Martyrs and Confessors

Rachel M. McCleary and Robert J. Barro
January 2022
AEA Meetings

In our earlier study (Barro and McCleary 2016), we analyzed determinants of numbers of confessors beatified and canonized. (Beatification and canonization are the two final stages leading up to a person becoming a saint.) Confessors are persons who lived a life of virtue but were not killed in the context of hatred of the Church and are, therefore, not martyrs. Our analysis applied to beatifications and canonizations of confessors mainly since 1588, at which time major changes occurred in the rules for beatifications. The analysis applied to seven major world regions and to the choices made by the 38 popes from Urban VII (start year 1590) to Benedict XVI (end year 2013). One finding was that numbers beatified and canonized responded positively to measures of competition between Catholicism and Protestantism and between Catholicism and no religion. We interpreted these reactions as attempts to invigorate the Catholic faith and, thereby, to deter conversions into Protestantism or no religion.

We have now extended the data set on blessed persons to include martyrs beatified and canonized. A major difference from confessors is that martyrs have to be killed in the context of hatred of their faith. These data also begin mostly in 1588, but some earlier beatifications are included. An example is the Martyrs of Otranto, beatified by Clement XIV in 1480 and canonized by Francis in 2013. Unlike confessors, martyrs tend to be venerated in large groups, and the overall number of martyrs beatified (5213) greatly exceeds the number of confessors (772).

Thoughts on Martyrs and Confessors

Tables 1 and 2 show numbers and characteristics of martyrs beatified and canonized.

Tables 3 and 4 have comparable information for confessors. The discussion below focuses on beatifications, though patterns for canonizations look similar albeit with a lag.

When considered relative to length of office, the number of martyrs beatified jumped from 5 per year up to 1977 to 40 per year under John Paul II, 97 per year under Benedict XVI, and 165 per year under Francis (Table 1). (Excluding the 813 Martyrs of Otranto, the martyrs beatified up to 1977 were only 3 per year.) Another way to view this shift is that the number of martyrs beatified under the last three popes (John Paul II, Benedict XVI, Francis) was 3130, 60% of the total chosen since 1588.

Similarly, for confessors (Table 3), the number beatified per year jumped from 0.7 per year up to 1977 to 12 per year under John Paul II, 12 per year under Benedict XVI, and 10 per year under Francis. The number beatified under these last three popes was 485, or 63% of the total since 1588. Although the current number beatified greatly exceeds the number canonized, this excess reflects the dramatic increase in beatifications beginning with John Paul II's papacy in 1978. That is, the surge in beatifications created a backlog of persons not yet canonized, and this backlog is being worked off only gradually.

Reforms introduced in 1983 to the Code of Canon Law streamlined the process of canonization. These reforms placed the initiative for commencing and gathering evidence of a person's sanctity in a diocesan bishop's office. The nature and atmosphere of the canonical process transformed under Pope John Paul II in 1983 into a collaborative "historical" investigation guided by rules established by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Two changes in particular facilitated the increase in numbers of beatifieds. First, the waiting period for the initiation of a cause was shortened from 50 to 5 years. Second, the number of miracles at each stage (beatification, canonization) was reduced from two to one. These changes we interpret as part of John Paul II's vision of the universal Catholic Church responding to competition from types of Pentecostalism and, in the case of his successor Benedict XVI,

secularization (Barro and McCleary 2016). John Paul II beatified and canonized more individuals than his predecessors combined with many originating and dying in geographic regions previously not included in the official roster of martyrs and confessors. Benedict XVI inherited from John Paul II a backlog of Venerable Servants of God (approved for beatification) and Servants of God (approved for investigation as a potential Venerable). In two exceptional cases, both pontiffs deviated from the five-year waiting period. John Paul II waived three years in the case of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, and Benedict XVI waived all five years in the case of his predecessor, John Paul II.

The Church's broad view is that beatification is a step toward canonization, not an end in itself. Therefore, one would anticipate that most persons beatified will eventually be canonized, and that relation holds true for confessors beatified up to 1978; that is before John Paul II took office. For the 287 confessors beatified prior to John Paul II, only 54 or 19% were not yet canonized as of 2021. The dramatic acceleration of beatifications starting with John Paul II led to a substantial buildup in the stock of beatifieds; that is, canonization lagged behind beatification. However, our anticipation is that most persons beatified will eventually be canonized. For this reason, our discussion emphasizes numbers beatified.

Locations of Confessors and Martyrs

The epicenter of Roman Catholicism is the Vatican and, up until the unification of Italy, the Papal States. Given this history of Catholicism, it is not surprising that the largest geographic concentration of beatified confessors—44% overall—is in Italy (Table 4) (where location is based on a blessed person's place of death). Following in descending order of overall shares of confessors are other Western European countries (33%), Latin America (8%), Eastern Europe

¹For martyrs, 2083 were beatified prior to John Paul II, and 782 or 38% were not yet canonized.

(7%), North America (4%), Asia (3%), and Africa (1%). Another reason Italian and Western European blesseds figure prominently is that they were predominantly members of male religious orders founded during the Catholic Reformation. These orders during their formative decades remained geographically concentrated in Italy and Western Europe and recruited members from those areas (except for the Society of Jesus) (Donnelly 2008: 163). For those blesseds belonging to two significant medieval religious orders, Franciscans and Dominicans, their bases of operation and recruitment were, respectively, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula.

The geographical pattern for martyrs differs because most die in large groups during international and civil wars and at times of widespread religious persecution. For martyrs, the level and time variation of the regional breakdown is dominated by these events—especially the Spanish Civil War, the Martyrs of Otranto (reflecting killings by Muslims of Catholics in Italy in 1480), the French Revolution, the Martyrs of Japan, the English Reformation, the Martyrs of Korea, and World War II. The large numbers of martyrs associated with these events result in the number of martyrs beatified being dominated overall by Western Europe outside of Italy (56%) and Asia (19%). (Location is again gauged by a blessed person's place of death.) Italy is important for martyrs beatified only in 1771 with the 813 Martyrs of Otranto.

For confessors beatified, the levels and time variations in the regional breakdown (Table 4) bring out important changes in the extent of the global orientation of the Catholic Church with respect to namings of blessed persons. Historically, beatifications of confessors were dominated by Italy and other Western Europe. However, Italy's share fell from 55-57% before 1900 to 35% under Francis. Correspondingly, the Church has shifted to a more global orientation, notably in the rise for Latin America (from 4-7% before 1900 to 17%) and Eastern Europe (from 2-6% before 1900 to 10%). In our previous research, we viewed parts of these

regional changes as responses to competition from evangelical and Pentecostal churches, especially in the twentieth century and in a region such as Latin America where Catholicism had previously enjoyed a near-monopoly position.

The reality of Protestant-Catholic competition dates back to the Reformation and its aftermath. In Western Europe, saints' feast days, pilgrimages, processions, and annual rites such as that of Corpus Christi were cultural events through which local politicians, elites, sodalities, and guilds reaffirmed their collective communal identity as Catholics. In the post-Tridentine era, these religious events became propaganda opportunities for innovative polemics on Protestantism as well as reinforcing Catholic thaumaturgy (Soergel 1993: 170). Cults of saints played a central role in resisting Protestant incursions. In areas such as Bavaria, Belgium, southern France, Spain, and Portugal, which featured a density of saint shrines and vibrancy of cult devotion, Protestantism was successfully resisted (Rothkrug 1987; Soergel 1993).

As a local deceased person gained a saintly reputation, an active public cult typically developed with communal devotional activities, reinforcing existing Catholic faith through social cohesion (Pfaff 2013). The proliferation of local saints, some with official sanction listed in the Roman Breviary in an addendum, included many unofficial cults with devotional practices outside the Church's control. The newly created Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies in 1588 began "an unprecedented attempt "to reconcile particular, local practice with universal, Roman precepts." A primary means of enforcing universal regulation over local cults was the introduction of an intermediate formal procedure of beatification occurring prior to canonization but after the formation of a local saint's cult (Ditchfield 2007). This process allowed the Church to regulate via universal norms devotional practices while at the same time respecting the

² In 1969, the Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies was separated into two dicasteries: The Congregation for the Causes of Saints and the Congregation for Divine Worship.

cultural context of the saint. Those beatified and their cultus were restricted to a specified province, city, and/or religious institute (if the blessed affiliated with a religious order).

In 1644, the first beatification ceremony for a confessor took place in the new St. Peter's Basilica, completed in 1626. This beatification was by Pope Innocent X of Bernardo Tolomei. Soon after, Pope Alexander VII beatified Francisco de Sales at St. Peter's in 1662 and canonized him in 1665. Through these acts, the Pope and the Congregation of Rites publicly signaled that the Vatican was the center of authority over local cults. The Vatican, French aristocracy, clerics and laity interpreted de Sale's canonization (and therefore his intercession) as a means of countering Calvinist Protestantism in western Italy, southwestern Switzerland, and France (Kleinman 1965).

Table 5 shows how the locations of ceremonies for beatification and canonization evolved over time. At least since 1588 and before the reign of John Paul II, ceremonies took place at St. Peter's in the Vatican or elsewhere in Rome—the one exception that we found is the beatification of the confessor Francis Borgia in 1624 in Madrid.

John Paul II made a major change by shifting a substantial number of beatifications and canonizations outside of Rome, typically to the location associated with the blessed person.

With regard to canonizations, John Paul II presided over the canonizations of 113 martyrs and 14 confessors outside the Vatican in 11 different countries between 1984 and 2003. Moreover, John Paul II officiated at all canonization ceremonies taking place *in situ*. His legacy of international apostolic visits to five continents is impressive. During these trips, John Paul II presided over beatification ceremonies resulting in 17% of his total beatifications. In so doing, he traveled to Asia, Central America, South America, Mexico, the Caribbean, and Eastern and Western Europe. In three cases, John Paul II traveled for both a saint's beatification and canonization (Poland,

Mexico, and Spain).³ By contrast, Benedict XVI canonized one confessor in Brazil in 2007. Francis canonized four confessors in three different countries (Sri Lanka, United States, and Portugal) between 2015 and 2017. In two cases, John Paul II carried out the beatification and Francis the canonization of an individual in country (Sri Lanka and Portugal).⁴

Benedict XVI and Francis have moved toward a regime where canonizations are held mainly in Rome but beatifications often occur locally. For example, Francis had all of his 1322 beatifications of martyrs outside of Rome and all of his 849 canonizations of martyrs in Rome. For confessors, 73 of his 79 beatifications were outside Rome and 6 were in Rome, whereas 46 of his canonizations were in Rome and only 4 were outside Rome.

The tendency by John Paul II to preside over beatifications in the locations associated with the blessed person we interpret as his affirming the universality of the Catholic faith and the Church's increasing globalization outside Rome. The process of beatifying a venerable does not automatically translate into the venerating of that blessed person by locals and the proper veneration according to the Vatican. Communist regimes forbade and persecuted religions and, we believe, it is to the practice of veneration in the locale of a blessed's life and death that John Paul II was intent on reinvigorating with his apostolic visits. Yet, Benedict XVI, for theological reasons, relegated the presiding over of the rite of beatifications to the Prefect of the

_

³These are Jadwiga of Poland (Krakow, Poland), Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin (Mexico City, Mexico), and Angela of the Cross (Madrid, Spain).

⁴These causes are: Joseph Vaz, beatified in 1995 and canonized in 2015, and Francesco and Jacinta Marto, beatified in 2000 and canonized in 2017.

⁵The assertion of the pope's authority over the process of beatification, the local veneration of the *cultus* of the blessed, and the universal rules of veneration set out by the Vatican are three distinct issues that frequently are intertwined. These issues arose in the thirteenth century when the veneration of papally canonized venerables belonging to different mendicant orders were ignored by other orders as well as diocesan bishops (Prudlo 2015: 132-3).

⁶John Paul II's pastoral visits which often included a beatification, and less often a canonization, made the Catholic Church relevant to a particular context, both spiritually and diplomatically. During his 26 years as pope, John Paul II met with political leaders in 38 official visits, 738 meetings with heads of state, and 246 meetings with prime ministers.

Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Beatification is a process permitted (sanctioned) by the pope and not an act of papal infallibility (command) as in cases of canonization. Francis continued Benedict XVI's approach, with beatifications for the most part being presided over by the Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints and, less frequently, by a prelate of the blessed's country. This policy complements the increasing tendency to choose confessors and martyrs who died outside of Italy and other Western Europe countries, particularly in Latin America and Eastern Europe (Table 4).

Characteristics of Martyrs and Confessors

The fraction of beatified martyrs that was male averaged 85% and showed no clear trend (Table 2). The fraction of beatified confessors that was male was nearly 80% up to 1900, similar to that for martyrs, but the male fraction for confessors has since declined to slightly below 50% (Table 4). That is, near equality between males and females applies currently for confessors, whereas males still dominate the namings of martyrs (Table 2). In the Catholic Church, only males receive ordination, perform sacramental roles, and become senior officials in the Church hierarchy. The pattern of socialization into the Church encourages males to congregate together at an early age in exclusively male church-sanctioned activities. (Although Francis recently introduced canonical changes allowing girls and women to be acolytes and lectors). Male clergy preside over religious rituals and sacramental practices (Sunday mass, confession, communion, baptism, marriage, death rites, and special devotions during religious holidays) that regulate the life of a Catholic Christian. As a result, males communally and publicly represent the Catholic faith thereby becoming targets of religious persecution and violence.

⁷In 2021, Francis created the lay ministry of Catechist for both males and females; see his Apostolic Letter, *Antiquum ministerium*, May 11.

Religious orders, through their networks of monasteries and houses, venerated their beatified members. The numbers of blesseds and saints affiliated with religious orders reflects the orders' organizational advantage to promote candidates for beatification and canonization. The fractions of male beatifieds associated with an order averaged 53% over the full sample for martyrs and 55% for confessors. The fraction of beatified males affiliated with religious orders from 1588 to 1900 was 80% or more for confessors. After 1900, the fraction of male confessors affiliated with a religious order steadily dropped reaching 32% under Francis. By contrast, male confessors canonized who affiliated with a religious order remained high from 50% under Francis to 76% between 1588 and 1800, never dropping below 50% for all male confessors. Overall, there is a clear indication that association with an order is an advantage with respect to a male blessed or saint.

The fraction of beatified martyrs that were child and youth (ages 0-18 at time of death) averaged 5% and showed no clear trend (Table 2). In contrast, the fraction of beatified confessors ages 0-18 was low throughout, averaging only 1.3% (Table 4). (The total number of beatified confessors aged 0-18 was only 9 and the number of beatified martyrs aged 0-18 was 184). However, the age 0-18 share for beatified confessors rose to around 2% under Benedict XVI and Francis. Of the 130 martyred child and youth males who died in groups, 33% affiliated in varying degrees with the Catholic Church (catechist, acolyte, sacristan, confrater, aspirant, novice, cleric professed religious, and seminarian). Five out of nine child and youth confessors are males. One was a Jesuit novice, another a Salesian aspirant, and two boys were mystics.

Young female martyrs and confessors exhibit the core characteristics of domesticity, obedience, modesty (and chastity), deep personal devotion, and acts of charity toward the young

and elderly (usually family members). The ancient Christian theme of the "double crown" virginity and martyrdom—continues in contemporary contexts. Beginning in the twentieth century, the sanctification of girls and youth females martyred who died protecting their chastity took on a new interpretation. Rather than being martyred for rejecting marriage, these young women died in violent attacks resisting a rapist. Pius XII established the contemporary Catholic paragon of female chastity and domesticity with the beatification of 11-year old Maria Goretti in 1947 and her canonization in 1950 in defense of her virginity (in defensum castitatis). In his beatification homily, Pius XII praised the obedient domesticity of Goretti as foundational to her spiritual fortitude and preternatural physical strength in fighting off Alessandro Serenelli, who was twice her age (1947). Three years later, in his canonization homily of Maria Goretti (1950), Pius XII again highlighted obedience and domesticity as integral to her purity of faith. Five females between the ages of 11 and 16 died alone in attempted rapes (Maria Goretti, Antonia Mesina, Albertina Berkenbrock, Karolina Kozkowny, and Anna Kolesarova). ⁹ Two young women—Laura Vicuña (confessor) and Panacea de Muzzi (martyr)—were victims of domestic abuse. 10 This model of female lay sanctity, critiqued by scholars and theologians, commends obedience, submission, and domesticity as integral for resisting evil (male bestiality) by sacrificing one's life. 11

_

⁸Pubescent females as protectors or "keepers" of their own chastity originates in the third century along with other forms of sexual renunciation (Brown 1988: 191).

⁹There are many beatifications of women murdered by their sexually predatory attackers. Benedict XVI beatified Albertina Berkenbrock (12 years) and Lindalva Justo de Oliveira (40 years). John Paul II beatified Antonia Mesina (15 years), Karolina Kozkowny (16 years), Teresa Bracco (20 years), Alfonsine Anuarite Nengapita (23 years), and Pierina Morosini of Bergamo (26 years). Francis beatified Anna Koresalova (16 years) and Veronica Antal (23 years). The formal beatifications of Benigna Cardoso da Silva and Isabel Cristina Mrad Campos (20 years) were delayed due to COVID-19. In addition, the causes of 14 girls and women martyred during an attempted rape are at various stages of pre-beatification.

¹⁰ Although Laura Vicuña died of tuberculosis, her mother's male companion Manuel Moro abused both women.
Panacea de Muzzi's stepmother Margherita di Locarno Sesia, consistently abused her, finally beating her to death in a fit of rage.

¹¹ The Church's use of females murdered during a rape attempt (a criminal act) as examples of Christian virtue underscores Andrew Greeley's criticism (2004) of the Catholic hierarchy as unwilling to adapt and reform to

The fraction of beatified martyrs with lay backgrounds averaged 24% over the full sample and showed no clear trend (Table 2). However, the 18% value for Francis was comparatively low. For beatified confessors, the lay fraction was lower overall, averaging 10% (Table 4). However, this share rose to 19% under Francis, comparable to that for martyrs. (The category "lay plus" adds in persons with attachments to the Catholic Church who have not taken formal vows. This group includes catechists, aspirants, sacristans, altar boys, acolytes, postulants, candidates, and oblates. The lay plus category averaged 26% of beatified martyrs, compared to 24% for the narrow definition of lay. For beatified confessors, there was only 1 person overall in the extended group, so there is essentially no distinction between lay and lay plus.)

Founders of orders barely registered among beatified martyrs—there have been only six over the full sample. However, founders are much more represented among beatified confessors, averaging 44% over the full sample (Table 4). There is no clear trend here. It appears that, after the establishment of the Congregation of Rites, the emphasis for female venerables was on persons with a formal affiliation to church as a nun, religious, and/or foundress. According to one author, this was an important change downgrading mysticism, of which there were women in the fifteenth century.

The fraction of beatified martyrs who were married averaged 10% over the full sample and shows no clear trend (Table 2). However, the share for Francis of 5% was the lowest of the periods considered. This pattern is similar for beatified confessors (Table 4).

-

western modern societies. He argues that by so doing, the Church weakens the authority of the pope. Eileen J. Stenzel (1994) and Kathleen Norris (1996) discuss the cognitive dissonance between the Church's model of female sanctity and contemporary gender roles and choices for women (birth control, fertility, abortion, career and economic independence, partnering options), particularly those who are college-educated.

Child and Youth Martyrs

Table 6 focuses on child-and-youth beatified martyrs; that is, those who died at ages between 0 and 18.¹² There are 184 overall in this group, with 36 designated as a child without information on specific age at death. The fraction of beatified martyrs aged 0-18 that was male was slightly lower (77%) than that for martyrs in general (85%). For ages 0-14, the male fraction averaged 72%, and for ages 15-18, the male fraction averaged 82%. It is significant that those 18 years and younger who died alone rose significantly under Francis (8 martyrs and 1 confessor) with males in the majority.

The overall fraction of child-and-youth beatified martyrs that were lay was 78% (Table 6), much higher than the 24% for martyrs in general (Table 2). The overall fraction of child-and-youth martyrs affiliated with an order was 18% (Table 6), well below the 52% for martyrs in total (Table 2). Many child-and-youth martyrs died as part of a family, notably for the Martyrs of Japan. However, 20 of the 184 or 11% died alone (Table 6).

Canonizations

Martyrs canonized have lagged substantially behind those beatified. Overall, the number canonized of 1407 was 27% of the 5213 beatified. With the Martyrs of Otranto excluded (813 beatified in 1480 and canonized in 2013), the number canonized of 494 was only 13% of the 4407 beatified (Table 1). There are no clear differences between martyrs canonized and beatified with respect to gender, age at death, region of death, lay status, affiliation with an order, founder status, or marital status.

¹² An analysis of Catholic child and youth martyrs beatified and canonized from 1588 to 2022 is in McCleary (forthcoming).

These last results are reasonable because, in almost all cases, persons canonized come from the stock of those previously beatified. For confessors (Table 3), the number canonized of 367 through early 2022 was 48% of those beatified. However, these numbers reflect the dramatic buildup of beatifieds starting with the surge in beatifications in 1978 under John Paul II, along with the delay in canonizing those previously beatified. If one considers the 287 persons beatified prior to John Paul II, then only 54 or 19% remained uncanonized by the start of 2022. That is, the indication from confessors is that almost all of those beatified will eventually be canonized. This pattern suggests that confessors canonized will ultimately resemble those beatified in terms of the characteristics considered in Table 4. The same conclusion is likely to hold in Table 2 for the characteristics of martyrs.

Martyr Events

Many beatified martyrs associate with wars—civil war, rebellion, or external war. Of the 22 events detailed in Table 7, the 13 war-related (Spanish Civil War, Martyrs of Otranto, ¹³ French Revolution, World War II, Boxer Rebellion, Mongol Invasion, Martyrs of Brazil, Cristero War, Portugal-Dutch War, Algerian Civil War, Martyrs of Gorkum, Guatemala Civil War, and Martyrs of Prague) account for 3792 or 73% of the total beatified martyrs of 5213 (Table 7, part 1).

Other events detailed in Table 7 involve widespread religious persecution, many aimed at Christian missionaries and their followers (Martyrs of Japan, Martyrs of Korea, Martyrs of Vietnam, Martyrs of Uganda, and Martyrs of China). Also significant was the conflict between

¹³The Martyrs of Otranto, classed as an external war, involved an attempt by an Ottoman force to conquer Italy.

Protestants and Catholics during the English Reformation. The Martyrs of Ireland were part of this conflict.

The bottom section of Table 6 shows how the events from Table 7 impacted child-and-youth martyrdom. The main case of numerous martyrs (83) aged 18 and below was the Martyrs of Japan. These numbers reflected the tendency to kill together families involved with Christian missionaries. Of the 59 child-and-youth martyrs with known ages at death, only 7 were youths (aged 15-18). The case with the second most child-and-youth martyrs—the Spanish Civil War, with a total of 26—was different. In this case, all were youths, aged 15-18. This group did not involve family members but rather clerics, novices, seminarians, aspirants, and other young persons attached to the Catholic Church. There is the potential for many more child martyrs than those shown in Table 6. Noteworthy is the French Revolution, for which no child-and-youth martyrs are presently noted but where causes for 110 child martyrs have been opened.

In terms of numbers of martyrs beatified, the most important event, by far, in Table 7 is the Spanish Civil War. During this conflict and mostly in 1936, the Republican government was responsible for most of the killings of roughly 7000 priests and other personnel of the Catholic Church, including seminarians. These actions were apparently part of the Republican objective to eliminate organized religion in Spain. After the victory of General Franco's Nationalist side in 1939, views of the killings of Catholic personnel were sharply divided along political lines, in Spain and internationally. Pope Paul VI issued a 50-year moratorium on consideration of causes for beatifications of martyrs from the Spanish Civil War from the date of death, which was 1936 for 96% of the cases thus far beatified. (This 50-year delay was consistent with the general restrictions in place at the time.) The difficulty of ascertaining the nature of the deaths as political or martyrdom halted the process. Another reason for the delay was the continued

political climate of state persecution in Spain under General Francisco Franco. The first beatifications of Spanish Civil War martyrs began with John Paul II in 1987, and the numbers rose sharply thereafter, during his pontificate and in the following papacies of Benedict XVI and Francis (see Table 8). Thus far, few of the 2053 Spanish Civil War beatifieds have been canonized (11).

Table 9 classifies the martyrs from the Spanish Civil War according to the province that corresponds to the location at time of death. The greatest absolute numbers of martyrs were for Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Tarragona, Lleida, Cordoba, and Almeria. However, when expressed in relation to provincial population, the largest numbers were for Tarragona, Lleida, Huesca, Almeria, and Madrid. We plan to relate these numbers to the course of the War, including the extent of fighting and the relative strengths of the Republican and Nationalist sides. There are also analogies with the conflict between the government and the Catholic Church in Mexico, reflected in the martyrs of the Cristero War (Table 7). That war followed the Mexican Revolution and Civil War, which began in 1910 and included constitutional changes that diminished the role of the Catholic Church.

Research Plans

Our current research seeks to assess the effects of namings of martyrs and confessors on the behavior of Catholics. Notably, we will carry out event-study analyses at the diocese level to assess how the beatification of a martyr or a confessor impacts the subsequent number of persons baptized, viewed as an indicator of attachment to the Catholic Church. This analysis will evaluate the impact of each type of beatification and, thereby, give a comparative assessment of the effects from one martyr (usually named as part of a large group) versus one confessor. The major challenge has been the assembly of data over time and by diocese on numbers of baptisms.

We presently have these data nearly complete for 1970 to 1990. We are matching this information to our numbers on beatifications of martyrs and confessors, expressed at the diocese level. We will then carry out the event-study analyses.

Bibliography

- Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary. 2016. "Saints Marching in, 1590–2012." *Economica*, 83, (331): 385-415.
- Brown, Peter Robert Lamont. 1988. *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ditchfield, Simon Richard. 2007. "Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints." *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (ed.)

 Vol. Six. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 201-224.
- Francis. 2021. Antiquum ministerium. May 10, Saint John Lateran, Rome.
- Greeley, Andrew. 2004. *The Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- John Paul II. 1983. Apostolic Constitution, *Divinus perfectionis magister*, January 25, St. Peters, Vatican.
- Kleinman, Ruth. 1965. "The Unquiet Truce: An Exploration of Catholic Feeling against the Huguenots in France, 1646-1664." *French Historical Studies* 4, 2 (Autumn): 170-188.
- McCleary, Rachel. M. Forthcoming, "Catholic Child and Youth Martyrs: 1588-2022."
- Norris, Kathleen. 1996. "Maria Goretti—Cipher or Saint?" In Susan Bergman (ed.), *Martyrs*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Pfaff, Steven. 2013. "The True Citizens of the City of God: The Cult of Saints, the Catholic Social Order, and the Urban Reformation in Germany." *Theory of Sociology* (42):189–218.
- Pius XII. 1947. Address of His Holiness Pius XII to the Pilgrims Attended to Rome for the Beatification of Santa Maria Goretti. April 7, Hall of Blessings, Apostolic Palace, Rome.

- Pius XII. 1950. Address of His Holiness Pius XII to the Faithful Convention in Rome for the Canonization of Santa Maria Goretti. June 24, St. Peter's Square, Rome.
- Rothkrug 1987. "Holy Shrines, Religious Dissonance, and Satan in the Origins of the German Reformation. *Historical Reflections*, 14(2): 143–286.
- Soergel, Philip M. 1993. *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Stenzel, Eileen J. 1994. "Maria Goretti: Rape and the Politics of Sainthood." In Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and M. Shawn Copeland (eds.), *Violence against Women*. London: SCM Press; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, pp. 91-98.

Table 1

Martyrs Beatified and Canonized by Periods

Years	Ove	rall	Age	0-18	Age	0-14	Age 1	5-18	No	age		
	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F		
Martyrs Beatified												
All	5213*	669	184	42	74	21	74	13	36	8		
Start-1800	872*	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0		
1801-1900	474	31	33	1	19	0	10	1	4	0		
1901-1977	737	160	28	9	9	4	19	5	0	0		
1978-2004 JPII	1034	232	29	9	5	1	12	4	12	4		
2005-2013 Ben XVI	774	120	70	20	36	15	14	1	20	4		
2013-2022 Francis	1322	126	21	3	3	1	18	2	0	0		
			Mai	rtyrs Can	onized							
All**	1407*†	101	50	13	15	4	23	5	12	4		
Start-1800	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
1801-1900	49	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0		
1901-1977	86	5	8	1	2	1	6	0	0	0		
1978-2004 JPII	403	91	22	8	7	3	15	5	0	0		
2005-2013 Ben XVI	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		
2013-2022 Francis	849*	5	16	4	4	0	0	0	12	4		

^{*}Includes 813 Martyrs of Otranto, which have data on gender (male) only for Antony Primaldi and no information on age at death.

†Includes 15 not previously beatified.

Note: No age signifies a child or youth martyr without information on specific age at death. These persons are included in the age 0-18 group. F denotes female.

Table 2
Characteristics of Martyrs

Years	Male	<=18	Italy	W. Eur.	E. Eur.	LAM	NAM	Asia	Africa	Lay	Lay Plus	Order	Founder	Married
	Beatifications													
All	.848	.047	.159*	.563	.047	.029	.002	.188	.012	.242	.264	.519	.001	.104
Start-1800	1	.065	.933*	.029	.002	0	0	.031	.005	.217	.300	.600	0	.085
1801-1900	.935	.125	.017	.160	.108	.084	0	.631	0	.308	.373	.517	0	.135
1901-1977	.783	.042	0	.573	.005	.004	.011	.372	.035	.305	.354	.305	0	.151
1978-2004 JPII	.776	.029	.004	.782	.105	.059	0	.043	.007	.232	.240	.501	.005	.096
2005-2013 Ben XVI	.844	.102	0	.696	.035	.021	.001	.244	.003	.260	.270	.668	.001	.142
2013-2022 Francis	.905	.016	.004	.806	.040	.022	0	.111	.017	.180	.188	.562	0	.051
						Canon	izations							
All	.830	.092	.579*	.061	.007	.043	.006	.278	.026	.437	.538	.271	.005	.213
Start-1800	1	0	0	.167	.111	0	0	0	.722	.056	.056	.889	0	0
1801-1900	1	.075	.020	.429	.020	0	0	.531	0	.265	.367	.531	0	.061
1901-1977	.942	.100	0	.581	.012	0	.093	.058	.256	.372	.372	.442	0	.093
1978-2004 JPII	.774	.056	0	.027	.015	.069	0	.888	0	.449	.583	.221	.007	.273
2005-2013 Ben XVI	1	.500	0	0	0	0	0	.500	.500	0	.500	.500	0	0
2013-2022 Francis	.865	.800	.958*	.001	0	.039	.001	.001	0	.892	.892	.027	0	.162

^{*}Includes 813 Martyrs of Otranto.

Note: Cells show fractions relative to total population with available data. The seven major regions refer to place of death. Western Europe excludes Italy. Lay plus refers to lay plus those in non-ordained religious orders, including novices, brothers, and lay brothers.

Table 3

Confessors Beatified and Canonized by Periods

Years	Ove	rall	Age	0-18	Age	0-14	Age 1	5-18					
	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F					
Confessors Beatified													
All	772	342	10	4	5	3	5	1					
Start-1800	108*	27	1	0	0	0	1	0					
1801-1900	56	12	0	0	0	0	0	0					
1901-1978	123	64	1	0	1	0	0	0					
1978-2004 JPII	312	147	3	2	3	2	0	0					
2005-2013 Ben XVI	95	51	3	1	0	0	3	1					
2013-2022 Francis	78	41	1	0	0	0	1	0					
		Con	fessors Ca	nonized									
All	367**	135†	4	1	3	1	1	0					
Start-1800	64	14	1	0	0	0	1	0					
1801-1900	42	8	0	0	0	0	0	0					
1901-1977	88	38	1	0	1	0	0	0					
1978-2004 JPII	81	35	0	0	0	0	0	0					
2005-2013 Ben XVI	42	18	0	0	0	0	0	0					
2013-2022 Francis	50	22	2	1	2	1	0	0					

^{*}Includes 6 beatified before 1588.

†Includes three not previously beatified.

Note: F denotes female.

^{**}Includes 20 not previously beatified.

Table 4
Characteristics of Confessors

Years	Male	<=18	<=14	Italy	W. Eur.	E. Eur.	LAM	NAM	Asia	Africa	Lay	Order	Founder	Married
	Confessors Beatified													
All	.557	.013	.005	.442	.332	.067	.080	.038	.027	.014	.104	.690	.439	.084
Start-1800	.750	.009	0	.556	.343	.056	.037	0	.009	0	.083	.843	.278	.120
1801-1900	.786	0	0	.571	.339	.018	.071	0	0	0	.054	.857	.161	.054
1901-1978	.488	.008	.008	.488	.423	.008	0	.049	.024	.008	.081	.691	.545	.081
1978-2004 JPII	.529	.010	.010	.397	.308	.087	.099	.058	.029	.022	.109	.657	.500	.080
2005-2013 Ben XVI	.463	.032	.011	.400	.305	.095	.105	.011	.074	.011	.095	.663	.442	.095
2013-2022 Francis	.474	.013	0	.346	.295	.103	.167	.051	.013	.026	.192	.526	.449	.064
						Confess	ors Can	onized						
All	.632	.011	.008	.439	.338	.063	.065	.041	.049	.005	.093	.703	.433	.087
Start-1800	.781	.016	0	.500	.359	.078	.047	0	.016	0	.125	.781	.312	.141
1801-1900	.810	0	0	.667	.214	.024	.024	0	.071	0	.048	.714	.381	.048
1901-1977	.568	.011	.011	.420	.466	.011	.034	.034	.023	.011	.068	.727	.432	.080
1978-2004 JPII	.568	.0120	0	.420	.284	.123	.074	.049	.037	.012	.074	.667	.494	.111
2005-2013 Ben XVI	.571	0	0	.286	.333	.095	.143	.095	.048	0	.095	.619	.524	.024
2013-2022 Francis	.560	.040	.040	.360	.280	.040	.120	.060	.140	0	.160	.660	.460	.080

Note: Cells show fractions relative to total population with available data. The seven major regions refer to place of death. Western Europe excludes Italy.

Table 5

Locations of Ceremonies for Beatifications and Canonizations

	Overall	Start-1978	John Paul II	Benedict XVI	Francis
		Beatified M	 lartyrs		
Total	5213*	2083*	1034	774	1322
Vatican (Rome)	3455*	2083*	865	507	0
Local	1758	0	169**	267	1322
		Canonized 1	Martyrs		
Total	1407*	153	403	2	849*
Vatican (Rome)	1294*	153	290	2	849*
Local	113	0	113***	0	0
		Beatified Co	nfessors		
Total	772	286	312	95	79
Vatican (Rome)	551	285	248	12	6
Local	221	1†	64	83	73
		Canonized C	onfessors		
Total	367	194	81	42	50
Vatican (Rome)	348	194	67	41	46
Local	19	0	14††	1	4

^{*}Includes 813 Martyrs of Otranto.

†1624 in Madrid.

††First local ceremony in 1988 in Messina, Italy.

^{**}First local ceremony in Manila in 1981 for 16 of the Martyrs of Japan.

^{***}First local ceremony in 1984 in Seoul for 105 of the Martyrs of Korea.

Table 6 Beatified Child and Youth Martyrs

	Tot	tal	Age	0-6	Age 7-14		Age 1	5-18	No a	ige
	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F
All	184	42	29	11	45	10	74	13	36	8
Start-1800	3	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
1801-1900	33	1	10	0	9	0	10	1	4	0
1901-1977	28	9	0	0	9	4	19	5	0	0
1978-2004 JPII	29	9	0	0	5	1	12	4	12	4
2005-2013 Ben XVI	70	20	19	11	17	4	14	1	20	4
2013-2022 Francis	21	3	0	0	3	1	18	2	0	0

	Lay		Lay I	Plus	Ord	er	Alone	
	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F
All	143	42	147	42	34	0	20	9
Start-1800	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
1801-1900	25	1	25	1	7	0	1	1
1901-1977	25	9	25	9	3	0	6	2
1978-2004 JPII	22	9	25	9	4	0	3	2
2005-2013 Ben XVI	56	20	57	20	13	0	2	1
2013-2022 Francis	12	3	12	3	7	0	8	3

Beatified Child and Youth Martyrs by Event

Martyr	s Spanish	Boxer	Portugal-	Martyrs	Martyrs	Martyrs
Japan	Civil War	Rebellion	Dutch War	Korea	Uganda	Brazil
83 (19)	26 (0)	16 (6)	12 (4)	8 (4)	7 (0)	5 (0)
Martyr	s Communism	Cristero	Guatemala	Martyrs	World	
Prague	post WWII	War	Civil War	Vietnam	War II	
3 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (1)	

Note: Female number in parentheses. Events not shown have zero child and youth martyrs. See note to Table 1.

Table 7, part I

Martyrs Beatified by Event

Event			Ove	rall	Age ()-18	Age	0-14	Age	15-18	No	age
	Death years	BEA years	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F
Spanish Civil War	1934-1939	1987-2021	2053	236	26	0	0	0	26	0	0	0
Martyrs of Otranto	1480	1771	813									
French Revolution	1792-1799	1906-2021	446	151	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Japan	1597-1639	1627-2008	437	93	83	19	52	14	7	1	24	4
English Reformation	1535-1681	1886-1987	288	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Korea	1791-1888	1925-2014	228	73	8	4	3	2	5	2	0	0
World War II	1939-1946	1971-2021	171	32	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Martyrs of Vietnam	1745-1862	1900-1951	113	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Boxer Rebellion	1900	1946-1955	86	34	16	6	5	2	11	4	0	0
Communism post WWII	1945-1995	1998-2019	84	8	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mongol Invasion (Second)	1260	1807	49	0	ŀ	0		0		0	-	0
Martyrs of Brazil	1570	1854	40	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Cristero War	1926-1931	1988-2005	39	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Portugal-Dutch War	1645	2000	29	5	12	4	0	0	0	0	12	4
Martyrs of Uganda	1885-1886	1920	22	0	7	0	1	0	6	0	0	0
Algerian Civil War	1994-1996	2018	19	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Gorkum	1572	1675	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of China	1747-1856	1889-1900	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Ireland	1579-1654	1992	17	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Martyrs of Laos	1954-1969	2016	17	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Guatemala Civil War	1980-1991	2017-2021	14	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Prague	1611	2012	14	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0

Note: No age signifies a child or youth martyr without information on specific age at death. These persons are included in the age 0-18 group. F denotes female. Martyrs of Otranto case has information on gender for only one person. Martyrs of Otranto and Mongol Invasion cases have no data on age at death.

Table 7, part II

Martyrs Canonized by Event

			Ove	rall	Age 0-	-18	Age 0-	-14	Age	15-18	No a	ige
	Death years	CAN years	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F	All	F
Spanish Civil War	1934, 1936	1999, 2013	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Otranto	1480	2013	813									
French Revolution	1792	2016	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Japan	1597-1637	1862-1987	42	2	4	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
English Reformation	1535-1681	1935-1975	47	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Korea	1838-1867	1984	105	49	4	2	2	1	2	1	0	0
World War II	1941-1942	1982, 1998	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Vietnam	1745-1862	1988-1992	113	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Boxer Rebellion	1900	2000	86	34	16	6	5	2	11	4	0	0
Communism post WWII			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongol Invasion (Second)	1260		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Brazil			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cristero War	1926-1928	2000, 2016	25	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Portugal-Dutch War	1645	2017	29	5	12	4	0	0	0	0	12	4
Martyrs of Uganda	1885-1886	1964	22	0	7	0	1	0	6	0	0	0
Algerian Civil War	1994-1996		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Gorkum	1572	1867	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of China	1747-1856	1996, 2000	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Ireland	1579-1654		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Laos	1954-1969		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala Civil War			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Martyrs of Prague	1611		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Note: See note to Table 7, part I.

Table 8 Years of Beatification and Canonization for Martyrs of Spanish Civil War

Year	Martyrs Beatified	Martyrs Canonized
	John Paul	II
1987	3	
1989	26	
1990	11	10
1992	122	
1993	11	1
1995	45	
1997	2	
1998	10	
1999	8	
2001	233	
	Total=471	Total=11
	Benedict X	VI
2005	8	
2007	498	
2010	1	
2011	23	
	Total=530	Total=0
	Francis	
2013	522	
2014	1	
2015	47	
2016	13	
2017	291	
2018	16	
2019	24	
2020	1	
2021	137	
	Total=1052	Total=0
	Overall total=2053	Overall total=11

Table 9 Locations of Death for Martyrs of Spanish Civil War

Province of Death	Martyrs	Martyrs	Province Population	Martyrs Beatified
	Beatified	Canonized	1930 (1000s)*	per 1000 pop.
Madrid	431	1	1383	0.31
Barcelona	311		1801	0.17
Valencia	219		1042	0.21
Tarragona	140	1	351	0.40
Lleida	126		314	0.40
Cordoba	113		669	0.17
Almeria	110		342	0.32
Huesca	81		243	0.33
Ciudad Real	72		492	0.15
Asturias (Oviedo)	53	9	792	0.07
Toledo	52		489	0.11
Cantabria (Santander)	49		364	0.13
Malaga	43		613	0.07
Castellon	34		309	0.11
Teruel	31		253	0.12
Badajoz	24		702	0.03
Cuenca	23		310	0.07
Girona	23		326	0.07
Murcia	21		645	0.03
Jaen	19		674	0.03
Guadalajara	18		204	0.09
Granada	17		644	0.03
Alicante	15		546	0.03
Albacete	5		333	0.02
Avila	5		221	0.02
Vizcaya	5		485	0.01
Sevilla	4		805	0.00
Burgos	2		355	0.01
Palencia	2		208	0.01
Leon	1		442	0.00
Navarra	1		346	0.00
Baleares	1		366	0.00
Zamora	1		280	0.00
Zaragoza	1		536	0.00
Other provinces	0		5677	0.00
Spain total	2053	11	23560	0.09

^{*}Population data by province are from Instituto Nacional de Estadística. (1930). *Número de habitantes de las provincias y de las capitales de provincia según los Censos de población formados a partir del año de 1900*, Table V, retrieved from https://www.ine.es/inebaseweb/25687.do#.