

**CONFLICT AND FIDELITY IN
GIACOMO ZANELLA:
THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH
AND STATE DURING THE
UNIFICATION OF ITALY**

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socialistas el buen camino de la estrecha y fructífera colaboración entre España e Iberoamérica?

Sólo el paso del tiempo podrá despejar esa incógnita. Por el momento la situación de profunda crisis en que se debate el llamado mundo occidental, en cuyo contexto se desenvuelve la España post-franquista, no propicia las rupturas innovadoras en materia de política exterior. Si a esto se une la carencia de iniciativas que campea en los aparatos del Estado, los cuales siguen desmenuzándose bajo la influencia de los esquemas formulados por el franquismo, se podría anticipar que no se producirá un apreciable cambio de rumbo en los objetivos y en la práctica de la política exterior española, al menos a corto y a medio plazo. Eso parece la previsión más razonable que se

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Giacomo Zanella was born in 1820 in Chiampo, a small town in the province of Vicenza. Since 1796 Vicenza and its province, like all the mainland territories governed by Venice, had been under Austrian rule.

While the dangers of Zanella's position as a priest of patriotic sentiments should not be exaggerated, it is clear that his relationship with the Church authorities was liable to become more precarious after the unification of Italy. As a liberal Catholic of some authority locally, Zanella was obliged to adopt certain attitudes towards the relationship between the Church and State.

The conflict between Church and State is a post-*Risorgimento* problem, but strained relations between the two parties can be traced back to the events of 1848-49 in the Papal States. The problem had its roots in the assertion of the right and necessity of the Pope's temporal domain. This right had been seriously challenged by the Rome Revolution, and as a result intransigence on the part of the Papacy steadily increased from 1848.¹ The 1860-70 Decade saw the pronouncement which marked the culmination of the reactionary period; the encyclical *Quanta cura* of 1864 condemned all forms of liberalism and so-called modernism.² Italian opinion came to be divided as early as 1848, and

¹ R. Aubert, *Le pontificat de Pie IX, 1846-1878* in *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, XXI (Paris, 1952), pp. 37-38. Aubert states that the beginning of the conservative period of the Papacy began in 1849 with the condemnation of Gioberti (*Il Gesuita moderno*) and of Rosmini (*Le cinque piaghe della Santa Chiesa*).

² A. Jemolo, *Chiesa e Stato in Itali à negli ultimi cento anni*: Nuova edizione riveduta ed

after 1859 the divisions became quite clear —there were three sections: militant Catholics (variously called *Cattolici zelanti, intransigenti* and *clericali*); militant anticlericals; and a middle party composed of Catholics who, although they may have disagreed about methods and form, wanted to see the harmonious existence of Church and State (*Cattolici transigenti* or *conciliatori*). The clergy became involved in either the clerical or the conciliatory party. This very broad, three-fold pattern spread all over Italy, including Venetia, although she was occupied until 1866.³ In Venetia, by 1860 patriotism had tended to become associated with liberalism and anti-temporalism, while temporalism was synonymous with all that was reactionary, Jesuitic and pro-Austrian.⁴

When we examine and attempt to define the various currents of Catholic thought in Venetia and Zanella's position within them, we are forced to take into account the conditions imposed upon Venetians by the failure of the 1848 Revolution and the continuation of Austrian rule until 1866. In this period liberal Catholics not only had to face the growing problem of Church and State insofar as it imposed itself upon their political liberty by demanding unquestioning loyalty to the Pope, but they were also preoccupied, especially after 1859-61, with the desire to see Venetia become part of the Kingdom of Italy. While the two problems appear to be distinct, we find that the interests and influence of the Church tend to create alliances which divide the liberal Catholic party, disturbing the liberal-minded clergy.

In addition it must be borne in mind that the different currents within the wider area of Venetia took on a localized character which varied from town to town. Within the clergy the predominance of conservative or liberal attitudes depended upon the lead given by the

ampliata (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1963), pp. 185-86; A. Omodeo, *L'età del risorgimento italiano*, 9th ed. (Napoli, 1960), pp. 436 and 388-89; L. Salvatorelli, *Il pensiero politico italiano: Dal 1700 al 1870*, 5th ed. (Torino, 1849), p. 361.

³ Such a three-fold pattern should be seen only as a convenient, general description of the state of opinion in this problem. Histories of the Catholic movement have shown how complex were the various currents which made up the militant and conciliatory parties. See G. Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica da Porta Pia al '98*, 4th ed. (Firenze, 1961); F. Magri, *L'azione cattolica in Italia* (Milano, 1953), I, pts. 1 and 2; F. Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana dopo l'unità*, 2nd ed. (Roma, 1960); G. de Rosa, *Storia del movimento cattolico in Italia, I: Dalla Restaurazione all'età giolittiana* (Bari, 1966), esp. chs. 2-8.

⁴ M. Sabbatini, *Profilo politico dei clericali veneti (1866-1913)*, 2nd ed. (Padova, 1962), p. 9.

local bishop and on the stand of the local Seminary towards the whole question of Italian unity. Attitudes also fluctuated in accordance with the consistency with which a particular group or generation of priests remained united not only in thought, but in living, working and exercising their influence in the same locality.

In the case of the *vicentino* clergy, there was a definite shift in the attitude of the Vicenza Curia after 1860, when, on the death of Giovanni Cappellari, Antonio Farina was appointed bishop. Local historians have not contested Cappellari's sympathy for the Italian movement either before 1848, or even after, when Vatican pressures did not encourage bishops of liberal sympathies. Available evidence indicates that until 1866 the liberal Catholic clergy in Vicenza enjoyed unrivaled prestige among Church circles and only after this date was it seriously challenged.⁵ The pro-Italian sympathies of Antonio Farina, however, are questionable, and the denial of his pro-Austrian tendencies by a local historian is not entirely convincing.⁶ Despite the fact that at the end of the Austrian occupation Farina welcomed the new Italian administration in Vicenza, it is undeniable that there began with Farina a conservative and later intransigent attitude towards the problem of Church and State and the question of the Pope's temporal power. After the annexation of Venetia there came to Vicenza in the 1870's, in Leo XIII's reign, a generation of priests educated in Rome, who were supporters of the by then intransigent attitude towards the State. The leading figures in this group were de Lucchi and the Scotton brothers, who all taught in the Seminary.⁷ These men were to voice their views first in the *Foglietto Religioso* and then in *Il Berico*

⁵ G. Mantese, *Memorie storiche della chiesa vicentina; volume quinto: dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni* (Vicenza, 1954), pp. 172-76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-30; L. Briguglio, *Carteggio Volpe-Cavalletto (1860-1886)* (Padova, 1963), p. xii.

⁷ Mantese, *Memorie storiche*, V, 186-88; *idem*, "La cultura religiosa", pp. 400-401; *idem*, "Il neotomismo a Vicenza", pp. 8-23. These men brought neo-Thomist ideas from Rome to Vicenza and were seen as directly opposing the old Rosminian school. See also E. Soderini, *Il pontificato di Leone XIII. I: Il conclave e l'opera di ricostruzione sociale* (Milano, 1932), p. 281. The encyclical *Aeterni Patris* of 1879 officially advocated the revival of neo-Thomism. The polemical uses to which the revival was put are commented on by Soderini, pp. 283-84:

Dallo stesso atto papale si rivela com'esso non costituisce punto, secondo taluni pretesero, la condanna dei progressi compiuti dal mondo moderno nel campo dello scibile, ne significasse esclusione assoluta di ogni altro sistema filosofico... In particolare modo gli (the Pope) rincrebbero gli attacchi alla memoria degli uomini di grande rispetto, tra i quali noverava il Rosmini.

(founded in 1876), which, like the *Veneto Cattolico*, was known for its trenchant Catholicism. Conciliatory views were voiced in the *Foglietto di Vicenza*, founded in 1870 by the lawyer Francesco Mercante and published until 1882. This paper, like the *Giornale di Vicenza*, the other liberal-conciliatory paper, was supported by the liberal Catholics of Zanella's generation. The *Corriere di Vicenza* was the organ of the progressive party. *Il Visentin* was the local anti-clerical paper.⁸

It must not be forgotten that Zanella was active in Padua both before and after annexation. Generally speaking, reactionary and conservative elements were much more deeply entrenched in official Church circles in Padua. The Paduan Church had been ruled by Bishop Federico Manfredini since 1856, when Modesto Farina, a man of like thinking to Cappellari, had died. Manfredini was strongly conservative in his outlook and later became one of the firmest intransigent bishops in the *Veneto*. Moreover, he was considered an *austriacante* and until 1866 had been strongly linked with the Austrians, to whom a bishop like Manfredini was clearly useful. Through him the Austrians could make a stand against liberal Catholicism and patriotic groups. Manfredini's position contrasts with Cappellari's independent attitude towards the Austrians, and even Antonio Farina's philo-Austrianism is not so outstanding as that of the Paduan. From the early '60's Padua had become a center of pro-temporal journalism, and the editor of the *Veneto Cattolico* was Giuseppe Sacchetti, a well known Paduan.⁹

It was not until 1866 that Zanella publicly expressed his awareness of the Church and State conflict. On October 10 he made a potentially explosive speech in the Cathedral at Vicenza, when he gave his *Discorso letto nelle solenni esequie pei caduti nelle guerre del Risorgimento d'Italia*. In this speech he expresses his views on the role of the Church during the Italian revival, and in particular he deals with the attitude of the Venetian Church towards the Austrians. Lastly he describes what he feels to be the true place and mission of the Church in contemporary Italy. Of all Zanella's expressions of his patriotic position, this speech is the most striking; it is both retrospective and prospective in nature, and its outspokenness echoes some of the writings of more notorious Venetian priests such as Angelo Volpe,

⁸ Mantese, *Memorie storiche*, V, 92, 151-88 and 251.

⁹ Briguglio, *Carteggio Volpe-Cavallo*, xxxiii-xlii.

Benedetto Zenner, Jacopo Bernardi and Tommaso de Marchi.¹⁰ One should bear in mind that Antonio Farina had been bishop of Vicenza for six years when Zanella spoke in the Cathedral.

Shortly after the opening of his speech, Zanella restates what has been and continues to be the role of the Church, as he sees it, in the *Risorgimento*. He recalls the early days of the struggle for Italian independence and reaffirms the right of the people to that independence:

Quanta concordia allora fra lo Stato e la Chiesa, o direi meglio, fra il popolo ed il sacerdozio! La destra, che dal Vaticano benedice a' credenti, si era alzata a benedire i soldati d'Italia: dalla cattedra di Pietro, infallibil definitrice del dogma cattolico, era uscita la parola, che religione e libertà possono insieme accordarsi; e quella parola, cui non valsero a spegnere le grida di contrarie fazioni, custodita per vent'anni nel cuore degl' Italiani, li ha resi baldanzosi, saldi, incrollabili sino a morirne per cacciare d'Italia lo straniero, e rivendicare i diritti della propria nazione.¹¹

Zanella continues by defining the role of the priest in society and in the effort for unity, and he reveals traces of the influence of Rosminian and early Giobertian thought, as he stresses the function of the priest as leader of the people:

Allevati in gioventù sotto la savia disciplina ed ottimi esempi, essi (priests) seppero in ogni tempo distinguere i veri dagli apparenti interessi della religione: in ogni tempo sentirono, che dovendo stare col popolo per custodire in esso la Fede, non doveano nemicarselo coll' avversare i suoi sentimenti più cari: sentirono che amare la patria era seguire un ordinamento di Dio, perchè nella patria è grandezza e nobiltà di pensieri; nella servitù, bassezza e depravazione di cuore. Questa funebre cerimonia, da loro spontaneamente promossa a suffragio de' nostri magnanimi estinti può esser eloquente testimonianza, che il clero

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, esp. xi.

¹¹ G. Zanella, *Discorso letto nelle solenni esequie pei caduti nelle guerre del Risorgimento d'Italia, celebrate nella Cattedrale di Vicenza, il giorno 10 ottobre 1866* (Vicenza, 1866), pp. 5-6.

*Vicentino non ha mai diviso il culto della religione da quello della patria.*¹²

There follows a harsh condemnation of those priests who had remained deaf to the call for help from those who were ill-treated by the Austrian regime, on the grounds that they were defending the Church against new and dangerous philosophies (presumably those of the Revolutionary party, with whom all patriots were associated in the minds of the reactionary clergy). Zanella is equally scornful of the hypocritical Austrian attitude towards the Venetian Church:

*Che i tempi siano gravi, o Signori; che terribili prove sovrastano (sic) alle cristiane credenze, è cieco chi nol vedesse; ma gli argomenti, che il clero prescelse a sviare il pericolo, non furon degni della sua missione, ch'è tutta spirituale. Non era, no, da volgersi agli esterni soccorsi: non era da invocare il braccio dell'Austria per tutelare l'autorità della Fede: il clero dovea cercare in sè stesso la forza per resistere al torrente delle nuove dottrine. Era un rinunciare alla propria dignità: era un condannarsi di dabbennaggine e d'ignoranza, domandare la difesa della religione all'Austria, che prima di Giuseppe secondo e poi si rise sempre del clero, se non quanto poteva spalleggiarla ne' suoi ambiziosi disegni; e che volentieri si sarebbe ingoiate le Romagne, il Patrimonio, lo stesso Vaticano, se avesse potuto farlo impunemente. Il clero doveva restringersi ad una spirituale difesa; all'arme cioè di quella parola, che ha trionfato nella lotta col mondo romano e colla barbarie.*¹³

Zanella goes on to say that unless the education of the clergy is reformed, unless the clergy are abreast of the latest philosophical theories, they will be unable to defend the spiritual realm of the Church. In his opinion it is the ignorance of the clergy which has forced them to resort to the weakest kind of defense, that of withdrawal and abuse, of "virulente invettive" and "fanatiche imprecazioni." To return abuse for abuse can only create division:

Tutti i buoni han deplorato gli eccessi, di cui furono qualche volta testimonio le chiese. Traevano e fedeli al tempio

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

*desiderosi di gustarvi le caste e tranquille dolcezze del culto cattolico; e s'imbattevano in quella vece nelle furiose declamazioni contro scismi, che non hanno mai esistito; perche scisma è separazione; e l'Italia ha sempre voluto l'unità come politica, così religiosa. A tali estremi si condussero alcuni del clero per ignorare i doveri e i limiti della loro missione. Essi colle loro grida importune, e colle protestazioni di ossequio, che si riduceano (a) poco più che parole, hanno incoraggiata la resistenza ad ogni accordo colla nazione: hanno aperto un abisso fra l'autorità della Chiesa e l'autorità dello Stato.*¹⁴

This speech would have gained the sympathy of large sections of the laity in Zanella's audience. For every patriotic Italian it reaffirmed the depth and strength of feelings for an Italian cause; for the progressive Catholic its appeal lay in the implied refusal to dramatize the question of Papal temporal power, because of the emphasis it placed on the spiritual role of the Church. However, there is in the speech an idealistic, optimistic return to the neo-Guelf ideals of 1848, to the time when the Church was deemed to be working for the Italian cause and when there was no separation between the two bodies. Zanella appears to be loath to come to terms with the inevitability of the separation of Church and State, at a time when Cavour's formula of a free Church within a free State was widely recognized as the solution to the problem. Zanella's appeal for unity is almost a last plea to avoid having to make a distinction between his political and his religious conscience. As events progressed Zanella was inevitably forced to make a clear division between what related to civil and what related to religious matters.

What is certain is that after the annexation of Venetia, Zanella immediately recognized the legality of the Italian regime. His letters to Lampertico, his acceptance of the University post, his speeches and his poetry never reveal any hesitation about accepting the new *status quo*. For the intransigent Catholic there was nothing more illegal than the new Italy which had snatched away the Papal States. Zanella's correspondence with Lampertico is full of the events in Padua and in Vicenza, of the new civil appointments, of the deputations pledging

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10

loyalty to the King and of the King's arrival in Padua.¹⁵ He follows with enthusiasm and delight Lampertico's attempt and success in gaining a seat in the Italian parliament,¹⁶ but he is far from unaware of the difficulties facing Lampertico as a Liberal deputy and a loyal Catholic. Two problems occupied the poet's mind in particular. The first was the difficult question of the position of Rome. In November 1866 Zanella reveals that he understood the political implications of the isolation of Rome more deeply than was evident in the speech of the month before. He has now realized that a formula for the relationship between Church and State must be found, and he appears to have discarded the last vestiges of the neo-Guelf ideal as unrealistic. On November 7 he wrote to Lampertico:

Venendo al tuo futuro programma, tu devi studiare il pensiero, che muove i tuoi elettori a proporti. Secondo lo stesso tu devi regolarti, senza però staccarti dai principii che costituiscono il tuo carattere. Il nodo principale è nella questione di Roma. Io direi di riconoscere la Convenzione di Settembre, come beneficio all'Italia, non entrerei in altre particolarità. Se il programma avesse ad essere un po' più esteso, soggiungerei di riconoscere la libertà dei culti, con tutte le conseguenze che derivano dalla formula Cavouriana: libera chiesa in libero stato.¹⁷

Although the letter is full of characteristically cautious advice, he has recognized that the Church must necessarily be separated from the State to become a free association within Italy and that once she has renounced her temporal power she will be in a position to become part of modern liberal society.

The second problem which inevitably influenced Zanella's reac-

¹⁵ G. Zanella, "Lettere di Giacomo Zanella a Fedele Lampertico," found in the Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza, III, 120-31, July 14-Aug. 6, 1866. The following abbreviation will be used to refer to this source in the present study: *BB Zanella*. In III, 130, Aug. 5, 1866, Zanella wrote of his intention to pay his respects to the King, but said: "Io non mi sono presentato al Re, perchè mi pareva d'importunarlo, appena accolse il Vescovo e il Rettore Magnifico."

¹⁶ See Mantese, *Memorie storiche*, V, 189-94. After the annexation two parties were formed in Vicenza, the *Società Liberale* and the *Associazione Democratica*. In 1866 Lampertico was elected for the *Società Liberale*.

¹⁷ *BB. Zanella*, III, 140, Nov. 7, 1866.

tion to the Church and State problem is not new to the poet's thinking and can largely be ascribed to his condition as a priest. It is his reaction to the advent of a secular society in which civil institutions were rapidly losing their religious basis. (The year 1865 had seen the promulgation of the new Civil Code and July 1866 the Suppression of Orders Law.) While Zanella recognized the Cavourian formula, he could not reconcile himself to the evolution of a "godless society," of which some deputies were determined supporters. A letter of December 3, 1866 to Lampertico reveals just how much he feared the excesses of the anticlerical party:

Io che conosco la rettitudine della tua coscienza, e la tua franchezza nel propugnare gli eterni principi dell'ordine morale e della religione, come non dubito della scelta che stai per fare, così temo non abbia ad esporti alle collere, e quel che più nuoce, al sogghigno degli arruffati oppositori della Convenzione di Settembre. Purtroppo nell'odierno Parlamento italiano si proclamano e si difendono dottrine che punto non consuevano colle credenze di noi bevute col latte, e che sono, voglia o non voglia, le comuni credenze degli Italiani. Ieri io vedeva entrare ed uscire di queste chiese di Padova un'infinità di gente. Pensava al popolo delle campagne, che non lascia di compiere settimanalmente i suoi atti di religione; e diceva meco stesso: ma questo Parlamento, che non vuol udir verbo nè di sacerdozio nè di Dio, rappresenta egli veramente la nazione? o non è piuttosto l'anarchia, la negazione della stessa?¹⁸

In the mind of the poet his commitment to the Liberal policy towards the Church is clearly pertinent to his civil conscience, but inevitably the implications and, as he sees them, the dangers of a secular society trouble his religious conscience. It is the struggle between the two loyalties, the stresses that are brought to bear on them, which determine Zanella's attitude towards the Church and State problem for the rest of his life.¹⁹

¹⁸ *BB Zanella*, III, 143, Dec. 3, 1866.

¹⁹ See Briguglio, *Carteggio Volpe-Cavalletto*, vii-ix, for the "dissidio fra coscienza civile e coscienza religiosa."

Two years later, in 1868, Zanella attempted to settle the question of the authority of the Church and its dominion. The poem *Milton e Galileo* touches on many aspects of Church custom and doctrine, including the question of the temporal power of the Pope. While ultimately Galileo cannot reply to Milton's accusation that the Church has prevented the spread of truth by condemning the discoveries of Galileo, he does reply to the charge that there is no spiritual significance in the lavishness of the Roman Church and the pomp surrounding the Pope, Galileo replies to Milton's long tirade:

*De' Pontefici il fasto, o figlio, assali,
E l'immagine di Dio scerner ricusi
Nel coronato Aronne. Il guardo hai breve,
Se dall'ombra scevrar non sai la luce
E come il vulgo del parer ti pasci.
Visibil sir di non visibil regno,
Di Dio la possa e d'uom le colpe ei veste;
Tu nell'uman t'affisi. O stro e corona
Venner co' tempi e dileguar potranno
Anco co' tempi: per cangiar di foglie
Virtù la trionfale arbor non perde,
Perche profonde ha le radici in Dio.²⁰*

The last lines of the quotation are significant, as they imply the historical acquisition and not-divinely-given nature of the Pope's temporal power. The Pope's temporal dominions are not vital to the Church, and the poet goes on to emphasize this belief by expounding the eternal spiritual mission of the Church:

*...A fratellanza educa
L'altare, o figlio; ed il tapin che vede
A sè dallato genuflesso il grande
Che nell'aurea quadriga ha maledetto,
Sente che al nappo d'un comun dolore
Tutti beviam; che tutti bisognosi
D'un' alta aita trascorriam quest'ora
D'assegnato cimento...²¹*

²⁰ G. Zanella, *Versi* (Firenze, 1868).

²¹ *Ibid.*

It is the spiritual authority of the Church which Zanella upholds throughout the poem, stressing that the Church is the leader of a religious faith. For him it is the guiding force of Faith which is relevant to modern society. He accepts and supports the Church's absolute authority in the interpretation of Catholic dogma. Never is there any hint of unorthodoxy and rebellion in the poet's religious beliefs; never does he question authority in matters of faith (in his *Commemorazione* of 1866, Zanella spoke of the "cattedra di Pietro" as the "infallibil definitrice del dogma cattolico").²²

It is easy to imagine the enthusiastic reception of the poem by liberal Catholics in the *Veneto* and by circles such as the Capponi one in Tuscany; but it is equally evident that such sentiments would have condemned Zanella in the eyes of protemporal supporters, particularly in the eyes of Bishops Manfredini and Farina. In fact it appears from his correspondence with Lampertico that Zanella did not publish the poem without some trepidation. *Milton e Galileo* appeared in the first edition of Zanella's poetry in 1868, but Zanella wrote about the poem to Lampertico as far back as January 1867, when he spoke of his preoccupations to his friend:

...ti consegnerò i versi su Milton e Galileo con una lettera a Conti. Fin da quando io scrivea quella poesia spesso mi si attraversava alla mente l'idea, che quelle parlate di Milton fossero troppo violente; e che potessero generare nel l'animo dei lettori impressioni non buone, perchè le cose dette, pur troppo, erano vere in gran parte. Que' dubbi non si dileguarono mai della mia mente; ma da due giorni, essendo l'ora del decidersi, mi angustiano in modo che mi sono risoluto a rimettermi interamente al parer tuo e di Conti... Temo troppo i partigiani del dominio temporale: non vorrei che mi facessero il giuoco di porre all'indice il libro, come avvenne alle tre Epistole del Tosti sul ritorno di Pio Nono in Roma nel 49...²³

The letter reveals Zanella's fear of an increasingly powerful faction, of being accused of disobedience to the Pope, yet the act of publishing the

²² Briguglio, *Carteggio Volpe-Cavelletto*, ix-xii.

²³ *BB Zanella*, IV, 3, Jan. 8, 1867.

poem indicates that his civil beliefs are strong enough for him to make a fairly courageous stand. Zanella is clearly a member of the transigent group, and so far the Papal edicts have made no appeal to his religious conscience. His position is in full alignment with that of influential lay figures in Vicenza, Fedele Lampertico, Alessandro Rossi and Paolo Lioy, for example.²⁴

It has been suggested that Zanella was the leader of the transigent group among the clergy in Vicenza.²⁵ This is a far-reaching implication for which there is relatively little evidence. Although Zanella achieved considerable fame after 1868, he was not predominantly resident in Vicenza, but in the very intransigent milieu of Padua. Also, of the members of the old Seminary group, Dalla Valle was dead by 1866, Giovanni Rossi was in Rome and Giuseppe Fogazzaro was not always in Vicenza. However, Francesco Mercante and the older Giuseppe Rossi were eloquent in the *Foglietto di Vicenza*.²⁶ In what sense Zanella could have been the leader of the group and whether they actually organized themselves sufficiently to warrant a leader is doubtful. Their position of alignment with lay figures is much more clearly defined.

Zanella's strong support for his liberal parliamentary friends was interrupted by his illness. The years of his illness saw the growth of the clerical movement, and when Zanella began to take an active interest in society again in 1875, he had to face several additional factors which may have influenced unfavorably his position as one of the liberal Catholic clergy. The Papacy has tightened its authority over observant Catholics with the edict *Non expedit* of 1874 and the formation of the famous slogan, "neither electors nor elected," which was destined to cause a crisis among priests who voted Liberals for the Parliamentary elections. Priests now faced a serious dilemma with regard to ecclesias-

tical authority if they used their vote. For lay personages like Alessandro Rossi and Paolo Lioy and the future senator Lampertico (who in the early '70's retired from the Lower House), it was easy to continue being good Catholics and also to remain loyal to the Government. These men served as useful contacts for the Vatican in Parliament and wielded considerable local influence among Catholic organizations, which they generously aided. However, for Giovanni Rossi, Giuseppe Fogazzaro and Giacomo Zanella, for instance, to vote could mean in theory a call into account for disobedience to a Papal edict.²⁷ But, despite the fact that the second Catholic Congress in Florence reaffirmed the *Non expedit*,²⁸ priests who wanted to vote could resort to the defense that the *Non expedit* was to be seen as advice and not as a command. Only in July 1886, two years before Zanella died, did the *Prefetto del S. Uffizio* officially state that the *Non expedit* was a prohibition to Catholics to vote and was not merely papal advice.²⁹ Sabbatini quotes the names of Giovanni Rossi, Fogazzaro and Zanella as being among those who voted their friends into Parliament,³⁰ but unfortunately he offers no source of information to prove that these priests actually did vote; I have found no source to confirm this vital fact, which would make Zanella's position substantially more dramatic than we can now judge it to be. Certainly Zanella gave moral backing to both Lampertico and Alessandro Rossi in their parliamentary careers.

Another factor which created difficulties for the transigent clergy during the 1870's was the assertiveness of the clerical movement in the formation of the *Opera dei Congressi*.³¹ It was precisely during the years of Zanella's illness that militant Catholics (*Cattolici zelanti*, as they were then known), who favored a position of intransigence towards the new Italy and supported the temporal power of the Pope,

²⁴ S. Rumor, *Gli scrittori vicentini dei secoli decimottavo e decimonono*, II (Vicenza, 1908). Paolo Lioy was born in Vicenza in 1836 and studied law at Padua University for some time without graduating. He then dedicated himself to science, in particular to zoology and geology. In 1866 he became *Provveditore agli studi* in Vicenza and a Deputy for Belluno. Later he represented Vicenza in Parliament. In 1905 he became a Senator; from 1866-1902 he was a *consigliere comunale* and from 1867-1905 a *consigliere provinciale*.

²⁵ Mantese, *Memorie storiche*, V, 181.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 88. Giuseppe Rossi (1810-77) was the author of *Il clero e i nuovi tempi* (1867), an outspoken pamphlet which invited the clergy to reconcile themselves with the Italian regime and to see that their education fitted them for their mission in the late nineteenth century.

²⁷ M. Sabbatini, *Profilo politico dei clericali veneti (1866-1913)*, 2nd ed. (Padova, 1962), pp. 43-44.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³¹ On the Catholic Congresses see G. Spadolini, *L'opposizione Cattolica da Porta Pia al '98*, 4th ed. (Firenze, 1961), esp. pt. I; F. Magri, *L'azione Cattolica in Italia*, 2 vols. (Milano, 1953) I, 10-23; F. Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana dopo l'unità* (Roma, 1960), pp. 31-32 and 59-70; G. de Rosa, *Storia del movimento cattolico in Italia: Dalla Restaurazione all'età giolittiana*, I (Bari, 1966), chs. 4 and 5.

had gathered their forces. The Catholic Congresses were strong in Venetia, and, although essentially lay in character, they were supported by ecclesiastical figures, such as the Scotton brothers. Congresses held each year found especially vociferous intransigent supporters in the *Veneto*. Giuseppe Sacchetti, from Padua, of the *Veneto Cattolico*, propounded the militant intervention of Catholics in society at the 1874 Congress in Venice. There it was decided to spread the action of the *Opera* beyond the spiritual bias exemplified in societies such as *Società della Gioventù Italiana* (the earliest militant Catholic group, founded in 1867) to influencing the Mutual Aid Societies and the *S. Vincenzo de'Paoli* groups. At the beginning of this integralist campaign it was the pro-temporal groups which dominated the *Opera*.³²

For a man of Zanella's character, who was increasingly concerned about the influence of atheistic philosophies and alarmed at the "excesses" of a secularized society, the reaffirmation of the Christian doctrine by the *Opera* groups, pro-temporalist though they are, was not without some attraction. Zanella did not renounce liberal Catholicism by adhering to the *Opera* but in his speeches to the *Società della Gioventù Italiana* (to which he spoke although it was a militant organization) and to the Mutual Aid Society in Vicenza (founded in 1858 and independent of the *Opera* influence) he becomes increasingly preoccupied with the ethical problems of modern society. He propounds in substance the same conservative attitude towards socialism and the workers' problems in industrial society as the *Opera* did.³³ On the other hand Zanella never used these speeches to express his transient views, but rather for the purpose of providing the people with other kinds of spiritual guidance which he considers it is his duty as a priest to give.

That Zanella still considers the Church's mission to be a spiritual and not a temporal one is clearly shown in *In morte di Pio IX Pontefice*, written in 1878, eight years after the fall of Rome. Zanella addresses Pius IX as "Sire delle anime!" and asks:

³² Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica*, pp. 62-63; Magri, *L'azione cattolica*, I, 16; Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana*, pp. 31-32; de Rosa, *Storia del movimento cattolico*, I, chs. 4 and 5.

³³ G. Zanella, "Altre parole alla stessa Società del Mutuo Soccorso in Vicenza, il dì 7 maggio 1876," *Scritti vari* (Firenze, 1877), pp. 170-71.

*Che fùr d'un soglio
Gl'infranti cardini
In Campidoglio,
Se a' pii segnacoli
Del tuo stendardo,*

.....

*Di tue fatidiche
Labbra al richiamo
Salian le docili
Schiatte d'Adamo?*

He ends the poem by affirming that loyal Catholics the world over are looking to the Pope for spiritual guidance:

*Fendi le tenebre
E a chi t'implora
D'età pacifiche
Apri l'aurora.*

Clearly Zanella does not consider the loss of temporal power damaging to the Papacy. However, in this poem Zanella tempers the polemical criticisms of the Sixties, perhaps with the feeling that he must set an example of dignity befitting the clergy by stressing their spiritual mission, and perhaps also with the realization that as a priest he has the opportunity of acting as a link between clerical intransigents and lay, liberal Catholics.

Zanella's attitude of decreasing enthusiasm for the actions of secular Italian society may also have been influenced by the violent attacks on the Church and the clergy made by the openly anticlerical press. While Zanella himself had attacked the reactionary section of the clergy in 1866, the anticlerical press made no distinction between pro-Italian and reactionary clergy. It may have been out of a feeling of wounded dignity and loyalty to the institution of the Church that Zanella gave his allegiance to the views expressed by *La Rassegna Nazionale* founded by the National Conservatives in 1879.

Two years after the fall of the Right in 1876, towards the end of a decade of measures of secularization and several failures to reconcile Papacy and State, the first attempts were made to form a National

Conservative Party.³⁴ Encouraged by the advent of Leo XIII to the Papal throne, groups of men had come together, of different provenances but basically of the old liberal Catholic position in politics.³⁵ Ideas varied from group to group, but on the question of Church and State, it is clear that the whole Party favored a conciliatory policy, even if there was never universal agreement in the Party as to methods of conciliation. *La Rassegna Nazionale* (published in Tuscany) was the most successful organ of the Party, and its first number propounded the National Conservative aims and policies. Dealing with the question of Church and State, the periodical stated that as Nationals the Party recognized the Italian regime and its rights, but as Conservatives they had to protect the interests of the Church.³⁶ Although the emphasis was, politically speaking, conservative rather than liberal, the magazine consistently propounded the possibility that Church and State could coexist on the basis of certain guarantees which would safeguard the Pope's spiritual independence. The necessity for Papal temporal domain was constantly refuted, and the "piaga" of "questa astensione politica"³⁷ was condemned in the beliefs that Catholics must reassert their influence in political spheres. In the late Seventies Zanella abandoned the position of reserve he appeared to have adopted after his illness, and, after many years of contributions to the *Nuova Antologia*,³⁸ he also contributed several reviews and articles to *La Rassegna Nazionale*.³⁹

³⁴ On the National Conservative party see Jemolo, *Chiesa e Stato in Italia*, pp. 282-83; Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana*, pp. 41-44; G. de Rosa, *I conservatori nazionali: biografia di Carlo Santucci* (Brescia, 1962); *idem*, *Storia del movimento cattolico*, I, pp. 224-45; P. Campello della Spina, *Ricordi di 50 anni dal 1840 al 1890* (Spoleto, 1910); E. Soderini, *Il Pontificato di Leone XIII. II: Rapporti con l'Italia e con la Francia* (Milano, 1933) pp. 17-21.

³⁵ See de Rosa, *I conservatori nazionali*, pp. 32-33; Campello della Spina, *Ricordi*, ch. 12; Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana*, pp. 41-42. Two groups of men initiated the National Conservative party; one gathered in the houses of Borghese, Sulmona and della Spina and was supported by A. Conti and C. Cantu among others; the second group was led by Roberto Stuart (author of *Conservatori non clericali*, Milano, 1879), and it is interesting that Lampertico attended the meetings of this group at the house of the duca di Fiano.

³⁶ See *La Rassegna Nazionale*, I, 1, 1879, p. 5. Le istituzioni religiose, perchè noi Cattolici e sincerissimamente devoti alla Chiesa cattolica, quando sorgano questioni di attinenza tra la Religione e lo Stato, pur riconoscendo la necessità che lo Stato mantenga i diritti propri, ci proponiamo di insistere e raccomandare la sacra necessità di rispettare i diritti della Chiesa e delle coscienze; non rispettati i quali, si offendono prima o poi anche i diritti della civile società.

³⁷ *La Rassegna Nazionale*, I, 4, 1879, p. 504.

³⁸ The *Nuova Antologia* was also officially in favor of conciliation with the Pope, but it was not so clearly biased politically. Its policy was to publish all views of the political spectrum, while *La Rassegna Nazionale* was very much part of the "party machine."

³⁹ "Le poesie di Papa Leone XIII", XIC, 3 (1883), pp. 571-76; "Della critica letteraria", XVII, 2

For conciliatory Catholics Leo XIII's reign was one of constant oscillation between hope and despair of a reconciliation between Church and State.⁴⁰ In May of 1887 Leo had been interpreted as inviting the Italian State to make peace; several Italophile priests had been made bishops; and the *Moniteur de Rome*, *La Conciliazione*, *L'Aurora* and the *Journal de Rome* were optimistic that the Pope would agree to come to terms with the government.⁴¹ Despite the fact that this optimism was crushed in June, Zanella published his *Alla Santità di Leone XIII omaggio ed augurio (A Leone XIII)* in 1887.⁴² The obvious theme is the leadership and spiritual comfort provided by the Church, whose guidance was being sought in a time of need, especially at a moment when Italy and Europe were divided. Zanella writes of the foundation of the Church, of its persecution and gradual triumphant diffusion over Europe. At the time of the barbarian invasions of Italy, the Church was

*Simile al Sol, che al monte
Col primo stral la fronte
Erta invermiglia;
Indi al meriggio ascende,
E ne' suoi rai fecondi
I più lontani mondi
Avvolge e splende.*

He stresses the spiritual leadership of the Church, its moral guidance and pacifying and civilizing forces, rather than its temporal power. He pleads personally to Leo XIII to help Italy as she struggled, in her new-found freedom, with the dangers of philosophical and social revolutions:

(1884), pp. 153-66; "Giovanni Prati", XVII, 6 (1884), pp. 931-40; "Carlo Tenca" (1886); "Il Modesti e la 'Venezia di,'" XXXIV, 1 (1887), pp. 79-85; "Caterina Percoto ed Antonio Trueba", XXXVIII, 1 (1887), pp. 76-93; "Giuseppe Barvieri", XXXIX, 4 (1888), pp. 632-47.

⁴⁰ Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica*, p. 162; Soderini, *Il pontificato di Leone XIII*, II, 3-6.

⁴¹ Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana*, pp. 43-50; Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica*, pp. 219-21; de Rosa, *Storia del movimento cattolico*, I, 245-50.

⁴² G. Zanella, *Alla Santità di Leone XIII omaggio ed augurio (A Leone XIII)* (Città di Castello, 1887).

D'Italia odi la voce;
Ed, arra a lei di vita,
La Croce sua marita
Alla tua Croce.

The poem is not just a plea to Leo XIII to abandon his claim to temporal power and concentrate upon the spiritual mission of the Church. It also contains a strong expression of loyalty towards the figure of the Pope himself, as father of all Catholics. Here we see Zanella the Catholic, loyal to his leader in the face of violent anticlerical action on the part of the Left. The plea for peace and conciliation which Zanella expresses has none of the polemical tone of his writings of the Sixties and is not as directly open to censure as *Milton e Galileo* had been. Zanella's anti-temporalist convictions have not changed, but with typical caution the poet prefers to avoid laying himself open to widespread condemnation.

Some measure of the hostility Zanella met, however, can be gauged from a two-part article, published by the Milanese magazine *La scuola cattolica*, which attacked Zanella's conciliatory position.⁴³ The first part of the article contains a general statement against conciliation. The writer, Demenico Casalin, blames "la rivoluzione", "le sette" and the "massonismo spadroneggiante" for the fact that the Pope had been "robbed" of his temporal power. In this position of wounded dignity, it is scarcely surprising that the Pope should refuse to bargain with the very same people now ruling Italy. The violation of the Pope's temporal power had deprived him of that "...eredità resa sacra per il consenso universale delle genti e per il pressoché imperturbato possesso di tante età."⁴⁴ Temporal domain had enabled the Pope — "libero e indipendente" — to defend Italy in the past against her external enemies and to promote the material welfare of his subjects. The only way in which the Pope would be reconciled with the Italian State would be for the latter to translate its desire for conciliation into willingness to award the Pope some kind of material compensation,

⁴³ D. Casalin, "La conciliazione," *La scuola cattolica*, anno XV (1887), vol. XXX, quad. 178, pp. 328-33; continued as "La conciliazione o la poesia dell'abate Zanella", quad. 179, pp. 411-22.

⁴⁴ "La conciliazione", p. 328.

presumably the restoration of temporal power. Much the same arguments are brought to bear in the second part of the article, which opposes Zanella's desire to see the Pope as a purely spiritual leader. Casalin sees in the first four stanzas of *A Leone XIII* the implication that the Pope is still as strong spiritually, without his temporal power; in reply he puts forward the totally illogical accusation that revolution "...ha invaso il poter temporale, per tórre al Papa l'unico baluardo di quella indipendenza che la storia imparziale di tanti secoli, i decreti di tanti monarchi, l'intrinseca natura della sua spirituale giurisdizione che giunge ad ogni angolo della terra dichiararono e dichiarano necessaria."⁴⁵ When Zanella refers to the early days of the Church, led by a destitute apostle Peter, Casalin argues that in the midst of a corrupt, materially-minded society such as Rome was then, Peter needed to convert by his example of poverty, mortification and meekness. Later, as the whole of society became Christian, including its leaders, the Church had to keep the respect of the people and their kings by displaying equal material wealth. When Zanella refers to the poverty of the early Church in the time of Clodovis, Casalin points out that the Church held twenty-three "vastissime tenute" in Italy. The ownership of this property is hardly a fair comparison with rule over the vast Papal States in the nineteenth century, which Zanella obviously had in mind when he spoke of the poverty of the early Church. To Zanella's plea for the Pope to restore peace in Italy, Casalin retorts that some factions in Italy do not deserve Papal blessing and that the Papacy, "fonte unica di quel progresso costante", cannot exercise its spiritual influence "se venisse a questa lampada divina tolta la base materiale."⁴⁶ Zanella's plea for Papal help to restrain "l'ire dei volghi" who "d'eguaglianza han sete" is interpreted as a plea for Papal help and approval for what they represent (i.e. socialism and atheism). Casalin's indignation rises to a crescendo as he sees in the words "pochi astuti" a reference to pro-temporalists and their efforts to provoke the Church and State conflict. Here, he says, "il prete... si disonora ed il canto dal riverente consiglio s'avvilisce fino all'insulto."⁴⁷ However easily the ill-argued ideas of this article may be dismissed, it is clear that Zanella

⁴⁵ "La conciliazione o la poesia dell'abate Zanella," p. 412.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

had to bear harsh criticism from clerical quarters and see his good faith as a priest questioned.

Evidence has been produced to prove that Zanella did in fact change his attitude towards the problem. Vittorio Meneghin points out justly the difficulties of the position of a priest like Zanella; he also alludes to the friendship between Padre Raffaele Balbiani of Venice and the poet, and to the obituary Balbiani wrote on the death of Zanella in 1888.⁴⁸ In this short obituary, after praising Zanella's excellent qualities as a priest, Balbiani states: "Ma anche lo Zanella fu figlio di Adamo e non e da stupire se la carità del natio suolo, in lui vivacissima, lo spinse talvolta di la del confine segnato ad un cuore cattolico." The allusion to Zanella's conciliatory position is evident. Balbiani continues, "Ma egli se ne ritrasse, riprovando, col fatto delle ultime edizioni dei suoi versi, alcune poesie non da tutti lodate: e dichiarò più volte e nel modo più esplicito *la grande questione* non da altri potersi equamente risolvere che dal Sommo Pontefice."⁴⁹ As far as the problem of Church and State is concerned, five poems may be considered "polemical." They are: *A Camillo Cavour*, *Milton e Galileo*, *In morte di Pio IX Pontefice*, *In morte del re d'Italia* and *A Leone XIII*. Pro-temporalists might have considered *A Camillo Cavour* and *In morte del re d'Italia* offensive because in these poems the poet recognizes the new regime and two of its foremost representatives. *In morte del re d'Italia* was published in the 1878 collection of Zanella's poetry and omitted from the last edition. *A Camillo Cavour* was published in the 1868 collection but Zanella omitted it from the third collection, and it appeared in the 1885 collection. That Zanella had some reservation about the poem is shown in a letter he wrote to Lampertico:

Non ho ristampato l'Ode al Cavour, perchè mi pare più ragionamento che poesia... Ti dirò anche, che quel cenno sull'ingresso del re in Campidoglio non mi piacque mai e meno ora, che veggo come l'Italia si conduca in Roma. Più cresco negli anni e più le cose mi appaiono sotto punto diverso che non soleano; la poesia che si può dire d'ocasi-

⁴⁸ V. Meneghin, *Ricordo francescano di Giacomo Zanella*, (Chiampo, 1939), pp. 20-28.

⁴⁹ Raf. (Raffaele Balbiani) *Min. Riform. P., Cenno necrologico intorno al Terziario abate Giacomo Zanella* (Cuneo, 1888).

*one, quando abbia apparenza di adulatrice, mi viene sempre più in uggia.*⁵⁰

When the poem appeared in the 1885 collection there were some alterations: the third and the last five stanzas of the 1868 version were omitted and the second stanza was rephrased. None of these alterations changed anything of the meaning of the poem. There was, however, one alteration which might appear significant in view of what Zanella had written to Lampertico in 1877. In 1868 Zanella had written,

*Itali fummo. Ed esultavi allato
Del Re più degno in Campidoglio atteso...*

He clearly referred to Cavour's desire to see Rome part of Italy, a desire which he shared. In 1885 Zanella did not alter the meaning of the lines when he wrote:

*Itali fummo. Ed esultavi allato
D'Emanuello in Campidoglio atteso...*

In morte di Pio IX Pontefice, with its clear allusion to the fall of Rome, was published in the 1878 collection but not in the last collection of 1885. *Milton e Galileo*, with its clearly antitemporal position, was published in all three collections, of 1868, 1877, and 1885. Zanella made numerous alterations in the successive publications of this long poem, particularly in the version appearing in the collection of 1877. The greater number of changes were minor ones, regarding punctuation, spelling and alternative forms of words. But it is the change in words and phrases that are significant for those who challenge Zanella's retraction; of these there were also a number. Changes of this kind, involving one word, a phrase or a number of lines, appear to have been made for clarity of expression, to avoid lengthiness, or on grounds of purely personal preference for which it is hard to find a precise reason. It is important to stress that no change took place in the meaning of what Zanella wrote, and this is shown very clearly in two changes made in the 1868 and 1877 versions, in the polemical part of the poem in which Galileo and Milton are discussing the reasons for Papal

⁵⁰ *BB Zanella*, V, 115, 23 Feb. 1877.

temporal power. In Part I, stanza 7, Milton inveighs against the time the Church decided to assume temporal rule. In 1868, lines 42-46 of stanza 7 read:

...Allor d'imperi
E di porpore e d'oro una superba
Febbre i cori riarse: empio mercato
Di mendaci dispense e di perdoni
Entro il tempio s'apri...

In the 1877 version the five lines are reduced to three in order to omit the reference to Papal pardons; Milton's sarcasm is thus tempered. There are also other changes in the choice of words, but the meaning is still unaltered:

...Allor d'imperi
E di delizie e d'oro una superba
Febbre i cori infiammò... (Stanza 7, ll. 42-44)

In stanza 8, possibly the most polemical stanza in the poem, in which Galileo argues that Papal temporal power was historically acquired and can be renounced when no longer necessary, lines 28-30 in the 1868 version read:

Tu nell'uman t'affisi. Ostro e corona
Venner co' tempi e dileguar potranno
Anco co' tempi...

These lines in the 1877 version become:

Tu nell'uomo t'affisi. Umane insegne
Venner co' tempi e dileguar potranno
Anco co' tempi...

Galileo's argument remains unaltered. In the 1885 version of the poem there are few changes and these are truly minimal, regarding spelling and punctuation. Only in Part I, stanza 4, lines 6-8 do we find any rewording, and this bears no relation to the discussion of Papal temporal power. In 1885 an introduction, omitted in the 1877 version, was reintroduced in a reduced form. Zanella was evidently prepared to

maintain firmly and openly his position with regard to the Pope's temporal domain. *A Leone XIII* was published two years after the last collection of Zanella's poems in 1885 and was Zanella's final declaration of the Church's essentially spiritual role in society. It does not seem possible to claim that Zanella's position altered, on the strength of the omission of *In morte del re d'Italia* and *In morte di Pio IX Pontefice* from the 1885 collection and the alterations to *A Camillo Cavour* and *Milton e Galileo*; at the most his position became tempered as he grew disillusioned with some aspects of secular Italy. As he grew older he tended to express his views with greater tact and to avoid a direct clash with his ecclesiastical superiors.

Meneghin also claims that he has a "prova lampante" that Zanella retracted some of his views. He quotes the inscription, "Preme, Contiene l'autografa ritrattazione del prof. G. Zanella", on an envelope bearing the date August 22, 1888 (three months after the poet's death) which was found among the papers of Francesco Antonio Mercante. Meneghin also quotes the words, "Mi dispiace," from a scrap of paper inside the envelope.⁵¹ Even if we can admit some validity in this flimsy evidence, the official pressures upon Zanella from within the *chiesa vicentina*, if they existed at all, have not as yet been brought to light. Research in the Vicenza Curia Archives has so far failed to bring to light any additional material which could further elucidate Zanella's position. Until more evidence is available, the whole question of Zanella's retraction is totally unproven.

What can be detected at this stage is the contrast between Zanella's enthusiasm for the coexistence of Church and State and the open criticism of the reactionary clergy—that is, his attitude of 1859 until his illness—and the tempered reserve of the latter years of the poet's life. This reserve towards the problems of Church and State is perhaps one manifestation of the poet's melancholy and pessimistic view of contemporary society at the end of his life. It is also the reserve forced upon what gradually became a marginal group of the clergy as the years went by. Not only did the *vicentino* group of conciliatory priests suffer the pressures as described above, but coming as they did from a very special generation of priests trained in the particular background of Cappellari's bishopric, they were limited in number, and in the last decades of the nineteenth century these numbers were reduced by

⁵¹ *Ricordo francescano*, p. 48.

deaths. Certainly the pressures in Zanella's own case reveal themselves to be those enforced upon a minority group which, despite its middle-of-the-road course, was destined to extinction by the trenchant forces flanking it on either side. Leo XIII did not take the initiative in backing a conciliatory group such as the National Conservatives;⁵² the *Opere dei Congressi* undertook a violent, hostile campaign against the new Party and thoroughly discredited it in the eyes of Catholics;⁵³ and the moderates themselves attacked what they considered to be a splinter group from their Party.⁵⁴ In fact it became impossible for men like Zanella to call themselves liberal Catholics, for the two terms were no longer reconcilable. (Possibly, like Augusto Conti, Zanella felt that he had to call himself a liberal *and* a Catholic.) Hope of conciliation between Church and State was, then, an idealistic dream which found no echo in the realities of the political situation of the time, and the liberal Catholic ideal of Church and State coexistence faded into extinction with the death of its proposers.⁵⁵

⁵² Soderini, *Il pontificato di Leone XIII*, II, 20.

⁵³ Spadolini, *L'opposizione cattolica*, p. 173.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁵⁵ Fonzi, *I cattolici e la società italiana*, pp. 24-25.

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