

## **The Church Besieged, the French Revolution, Nationalism, and the Battle over Modernity**

From the French Revolution, 1798, right through the nineteenth century and into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, in nearly every major European country the Catholic Church found itself embattled. Its monopoly in religion ended or challenged by anti-clericalism, secularism, liberalism targeting the Church's authority and putting its privileges, property, prestige, and independence under siege.

Every pope from Pius VI (1775-1799) to Pius X (1903-1914) fought against the enemy--modernity. They revived the Index of Prohibited Books, declared monarchy the best polity, and condemned church-state separation, toleration, freedom of conscience, and any idea the Church needed reform.

Copyright © 2018 William Doherty. All rights reserved.

## **The Church Besieged: the French Revolution, Nationalism, and the Battle over Modernity**

In the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church saw the greatest threat to its well being arising out of the democratic revolutions of the previous century and the Enlightenment that inspired them. Whether denoted secularism, liberalism, or modernism, to Rome that habit of mind was its most dangerous enemy. In the standard narrative, “The birth of secular universalism took the form of an assault on the intellectual and political edifice of Roman Catholicism,” with the Renaissance and Reformation setting history on a new path from “docile dependence on revealed knowledge” toward “religious freedom and freedom of opinion in general.”<sup>1</sup> Thus medieval feudal authoritarianism yielded to the nation-state as the feudal economy yielded first to mercantilism (states waging economic warfare through colonies, exports, and the accumulation of “specie,” gold and silver, to free markets, individual rights, private property, and withal science, maritime expeditions, nationalism, and the rise of the middle class.

Of the French revolutionary era, 1789-1815, it has been famously said that it was the best and worst of times. For the Roman Catholic Church, it could never be said that it was the best of times and many would argue that the years after the fall of the Bastille to the end of the nineteenth century were the worst in its history. The French Revolution was notable for the bitter anti-clericalism it unleashed. As one Catholic historian has observed, with the exception of the Papal States and the United States, “there was not a single country in the world where the Catholic religion was free to live fully its own life, and not a single country where there seemed any prospect but of further enslavement and gradual emasculation.”<sup>2</sup>

In France, Rome’s “eldest daughter,” the Church lost its privileged position, much of its land and revenues, and its monopoly of education; and when the revolution demanded that the clergy marry, sizeable numbers of curates and bishops did so with greater or lesser alacrity. Many of the priests who resisted the revolution were martyred and thousands of them--and a hundred bishops--went into exile. Pius VI (1775-1799) denounced the required oath of loyalty to the Revolution and the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and declared the ordination of new bishops by the state sacrilegious. Napoleon responded by invading the Papal States and forcing the pope to pay a huge indemnity in money and art. In February 1798, in poor health, the pope was arrested, taken out of Rome, to end up in Valence, France, where,

---

<sup>1</sup> Micheline R. Ishay, The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004), 64.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Hughes, Catholic Church historian, quoted in Cogley, Catholic America, Two Centuries of American Life (Dial Press, 1973), 53. The year 1789 was not a complete loss; the Holy See established the diocese of Baltimore and made John Carroll the first American bishop.

after a captivity of eighteen months, he died in prison, 29 August 1799, age 81. Adding insult to insult, the local “constitutional” clergy refused to bury him in consecrated ground! Many believed that he would be the last pope. His successor, Pius VII (1800-1823), in addition to being forced to witness Napoleon’s self-coronation as emperor in 1804, when, in 1808, he refused to abdicate as ruler of the Papal States, he was bundled into a locked carriage in aimless travels for forty days and forced to sign a draft renouncing the territories. For more than five years he was kept isolated and under Napoleon’s control. Incredibly, Pius VII was pressured into giving 15 August, the feast of the Assumption, to “Saint Napoleon,” although no one could give a convincing account of him.<sup>3</sup> Pius IX (1846-1878), having sided with the Austrian authorities against Italian nationalists in the revolutionary year 1848, was forced to flee the Quirinale Palace to Gaeta, near Naples, disguised as an ordinary priest. He was luckier than the other two Piuses in that he was returned to Rome by Austrian and French troops the next year and would set the record for the longest papal reign. In the disappointment of defeat at the hands of Prussia, however, during the 1871 Paris Commune (“communards,” revolutionary nationalists who captured the city for a time), dozens of clergy, including the much-admired archbishop of Paris, were executed. Although the Third Republic, France’s new government, put down the Communards, the Church would face the unbending hostility of that anti-clerical regime into the next century.

What was true of France was true of Europe: Italy’s birth as a nation in 1860 meant the papacy’s permanent loss of the 16,000 square miles of papal territories, then almost all of Rome itself in a plebiscite ten years later.<sup>4</sup> The new government ousted religious teachers from public schools, spied on seminaries,

---

<sup>3</sup> E. E. Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World: A Survey from the French Revolution to the Present (Hanover House, Garden City, New York: 1958), 30-49, 66. Eamon Duffy, Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes (Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn., 1997), 206-214.

<sup>4</sup> At the time, very little hand wringing in the United States took place over the loss of the papal territories (most Catholics never gave it a thought, Marvin R. O’Connell, John Ireland and the American Catholic Church), Minnesota Historical Society, 1968), 276; even fewer understood that the loss would liberate the church. Much later, Indianapolis Archbishop Paul C. Schulte, in a 1961 pastoral letter on the annual collection for the pope, observed that the loss freed the Vatican from “all international entanglements which were the bane of many Popes during the Middle Ages” and so, for Schulte, “the pope’s dependence on the generosity of the Catholic Faithful, is the better one.” This is just the position that Pius IX had declared erroneous in the 1864 Syllabus of Errors, number 76: “The abolition of the temporal power . . . [that] the Apostolic See is possessed would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the Church.” Schulte papers, Indianapolis Archdiocesan Archives.

and confiscated the property of religious orders. Marriage was secularized, as were education and charitable trusts. Holy Days disappeared from the calendar. After 1876 seminarians became subject to military conscription, outdoor religious processions forbidden, and state permission for bishops to take office required.<sup>5</sup> While the Italian government assured the pope that his person was inviolable and that the Vatican and other buildings were his, Pius IX refused to accept the situation. With the Quirinale Palace in the city's center now the King's Palace and Rome itself so anticlerical that he might not be safe in the streets, the pope regarded himself as a "prisoner of the Vatican"; no pope even appeared on the balcony in St. Peter's Square to bless the people until Pius XI did so in February 1922. None would leave its environs--the palace and St. Peter's--until the early morning hours of 20 December 1929 when Pius XI celebrated Mass at St. John Lateran on the fiftieth anniversary of his priestly ordination there.

Elsewhere in Europe, Germany was no sooner united as a nation-state in 1871 than it inaugurated a twenty-year *Kulturkampf*--a cultural-religious war against the Catholic Church waged with efficient animosity: Over time, diplomatic relations with the Vatican were severed; the state given a veto over church appointments and supervision of the seminaries.<sup>6</sup> Penalties for criticizing the state from the pulpit were enacted and religious education put under state control, with all schools subject to its inspection. The Jesuit Order was expelled, as were religious nuns except those working in hospitals. Civil marriage was made obligatory and all church property confiscated, with the tithe transferred to lay trustees elected by parishioners. By 1877 thousands of Catholic parishes were without pastors and nine of twelve bishops were exiled.

Austria prosecuted its own *los von Rom* movement (freedom from Rome), by unilaterally ending its 1855 concordat with the Holy See, secularized marriage and the schools, and proclaimed the equality of all religious sects. Clergy appointments had to be registered with the state and church finances came under state supervision. Religious orders—Redemptorists, Vincentians, and Holy Ghost fathers--were

---

<sup>5</sup> McNamara, *American College*, 222. *Indiana Catholic and Record*, 10 February 1922, 1. One last insult to Pio Nono remained: in July 1881, as his remains were being removed from St. Peter's at night in procession to San Lorenzo Outside the Walls at Varano for permanent burial, a mob hurling stones and curses tried to seize his corpse to pitch it into the Tiber. The police unequal to the task of quelling the mob, troops had to intervene to let the hearse gallop away. Five culprits were found guilty but were given derisory sentences and cheered in court. Owen Chadwick, *History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 271, 272; Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Catholic University Press, 1994), 23. In Indianapolis the *Journal* and the *Times* interpreted the outrage as demonstrating the unpopularity of the papacy and clericalism in Italy. The *Western Citizen* cited the coverage as an excuse to insult Catholics. 23 July 1881, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Chadwick, *Popes, 1830-1914*, 259 ff.

expelled and some bishops deposed, jailed, or exiled. (Austria being Austria, the laws were not strictly enforced.)

In Switzerland, a government-supported schism racked the Church (one result was the founding of St. Meinrad Monastery, Indiana, 1854, by the Benedictine monks of Our Lady of Einsiedeln).<sup>7</sup> Diplomatic relations with the Holy See were severed for a decade, bishops deposed, and the Jesuits and other orders expelled. New dioceses and monasteries required state approval. In their struggle with the Catholic Church, all three governments--Germany, Austria, and Switzerland--favored the "Old Catholics," German speakers who resisted papal infallibility and the centralization of power in the Vatican.

In Spain a new constitution broke the connection between church and state amid a series of violent anti-papal demonstrations.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the Mediterranean most Catholic religious orders and seminaries were closed. Missionary work overseas was effectively suspended and nearly every Protestant or Orthodox country restricted the Catholic Church. Belgium banned religious orders and expelled Catholics from the teaching profession. So it went all over Europe. As for the Americas, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil resisted papal claims and Pius IX found it necessary to denounce Columbia, 1852, and Mexico, 1861, for adopting anti-clerical legislation.<sup>9</sup>

Besieged, the Church fought back. Every pope from Pius VI (1775-1799) who "accursed philosophers . . . [who] proclaim[ed] that men are born free, subject to no one,"<sup>10</sup> to Pius X (1903-1914), who termed modernism "the synthesis of all the heresies," and all the popes in between armored the Church against modernity: Leo XII (1823-1829), condemned religious toleration, revived the Index of Prohibited Books and the Holy Office (formerly the Inquisition), and reestablished feudal aristocracy in the Papal States. Confiscating Jewish property, Leo confined the Jewish community once again within walled ghettos enlarged for the purpose and fitted with lockable gates.<sup>11</sup> In imitation of the policies of Austria's Prince Metternich, the papal territories--a harsh police state--became the most backward in Europe with its press censorship, capital punishment, and spies. Even in an abbreviated pontificate, Pius VIII (1829-

---

<sup>7</sup> Swiss Catholic cantons formed a league to resist liberal Protestant demands on them, but in the 1847 civil war, the last religious war in Europe, the Protestants won.

<sup>8</sup> O'Connell, Critics on Trial, 25.

<sup>9</sup> Frank A. Coppa, The Modern Papacy, 1798-1995 (Routledge, 1998), 115. And see Chadwick, Popes, ch. 10, on Spain. On the plus side, bishoprics were recreated in England, Wales, and the Netherlands and concordats signed with Austria, Spain, Portugal, and some Latin American states.

<sup>10</sup> Morris, American Catholics, 67-69.

<sup>11</sup> Richard P. McBrien, Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St. Peter to John Paul II (HarperCollins: San Francisco, 1997), 333, 334, and Duffy, Saints and Sinners, 217.

1830) found time to condemn indifferentism (the notion that one religion was apt to be as good as another), the Masons, and secret societies in general.

Gregory XVI (1831-1846) was notably reactionary: He twice used Austrian troops to put down revolts in the papal territories, opposed Italian nationalism, and attacked such Enlightenment principles as freedom of the press and of religion, and the separation of church and state. He banned streetlights in Rome lest people gather to plot against the authorities, likewise railroads, calling them “chemins d’enfer” (roads of hell), rather than “chemins de fer” (roads of iron).<sup>12</sup> His 1832 encyclical, *Mirari Vos* (You wonder) stipulated that monarchy, being of divine origin for which the papacy was the model, was the best polity. Gregory railed against the “absurd . . . doctrine or rather delirium, that freedom of conscience is to be claimed and defended for all men” and denounced the “detestable and insolent malice [of those] who agitate against and upset the rights of rulers.” The idea that the Church stood “in need of restoration and regeneration,” he labeled “completely absurd and insulting . . . .” Written to condemn the ideas of Lamennais, a French priest who thought the Church needed reform, *Mirari Vos* dismissed such notions, especially attacks on celibacy. Freedom of conscience led to ruin, freedom of the press was bad. What was needed was obedience to princes--like himself.

In the longest papal reign in history, Pius IX (1846-1878), moved to buttress the centrality of the papacy. On his own he defined the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, 1854, and summoned the First Vatican Council (1869, 1870) to define papal infallibility.<sup>13</sup> As part of the program to centralize power in the papacy, the old national seminaries in Rome were reorganized, new ones established, and the headquarters of religious communities moved there. Of particular importance to the United States, in 1855 the pope chose a seventeenth century Roman palace as the home of the American College and provided money for its purchase. Not only could the Vatican now exercise direct control over the religious orders, the training would be Roman and reliably supportive of the papacy as well. As the most promising

---

<sup>12</sup> Richard P. McBrien, *Lives of the Popes* (HarperOn: San Francisco, 1997), 336. The last non-bishop and the last monk to be elected pope, in his favor Gregory XVI denounced slavery and the slave trade.

<sup>13</sup> Very pastoral and personally warm, Pius IX, introduced gaslights and railways in the Papal States, and ended the requirement that Rome’s Jews attend weekly sermons. Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, 222. Among his record 38 encyclicals, *Ubi primum* (Where first), 1847, anticipated his proclamation of the Immaculate Conception in 1854. *Cum nuper* (Lately with), 1859, defended the Holy See’s right to the Papal States, and *Ubi Nos* (Where we), 1871, repeated the papacy’s claim to those territories. In reaction to Vatican II, conservative elements in the Church seek to have him declared a saint. Recently, however, the scandal has been recalled of two Jewish children, secretly baptized by Catholic servants in Jewish households (Edgardo Mortara, 1858, and Giuseppe Coen, 1864). Since by law Jews could not raise Christian children, they were taken from their parents and raised in the Vatican; Mortara became a monk.

candidates were sent to Rome and their clerical careers thenceforth favored, it almost guaranteed that future hierarchs would be similarly devoted to the Vatican, precisely what the pope intended.<sup>14</sup>

On the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1864, Pius IX published *Quanta Cura* (“how much care”), a *gatherum* of the condemnations he had issued over the past seventeen years and statements of other popes since 1775. *Quanta Cura* repeated old denunciations of indifferentism, freemasonry, Gallicanism, rationalism, naturalism, pantheism, socialism, liberal capitalism (for having no other end than material gain), and freedom of religion. What was shocking was the syllabus of eighty errors attached to the encyclical which condemned as erroneous “freedom of conscience and worship,” freedom of speech and of the press, and such propositions as: “every man is free to embrace and profess that religion . . . he shall consider true”; that non-Catholics in Catholic countries “shall enjoy the free exercise of their own worship”; separation of church and state, and lastly, “that the Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.”<sup>15</sup> These being evils, it followed that “The state must recognize [the Roman Catholic Church] as supreme and submit to its influence. . . . The power of the state must be at [the Church’s] disposal and all who do not conform to its requirements must be compelled or punished.” The syllabus still has the capacity to provoke. At the time the “majority of Catholics were “stupified” and even the pope admitted that it was “raw meat needing to be cooked.”<sup>16</sup> While not an infallible pronouncement, the syllabus was widely taken as dogmatic teaching, putting the Church in opposition to modern liberties on record in the strongest terms.

It was not Pius IX’s last word: The encyclical *Pastor Aeternus* (“eternal pastor”), 1870, serving as the constitution of the First Vatican Council, 1869, 1870, declared that the pope has “full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the whole Church, not only in matters that pertain to faith and morals, but also in matters that pertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the whole world.” This power was not delegated and it was immediate. The pope has the principal part and the absolute fullness of this supreme power, ordinary and immediate, over each of the churches, the pastors, and the faithful. Those who deny these things “let them be accursed.” Thanks to the divine assistance promised him

---

<sup>14</sup> Frank J. Coppa, *Modern Papacy*, 98.

<sup>15</sup> McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 346; Gary Wills, *Papal Sins: Structures of Deceit* (Image Books, New York, 2000), 239, 240.

<sup>16</sup> E. E. Y. Hales, *Catholic Church in the Modern World* (Doubleday, 1958), 124, 125. For a nuanced discussion of the Syllabus of Errors see chapter 10. Hales argues that the syllabus was directed against Piedmont’s anti-clerical laws and was intended to denounce the notion that the ideas condemned could be universally true. Chadwick, however, shows the pope very cavalier and unaware of details of his own encyclical. The reverse of Pius IX’s assertion that “it is wrong to think that if the pope lost the Papal State it would conduce to the freedom and happiness of the Church” has proven true. Chadwick, *History of the Popes, 1830-1914*, 168 ff.

through Peter, “the infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed his Church to be endowed in defining the doctrine concerning faith or morals” was his. Moreover, “such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are therefore irreformable of themselves, not because of the consent of the Church.”<sup>17</sup> Taken all in all, in its own lights papal power was inviolable, unchallengeable, unalienable.

Although the Italian government did not interfere with the papacy after 1870, Pius IX never got over the loss of his temporal powers. Barracking the Italian state as a collection of “wolves, liars, satellites of Satan in human flesh, monsters of hell,” he ordered Catholics neither to vote in elections nor take seats in parliament.<sup>18</sup> His successor, Leo XIII, contemplating the anti-clericalism of Italian nationalists and worried that he might have to move out of Italy, continued the ban on Italy’s Catholics from holding office or voting and reiterated certain condemnations of his predecessors, as in *Diuturnum* (Origin of Civil Society, 1881), denying popular sovereignty in favor of divine right of Kings, and *Au Milieu des Sollicitudes* (Church and State in France, 1892), pronouncing separation of church and state “an absurdity.”<sup>19</sup> The authoritarian habit of mind continued into the new century: faced with renewed anticlericalism in France and Portugal, Pius X (1903-1914), **in** took the same view of the 1905 French separation laic law in *Vehementer Nos* (we strongly object, 1906), declaring separation of church and state “a thesis absolutely false, a pernicious error.” There were two categories, the pastor and the flock, and it was the task of the former to direct the latter (“the multitude”) whose function it is to obey.

Notwithstanding papal assertions, the Church’s authority in Europe had waned. Rome responded by emphasizing morality and faith issues via centralization and clericalism: The syllogism the Vatican propounded was that as a *societa perfecta* (i.e., a complete society, not a perfect one),<sup>20</sup> the Church is “perfect in its nature and in its title since it possesses in itself and by itself, through the will and loving kindness of its Founder, all needful provision for its well being and its operation.” Moreover, there was no

---

<sup>17</sup> McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 347. See also Chadwick, *History of the Popes, 1830-1914*, 196 ff., for discussion of the Council. Pius IX’s encyclical is not to be confused with Leo XIII’s of the same title.

<sup>18</sup> Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 235, 236, 247. The unintended consequence of the loss of the Papal States was the further centralization of the Church under pope and Curia, and the rise of the pope’s spiritual authority as his temporal power collapsed to nothing. As for voting, Pius X (1903-1914), left it to Italy’s bishops to decide if their parishioners should vote in parliamentary elections; Catholics had already been voting and by 1913 had “moved into politics wholeheartedly.” Chadwick, *History of the Popes*, 403, 404.

<sup>19</sup> John W. O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II?* (Belknap Press 2010), 53, 54, 59, 61.

<sup>20</sup> In the best known formulation, Leo XIII’s *Immortale Dei* (Immortal God), in 1886: Neither inferior to civil society nor dependent on it, the Church differed from civil society in that it was spiritual and its end religious and eternal.



salvation outside the Church (*nulla salus extra ecclesia*),<sup>21</sup> and error has no rights. The enemy was “modernism,” the name given to the movement born with the appearance of the rational sciences of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the eighteenth century Enlightenment critique of received truths wherever found, not least religion.<sup>22</sup> Enlightened thinkers concerned themselves with the progress of human life by controlling nature, by creating a perfect human society, by focusing on reason, dignity, and autonomy; in short, by “rejecting religion, faith, and revelation.”<sup>23</sup> Within the Church itself, its “modernists” were far more modest, thinking only to adapt Catholic thought to take into account knowledge gained through biblical criticism, philosophy, and historical studies--to cite three among a number of disciplines in which knowledge had moved on since Medieval times.<sup>24</sup>

While almost every European Protestant or Eastern Orthodox country in the nineteenth century restricted the Church (even Catholic monarchs had dictated to Rome at least since the sixteenth century),<sup>25</sup> in the United States, as the earliest biographer of Leo XIII observed, the papacy found “no hostile or jealous secular authority to check or thwart his own [authority] in the full and free exercise of its prerogatives. And none ever interfered with the authority of Archbishop or Bishop in the government of his flock.”<sup>26</sup> Despite such facts, in the late 1800s the Vatican openly sympathized with Bourbon restorationists and other monarchist parties in Europe in the belief that pope and monarch, in occupying the top of the two hierarchical poles, weakness in one necessarily meant weakness in the other.<sup>27</sup> As Leo XIII told a

---

<sup>21</sup> The assertion of “no salvation outside the [Catholic] Church” goes back to Cyprian (ca. 206-**253?**). Yet the Council of Nicea (787) said Jews who did not want to convert could live openly as Jews, and in 1076 Pope Gregory VII wrote to the Muslim ruler of Mauretania that Christians and Muslims worshipped the same God. In 1302 Boniface VIII went back to Cyprian, adding that one must also submit to the pope for salvation; the Council of Florence, 1442, reiterated the formula. The retreat from Cyprian began at the Council of Trent (1545-1563) which spoke of baptism of desire as salvific. Pius IX (1846-1878) said that invincible ignorance was a cause for exoneration, and Pius XII, in *Mystici Corporis* (Of the Mystical Body of Christ), 1943, stated that non-Christians could be saved if bonded to the Church “by some unconscious yearning or desire.” Chester Gillis, Roman Catholicism in America (Columbia University Press: New York, 1999, 194.

<sup>22</sup> See Happel and Tracy 1984, 163, quoted in McCarthy, 20th Century Church, 23.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy McCarthy, *The Catholic Tradition; The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Loyola, 1997), 23, 24.

<sup>24</sup> Duffy, Saints and Sinners, 249.

<sup>25</sup> America (16 August 1997), 4, 5. Ironically, in the three way contest for pope in 1846, Austria’s Prince Metternich sought to veto the election of Cardinal Mastoi-Ferretti, but his emissary arrived too late and the longest reign in papal history was launched.

<sup>26</sup> Bernard O’Reilly, Life of Leo XIII (n. p., 1886), 646.

<sup>27</sup> Morris, American Catholicism, 15.

French bishop, "I'm a monarchist myself."<sup>28</sup> Rome's position that the ideal was a Catholic Church in a Catholic state understandably raised American Protestant fears that if Catholics ever became politically dominant they would use it injure their non-Catholic neighbors.<sup>29</sup>

Through 1878 then, the year of Pius IX's death and Bishop Francis Silas Chatard's coming to Indianapolis, and for decades after, the Church accepted its role as the "church militant" battling against the powerful forces unleashed in the eighteenth century. What arose was a Church of a devout papalism—ultramontanism (good Catholics looking to the pope in Rome on the "other side of the mountain." Papal supremacy over the Church was the outstanding feature of this counter-movement against secularism. Aspects of ultramontanism included popular piety--devotions to Mary, the Sacred Heart, and the rosary, all identified with the centrality of the papacy. Another was its doctrinal and institutional side--narrow, aggressive, and intolerant (as exemplified by the Jesuit publication, *Civiltà Cattolica*, founded in 1850, busy swelling papal authority and denouncing the secular world and the non-ultras in the Church).<sup>30</sup> Ultramontanism saw a new emphasis on the pastoral, on missionary activity, on founding new religious orders and revitalizing old ones. It had its successes: vocations flourished in most Catholic countries as religious orders of men and women, some almost extinct in 1800, grew afterward at an astonishing rate. Missionaries from Europe went to Asia and Africa in large numbers converting many. Catholic popular magazines multiplied, as did learned journals, and Catholic schools founded where there were few or none before. Still, the papacy felt beleaguered, on the defensive.

---

<sup>28</sup> Duffy, Saints and Sinners, 241.

<sup>29</sup> America (16 August 1997), 4, 5.

<sup>30</sup> Duffy, Saints and Sinners, 228.