

Open Court's relation to the war. We do not feel obliged to print it. Before we printed Mr. Thomas's communication we verified his quotations, and read, besides, more of *The Open Court* than we had ever read before and more, perhaps, than we shall ever again have the leisure to enjoy.

We were persuaded that Mr. Thomas's article was quite justified and we printed it, and we do not feel called upon to unprint it. So much for that. I say it purely from the publisher's point of view.

Now if you wish to carry the matter into another region, I may say to you, personally, that I disagree mainly as to the emotional propriety of treating the war at all on an intellectual plane. The war is the herd's business, we are in it, and before anything else we must win it, and that is not a matter to be reasoned about.

Yours very truly,

GARET GARRETT.

CONCLUSION.

Here we rest our case. We might prove our good Americanism by quotations, for we have often given expression to our views in editorial articles and also in verses, but we do not wish to play to the galleries or to burn off the fireworks of a fourth of July celebration. We only appeal to the feeling of justice in our readers and to their sense of logic whether Americanism, if it is true Americanism and not exactly either anti-German or pro-British must mean anti-Americanism. With the permission of *The Tribune*, we shall continue to consider ourselves good and faithful Americans.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE VATICAN.¹

BY OTTO ROESE.

[Mr. Otto Röse, a German literary man who happened to be in Rome during the time just preceding Italy's declaration of war against her former ally Austria-Hungary, had an excellent opportunity to watch the development of the political situation in the Quirinal and has published his observations in the chronological form of a diary under the title *Im römischen Hexenkessel 1915*. We take pleasure in presenting here an English translation of a portion of his book referring mainly to the attitude of the Vatican during this critical

¹ Translated from Röse, *Im römischen Hexenkessel*, 1915, pp. 99-114, by Lydia G. Robinson.

period. It will be the more interesting to our readers since the Vatican again plays an important part in world politics by its peace proposals, much scouted and yet by no means ignored.

We must remind our readers of the position which the Pope was naturally obliged to take in his attitude toward the Entente. The government of France is hostile to the Roman Catholic church since the suppression of the religious orders; Russia has been the outspoken enemy of the church in suppressing the Roman Catholicism of the Slavs in the southeast and in Poland, and England is by no means friendly to Roman Catholic institutions. On the other hand it is true that Germany is not Roman Catholic since the majority of its inhabitants, including the house of Hohenzollern, are Protestant. Austria-Hungary, however, is predominantly Roman Catholic and the emperor still practices the traditional ceremony of once a year washing the feet of twelve beggars at his castle in his capital Vienna. A termination of this war unfavorable to the Central Powers would be the ruin of Austria and would end in a breakdown of the most representative Roman Catholic dynasty, the Hapsburgs.

Further it must be remembered that the freemasons, who are repeatedly mentioned in the article, have a different character in different countries. Belief in God is an essential doctrine of the freemasons, but how different is its interpretation! In England they are orthodox Christians, mostly belonging to the Anglican church. In France, however, freemasons are radical in their philosophical views and insist positively on the atheism of their members. This is also true in the countries under the influence of France—Belgium and Italy. But the freemasons of Germany stand between the two extremes. They insist on the belief in God but allow the brethren to have their own interpretation of the idea, provided only that they understand by God the authority of conduct as a real power which punishes wrongdoing and represents the directive force of society in the sense of "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." With the beginning of the war German freemasons tried to keep up their connection with their French and Italian brethren, but the latter have withdrawn and broken off entirely from the German branches, denouncing them as reactionary and unworthy.

We must confess that we know nothing of Mr. Otto Röse except that he holds a prominent position in the publishing house of Scherl and that he was educated first in Schnepfenthal and later in Munich. We do not know whether or not he is a member of the Roman Catholic church, but his sympathies seem closely allied with it and at any rate he shows great respect for the Curia. It is strange that His Holiness has been in friendly relations with Germany all the time, but we must consider that although the German empire is in the main Protestant it has always shown great seriousness in religious matters and has always respected the Roman church in her relation to her children.

What this war has in store for the Vatican remains to be seen, but it seems as if it might be possible for the papacy to have its independence restored on the right bank of the Tiber with free access from the sea.—ED.]

ROME, April 23, 1915.

The city is swarming with people who have come on political business, and although to the innkeepers, cab-drivers, shopkeepers,

museum curators and all depending on the foreign trade for a livelihood they do not quite make up for the cessation of tourists, they nevertheless lend a piquant charm to Roman life. Commercially considered they are not quantity so much as quality, although to be sure of very different degrees of quality—little that is first class, but much that is original and delightful to look at, an ethnological fair that is terribly industrious.

The most numerous contingent is made up from the Balkan countries, picturesque types in a wide variety, partly of oriental grandeur and partly also that class which one feels he has already met peddling nougat and *rachatlukum* in public houses—versatile people well skilled in trade. Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Belgians furnish examples of more companionable people, a better brand in types of varying value. . . .

But the eternal city regards herself as the most important of all, for she has not received so many political emissaries from the nations for many centuries, perhaps not since the time of ancient imperial splendor; and while greeting the clientele of the world she looks complacently at herself in the glass and thinks, "I am once more the head of the world, the *caput mundi*."

In the meantime only a part, and probably not even the larger part, of the visitors are intended for the new kingdom of Italy, which with its stately appearing, and perhaps also brave, army (possibly not to be required either to shoot or be shot) thinks it can deal the decisive blow in the world conflict. It is true, chance has lent to young Italy an importance out of proportion to her strength, and yet far below the role of judge of the world in which she loves to view herself. Not on the left bank of the Tiber on the hill of the Quirinal where the ministers live, but across from it in the Vatican is a real *caput mundi* enthroned, the ecclesiastical head of the Catholic world.

The positivists of modern Italy do not seem to comprehend this nor do they like to be reminded of it; but how heavily the ecclesiastical power which from the secular point of view they like here to regard as unimportant and without weight, now falls in the scale of world politics, is one of the most instructive events of the present time and particularly so because of the contrast in method and conduct existing between the Curia and the Consulta, between ecclesiastical and secular diplomacy at Rome: On the part of the statesmen of the democratic kingdom, a masque with tragic accents, perhaps also with bloody results as in the favorite opera of Leoncavallo; on the other side tenacious work performed in silence and

yet not needing to hide itself, since it does not aim at keeping open different and contradictory paths, as one or the other promises the greater gain. In the politics of the nation a dazzling display of pathos and rhetoric to gloss over the really sensible plan of playing empire in the well-known fashion which awards the oyster to the judge and the shell to the combatants; in the politics of the church on the other hand, the manifest effort in all neutrality between the struggling nations to be on the side of those powers which in the opinion of the Vatican are worthy of it ecclesiastically, religiously, morally and politically, and are consequently of benefit to the church, i. e., within its own sphere of influence as is the understood aim of all diplomacy. In the Consulta no other principle than to make immense profits, the absence of foresight of a business house just starting out which is determined to establish itself under all circumstances and recognizes no respect for origin or vocation, not feeling itself so bound as an older house which of course can also make many business connections but prefers not to make them because they are not to its advantage; in the Curia on the other hand principles which for more than fifteen hundred years consistently form the structure of a system of politics, and which although admitting in practice various transformations, yet remain intrinsically unchanged and bear in their very constancy the guaranty of far-reaching consequences.

These very contrasts give occasion to presume that political peddlers who enter the chancelleries by the back stairways and display their packs of promises and desires together with all sorts of sweetmeats do not have an equally favorable prospect of making business on both sides of the Tiber. Nevertheless if the business draws more to the right than to the left this is a tribute to the superior power of the Catholic *caput mundi* which it would probably be glad to disclaim. It is incredible how much trouble is taken here to bring the heavy state coach of Vatican politics out of the traditional rut. It recalls the fable of the *mouche du coche*, where Lafontaine tells about the flies that thought they were turning the vehicle because they buzzed around the ears of the horses.

THE CHURCH'S ELDEST DAUGHTER.

Splendid specimens of the envoys extraordinary who buzz around here are those who come from France. First of all, the former minister of foreign affairs, Gabriel Hanotaux, historian and member of the Academy; then the famous novelist René Bazin, and the former editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Débats* and now

chief foreign correspondent in the *Matin*, Viscount de Caix—two faithful sons of the church; not to forget also Ernest Judet, editor of the *Eclair*, who though new as a Catholic politician is all the more zealous for that very reason. All were received by the Pope, were given an affable hearing and dismissed with spiritual consolation. Bazin, de Caix and Judet soon went back with a more or less satisfied air, but Hanotaux remained a while longer to work in the historical archives of the Vatican, and perhaps also in the hope that an opportunity might offer itself to make some discovery. Not one of them obtained what he came after; for the expression of warm sympathy for suffering France with which the Pope sent each of them upon his way did not avail them in the least.

On the other hand, however much Benedict XV would like to help all children of the church, he finds himself in the impossible situation of consenting to the political wishes and requests of envoys who come without credentials, can establish no constitutional guaranty and finally are simply private individuals as far as he is concerned. He has even been obliged to refuse French bishops who knocked in the the name of the president of the republic. For M. Poincaré is only the so-called chief of the executive power; he has no right to carry out his own decisions, can accomplish nothing without ministers and parliament, without the legislative powers, and therefore in the present case counts no more than a private citizen. The Pope is empowered to speak politically only with a commissioner who brings with him in the form of official credentials the confirmation that the French republic with legal power recognizes the Pope as head of the Catholic church. But France cannot now fulfil this condition because her government at present is still in the hands of red radicals and atheistic freemasons.

To the Pope, who has grounds for complaint against the hostility of the republic toward the church, against the separation of state and church, the dissolution and expropriation of the religious orders, etc., even the most eminent delegate can now make no reply further than to say that the time has not yet come, that no alteration of the laws can be expected from the present Chamber of Deputies, but that a great reaction is in progress which promises to bring a majority into the Bourbon palace that will be sympathetic to the church; and that then the Holy See will receive satisfaction. In fact a new impulse toward religion and the church is stirring among the French—even more among the bourgeoisie, who were formerly so strongly under the influence of Voltaire, than among the peasantry—and is combined with an enthusiasm for

King Albert of Belgium with dreams of a monarchy which once more will erect the altars thrown down by the republic and will make peace with the Curia.

Nevertheless facts of the present time and the most recent past contradict these dreams for the future and are not conducive to confidence on the part of the Vatican. Not very long ago the French government insulted the Pope by first forbidding the prayer for peace which he prescribed, and then not allowing it to be read until the bishops had given it an interpretation exactly opposite to the purposes of the head of the church. The French clergy itself gives allegiance to a conception of patriotism which seems pagan to the Vatican and so gives great offense. Under the leadership of cardinals and bishops they hold patriotic celebrations which stimulate the masses to hate and bloodthirstiness. The keynote was given by the sermons delivered by the Dominican Janvier in Notre Dame when the cardinal archbishop of Paris, Amette, presided. When the Pope then warned the French clergy that they should moderate their expressions and follow the example of the German bishops the indignation of those to whom the reproof was directed turned against him. Clergy, public and press began to take offense, to find fault, to threaten and to defy. But Benedict XV let nothing be wrested from him by their defiance.

Of course the noble-hearted Pope feels a sorrowful sympathy for the fate of the French nation, the "eldest daughter of the church" and once her favorite child, who in other days also has done much in the way of self-sacrifice. But exactly for this reason he cannot help wishing that the present regime of the republic which is hostile to the church will come to an end, though not that the present atheistic government would come out of the war strengthened by the victory of French arms. Only a broken and contrite France would hurl to the devil the enemies of the church who brought disaster upon her and would return to the fold of the church as she did after the downfall of Napoleons I and III. The inscription on the church of the Sacred Heart erected on the top of Montmartre and praised in the exigencies of the war of 1870-71 reads: "Penitent France to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus." First of all, then, penance, for which no Hanotaux is now able to furnish an adequate pledge.

THE PRACTICAL BRITON.

While the French government seeks to make an impression on the Vatican through eminent private citizens, the English govern-

ment has gone a step farther and has accredited an ambassador of its own at the Curia. England does homage to the head of the Catholic church when occasion arises, whenever she finds herself in a corner and needs its help. Even in the heat of the agrarian troubles in Parnell's time, she sent a representative to the Pope in order to have the support of the church in checking the Catholic Irish. This time too the end to be attained by way of Rome lies in the Emerald Isle and with its inhabitants, who are indispensable for British defense. For centuries England has drawn her soldiers (as well as her industrial workers) mainly from prolific, impoverished, starving Ireland. In the beginning of the present war recruiting did not progress as well as the government could desire since the brothers of the Irish who had emigrated to America cautioned them, but still it went on pretty well until the Irish bishops finally declared that proper provision was not made for the souls of the soldiers at the front, that the wounded were deprived of the consolation of the church especially in the hospitals which were governed by French law, no clergyman being admitted to a sick-bed if the patient had not previously asked for him. As a result of the protest of the Irish bishops the recruiting came to an end. In order to remove this obstacle and in general to get the Irish, whose attitude was not all that could be wished, again more firmly in hand, the English government sent an embassy to the Vatican for which otherwise there would have been no occasion because of the small number of English Catholics. They explained to the Curia that they regarded this arrangement above all as only temporary as at the time nothing else was possible, since a permanent representation could only be arranged by a special statute and the introduction of such a one in parliament could not be brought about at once, but assurance was given that this would be attended to as soon as possible and the diplomatic representation at the Vatican would be confirmed as a permanent arrangement. On this assumption the British ambassador was received at the Vatican. But when an inquiry arose in the lower house how matters stood with regard to this embassy the government emphasized only its exclusively temporary character.

The Curia would not have needed this proof of double dealing in order to know how she stands with England. As a matter of principle she lays little value on a practice which appears only in emergencies, like a person with the toothache who runs to the dentist to have it pulled. The important thing to her is not that the Pope be appealed to on the demand of the secular government,

but that he be legally and unalterably recognized as head of the church, and not only in his authority over religious matters but also in his influence on the entire spiritual and moral life, including politics. That after former experiences the Curia condescended to receive the official advances of England gave rise to a certain amount of surprise even in Vatican circles. But the reason lay elsewhere than in Great Britain. The Pope hoped by British influence to move the French republic to repeal the laws against monastic orders, but in this hope he was deceived. No power in the world can deprive the radicals who now rule in France of their ecclesiastical booty. The disillusionment came very soon and made England even less sympathetic to the Vatican than it would otherwise have been.

One might suppose that a country whose institutions allow free sway to ecclesiastical matters would be neither especially comforting to the Curia nor especially repugnant to it. But as a matter of fact even apart from the bitter feelings which have arisen in war-time the relations even in time of peace gave occasion less for sympathy than repulsion. The English High Church, which as an organized ecclesiastical power is constructed too much like the Catholic not to be regarded by her as a competitor, is more sharply opposed to the Curia than for instance is Protestantism in Germany. But above all the Pope relies upon the preliminary condition that he be recognized as the ecclesiastical head with all the religious and political consequences, and this recognition England has hitherto refused and can hardly bring into harmony with her institutions. Thus it might appear as if we had a strict *non possumus*, but this is not the case. There is still room enough to fit the interests on both sides to each other according to the altered circumstances. And here the English government has hit upon the way most characteristic for her modes of thought to give the Pope to understand that she is ready to make herself answerable for the grave deficit which the world war has caused in the revenue of the Vatican. She calculates the extraordinary circumstances and corresponding difficulties at a figure higher than any that ever before came at one time into St. Peter's coffers, so high that in former times the very name of the cypher was unfamiliar.

We must grant unreservedly to the Britons that they are practical people and deal in big business. Nothing has yet been heard of any result of the proposal. At present one only learns that the unusual embassy of Great Britain to the Pope turns out to be less satisfactory than annoying.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

It is a strange dispensation that the vital questions of the Roman Catholic church which are at stake in the greatest world war of all times are closely linked for better or for worse with the fate of that particular central power which finds its culmination in a Protestant dynasty. The Curia is conscious of this fact. Even its anxiety for the house of Hapsburg, which it has so much at heart, results in the main wish that Germany will hold out, for it is only with German help that Austria-Hungary can stand as a dam against the bursting through of the Russians and so avert incalculable injury from the Roman Catholic church.

The Curia has not always looked upon Germany with such loving eyes as at present, but even in times of peace it has valued her as a power which maintains both church and state, as a land where the chief requirements of the Catholic church are fulfilled, namely that religion should not count as a merely private affair, but that it should penetrate the public life and be cultivated in the school, in the army, in the entire domain of the state. Neither France nor Italy takes this stand, for in both countries the public right of religion—exactly that upon which the Curia lays the greatest emphasis—is denied. The repugnance to German Protestantism does not play the part in the Vatican which is usually ascribed to it; it is less intense than that against the English High Church and not to be compared with the antagonism in which Rome stands to Russian orthodoxy. The basis upon which the German empire can get along well with the Curia is broad enough to secure peace between state and church with good will on both sides.

ITALY.

A glance at Italy will show what foes Germany and the Curia have in common in other directions. There the freemasons have been declaring at their conventions for years that Germany is the arch foe to be demolished. The Hapsburg monarchy as a main support of the church is an eyesore to these liberals and it can only be upheld with the assistance of the German empire; so Germany too must be overcome if atheism, whose cause the lodges champion, is to be victorious. Of course this is more easily said than done. We do not yet see the Italian brother masons triumphing over the ruins of the German empire, but the Curia is doubtless aware of the injury they are doing the church in Italy. The war of spiritual arms which they have inscribed on their banner serves only as the

pretext of a gamin who grasps at any available advantages, provides his colleagues with offices and lucrative business for the state and the community, and would gain the upper hand in the country if the forces maintaining church and state did not combine to withstand him. This has long been the difficulty.

When Pius IX lost his ecclesiastical power he forbade his clericals to take part in political life. He proceeded from the conviction that the Italian kingdom would fall to pieces if it lost ecclesiastical support, and would make room for a restoration of the secular dominion of the Pope. But although the house of Savoy was constantly compelled to treat with the revolutionaries, it accomplished with its eminently practical statesmen such an excellent piece of work that the calculation of the Pope went astray. On the other hand the international prospects of restitution on the part of the ecclesiastical state disappeared. France, which was the chief consideration, fell into the hands of the enemies of the church within a decade, and even if it were to return to a monarchy that would be kindly disposed toward the church it would never again be in a condition to lift one finger toward the secular dominion of the Pope. The revolution in the neighboring country brought the Italian revolutionaries entirely under Parisian influence and made Italian freemasonry a branch of the French, which had fed well out of the state manger, and so was the object of much envy.

If the Italian kingdom should now enter the breach a new republic would arise in its place, a Cisalpine republic which France desires and England would not be unwilling to see, for Italy would then be stricken out of the number of great powers and would be removed to the rank merely of a Mediterranean power. In that case there could be no longer any question of the restoration of the church's political power.

So matters have turned out differently from what Pius IX expected forty-five years ago. The Curia understood that it could no longer count upon the fall of the kingdom, but instead had an interest in supporting and developing it in the interest of the church. The prohibition of political activity within the church was removed. At first to be sure the clericals limited themselves to favoring the choice of deputies in the moderate direction, and to putting them under obligation to themselves, but now the Catholic party, expressly constituted as a *Unione popolare*, has come to the front with a national program that in accordance with the will of Benedict XV puts their members under obligation to obey the king and in case of war to do their duty. In any event the possibility now

exists that if the Italian government makes an attack on Austria the Catholics at the command of the Pope himself must cooperate against the interest of the church, and even go to the war willingly since every popular league is torn asunder by national passions when once these have been inflamed. But for this there is no remedy, and therefore the more ardent is the wish of the Vatican that Italy may settle its differences with Austria.

This whole course of events shows how the interests of both Curia and kingdom have approached each other and to some extent become fused. Nevertheless the main question of the constitutional relation between the two still remains in dispute. If the papacy sees its hope for regaining its secular power dispelled, or at least indefinitely postponed, it can by no means be reconciled to the present state of things.

Italy is now avoiding the delicate point. Meanwhile between her interests and those of the Vatican a community of interest on another side comes to the fore. It would be bad for both if Russia should break through to the Adriatic with its Serbian vanguard. Blind supporters of the old Triple Alliance prefer to deny any danger from Russia, but careful Italians remember a familiar maxim coined for just such an occasion at the present: that if Austria did not exist it would have to be invented, because it is necessary for the European balance of power, and its disappearance would be a great disaster to Italy. It would at the same time be a disaster for the Catholic church as well—even much greater for her.

TAYTAY AND THE LEPER COLONY OF CULION.

BY A. M. REESE.

THE cutter *Busuanga* of the Philippine Bureau of Navigation had been chartered to go to Tay Tay on the Island of Palawan, to bring back to Manila the party of naturalists of the Bureau of Science who had been studying the little-known fauna and flora of that far-away island, the most westerly of the Philippine group.

After leaving the dock at Manila at sundown we steamed out of the bay, past the searchlights of Corregidor and the other forts which were sweeping entirely across the entrance to the bay in a way that would immediately expose any enemy that might attempt to slip by in the dark, and by nine o'clock we were headed in a south-westerly direction across the China Sea.