) Charleston Southern Patriot, Apr. 14, 1831.
Governments of America, from the double fear of displeas-
ing the court of Spain and of giving a sanction to revolu-
tionary principles. His Holiness, disregarding these
scruples, proclaimed, in a consistory held at Rome on the
23ult. Bishops to the sees of Puebla de los Angelo,
Guadalajara, Valladolid, Durango, and Sonora, in the united
states of Mexico, appointed by the Government of that
Republic.6

Greeley and McElrath's New York Tribune printed a
letter from Rome expressing a similar opinion. The letter might
well have been entitled "A Yankee in the Vatican" or "A Yankee
discovers the Pope is human." The letter began:

We have frequently seen the Pope on public occasions, and
like other curious persons, felt a desire to see him in
his home--the Vatican. Accordingly we made known our
desire to the Consul General, and a week afterwards were
informed that His Holiness would give us an audience at
22 o'clock, which in our way of marking time, is half past
3 o'clock, P.M. Of course, we were in readiness at the
appointed time. The Consul waited for us at the Vatican
in his court dress, with his sword dangling at his side.
We were admitted into an ante-room, where we waited till
the Pope was prepared to receive us. Here the walls were
covered with priests, cardinals and popes, looking down
upon us from the canvass, and some of them seeming to
whisper cruel things about the horrid inquisition. But we
felt safe enough under the roof of His Holiness.

In due time the door was opened, and the party was ushered into
the presence of the Pope. Gregory received these Americans in
a kindly and familiar fashion. He created a good impression
because of his knowledge of the United States. The writer then
went on to describe the Pope's white cassock, red shoes, and
ring for the "faithful to kiss", and how the Pontiff's well built body was topped off by the white skull cap. The papal nose seems to have attracted the interest of the correspondent, for he notes that it was rather large, and hazarded the opinion that it was

. . . increased perhaps in size by being made the receptacle of much snuff, and I assure you he uses a first-class article, for, as he with great affability passed his box around, I with equal affability, and to show that I was not all proud, dipped my digits therein and titilated my nostrils therewith. This snuff-taking by the way, is a very common thing among all orders of the Roman clergy. They would canonize Lorillard, and one of Mr. Clay's pinches would hardly be a priming to one of their charges.

During the year 1843, the New York Tribune printed other letters of an American traveling in Europe. The writer who signed himself "H" was not as curious or as tolerant of the Papacy as the earlier correspondent. When he arrived in Rome, he filled his letter with descriptions of the city. He did not omit mention of the Pope altogether. He spoke of the Pontiff as robust and healthy even though eighty years of age. He observed that Gregory walked slowly and somewhat bent, but he seemed to acquire "extra vitality" when he mounted the Papal throne. "H" believed Gregory got the Chair of St. Peter as the result of compromise after much party strife, and "He is not regarded as a very clever man, although he bears an excellent moral character."

Incidentally, "Mr. "H" missed a chance to sample the Pope's snuff, for he resented the idea of dressing for a papal audience, as was the case with an ex-president of the United States some years later.

Though a Pope's health was always good copy for the current newspapers, the condition of Gregory's health was seldom mentioned. He was robust. Yet, in 1837, it was noted that the French journals, especially Le Temps, sought to "throw the public mind into a state of anxiety by raising fresh reports respecting the Pope; fortunately, his Holiness was never in better health." No more appeared until Gregory's last illness. In March 1845, Greeley printed letters from Rome that described the Pope's health as alarming, which fact had the Cardinals on the "qui vive" for whatever might happen since his Holiness is "upwards of seventy-nine years of age." But a year and more after, the New York Sun recorded that according to the latest English papers from Liverpool, May 30, 1846, "The health of the Pope is spoken of in favorable terms." However, two days after this had been

9 New York Daily Express, Mar. 13, 1837.
11 New York Sun, June 16, 1846.
printed in England, Pope Gregory XVI died.

The arrival of the news of Gregory's death shows the progress which altered the means of communication during the nineteenth century. Whereas, previously, it was almost two months before Americans knew of the Pope's death, that of Gregory XVI was printed in the New York Sun, only thirty-five days later, July 6, 1846. This was due to the successful use of the steamboat in oceanic travel. On July 4, 1846, the Royal Mail Steamer Britannia docked at Boston at 9 A.M. with the latest Paris papers up to June 16. Under the headline "Death of Pope Gregory XVI" the Sun reported:

Pope Gregory XVI died at the Vatican in Rome, on the 1st of June, after a short illness. Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, is expected to be his successor.

Elsewhere in the same issue the editor noted:

The Pope departed this life on the 1st instant [sic]. Pope Gregory XVI was a good, kind, benevolent man, sincere in his religious principle, and more tolerant than most others.12

The death notice of Pope Gregory XVI was in the Baltimore Sun, New Orleans Picayune, and Philadelphia Public Ledger.13 All these papers used the report carried by the Britannia. The New Orleans editor took his copy from the above mentioned Baltimore

12 New York Sun, July 6, 1846.

13 New Orleans The Daily Picayune, July 14, 1846.
sun, which had in turn copied from the New York papers. Of these papers only the Philadelphia editor made added comments on Gregory's death.

The news by the Britannia, though not presenting any feature of great importance is interesting. The death of Pope Gregory the Sixteenth, is an event which will occasion some sensation among the professors of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, and may be productive of important events in Italy, which has been for some time in a disturbed and unsettled condition. Pope Gregory was always distinguished for the benevolence and kindness of his character. Those of our countrymen abroad who have visited him have always been treated with attention, and have spoken of him with great respect. His death will no doubt be duly noticed in the various Catholic Churches of the country. 14

The following day the Swain, Abell, Simmons paper of Philadelphia published the accounts of the Pope's death from the Paris Constitutionnel and the London Globe. The contents were substantially the same as the earlier notices.

Articles in the press dealing with Gregory's activities as spiritual ruler were quite rare. There was the brief notice about the elevation of Cardinal Spinola, who had previously represented the Holy See as Nuncio at Vienna. 15 Difficulties regarding religious jurisdiction were noted between the Holy See and governments of Germany and Spain. Between March and October of 1838, the affair involving the Archbishop of Cologne was

14 Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 6, 1846.
In March, the Austrian offered to mediate between the Pope and Prussia. The following month the news despaired of an amicable settlement between Rome and Berlin. From the *Diario de Roma* through the French press to the *New York Daily Express* came information that the Catholic clergy of Prussia were very active at the Papal Court. The situation at Cologne was given attention stating the Church's side in October.

The Pope, at the sacred Consistory held on the 13th Sept. pronounced a long allocution in which his Holiness animadverts in severe terms upon the proceedings adopted in Prussia with regards to the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen. The Pope complains of the infringements thus made on the liberty of the Catholic Church, and calls "Heaven and Earth to witness while he elevates his voice in favor of the rights and authority of the chair of St. Peter." His Holiness concludes by expressing his conviction that the other Prelates in the Prussian dominions will continue to act with firmness in strict accordance with the rules of the ancient canons and apostolical decrees, and that his Prussian Majesty will allow the Catholic Church to preserve its own laws and liberties.

16 The Cologne affair was a conflict between the Holy See and Prussian government regarding the question of mixed marriages. The tension became very great when the Archbishop of Cologne was imprisoned for a time because of his insistence on the Church's rights. The Cologne prelate was Droste zu Vischering. Archbishop Dunin of Posen suffered imprisonment for the same reason. The Church won out finally around 1840.

Several years later the Baltimore Sun mentioned Gregory's difficulties with Spain. There was a tinge of liberalistic bigotry in the editor's manner.

Spaniards have struck another blow at popery by refusing to allow the circulation of the Pope's bulls, briefs, rescripts, monitorys or any other documents issuing from the papal see, which have not had the fiat of the Spanish government. The government decrees, also, the suppression the "society for the propagation of the faith," enjoins the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to prevent its assembling, and to stop the circulation of its papers: Judges are ordered to sequester funds of propagation. The Pope in fiery indignation has refused recognition of Spanish envoy to Court of Rome, Marquis de Villalba.21

In December, 1839, Pope Gregory XVI published his Brief condemning the Negro Slave Trade. Although the Brief was not specifically addressed to the Church in America, it caused some commotion during the national campaign of 1840. The Honorable John Forsyth gave a speech in Georgia during the month of August, in which, he stated that the real issue of the coming election was slavery. He declared that Harrison was in fact an anti-slave candidate who had been forced upon the Southern section of the party by a combination of Anti-Masonry and abolitionism. The Catholic Church, according to Forsyth, was connected with this combination. He gave as proof Gregory's Apostolic Brief on the Slave Trade; and it was clear that the Pope was trying to legislate for Americans. Concerning the power of the

21 Baltimore Sun, May 22, 1841.
pope, then, there arose a dispute between Duff Green, editor of
the Baltimore Pilot and Transcript, and Bishop John England of
Charleston. The Brief on the Slave Trade was dragged into the
debate as an example of papal interference in the American way
of life. Mr. Green charged that the Pope had already required
the Jesuits to dispose of their slaves; so that was one instance
when he had attempted to exercise civil jurisdiction by inter­
fering with private property held in the United States. The feud
of Green versus Bishop England went on in the pages of the Pilot
and Transcript for several months, at times consuming a whole
page of the four page edition. The identical copy was printed
at frequent intervals. This page was composed of a letter of
Bishop England and columns of refutation by Duff Green. But for
the most part the dispute seems to have been local and confined
to the columns of the Baltimore daily.22

The actual text of the Papal Brief is not found in the
papers until 1843. It appeared on the last page of the November
30, edition of the New York Tribune, but then Mr. Greeley printed
it in the left hand column on the back page of his paper in space
ordinarily reserved for want ads. In the midst of paid adver–
tisements is Pope Gregory's Brief "Relative to Refraining from

22 Baltimore Pilot and Transcript, Sept., 7, 10, 11,
Oct. 23, Nov. 5, Dec. 12, 14, 25, 28, 1840.
Traffic in Blacks." Even then there is no comment, though eight phrases are in italics. 23

Beyond that the secular press gave no attention to the Slave Trade letter. It was read and accepted by the assembled Bishops at the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, but was not mentioned by the Charleston Southern Patriot, which carried news of the Council together with Bishop England's opening sermon. 24 Nor does the New England anti-Slavery Almanac, a rabid abolitionist publication hungry for any statements favoring its cause, make any mention of Gregory's letter. 25

The political picture of the Papal States during the reign of Gregory XVI was not a happy one. The forces of liberalism had been active from the very beginning of the pontificate, and secret societies together with the followers of Joseph Mazzini were at work to bring about a new and revived Italy. In idealistic but unrealistic aims they sought to destroy all those institutions that seemed to restrain the individual. In the mad rush to cast off the old and embrace the new, there were those who advocated a program of anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism.


24 Charleston Southern Patriot, May 22, 1840.

The Church and Pope were said to be linked with Austria as obstacles to the new order of the "patriots" program. Such liberal fanaticism drove Gregory XVI to a defense of the status quo and the position of a tenacious protector of conservative standards. Consequently, a heavy shadow shrouds the political role of this pontiff in the press. Orestes Brownson wrote of Gregory XVI as "a prince of great benevolence of heart and extensive learning, worthy of better times, or, at least, of more prudent advisers." According to Brownson, a conservative and reactionary stand was forced upon Gregory because the country was not ripe for change; moreover, he was deserted by his own and was obliged to rely upon the support of Austrian bayonets. Such was, in general, the background of reports from Rome in the contemporary American press.

When treating of the civil disturbances in Rome at the time of Gregory's election, the Charleston Southern Patriot reported that the Papal States were in an unsettled condition. The opinion was that the rural dwellers were in sympathy and faithful to the Holy See, that Austrian forces were actively interested in pacifying the country, and that "accounts from Italy we are sorry to say, leave little hopes for the cause of the

26 Brownson's Quarterly Review, January 1848, 120.
Only a few weeks previously it had been reported from the French papers that the revolutionary army, in which members of the Bonaparte family were serving, was approaching Rome flying the tri-color. It was believed that that army would soon plant its banner upon the seven hills because the Papal armed showed little zeal or courage. Then the soldiers of Austria swept through the land not only interfering in the internal affairs of the Italian states, but dictating in the "most minute details, as if they had the civil government and police entirely in their hands." The end of the abortive revolt of 1831 was described in language becoming frustrated liberals.

The affairs of Italy have been in the language of the fancy, 'settled'. The insurgents ascribe their disasters to the treachery on the part of the Hon. [sic] Father and Cardinal Benvenutt.  

The rebellion was reported as the "fruit of the Holy Alliance and Vienna" because the people had seen their rights injured, sympathies and habits disturbed, and been forced into unnatural conditions. The writer concluded, "Europe is marching towards its new destinies; and scarcely do the ministers of the kings

27 Charleston Southern Patriot, May 25, 1831.
28 Ibid., Apr. 27, 1831.
29 Ibid., June 2, 1831.
perceive the movement."  

In two articles that appeared in Atkinson's Casket, Philadelphia, one of the popular magazines of the nineteenth century, there was the pronounced liberal outlook and condemnation of the Papal government. The disturbance of 1831 had been successfully checked when an unsigned article in the Casket discussed the political conditions of Europe. When the writer came to consider the Papal States, he said:

The states of the Church are worse governed than any others in Europe. In addition to exactions under the color of law, the poor inhabitant is subject to depredations from organized bands of robbers or banditti.

A month later a writer who signed himself the "Milford Bard" discussed the same subject in the Casket. He deplored the sorry fate of those nations subjected to despotism, and spoke of Italy as enslaved by "the tyranny thundered from the palace of the popes." There he felt the cause of liberty was still sunk beneath ruined temples and trophies of the glorious past.

After the cessation of fighting in Rome, the London Courrier, May 15, 1831, noted that from its sources dated the first of May, moderate counsel was successful in restoring peace, and

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30 Charleston Southern Patriot, Apr. 4, 1831.


Gregory XVI was to proclaim a general amnesty for all political offenders. The New York American related that the willingness of the Pope to grant the amnesty was opposed by Cardinal Bernetti, the Secretary of State, because it would endanger Austrian support.

The Italian forces of liberalism went underground for several years, and the American press confined itself to factual information of sporadic riots and arrests of revolutionaries. During that time "the intelligence from Rome . . . [was] devoid of interest." On the surface Rome was at peace.

When the cholera broke out in Italy during the summer of 1837, it was news in the New York papers. The epidemic paralysed all commercial activity for several months. In Rome, the disease struck persons of all ages and classes as it spread to every quarter of the city.

Letters of the 31st of August say, that according to the last bulletins the mortality is rather increasing than abating . . . [the] number dead is thought to be between 3 and 4000. The populace take a malicious pleasure in

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33 The Roman situation was reported in America by the Charleston Southern Patriot, June 21, 1831.

34 New York American, July 18, 1831. The acknowledged source of this report was the Paris Constitutionnel, May 18.

35 The comment of the editor of the New York Daily Express, Apr. 25, 1837, writing of Roman political conditions.
seeing that the higher classes do not escape, and loudly express their discontent that the Pope, the Cardinals, and prelates seclude themselves instead of facing the danger. 36

Had the editor of the New York daily received accurate news from Rome at this period, he would not have printed this. It was not correct to state that the Holy Father sought to escape the perils of the plague, for he remained in Rome and personally conducted a public procession in honor of the Mother of God asking supernatural aid to stop the epidemic. 37 Eventually the cholera came to an end, and the fact was reported in New York during December when the packetship Roscoe delivered the news from Europe. 38

Another dark line painted in the picture of Papal civil government dealt with financial matters. According to a magazine article in 1835, the Pope's government was hard pressed for money; yet Gregory was indulging in such extravagant expenses as the rebuilding of St. Paul's beyond the walls and the creation of five cardinals. 39 A letter from Rome to the editor of the New


37 This report was false. Even the non-Catholic historian Fredrik Nielsen would disagree. Cf. History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century, II, 79. However, blame should not be laid upon the New York editor, but his European source.


39 North American Review, April, 1835, 40, 434.
York Daily Express mentioned the sad state of finance again in 1837. The correspondent was of the opinion that necessity would soon force the Pope to cut down on his budget, for his "government is now two years behind hand in payments, and every year, falls still faster and farther into bankruptcy." 40

As the reign of Gregory XVI went on, the politically conditions of unrest became more and more evident with reports following the liberal "party line." In 1843, riots and guerilla activity occurred. An attempt was made upon the life of the Pope shortly after his thirteenth anniversary celebration, February 2, 1844. Again, the police were criticized as inefficient because open murders and robberies were committed with the utmost impunity. 41 In 1845, surveillance and immediate suppresion of attempted revolts maintained a semblance of calm within the Pope's dominion. Nevertheless, the Papal States continued to be greatly agitated as repression instead of conciliation remained the set policy. The editor of the New York Tribune felt that:

Nothing could be more stupid, conciliation would secure peace for the government without many sacrifices; severity will exasperate the people beyond endurance and though they may be put down by brute force they are sure to triumph in the end. 42

40 New York Daily Express, Sept. 19, 1837.
42 Ibid., Nov. 29, 1845.
A Southern gentleman, who visited Italy during 1846, agreeing to the general theme that the Papal States were in a sorry condition, sent his friend, the editor of the New Orleans Daily Picayune, accounts of his travels and observations. In his letter of April 29, from Paris, he spoke of Italy.

Nature and art have combined to render it a perfect paradise, but the lower classes, particularly of the States of the Pope . . . are indolent, ignorant, dishonest, and miserable . . . . At Rome, whose despotic and miserable Government is a shame to Christendom and Christianity, there are at least 2000 beggars to 150,000 inhabitants . . . . The good Catholics tell you that His Holiness has too much charity to confine the poor wretches, so he leaves them to starve in the streets and disgust society. It is a government, between us, alone sustained by the interest of Austria, and the ignorance and superstition of its people.43

The bad impression which "S.M.J." gave of Papal government in the columns of the Daily Picayune was expressed also in the New York press. May 1846, the Sun pointed out that the London and Paris liberal press was engaged continually in "throwing squibs at the Pope." The latest attack upon Gregory was because of his forbidding the introduction of gas lights into his dominions.44

Thus the general impression of the secular press towards Papal civil government during the reign of Gregory XVI was unsympathetic. Pro-papal items were rare, with hardly any attempt to excuse the "miserable and despotic" government of

43 New Orleans The Daily Picayune, July 12, 1846.
44 New York Sun, May 23, 1846.
Gregory XVI. "One of the rare approaches to the situation was
the New York Tribune explanation of political conditions in Papal
territory, "There has been no real cause for discontent,
difficulties are attributed to the machinations of anarchists in
France and England." The blame for all the trouble was placed
upon the followers of Mazzini, "Young Italy." The Tribune source,
the Augsburg Gazette of the sixth of July, thus bore witness to
an opinion that later history confirmed.

Two statements referring to official relations between
the United States and the Holy See were also found in the papers
of this period. January 17, 1837, the published list of presi-
dential appointments included the designation of George W. Greene
to the position of American Consul at Rome. In 1840, it was
reported that President Van Buren had appointed James E. Freeman
of New York as the Consul of the United States for the port of
Ancona in the Papal States. Mr. Greene wrote six letters from
Rome, but he did not discuss political conditions. He confined
his remarks to the sights in Rome and geology of the territory.

47 Charleston Southern Patriot, Apr. 28, 1840.
48 Knickerbocker, New York, July 1841-December 1842.
The letters of Geo. Greene may be found in volumes 18, 19, 20.
CHAPTER IV

PIUS IX THE LIBERAL POPE

Undoubtedly the most remarkable pontificate during the nineteenth century was that of Pope Pius IX. It was the longest in the history of the Papacy, as well as one of the most eventful. It marked the end of the Pope as a temporal ruler of importance in European politics, for Liberalism wrested from him that prominent position held since the time of Pepin in the eighth century. It sounded the death knell to the practice of caesaro-papism in the election of successors to the Chair of St. Peter. It was important for the dogmatic definitions, and the assembling of the latest ecumenical council. Throughout, John Mästai-Ferretti, who wore the fisherman's ring at the time, was its leading figure. A great deal was printed about this Pope and his reign, but it has not as yet been given objective treatment. Here we make no attempt to present a complete picture.

By mid-July of 1846, most Americans had been informed of the death of Gregory XVI. The news reached the outpost—if New Orleans could be so considered—of civilization at that time. On July 18, 1846, the readers of the New York Sun were aware of
the election of John Mästai-Ferretti to the Papacy. The commu-
nication of the event to the Sun came from the European papers, that the steamer Cambria had delivered at Boston after a thirteen
day crossing from Liverpool. From Boston, the news was sent to
New York via the electric telegraph. The editor of the Sun pub-
lished the account with the headline "ELECTION OF POPE PIUS, AN
ITALIAN." The article stated that the election of the Pope had
resulted after a comparatively short conclave of forty-eight
hours, even before the foreign Cardinals had arrived at Rome.
The new Pope, aged fifty-eight, was one of the youngest men ever
to have been elected to that office. His pontificate promised to
be successful, for

... if all that is said of him be correct, he cannot fail
to make a shrewd temporal ruler in addition to the functions
of his spiritual office. The previous habits and character
of this Pontiff do credit to the judgment and impartiality
of the Conclave which elected him.¹

The news of Pius' election moved rapidly for the times
across the nation. It was published, July 20, 1846, in the
Public Ledger at Philadelphia. The Ledger using the Cambria
papers repeated substantially the account of the New York Sun.²
Within another week, the news had traveled the wires of the

¹ New York Sun, July 18, 1846. For the reference to
New Orleans, confer The Daily Picayune, July 14, 1846.

² Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 20, 1846.
electric telegraph from Baltimore to Charleston; thence it was relayed by express to New Orleans. The _Daily Picayune_ communicated the accurate news on the Papal election July 28, 1846, and thus corrected the false rumor that it had previously copied and printed from the local _Commercial Times_ which had printed that "Cardinal Perrotte has been elected Pope of Rome."³

Throughout the next few months, the press manifested a very favorable opinion of the new Pope. The Philadelphia _Public Ledger_ printed several letters from its Brussels correspondent. The speedy conclusion of the conclave was explained by fear of political disorders within the Papal States. The election was unhampered by Spain, France, or Austria, even though the French journals attempted to claim influence through Count Rossi, the French Minister at Rome.⁴ Pius IX was said to be a member of the ultra-montane party and of moderate political opinions. The correspondent called attention in each of his letters to the domination of Italy by Austria, who at that time had some ninety thousand troops massed along the borders. The Austrian menace to Italian liberty had already brought forth a petition that Pius strive for independence from Austria. The author of the petition, a certain Massimo d'Azeglio of Bologna, had distributed about

twelve thousand copies. The second letter dwelt upon the Austrian virus and set up Pius IX as the antidote. The liberal thinking correspondent believed that the best thing for civilization, those most unfortunate for Austria, was the selection of the new Pope, who has proved himself worthy of his trust by

... abandoning at once, Austria to her fate, instead of pandering ... to the ungédly appetites of that base and corrupt power. He evidently intends following out a liberal and humane policy.

The liberal policy was defined as a favoring of public improvements, free press, and participation of the laity in the civil government of the Papal States. The October letter from Brussels contained the same approving opinion of Pius and antipathy to Austria.

The story of the papal election was also given in the New York Sun when the editor reprinted the evidently English treatment of the conclave. The item, dated June 24, Florence, bore the title, "The Pope Elected by a Mistake."

His Holiness the present Pope Pius IX, has been elected by a mistake, or rather he was, as those familiar with the elections in "Merrie England" well know, set up as a candidate without the intention of his being finally elected. It occurred thus—When the Cardinals are duly "fixed" in the conclave, they begin in the evening by giving the name of

5 Philadelphia Public Ledger, July 24, 1846.
6 Ibid., Aug. 7, 1846.
7 Ibid., Oct. 7, 1846.
one whom they have no intention should be ultimately chosen; this is done . . . as a "feeler". It appears that on the second evening of the conclave, the cardinals . . . gave in the names of those whom they did not intend should be elected Pope; and Cardinal Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferreti . . . was appointed to call out the names as they came out of the urn, and to his great surprise he found the first seven or eight billets marked with his own name. His feelings at so unexpected an honor, when it reached the 14th slip that his name was written on, were so excited that he fainted. Nevertheless, the calling of the names went on, and to the great surprise of the Sacred College, his name was found to have the requisite number of voices. 8

In the same issue the editor gave instances of the new Pope's humility. According to the German journals, the Pope had ordered his cook to limit dinner at three dishes. In the spirit of economy household expenses were cut, and "four thousand Roman scudis which were annually spent in rare plants have been cut out of the budget, and half of the horses of the pontifical stables have been sold."

About a month later, the Sun ventured the opinion that Pius IX would "create a new era in the policy of the Papal States". Because he was a man of liberal principles and energetic character, the Pope would run ahead of Austria in his reforms. Efforts would be made to check him, but they would be useless. 9

8 New York Sun, Aug. 10, 1846. The fainting incident of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti in the conclave was also recorded in the United States Catholic Magazine, Aug. 1846, 453. It was given as a quotation from the Gazette des Postes d'Augsbourg.

9 New York Sun, Sept. 5, 1846.
Orestes Brownson shared the same view.

The work commenced by the Sovereign Pontiff is the work of God, and must and will be crowned with that success so ardently desired by every heart to which the Sacred Charity of the Gospel is not a stranger. 10

In December, the Sun correspondent, unidentified beyond his initials, C.D.S., wrote from Edinburgh of the popularity which Pius IX was acquiring with the people of Rome.11 The paper also mentioned the publication of the encyclical letter on December 23, 1846, which Brownson printed in Latin and without comment.12

From the moment of his election Pope Pius IX was popular. It seems safe to say that he received more favorable attention in the American press in a few months than his three predecessors had in some twenty years. This attention centered on him chiefly as the Pope-King of the Papal States striving to "modernize" the lands of the Church. Hence, he was frequently in these early months of his reign called a liberal Pope. The elasticity of the term was evident. Pius IX was a liberal because he took steps to give his subjects a more representative form of government. He was a liberal because he showed an interest in public works of material progress. He was a liberal

10 Orestes Brownson, "Political Regeneration of Italy", Brownson Quarterly Review, January 1848, N.S. II, 134.

11 New York Sun, Dec. 26, 1846.

12 Brownson Quarterly Review, April 1847, 249-262.
because he granted an amnesty to erstwhile political rebels. He was a liberal because his political views ran counter to those of Metternichism. Finally, he was a liberal because he indicated a willingness to give freedom to the press, an important point in the American meaning of liberalism. These good deeds made Americans see Pius IX as "the hero of our age," and were frequently mentioned in the period prior to the revolution.

There was the amnesty for political prisoners of whom there were about two thousand in 1846.13 The New York Sun noted it several times.14 The Catholic Magazine reprinted the text of the decree from the Paris Universal.15 Brownson called it the "declaration of Roman independence" and the "harbinger and cornerstone" of the new political order, while the New Orleans Picayune informed banned Papal subjects living in America, of the opportunity granted to remove their political stigma.16 On October 29, 1846, it announced to the people of New Orleans:

A Papal Amnesty - Official notice is given by the Consul General of the Pontifical States, to the United States, the effect of which is as follows:

All the Pontifical subjects in the United States, exiled from political motives, will be allowed to return,

13 United States Catholic Magazine, June 1848, 299.
14 New York Sun, Aug. 4, 5, Dec. 15, 1846.
provided that within one year from the promulgation of this notice they declare solemnly and upon their honor that they will in no manner and at no time abuse the act of clemency of their legitimate sovereign, Pope Pius IX. Those who wish to avail themselves of this Act, should make the prescribed declaration before the Consul General or the Vice Consuls of the Pontifical States.\textsuperscript{17}

The social reforms which the new Pope encouraged were also mentioned by the \textit{Sun}. To have funds for poor relief, it was noted that Pius retained his control over the See of Imola.\textsuperscript{18} He was said to be contemplating a change in the penal code that would substitute life imprisonment for capital punishment.\textsuperscript{19} When floods caused distress in Rome during 1846, the Pope gave of his own purse and personal exertions to mitigate the hardships of the victims. The Pontiff issued directives to effect extensive drainage projects and ordered a raise in wages for workers.\textsuperscript{20} His interest in the young and promotion of free education also made news among these items classed as social benefits.\textsuperscript{21}

Where Pope Gregory XVI was wary of modern inventions, the liberal Pius was not. Before long the new Pope authorized the building or railroads in the Papal States. The action was, in the words of the \textit{Sun}'s editor, "another effort to extend the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[18] New York \textit{Sun}, Sept. 9, 1846.
\item[19] \textit{Ibid.}, Nov. 19, 1846, Jan. 26, 1847.
\end{footnotes}
area of liberal principles, by concentrating all classes, commerce and productive capital and labor near Rome. This railroad program was viewed enthusiastically in a letter from Rome printed in the Washington Weekly Union which copied from the Charleston Mercury.

The Sun lauded the establishment of two journals in Rome to advocate liberal views, for it was an example that the "acts of the Pontiff speak louder than professions." It was said that Pius had encouraged the conductors "to speak the truth, and fearlessly advocate all reforms which do not militate against the orthodoxy of the Church." This manifestation of liberal principles and sincere conviction on the part of the Pontiff pleased the Sun, because it was a modern program and one that was putting the laity in political power. Of the two journals one was published in English and called the Roman Advertiser, which the New York editor glorified as a marvel of the age and a "triumph of the Press." It was used as a source of Italian news and offered for sale by the New York Sun.

The popularity of Pius IX continued to receive attention in the columns of the Sun during a good portion of the years 1846.

23 Washington Weekly Union, July 26, 1847.
24 New York Sun, Dec. 7, 15, 1846; July 12, Dec. 6, Aug. 4, 1847.
and 1847. It was an echo of the "vivas" of the Roman populace who crowded about the Pope on his public appearances. It brought forth the publication of his picture January 1847, and was probably the first time an American newspaper sponsored the sale of a Pope's likeness. This was the announcement.

This popular ruler having attracted considerable attention, we have considered it our public duty to present to the public a beautiful likeness of His Holiness, with a large view of St. Peter's Church at Rome, and a pretty engraving of the ceremonies at his coronation. These excellent pictures are all in the Weekly Sun issued at our office this morning and for sale at three cents per copy.

The editor did not publish the success of his venture, but he continued to give good notices to the Pope as the feeling of great enthusiasm mounted in America. Such literary leaders as Orestes Brownson and Margaret Fuller took up their pens to favor the new pontificate. The former seemed to give the most reasoned contemporary evaluation of American reaction to Pope Pius' liberal program. In January 1848 he wrote:


Some of the Rationalistic . . . saw nothing in Pius the Ninth but a man of powerful genius in the act of giving a new form to the beautiful system framed by men similarly gifted who had gone before him. Of Protestants in general, some wisely discovered that a new, thorough, godly reformation was on the carpet; some saw nothing but a cunning artifice of Austria in disguise; while others hesitated, uncertain what opinion to express at what they considered as the novel event of Anti-Christ transformed suddenly into a George Washington! 27

The only rational applause came from the unprejudiced friends of true liberty who were glad to see an opportunity given to Italy. As for Catholics, Brownson believed they were pleased to watch the Holy See get free of the "hateful trammels of secular intrusion."

But there was also the camp of opposition to this liberalism of Pius IX. Margaret Fuller at first approving Pius IX, later swung to the other side. J.T. Headley, an American visitor in Rome, was skeptical of the whole affair. 28 His opinion in brief denied the possibility of a liberal pope, for such was a contradiction in terms. The daily papers, however, saw the danger to the liberal program of Pius, not in individuals, but in Austria and fears of other nations. Protestant Europe was said to be alarmed. France begged His Holiness not to outstrip the monarchies, and even liberal England thought Pius was going too

27 Brownson Quarterly Review, Jan. 1848, N.S. II, 125.
28 Marraro, 12-14. Here are given quotations from Margaret Fuller's memoirs, and the letters of J.T. Headley.
far. But the consistently feared specter was Austria who viewed with uneasiness and jealousy the progress of liberal principles in the Pope's dominions. So the press and the general American opinion continued to favor Pius IX. The latter eventually evolved into a series of civic demonstrations of sympathy for the cause of liberty and the liberal pontiff.

The press gave much space to these various sympathy meetings, which were favorable expressions of public opinion in the United States towards the liberal Pope Pius IX. The most publicized of these meetings was that held at the Tabernacle of New York City, November 29, 1847. A principal promoter was Horace Greeley and his New York Tribune; opposition came from the Herald of the same city. Since other published works give the newspaper account of this gathering, here consideration is confined to the treatment given by the Sun. While the Sun does not seem actually to have promoted it, the paper gave much favorable publicity to the meeting. It labeled the gathering a noble movement and one to meet the approval of every friend of the

29 New York Sun, Aug. 16, Nov. 9, 19, Dec. 7, 1846, Mar. 23, May 1, 8, 1847. Living Age, Boston, Feb. 19, 1848.

The day of the gathering the editor reminded his readers.

The Great Sympathy demonstration takes place tonight in favor of Pius IX and Italian liberty. From the glorious nature of the struggle to which the meeting proposes to respond, and the noble and heroic character of its illustrious leader, the present republican Pope, we trust that the Tabernacle will be crowded to its utmost capacity. Whenever rising liberty appeals to the American people whatever the nation or clime, let a response be sent back that shall animate her endeavor. 32

The day after the meeting an account was given of the celebrities present, the enthusiastic spirit of the crowd, and the resolutions that were adopted. All present seemed to be of one mind as the deafening appaluse shook the Tabernacle in great appreciation of Pope Pius IX and the "noble cause of liberty."

"It was the most enthusiastic demonstration we have witnessed for years," wrote the Sun's editor, "and we trust that its voice will reach Italy and nerve her brave hearts still more firmer for their high and glorious task." 33 The echoes of the clapping hands did reach Rome. In appreciation Pius IX sent six medals, two gold, two silver, and two bronze, "exquisitely executed and appropriately inscribed" to Monsignor Alex Vattemore who presented them, December 1, 1848, to the Mayor and citizens of

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31 New York Sun, Nov. 18, 1847.
32 Ibid., Nov. 29, 1847.
33 Ibid., Nov. 30, 1847.
New York at the City Hall.34

Philadelphia, January 6, 1848, The Louisiana State Legislature, March 16, 1848, and Washington, D.C., March 28, 1848, joined in public expressions of good will towards the Pope and Italy. Meanwhile, the knowledge of the New York demonstration was received in New Orleans where it made front-page news in the *Daily Picayune*, meriting the headline, "CIVIL LIBERTY IN ITALY DEMONSTRATION OF AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH POPE PIUS IX IN HIS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH CIVIL LIBERTY IN ITALY."

An immense concourse of citizens met at the Tabernacle in New York on the 29th., to testify their sympathy with the great measures of reform which Pope Pius IX has organized for the regeneration of the Italian States. The meeting was attended and addressed by gentlemen of the highest reputation in New York, and numerous letters were read from distinguished men residing in other cities. . . . The Mayor of the City presided assisted by thirty vice presidents. Robert Hogan, Esq., explained the objects of the meeting. A hymn to Pius IX was played by the band after which the following beautiful address and resolutions . . . were read by Horace Greeley, interrupted by loud applause and was subsequently adopted by acclamation.

The editor's account was longer since he included the address and the six resolutions adopted. In the same issue he noted that the *American Review*, a periodical, had illustrated its November number with a portrait of Pope Pius IX.35

34 New York *The True Sun*, Dec. 4, 1848.

35 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, Dec. 11, 1847. One may also find the text of the address and resolutions in *Artaud*, II, 858-860.
The New York demonstration has received the most attention by recent writers who have omitted to mention that the Italians of New Orleans had anticipated the citizens of the Eastern metropolis by over a month. The Daily Picayune carried this story. According to the New Orleans Courier, which the editor of the Daily Picayune copied, a group of intelligent men animated by liberal principles and indignant over Austria's policy in Italy met "at the coffee-house adjacent to the New Orleans theatre, at 6 o'clock in order to express their sentiments on the present condition of their country and the events therein transpiring." On the following Sunday night a large group assembled at the New Orleans Ball Room to give public expression of their feelings of sympathy with Pope Pius IX. The meeting resulted in the following resolutions:

Whereas Pius IX is the head of the church, by whom at last the duties of Pope are understood as they relate to Italy:
Whereas Pius IX is preparing the way for a national union, so devoutly desired:
Whereas it is by and through him that the movement in Italy is created, which at this moment excites the admiration of the world, and gives rise to the most glowing hopes for the future:
Resolved, that the Italians residing in New Orleans venerate in Pius IX the head of the Italian league, which is destined to expel a foreign soldiery from their country.
Resolved, that Pius IX is the man sent by Providence to resist the attempt (whencesoever it may proceed) to retard by force the progress of the holy cause of Italy.

Resolved, that our prayers are for him and for the success of every undertaking to which his patriotism may prompt him, in order to promote the welfare of Italy.

Resolved, that we await with impatience the next news from Italy in order to adopt the necessary measures for this purpose.

Resolved, that a standing committee of five gentlemen be appointed who shall take charge of everything connected with an Italian National Manifestation.

Following adoption of the resolutions, the President appointed as committee Dr. Natili and Messrs. Santini, Lanfranco, Lanata, and Ferravi. The meeting closed with the first official act of three triple cheers for Pius IX and Viva Italia! given by all with great enthusiasm.37

The country-wide interest of the press on conditions in the Papal States succeeded in bringing the cause of liberalism before the nation. Generally speaking, the press was favorable to Pius IX, and from this stimulation the United States began to consider opening diplomatic relations with the Holy See. The recommendation was made to Congress by President Polk, December 1847, in his message to the Thirtieth Congress. The press opinion, Congressional debate, and background story of this rather short-lived diplomatic mission has been presented quite thoroughly in two special studies. 38 Consequently, consideration


38 Feiertag, Public Opinion etc., which has been mentioned above, and Leo Francis Stock, United States Ministers to the Papal States, Washington, D.C., 1933.
of that mission has been omitted in this study, and also due to the fact that much of the life span of the mission extended beyond 1850.

In 1848, Europe was subjected to a series of political revolutions. The insurrections which sent the Citizen King and Metternich seeking refuge in England had a sympathetic reaction at Rome that sent the Pope-King seeking safety at Gaeta in the confines of the Kingdom of Naples. The liberal policy of Pius had failed. Concession followed concession, and still the anticlerical mobs, incited by doctrines of Mazzini, cried for more and more. Finally, the cry was for blood, the blood of Count Rossi, Prime Minister of the Papal States, who was assassinated November 15, 1848. Violence continued. As it seemed to draw ever closer to the person of the Pontiff, he resolved to take flight from Rome. On the twenty-fourth of November, with the assistance of the Count and Countess Von Spaur, a disillusioned disguised Pope hurried to sanctuary at Gaeta. The Roman revolution had begun.

The American newspapers showed a good deal of interest in the event occurring at Rome. Frequent reports of the fighting were printed together with the ever constant refrain of the "Pope is still at Gaeta." The press was thoroughly confused. It felt sorry for the dethroned Pius; it desired success to the
Roman Republic; and it condemned France as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

The first notice of the changed conditions at Rome was given by the *Sun*, January 9, 1848, from dispatches brought to New York by the steamship *Washington*. Four days later its editorial was sympathetic.

The Pope at Gaeta is placed in a peculiar predicament. But for his flight from Rome we believe he would now hold the sceptre. His flight gave boldness to the hands and tongues of men, who would not have dared to do violence to his person. The powers of Europe may interfere for his temporal restoration, but never more can he rule in peace a people who must ever feel conscious of the past. Should the good, liberal and faithful Pius find no resting place in Europe, here, in the Western world is a safe asylum for him. He as spiritual father of his mighty fold, will be welcomed and protected in all that is dear to men and Christians. 39

Yet a month later the editor was applying the doctrine of political self-determination to the events in Rome and willing to see an end of the temporal power of the Pope.

The American people cannot look with approval upon any attempt on the part of any European nation to impose a temporal sovereignty upon the people of the Roman States. We are bound by every conviction of right and justice to regard the people everywhere as the only legitimate arbiters of their national destiny, and if the Romans have seen fit to assume the reins of power, it will be tyranny to deprive them of those reins by force. Of all nations, France should

39 *New York Sun*, Jan. 13, 1849. Certain Catholics in New York planned inviting Pius IX to move to America, but the plan was opposed by the Catholic newspaper *Freeman's Journal*. Cf. Marraro, 99. *Statement of the Boston Daily Evening Transcript* Jan. 8, 1849, was a typical American boast, "If Pius IX came to America we would make him a Democrat."
be the last to try so unholy a crusade against a people aspiring like herself to freedom and representative government. The Romans are glad to receive the Pope as a spiritual ruler, and even as a temporal one, if he will accord with a legislature chosen by the people; in this much republicans everywhere should sympathize with them, and no further. 40

The last statement of the editor may have been prompted by the recent news from Italy that told of the unsuccessful attempts of the provisional government to induce Pius IX to return to Rome. Demands of the Pope included a dissolution of the legislature, the disbanding of the National Guard and silencing of the press. The rebels refused; Pius remained at Gaeta. 41

Foreign interference to replace the Pope at Rome was mentioned. 42 Every friend of Italy awaited the next steamer from Europe bringing news. Americans were informed by the Sun that they could not be neutral when a liberal government arose, since they were pledged to the cause of liberty. Foreign interference . . . will be looked upon, we are sure by the American people, with indignation. As the Commercial of last evening justly observes, there was no interference when the people drove Louis Phillippe and Ferdinand of Austria from their thrones, and why should the rule be broken in the case of Italy? Do the hateful tyrants mean to violate her because

40 New York Sun, Feb. 15, 1849. The cause of the republic was espoused also by New York Evening Post, and Herald.


42 Springfield Daily Republican reported the presence of Austrian troops Jan. 31; the rumor of French aid Mar. 10; and the sending of Spanish naval squadron to aid the Pope Feb. 26, 1849.
she is weak? As a temporal sovereign, we regard the Pope as amenable to the exigencies to which other sovereigns have been forced to submit. The people want liberty and they must have it.43

That liberty seemed to have attained realization when the revolutionary forces succeeded in gaining control at Rome and made the news of importance at Boston from the papers on the steamship America. The Springfield Daily Republican thus designated the announcement of the formal establishment of the Roman Republic on the ninth of February, and the simultaneous deposition of the "Pope of Rome from his political" power.44 This news brought forth great jubilation in the New York Sun.

A Republic declared at Rome! After a lapse of 1048 years, the Imperial City and State has witnessed a change in her ruling temporal dynasty. Rome is declared an independent nation, her sovereignty the people. The rule which was inaugurated by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Leo III has come to an end7... the guns of St. Angelo have thundered its requiem. Great as is our admiration of Pius the IXth, shall we not rejoice at such an event as this?45

The editor continued saying that Pius had lost nothing, while freedom had "won a splendid triumph." Moreover, if the nations of Europe would accept the way of wisdom they would not attempt to wrest this republic, the work of destiny's finger, from the people of Rome.

43 New York Sun, Feb. 23, 1849.
44 Springfield Daily Republican, Mar. 10, 1849.
45 New York Sun, Mar. 12, 1849.
Recognition by the great powers, a necessary stamp of approval, was refused the new Roman Republic. Nor did the United States government offer to recognize the young and unstable republic. The first United States Minister to the Papal States, Lewis Cass junior, one of the few foreign diplomats to remain in Rome during the Revolution, was instructed to have no official business with the Republic. James Buchanan, Secretary of State, so warned Cass, for he felt that the "almost insuperable difficulties by which it is surrounded, render it extremely doubtful whether it will be able to maintain itself. Indeed, I consider the speedy restoration of the Pope highly probable, if not absolutely certain." Yet, despite reports of the weakness of the new Roman government, the press demanded recognition.

There was an element of wonder in the mind of the editor as he noted the absence of meetings in America to give encouragement to the Italian Republic.

We have seen no enthusiastic demonstrations for Italy similar to those which are leading politicians hailed the republican movement in France, and the liberal policy of the Pope. Why this difference?

46 Stock, Ministers to the Papal States, 17, 18.
47 Springfield Daily Republican, Apr. 9, May 14, 1849.
48 New York Sun, Apr. 6, 1849. June 26, the policy towards Roman Republic was described as "mealy-mouthed" and against the spirit of the men of 1776. Cass was declared unworthy, for he had "played the gallant in the ladies' boudoir too long to represent Republican America among Romans."
perhaps, continued the writer, the silence of America was to be construed as approval of the schemes which despotic Russia and Austria planned for the freemen of Italy. Margaret Fuller entertained similar thoughts. In a letter written from Rome, May 27, 1849, she enlarged upon conditions that had developed out of the revolution. She believed it was an effect of the times and that French bayonets should not be allowed to suppress the sentiment of liberty. She pleaded for United States recognition of the republic and was surprised that Lewis Cass remained inert. She was sure the Pope would understand such American action and would even admire a bold policy. She closed with the idealistic plea:

Send, dear America, a talisman to thy ambassador, precious beyond all that boasted gold of California. Let it loose his tongue to cry "Long live the Republic, and may God bless the cause of the people, the brotherhood of nations and of men---the equality of rights for all." Viva America! Hail to my country! May she live a free, a glorious, a loving life, and not perish, like the old dominions, from the leprosy of selfishness.49

The liberty bell sounded again for the Italian cause through the papers of the New York Sun. This time every republican the world over who regarded God as the parent of liberty was told that the Italian struggle was "eminently right," and the deposition of the Pope from his temporal power was just and was sanctioned by Providence because the Pontiff had presented

49 Living Age, July 21, 1849. This magazine quoted the letter from the New York Tribune, the original recipient.
himself as an obstacle to "the perfection of republicanism."

Moreover, Italy did not revolt against Pius IX as her spiritual father or head of the Church,

... but as a temporal prince, who after himself agitating Italy to freedom, was forced by surrounding despotic influences to turn against the very work he had begun.50

Nor were the Italians to be criticized in turning against the Pope since they still loved the faith of their fathers; they had come to the only conclusion possible, as was witnessed by our American Revolution, that the "Church has no right to trample upon the civil liberty of man." That typical liberal attitude favoring destruction of Papal temporal power tended to glorify republicanism and Mazzini. The New York Courier and Enquirer, reportedly liberal, was adversely criticized for viewing the troubles of the new Republic with the complacency of a pro-monarchical European journal. Every liberal ought to look upon Mazzini as a patriot and a George Washington promoting the "shining star of Republicanism."51 Mazzini was a "man of sterling character" whose learning and able writings marked him as a true and thorough democrat. His able lieutenant, Garibaldi, the veteran friend of liberty and republicanism, had fought on both sides of the Atlantic for liberty. "If these men are brigands

50 New York Sun, Apr. 16, 1849.

51 Springfield Daily Republican, June 16, 1849.
and assassins, because they battle for the freedom of the land of their birth and love, why not call Washington and Patrick Henry assassins?\(^5\)

However, the talk of the town was divided as to the character and intentions of the leaders of the Roman revolution. The one opinion held they were "actuated by the worst motives and guilty of atrocities and acts inconsistent with honorable humanity" with the people giving support out of compulsion rather than sympathy. The opposite view saw in the struggle "a spirit of devotion to pure republican principles" with the multitudes giving accord out of considered appreciation of their heaven-created right of equality. In substantiation of the latter opinion, the editor reproduced from the "Evening Post of Wednesday... a letter published from Rome, written by a highly respectable gentleman who has resided in that city for some years." That gentleman stated that the Roman people were in unanimous accord for the Republic. Only the priests were desirous of full restoration of the old papal temporal power. In erasing the

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52 New York Sun, June 15, 1849. In August, Beach supported his opinion of Garibaldi by an undated quotation from the Cincinnati Commercial which told that Garibaldi once kept "a public house on Sixth street, between Plum and Western Row... He kept liquor, but his estables, and familiar yet gentlemanly converse, formed the principal attractions for Hammond." Charles Hammond was a local editor. When Garibaldi sold out and left for Italy, he was given a big farewell, for all who knew him "idolize" the man.
charge of cruelty from the revolutionaries, the Roman letter supplied data which threw the accusation to the side of the "restorers." He alleged that the Neapolitan army had raped women while their husbands and brothers were forced to look on.

Returning to the real problem, the writer observed that the essence of the dispute was whether Pius IX should return to Rome in his full ecclesiastical and temporal power or only as the supreme spiritual leader. The Sun, in general, seemed to hold that the Pope's temporal power must yield to the spirit of the times. The Living Age, a Boston published periodical, printed excerpts from English papers holding the same opinion. The Spectator said the temporal power of the Popes must end because it was a product of the Middle Ages, and the noble efforts of Pius IX could not succeed. The Chronicle said the Church must surrender her civil claims into secular hands, and some other means must be found to give the Papacy a status "less repugnant to the irresistible tendencies of the present and the coming age." The Examiner held the view that spiritual and temporal do not mix; so the Pope should get rid of the temporal, for he is primarily a priest.

Reassured by news that Captain Engle brought from Europe on the Princeton, asserting that the Romans

53 New York Sun, June 29, 1849.
54 Living Age, Boston, Feb. 11, 1849.
opposed the return of Pius as their temporal prince, the Sun became eloquent in bewailing the obstinate stand taken by the pope and his acceptance of foreign military aid.

Contrasted with this temporal policy of Christ's professed vicegerent, how strangely appears the example of Christ himself, who never raised or sought to raise a hand of violence against his enemies? When he was buffeted by the multitudes, and Peter drew a sword to defend his Master, Christ said: "Put up thy sword . . ." Would that the representative of Christ might be moved to speak thus to all men who draw the sword in his behalf. His weapons should be spiritual, not carnal.55

When the Catholic powers came to the aid of the Pope, their action was denounced, even though politically justified, as tyrannical in principle. The attitude towards Austria remained unchanged, for she had been for years a notorious conspirator seeking selfish aims. But France was branded as a turncoat and traitor to the cause of liberty. France was a hypocrite guilty of damnable treachery to the republican principle. Sooner or later all true lovers of liberty "will curse her name" and become disgusted with "the hypocritical farce" she played in Italy.56

Louis Napoleon's promise to restore the Pope with a guaranty of a liberal constitution was merely a means to lull the French into concurrence and approval of General Oudinot's expeditionary force.

55 New York Sun, July 19, 1849.

56 Springfield Daily Republican, May 9, 1849.
in Italy, which was "the most damnable outrage ever perpetrated in the name of freedom." 57 Nevertheless, the French moved steadily towards Rome and entered the city on the third of July. The Daily Republican made a mere note of the fact, while the Sun recorded the victorious march as made through empty streets and asked, "Where were the loyal citizens of Pius IX?" that friends of France and lying journals had reported? 58 Apparently, the Sun included the Freeman's Journal, the New York Catholic paper, among the friends of France. There followed a series of articles disagreeing with the views of the Freeman's Journal. 59 The argument rambled from charges of incorrect statements about the fall of Rome to Irish loyalty to the Pope to French intervention to the pro and con of the Pope's temporal authority. There was an interesting editorial on the Pope's temporal power, which should be cited because this question received, in later years, much discussion; also because it revealed the liberal American opinion. The editorial began with a quotation from the Catholic journal to the effect that one who denied or opposed the temporal power of the Pope put himself on Protestant or infidel ground, for the

57 New York Sun, July 4, 1849. Also May 18, June 4, July 16, 18, 23, 1849. Springfield Daily Republican, Sept. 27, Aug. 4, 1849.


59 New York Sun, July 28, Aug. 25, Sept. 1, 6, 1849.
pope "has declared the necessity of the temporal power, /and/ no Catholic is at liberty to contradict him." This was the Sun's comment.

The above appeared in the last issue of the Journal in a dialogue between Catholicus and Politicus. We hardly need say to our readers that its spirit is at direct war with the fundamental principle of Republicanism, and of liberty as professed and enjoyed by Americans. We believe that every subscriber to the Sun, native citizens or adopted, whatever may be his religious belief, is a republican in so far as temporal government is concerned. Not one of them, therefore, will deny to the Roman people the same right to govern themselves that we exercise. Republicanism is a universal principle, and its application to the Romans is the same as to Americans. Suppose then, the Pope has the right to dictate temporal rule to the Romans, has he not the same right to dictate it to the Americans? The Romans are the people or Rome, as much as the Americans are of the United States. Because a man's religious faith is Catholic or Protestant, or because he lives in a particular section of the world does not alter his civil and political rights as a man. No, a thousand times no! and we are not afraid of any Catholic freeman's saying to the contrary. All temporal power forced upon the people is usurpation and tyranny; that is, if the principle of republicanism is right anywhere. He who can endorse the Pope's right to temporarily oppress the Romans, repudiates the principle of republicanism. Such an one can owe no allegiance to a government in which the people are sovereign, for he denies the right of the people to sovereignty when he admits the right to any one man, Pope or King, to impose temporal rule upon them.60

After the apparent destruction of the arguments from the Journal, and this attempt to prove there was no connection between the Pope's temporal and spiritual power, the editor concluded with an argument descending to personalities and not to the point by

60 New York Sun, Aug. 25, 1849.
asking whether or not the Irish would prefer the temporal
tyranny of the Pope to that of the British; or American Catholics
prefer the same to the Revolution.

When Rome had been pacified by the French butchers of
the Republic, the sorry plight of the Romans worked the editor in-
to mourning because the kingdoms of Spain, Naples,

... and the Pope rejoice over the ruin of republicanism
while France with hollow heart and folded hands, looks upon
a work of devastation and humiliation which she incited by
example and alone might have suppressed.61

Throughout the remainder of 1849, the news frequently
repeated that the Pope had not returned to Rome. Though the
observations were of a factual nature which occasionally added
condemnatory remarks of the diplomacy afoot preparatory to the
restoration of the dethroned Pope-King, there was still the ten-
dency to ridicule the French action and state that the Romans
considered the concessions granted by the Pope as niggardly. One
writer hoped that the new gaslights would simultaneously enlight-
en both the Pope and the city of Rome.62

It was well into the spring of 1850, before the way was
cleared and Pius IX decided to return to Rome. The steamship
Canada stopped at Halifax on the second of May with the foreign

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61 New York Sun, Sept. 27, 1849. The New Orleans Daily
Picayune also shared in the grief over the Republic's fall.

62 Ibid., Nov. 15, 1849. Opinion expressed by the Roman
correspondent of the London Times.
news that told of the Pope's return to Rome. The New York Sun printed the brief notice without comment.

He [Pius IX] was well received. At the entrance of the Pope into Rome there was no pomp and public display, beyond the necessary guard and staff.63

Interest in Papal affairs temporally waned with the restoration, and since it coincided with the limits set to this study we ceased consideration of expressed American views of the Papacy.

In summary, it may be stated that the American opinion moved from a great enthusiasm for the liberal Pope and his liberal program to something of sympathy and pity when the revolution forced him to flee. As to the revolution itself, the newspapers favored the cause of the revolutionaries and the Roman Republic, for it was a realization of liberal principles. France was branded as a traitor to liberty and grouped with the other despotic powers, Spain, Naples, and Austria, aiding in the Pope's restoration. Mr. Marraro, who has studied the revolution of 1848 in detail, concluded that American opinion was divided. Catholics generally were in sympathy with the Pope and condemned the Roman republicans, while non-Catholics enthusiastically espoused the cause of the insurgents. A few bigoted Protestant clergymen seized the opportunity to denounce anew the Catholic Church and the institution of the Papacy; and in general, it was the liberal

63 New York Sun, May 3, 1850. Similar treatment was in the Washington Republic, May 9, 1850.
group who rejoiced over the formation of the Republic while still sympathizing with the well-meaning but "vacillating" Pius IX.64

64 Marraro, 99.
CHAPTER V

FACTORS BEHIND THE EDITORS' WORDS

The faded print of newspapers, turned a dull yellow with age, revealed the quarter-of-century story of the Popes in the American press. Since the sum total of those accounts was comparatively meagre and did not permit a full understanding of the contemporary opinion, attention should be given to certain elements or factors behind the printed word lest an unfair interpretation be given the thought of a former generation. That thought, in our own time comparatively neutral and impassionate, once possessed an electric charge. A whole history lies in the background of it; and is composed of traditions going back to the Industrial Revolution, Protestant Revolt, and French Revolution. They were the context into which the opinion of the Papacy was fitted. Those traditions influenced the newspapers treating of the affairs of the Papacy as well as other material factors.

Basic to a newspaper's opinion was the factor of space itself. No news meant no expressed viewpoint. Such was often the case of news relative to the reigns of Leo XII, Pius VIII, and Gregory XVI. Here little attention was given the Papacy.
Salem Gazette, for example, printed one inconsequential item from March 1824 to September 1825. During the year 1827, the Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser published but two articles, while John Gibson's New Orleans Argus during 1828 completely omitted papal news altogether. Throughout 1830, only twice did the New York Morning Courier and Enquirer mention anything on papal affairs. In Charleston, South Carolina, the editor printed only one item during the period July to December 1832.

Then there were the papers which gave nothing at all; for example, New York Daily Advertiser from January to December 1835, Holland, Sanford, and Davies' New York Times for the year 1836, New York Daily Express for 1839, and the New York Tribune for 1842 and 1843. However, the four years of Pius IX's reign studied were well covered. The one exception was H. Bullock's Savannah Georgian, which allowed but one item from February to December 1846. The current periodical press paid little attention. The London Literary Gazette, which circulated in the United States, contained nothing in the years 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1846, and 1850. The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art, published by E. Littell of Philadelphia, printed nothing from October 1836 to December 1839. The Dial of Boston, edited by Margaret Fuller (July 1840-April 1844) was too much absorbed with transcendentalism to notice the Pope, while the Knickerbocker
magazine of New York gives nothing for the period from July 1841 to December 1842. From January 1827 to December 1840, the Casket, a monthly magazine published at Philadelphia, printed but three or four items of minor importance. Graham's Magazine, successor of the Casket, maintained a "no-mention" policy throughout, 1841, its whole first year.

The space given to papal news was intimately dependent upon the existing means of communication. The fact that the 1820's and 30's produced little interest in papal affairs may be laid in part to the snail-paced sailing vessels of the era. Getting news from Europe to the American press was a slow and devious procedure according to present day standards. The foreign news given out by the New York National Advocate, March 24, 1826, came from a Paris journal of the thirtieth of January, which noted events that occurred at Rome on the twelfth of January. New Yorkers, therefore, waited seventy days for knowledge of the "recent" Roman events. Once at the port of entry, the news filtered through the nation. Five days later the Washington papers gave it space; the Charleston, South Carolina, papers four days later; and after twenty the New Orleans editors were in a position to print it. Charleston was better off; it was a port. Foreign news often came to it directly from Europe, for example, news of Leo XII's death, 1829, which crossed the Atlantic in fifty-four days. In that year there was faster service to New York, for we
have the account of the packet Canada which crossed from Liverpool to New York in twenty-five days.

The average crossing prior to steam took a month or more. The steamers Sirius and Great Western, whose arrivals were considered in the New York papers as of equal importance as the news they bore, entered the regular trans-Atlantic service in 1838. From then until 1850, the average sea voyage between England and America took from fourteen to sixteen days.

New inventions also helped the passage of news overland. The ironhorse displaced the Pony Express in the East during the 1830's. In 1835, the New York Daily Advertiser occasionally gave the caption "Per Railroad Line" to the news from Philadelphia, but the greatest boon of the century for the newspaper came in the form of the invention of Samuel B. Morse. His "Electric" or "Magnetic" telegraph went into operation, 1844, when the line between New York, Baltimore and Washington was completed. After 1846, the news sped with the speed of thought over wires which linked Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, New Haven, Springfield, Boston, Albany and Rochester into one great unit.

These improvements in the means of communication between 1824 and 1850 are reflected in the coverage of papal news. Interest and space expanded as the means of communication developed. Obituary accounts of Leo XII arrived about seventy days after his death in 1829. When Gregory XVI died in 1846, reports
were published in America thirty-five days later. Three years later in 1849, the French victory over the Roman Republic of the third of July was reported by the New York Sun and the Springfield Daily Republican on the twenty-seventh, twenty-four days afterwards. Perhaps there was no causal connection between the new inventions and interest in papal affairs, but the records show an increase of such interest after the development of better means of communication.

The third factor which formed the opinion of the United States regarding the papacy were the American editors themselves. The primary sources were the various journals brought from Europe, and in this the English press took first place. The source was not always explicitly acknowledged, but often it was. News was given as being from the Times, the Courier, the Herald, the Globe, and the Shipping Gazette, all English papers; the London Times was the most frequently quoted.

The French papers were used as well. Some of those acknowledged were: the Courrier Francais, Paris Moniteur, Journal des Débats, Gazette de France, Paris Messenger, Etoile, Constitutionnel, and Le Temps. The only German source admitted was the Augsbourg Gazette. Until the pontificate of Pius IX, the Italian source was the Diario di Roma, and after 1847, the Roman Daily Advertiser. The result was that the views on the papacy received into the United States were subjected to the personal
likes or dislikes of several or more European editors, and the translation of translations could also add to the confusion. Yet, in general, the American editors did not seem to be very critical of their source material. Though we have not formally studied the European sources, we can say that the continental journals tended to be favorable to the papacy, while the English accounts are tainted with no-papery.

In this country editors copied from each other at will, and even re-printed verbatim. Consequently, certain papers became the chief source of particular news for the nation. The New York papers were important for foreign events, the Washington National Intelligencer supplied news of the National government, and the New Orleans Daily Picayune kept the nation informed of the progress of the Mexican War. The result was that in, for example, papal matters, much depended on the editor of origin and his opinions.

The fourth factor was the personal reaction of a particular editor towards his source material. Unsatisfied with accounts that were received, Duhy and Stroud informed their readers of the New Orleans Mercantile Daily Advertiser, April 28, 1825, "The state of the markets is the only thing interesting from Europe." Three years later in the same city, the Argus editor, March 21, 1828, despatched the news from New York papers with "We find but little of anything interesting." April 25,
1837, according to the New York Daily Express, "The intelligence from Rome and Naples of the 10th is devoid of interest." The Baltimore Sun, March 5, 1841, reacted in similar fashion stating, "We do not find any important intelligence from either Spain, Portugal, or any other of the States of Europe."

The editors' reaction was also reflected in the mere printing of papal news without comment. Two instances seem important. The first was the printing by several papers of that portion of Pope Leo XII's "Encylic Letter" that condemned Bible Societies. The other was the neglect to publish the Brief of Pope Gregory XVI on the Slave Trade. Lack of comment on the condemnation of Bible Societies seemed extraordinary because at the time that group was very active and numerous in the Eastern States. The latter document was not even published in the papers investigated until November 30, 1843, when Horace Greeley printed it in a most inconspicuous part of the Tribune, that is, on page four surrounded by advertisements.

The heritage of the Protestant Revolt colored the printed accounts about the Popes. Americans were still predominately Protestant and filled with the dying embers of the no-popery of the Colonial period. Resurrected hates and fears upset the nation to some extent when Native Americans confused the evils of increased immigration with Roman Catholicity. Those emotions operated chiefly in the religious press of the nation. The
transfer of such feelings to the secular press was not too evident, most editors wanting no part of religious disputes, for it was not financially profitable to devote news space for controversial material. Though the general practice was to stay free of the same, occasional disputes were present in the news columns or as paid advertisements. For example, there was the letter to the editor of a certain irate citizen complaining of Bishop Duborg's appointment to govern Irish Catholics in New York. The National Advocate printed the letter, September 20, 1826, adding the paper desired to have nothing more to do with such questions. However, that did not mean the suppression of news concerning Catholics.

That such was the case was shown by the space given by the Washington papers to announcements from Georgetown College and St. Mary at Emmitsburg. June 28, 1837, the New York Daily Express noted that Daniel Webster had delivered an address at St. Louis University. Consecrations of or designations of American Bishops were regularly announced in the secular press. The Baltimore Sun, November 11, 1841, reported the appointment of Peter Paul Lefevre to the diocese of Detroit, and on the second

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1 Either author of the letter or the editor confused Bishop Duborg (Dubourg) with Bishop Dubois. The former was Bishop of New Orleans 1815-1825. Upon his resignation he returned to France. The latter, John Dubois (1764-1842) was consecrated for the see of New York, October 29, 1826,
of December of the same year informed its readers that Bishop Kenrick was named coadjutor to the Bishop of St. Louis. November 25, 1826, the opening of a Catholic orphanage in New York was announced in the columns of the *National Advocate*, while the New Orleans *Mercantile Daily Advertiser*, June 2, 1825, wrote of the local Corpus Christi procession, and St. Patrick celebrations always received good publicity in the Charleston and New York papers. It would be unfair, therefore, to explain the absence of news on Popes Leo, Pius VIII, and Gregory by the "Protestant tradition." Likewise, the news given cannot be interpreted as a warning to Protestant Native Americans of the gains and encroachments of popery in the United States. Perhaps the facts were twisted by some to suit other purposes, but the existant record does not reveal intentional distortion by the newspapers. They were interested in objective statements.

Another factor was evident. The chief purpose of many of the secular papers in the early nineteenth century was to give information, and thereby to make money. Their interests were primarily economic. The average paper devoted three of its four pages to market quotations, shipping news, and commercial advertisements. The very names of many of the papers, *Commercial Advertiser*, * Ledger*, *Mercantile Advertiser*, *Express*, connote interest in trade. The second page of the paper alone was given over to the news: and domestic issues, National politics, and the
Western migration were considered more important than foreign intelligence, which was used and published, chiefly it seems, for its business value. Then there were the vital contemporary issues of Nullification, National Bank, Missouri Compromise, and the Mexican War which took valuable space. Hence, pre-occupation with commercial affairs and politics explains to some degree the small amount of news given to the Popes.

Then since the French Revolution, the newspapers were basically liberal. Liberalism, in its American dress embraced a devotion to the cause of "republicanism" in the political order; in the social order it championed the right of free press and material progress; and in the field of religion it advocated broadmindedness, tolerance, independence, in general what the contemporary Popes branded "indifferentism." Liberalism among the editors of the secular press accounts for the neutral attitude towards the "reactionary" predecessors of Pius IX just as it explains the great popularity given the "liberal" Pope at the start of his reign. Even the excitement over all the new developments in the mechanical world resulted from American liberal thought.

In the field of religion, the liberal attitude worked to change the American mentality. For example, October 25, 1823, the Niles Register published a full page editorial entitled "The Church is in Danger." The editor's purpose was to allay the fears of certain persons concerning the future of American Protestantism,
and promote good-feeling and religious tolerance. To develop his point, he noted that he personally had recently attended a Catholic funeral at which the mourners represented a variety of sects. All joined in prayer together, and this was an American wonder prompting the editor to thank God because his lot had been

... cast in the land of the free, wherein differences in forms are not regarded as differences of principle, or even in opposition to any set of religious opinions otherwise considered than as belonging to the rights of man and compatible with the duties which he owes to his MAKER.

This view was evident in the comment of the New York National Advocate, January 12, 1826, on Bishop John England's address on Christianity in the House of Representatives. The two hour speed before crowded galleries and lobbies was termed, "one of the most logical, condensed and liberal expositions of the nature and obligations of Christianity, which we have heard for some time. If there were a liberality in extending to the Bishop this opportunity, there was no less liberality in the manner in which it was used." Also, contrasted with the eighteenth century, was the respectful manner in which the Pope's person was treated.²

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² Sister Mary Augustina Ray, American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1936. On page 164, she cites the New England Courant, Boston, June 17, 1823, as reporting the health of the Pope in the following: He "complains of a Pain in his Foot, which undoubtedly affects his Toes; and we all know that the honour and Happiness of a great Number of Catholics depends upon the Health of His Holiness's Great Toe, which by this Account, I am afraid, is not in a kissing Condition."
A final factor influencing the news was population. The Catholic Church in the United States had a predominately urban organization. Therefore, her members were great readers of the secular press with whom the editor had to reckon with for the material good of his paper. Yet, it is hard to assess the population factor and its influence on papal news, because Catholics were a minority and not evenly distributed throughout the nation.3 There had been Catholic settlements in Maryland and Louisiana from colonial days. These people, undoubtedly, influenced the secular press of New Orleans, Baltimore, and Washington. The new immigration gave numerous Catholics to Boston and New York, the newspaper capital of the nation. Consequently, the population factor ought to be included when evaluation of papal news in this period in under consideration.

3 Statistics of the American Catholic population are not accurate for the period, but the following comparison will be of some assistance to the problem. Figures for the United States are from Information Please Almanac, New York, 1951, 63; the numbers for the Catholic population are from P. Guilday, John England I, 27, and J. McSorley, History of the Church, 6th ed., St. Louis, 1947, 850.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6,938,453</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>195,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,866,020</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>318,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17,069,453</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>663,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23,192,876</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1,606,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>
CONCLUSION

Opinion in the United States relative to the papacy from 1824 to 1850, as expressed in the secular newspapers of the period, was of marked differences. There were two distinct periods. The first included the pontificates of Leo XII, Pius VIII, and Gregory XVI; the other, the four years beginning Pius IX's very long reign.

During the period, 1824-1846, American papers paid relatively little attention to the Popes. That given dealt with the several conclaves, biographical sketches, Popes' health and obituary accounts. Infrequent were the references to the functions of papal ecclesiastical and/or temporal government. The printed accounts were quite cold, factual, and devoid of editorial comment for the most part. Because of the great periods of silence, opinion may be said to have been almost non-existent. That expressed should, it seems, be characterized as neutral since it was neither openly hostile nor explicitly favorable. Opinion was, therefore, negative regarding the three Popes of the first division of years.

The expressed opinion of Pius IX presented a contrast. From the time of his election both the quantity and quality of the news improved. Because of the personal and political popularity
of Pius IX, expressions of opinion became frequent as editors expanded the news with personal comments. The secular press welcomed news of the reforms in the Papal States and with universal enthusiasm hailed Pius IX as the "hero of our age" and the "liberal Pope." They saw him as the leader of his people striving to overthrow the reactionary despotism of Austria and introduce the principles of liberty and republicanism into the Papal government. That idealistic liberal opinion of Pius prevailed until the revolution.

During that period, 1848-1849, however, opinion in the United States underwent a rapid change and was divided accordingly as the insurrection was considered as favorable, or as it was viewed as radical and violent. Editors hoped for the success of the Roman Republic while at the same time they sympathized with Pius in exile. Some believed that he should have stayed at Rome; others invited him to sanctuary in the United States. As the revolution seemed to gain and the Roman Republic was established, some held for United States recognition, while others hoped that Pius would realize the spirit of the times and yield his claims to temporal power and cease his opposition to the advance of liberty. French military aid also affected newspaper thought, and France was labeled the traitor to liberty and republicanism. The success of the combined powers over the Republic enabled Pius' return to Rome, but there was no return to the previous enthusiastic opinion of the American press.
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- Pilot and Transcript, 1840.
- Sun, 1841.

Boston
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Charleston
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- Southern Patriot, 1831, 1832, 1840.

New Orleans
- Mercantile Daily Advertiser, 1825.
- Argus, 1828.

New York
- *American, 1831.
- Daily Advertiser, 1833-1835, 1837.
- Daily Express, 1837-1839.
- Morning Courier and Enquirer, 1830.
- National Advocate, 1828.
- Sun, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1850.
- The True Sun, 1848.
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- Weekly Tribune, 1845.

Philadelphia
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Salem
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London Literary Gazette, 1840-1843, 1846, 1850.
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North American Review, Boston, 1823-1844, 1850.
Portfolio, Philadelphia, January 1824-December 1825.
Niles Register, Baltimore, 1823-1835.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

The nature of this study required the works listed here chiefly as supplementary material for the newspapers investigated. The list represents some of the more frequently used works.

It should be noted that the history of the Papacy in the nineteenth century still awaits truthful objective treatment. The splendid work of Ludwig von Pastor, unfortunately, stopped short of this period. The first three Popes figuring in this study
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APPENDIX I

EDITORIALS FROM THE NEW YORK SUN

Influence of Austria in Rome.

The Catholics, and indeed all religious denominations in this country, are looking with great interest to the result of the liberal demonstrations made by the new Pope, and the many excellent reforms he proposes in the government and condition of the Papal States. Some have doubted the sincerity of Pope Pius IX., and do not believe that he is in reality a friend of Italian liberty—that necessitate, he must still bend to the influence of Austria—that his measures are intended to draw around him friends and supporters of liberal principles in the Roman States, and by degrees disband and disperse them. But Acts of the Pontiff speak louder than professions, and the peculiar character of the times is inimical to all intrigues. The Pope has permitted two journals of liberal principles to be established at Rome—one in the English language—and has encouraged the conductors to speak the truth, and fearlessly advocate all reforms which do not militate against the orthodoxy of the Church. This is an important and fundamental demonstration of liberal principles and sincere conviction. Then he has favored a proposition for a railroad throughout the Papal dominions lengthway, and another projected to Ancona, both of which the late Pope denounced. Here we have another effort to extend the area of liberal principles, by concentration all classes, commerce and production near the capital. We have then the amnesty... Among those liberated was the Pope's own brother. Proposition of National guard, laymen in civil offices—Codify the law—economy in government. Commercial treaties-free education, if honestly carried out these measures will produce a most valuable and beneficial reform in the Papal States. The question now is, will not the intrigues of despotic and benighted Austria be exerted to check the operation and effect of these measures? We apprehend they will. Austria, since the downfall of Napoleon, has completely overshadowed the smaller powers and princes of Italy... It is now Rome and Austria. And Austria has forced the petty princes to submit to her Black Eagles. Whenever rebellion Austria puts it down.
Austria everywhere is in Italy as a police force. France could
check this, but is busy at home. Spain, Portugal etc and Englan
can only remonstrate. Austria (at peace) intends to stay in
Italy. The new Pope's acts will . . . place the power and
influence of the See of Rome on a free and liberal basis, corres-
ponding with the enlightened spirit of the times. It is a great
effort, this liberal movement of the new Pope, as a civil ruler
and every free government will wish him success, and public
opinion everywhere will sustain him.

--December 15, 1846

Italy--The Conspiracies

Liberty begins to revive among the old Roman altars.
The voice of Pope Pius sounds like another Brutus heaven inspir-
ed to rescue a people from the thraldom of a worse than Caesar.
Who of modern prophets saw or thought, within these ten years
past that Italy, the abandoned and oppressed, would be the first
to rise up and reassert her freedom. Lingered there any Patrician
spirit of ancient Rome, around the Capitol--or hovered there any
Plebian ghost in the Pontine marshes waiting a pause in the storm
of despotism, to rekindle the fire of liberty and fan it into a
flame. So it would seem. The glorious old republic has never
been fully forsaken by her good genius, and now while the rest of
Europe struggles to tighten its cords and thongs to shut out the
light and bowdown the heads of millions, Italy like a bird of
promise unfolds her wings and rises out of the corruption of
Empire. "Libertas vivet!" the cry of the Latins, is become
the watchword of the Italian. And the good old Pope cries loudest
and lustiest of all Libertas vivet! And so liberty recreates and
spreads from the Vatican, the Quirinal and from the sacred altars
of St. Peter, cut through the imperial city, suburb and Ghetto,
and over hill and dale until millions catch up its songs and
shout Libertas vivet and long live to Pius the Ninth! But the
noble and heroic Pius has aroused a hyena in unloosing liberty.
Austria, the godmother of all despotisms--whose crafty and
ferocious Metternich once said he "would oppose a will of iron
to the spread of liberal principles"--Austria, whose foot tramples
on impatient Hungary and the Lombard-Venetian States, views with
abhorrence what she calls the madness of the Pope, in humoring
the cries of the people, and she sends her assassin with poisoned
stiletos to take his heart's blood. But God watches over the
liberty-loving Pope, and though Cardinals and even the Governor
of the Eternal City himself, carry their daggers, threatening the
the life of Pius the Ninth, they are discovered and driven out with shame. They find that his life is charmed whom the people love. What should he have done, when all Italy cried in distress, but relieve the flock of his fold? Austria would have given them a stone for bread, a dungeon for light, and chains for liberty. She would have smothered Libertas Vivet with shrieks from the Inquisition and sent crowds of peaceable but aggrieved people despairing to their bonds. But thank God, Austria is powerless! Europe will not dare permit her to trample on liberty sanctioned by the spiritual head of the Catholic Church nor will she dare openly to attempt it. From Italy, a glorious light is arising for the democracy of Europe, let every freed man watch it well.

--August 27, 1847
APPENDIX II

A LETTER FROM ROME TO THE CHARLESTON MERCURY

COPYED BY THE WASHINGTON WEEKLY UNION

ROME January 9, 1847

The death of the late Pope, the election of his successor and the wonders done by the new administration, are the usual topics of conversation here. Rome of '47 is a century in advance of Rome of '46; and this through Pius IX. His first act was to liberate all who were imprisoned merely for political offences, restoring them not only to their families, but also to the capability of holding any office in his dominions. A strict inquiry into abuses, and the formations of deputations in all the cities of the Papal State, have already made him the terror, not of his subjects, but of his corrupt subalterns and the despotic powers by whom he is surrounded. Every thought is occupied in studying the welfare of his subjects. Rigorous economy, and every encouragement to commerce, seem to be the moving springs, of the new government. Of the first, the Pope, gives the example in his own palace; and the permission to build five railroads in his States, with the re-opening of Porto d'Auzo are pretty strong indications of the latter. Unpoetical as the idea may seem, in the course of a few years one may contemplate the ruins of the Coliseum, and at the same time have his ears greeted by the hissing engine of a steam-car. One will run from Rome to Civita Vecchia; another from Rome to Ancona; one from Rome to Albano; the fourth from Ancona to Bologna; and fifth from Rome to Porto d'Auzo, with a branch from that part to the confines of the kingdom of Naples. The most difficult will be from Rome to Ancona, as it has to pass the Appenines; and although the whole affair is managed by a private association, the Pope has offered a reward of some thousand dollars for the best project of cutting through the range. Many restrictions have also been removed from the press, and the consequence has been the publication of about thirty new journals; the principal ones are an English newspaper styled the Roman Exposition, and Il Secolo Illustrato. Some of our venerable wiseacres has prophesied the end of the world to be
at hand, and whenever obliged to enter into conversation about the present changes, most scientifically shake their heads, and answer every argument you bring in their defence with "Well, well! we'll see where things will end." Others went so far as to tell the Pope that if he continued in this way, the people would soon demand a constitution, and were horrified when he answered: "If a constitution be for the good of my subjects, why should I deny it?"

Though not a Papist, I think you will now readily and heartily join me in crying, Viva Pio Nono . . . . Here the writer spoke of the Tiber in flood, computation of time in Rome, and the Pope's decision to adopt astronomical time.

The wonder-working Pius IX is still moving on the go-ahead principle and if God spares his life for a few years he will cause the government of the Papal States to become one of the first in Europe. I hope to see Italy regenerated; and that the start should come from Rome, must certainly be a source of joy to every Catholic; and yet the greatest opposition our good Pope has had in his reforms, has arisen from the Catholic powers of Europe. This however, could be borne with, if Italy's own sons would be faithful to her.

--July 26, 1847
APPENDIX III

ROME

She triumphs yet! God bless the hills
On which the Eternal City stands;
She triumphs yet! despite of all
The Austrian hordes, and Gallic bands;
She triumphs yet! heroic Rome
A glorious picture for all times
And Naples' Bourbon butcher flies
Back to his den of lust and crime.

She triumphs yet! God bless the days
Which speak her glory to the world;
She triumphs yet! God bless the hands
Which Freedom's Flag to Rome unfurled;
She triumphs yet! and yet, 0 Shame!
The modern Gaul is at her gates,
And he in Freedom's name would quench
The fire which Rome's proud soul elates.

She triumphs yet! And still 0 God!
Give her the triumph to the last;
Stand by her while the tyrants rage
Until War's horrid storm is passed;
She had the right! give her the might!
To strike the last oppressor down;
O be her soul, her guide, her shield,
Until she wears the victor's crown!

July 6, 1849

C.D. Stuart

This poem appeared on the front page of the Springfield Daily Republican, July 12, 1849. It is another way of showing the opinion of America towards Pius IX during the revolution. He is completely forgotten; he no longer promoted republicanism. Here in verse the foes of liberty and French treason are dealt with in keeping with the spirit of the editorial and reporting policy of the American press.
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by John V. Mentag, S.J., has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Nov. 23, 1951
Date

[Signature of Adviser]