

CHAPTER XXI

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III AND THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

REFERENCES: FYFFE, *Modern Europe*, Chapter XX., pp. 809-23; Chapters XXI.-XXII.; PHILLIPS, *Modern Europe*, Chapters XIV.-XV.; SEIGNOBOS, *Europe Since 1814*, Chapter VI., pp. 166-76; Chapter XI., pp. 346-61; ANDREWS, *Modern Europe*, Vol. II., Chapters I.-III.; BOLTON KING, *History of Italian Unity*, Vol. II.; STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy*; CESARESCO, *Cavour*; MAZADE, *Cavour*.

SOURCE READINGS: ROBINSON, *Readings*, Vol. II., Chapter XL. (Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel, etc.); ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Documents*; GARIBALDI, *Autobiography*, 3 vols.; MAZZINI, *Life and Writings*, 6 vols.

Louis Napoleon favors the monarchical elements.

THE indication furnished by the choice of Louis Napoleon as president, that France did not really want a republic, was converted into positive proof by the elections of May, 1849, to the Legislative Assembly. The country returned an immense monarchical majority, and the only reason the republic was not immediately overthrown lay in the circumstance that the monarchists were divided into three groups: legitimists, favoring the elder Bourbon line; Orleanists, devoted to the family of Louis Philippe, and a rising Bonapartist faction, supporting the president. Louis Napoleon, while doing his best to strengthen his personal supporters, encouraged a combination of all the monarchists to crush the republicans. The Assembly soon showed its hand in a suc-

cession of conservative measures of which the crowning one was the limitation (1850) of universal suffrage, perhaps the greatest achievement of the late revolution. An even less defensible measure—already referred to in the previous chapter—had been adopted in the spring of 1849 and may be laid principally at the door of the president himself. In order to curry favor with the monarchists and Catholics—the combined conservative element—Louis Napoleon sent an expedition against Mazzini's Roman republic, thereby outraging the liberal sentiment of Europe even more than the Austrians did by their reconquest of Lombardy.

Not for a year or two did the monarchical majority of the Chamber begin to understand that Louis Napoleon's ambition was entirely personal, and therefore hostile to their own plans. He was most skilful in sounding the chords of the national memory, and before long was frequently received by the public with the old rallying cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" and even "*Vive l'empereur!*" The last veil fell from his plans when, in 1851, he presented himself before the legislature with the request to alter the constitution for his own advantage. The constitution fixed the presidential term at four years, without the right to reëlection. As by the operation of this article Louis Napoleon would have become a private citizen in 1852, he urged repeal upon the Chamber. When the Chamber refused, he resolved, in order to save himself, to overthrow the government and constitution.

The *coup d'état* was set for December 2, 1851. As soon as the army was won over, the success of the conspirators was certain. While the troops occupied Paris, closed the hall of the deputies, and put the president's leading opponents under lock and key, the president himself announced by placard the return to the system of his famous uncle as embodied in the Constitution of the Year VIII. The country,

He appeals to the national memory.

The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851.

called upon to express its opinion upon these proceedings, indorsed the *coup d'état* by a large majority. Louis Napoleon thereupon completed his government on the basis of a granted constitution, which, while preserving some liberal forms, as, for instance, a legislative body, practically concentrated the whole power in the hands of the chief executive. There was nothing left to make the triumph complete but to cull its last fruits, and exactly a year after the *coup d'état* the president assumed the title Emperor Napoleon III.

The new emperor never forgot that he was a usurper and could maintain his throne only with the favor of the French people. As they were sure to exhibit increasing discontent with a domestic *régime* excluding them from all political activity, he resolved to distract their attention by a brilliant foreign policy. This was taking a page from the note-book of Napoleon I., who frequently remarked that all the French people wanted to satisfy them was military glory. Whither the doctrine led that great man we are aware. Napoleon III., too, at first had his triumphs, but without ever climbing as high as his exemplar, managed in the end to fall much lower.

The first chance for playing a rôle presented itself in the east. The weakness shown by the Ottoman empire in the Greek War of Liberation became greater in the succeeding decades, and led the Czar to imagine that the death-agony was at hand. He referred to the Sultan habitually as "the sick man," and persuaded himself that England and Russia between them ought to make ready to divide the heritage. But England preferred the Sultan to the Czar at Constantinople and resolved to act the part of champion of the Turkish empire. There were other complications, which led finally to the Czar's demanding (April, 1853) to be recognized as protector of all Greek Christians resident in Turkey. As this would have made Nicholas co-sovereign with the Sultan

The adventurous policy of Napoleon III.

Trouble between Turkey and Russia.

in the Turkish dominions, the English ambassador urged his *protégé* to refuse. The answer of the Russians was to occupy the Roumanian principalities in order to enforce their claims, and war followed between them and the Turks.

But Turkey was not left alone this time as in 1828-29. England was in honor bound to help her; and though no vital French interest was at stake, Napoleon, glad to find an occasion to put himself forward, offered England his alliance. Together the two western powers signed a treaty with Turkey (March, 1854) and declared war upon Russia. What had threatened at first to be merely another Turco-Russian conflict, thus became a European war, the first on any considerable scale since the Napoleonic struggle.

In the first part of the campaign of 1854 the Russians retired from Roumania into their own territory and stood on the defensive. The allies therefore were obliged to agree upon some point for attack, and after much waste of time hit upon the fortress of Sebastopol in the Crimea. The war practically reduced itself to the siege of this great stronghold, which the Russians defended skilfully and manfully for a whole year. Its fall in September, 1855, discouraged the Russians greatly; and as Czar Nicholas, whose pretensions had caused the war, died during the siege, to be succeeded by his humane and moderate son, Alexander II., negotiations could be begun, which led to the signing of the Peace of Paris (March, 1856). As Turkey had been the ally of France and England, the general effect of the peace was a victory of the Sultan over his ancient foe, the Czar. The decadent and contemptible Ottoman Empire had all its possessions guaranteed by the powers, who engaged not to interfere in its affairs. This plainly meant the delivering over of the Balkan Christians to the tender mercies of the Sultan. But nobody seemed to care as long as the provision robbed Russia of her influence at Constantinople. The fear of

England and France support Turkey.

The Crimean War, 1854-56.

The Peace of Paris, 1856.

Russia was shown in a further article, by which she was forbidden to keep warships in the Black Sea.

Napoleon's
prestige.

The Crimean War, concluded at Paris under the eyes of Napoleon, greatly enhanced his influence; though, as already remarked, it would be hard to say what advantage France reaped therefrom. Napoleon III.'s policy was personal, not national. That is the conclusion which his whole reign confirms, and particularly the steps he now took in the Italian question.

Napoleon
reopens the
Italian ques-
tion.

Napoleon, in spite of his name, was not so much a warrior as a clever and juggling politician endowed with ambition and a few general ideas. Among them was that of nationality—every nation must come into its own—and it is one of the pleasanter sides of Napoleon that he was really willing to risk something to bring his idea to realization. The spectacle of a nation in chains had excited his sympathy for Italy even when a lad, and now led him to plan the liberation of the peninsula from Austrian rule—a generous impulse without doubt, but one explained by his personal predilections, not grounded in the necessities of the French state of which he was the temporary guardian.

Cavour allies
himself with
Napoleon.

Italy since the failure of the rising of 1848 was dominated by Austria. The hopes and prayers of the patriots turned to Sardinia-Piedmont, and this state, under Victor Emmanuel II. and his great minister, Cavour, was systematically preparing itself for a new struggle. But Cavour was convinced that without the help of a great power Sardinia could not wage a victorious war against Austria. The campaign of 1848-49 had pointed this lesson. Cautiously Cavour sought the friendship of Napoleon; joined, merely to put him under obligation, in the Crimean War; waved the national idea before his eyes; and finally concluded with him a formal alliance (Treaty of Plombières, 1858). The alliance was directed against Austria, which was to be driven out of Italy.

The war began in the spring of 1859, and was over in a few weeks. By two victories, at Magenta and at Solferino, the allies—France and Sardinia—drove the Austrians out of Lombardy back upon the Quadrilateral. Italy was ablaze with bonfires and hailed Napoleon, wherever he appeared, with tumultuous enthusiasm. But much remained to be done; the Quadrilateral, one of the strongest defensive positions of Europe, must be taken before Italy would be free. At that juncture occurred a dramatic change. Just as everybody was expecting news of another great battle, the telegraph flashed the information that Napoleon and Francis Joseph had had a personal interview and arranged a peace (July). Austria agreed to give up Lombardy, but was permitted to retain Venetia, thus retaining a powerful foothold in the peninsula. Victor Emmanuel II. and Cavour, though deeply disappointed, bowed to the inevitable, comforted by the reflection that Italian unity had in one short spring made gigantic strides.

The war of
1859.

The considerations which moved Napoleon to his sudden turn-about were manifold. He was not a masterful character and easily fell victim to his fears. The military problems of breaking through the Quadrilateral alarmed him, Germany, by arming on the Rhine frontier, was threatening his flank, and, above all, the movement in Italy filled him with dismay. He handed over Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel and hurried home, resolved to wash his hands of the troublesome Italian matter. He had entered the war prepared to do something for the cause of the Italian nationality, but he had not foreseen the immense turmoil which the war caused in the peninsula.

Napoleon's
reasons for
making peace.

To this turmoil we must now give attention, for it introduces us to the first stage in the history of Italian unification. Elated by the defeat of the Austrian foe, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna, practically the

Annexations
of Sardinia in
northern Italy.

whole of central Italy, drove out their rulers and declared for annexation to Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel, pleased though he was, dared not accept these territories without the consent of Napoleon. Feverish negotiations followed, which ended in an agreement that permitted the annexations in return for the cession to France of Savoy and Nice. Bis-



marck referred to the transaction ironically as Napoleon's *pourboire* (waiter's tip) for services rendered. The payment was resented at the Sardinian court, but against it stood the immense advantage of Lombardy and the central states. Sardinia had in the course of a single year absorbed northern Italy except Venice. This is the first step in the unification of the peninsula.

The second was the capture the next year (1860) of the south, accomplished by the adventurous expedition of that famous soldier of fortune, Garibaldi. This spirited leader secretly gathered one thousand volunteers about him and set sail for Sicily. They had only to show themselves with the national colors for the Sicilians to toss their hats into the air and abandon the hated Bourbon king. Sicily conquered, Garibaldi sailed across the straits to the mainland, and again the proof was furnished that the Bourbon dynasty had never taken root among the people. The bold invader was acclaimed as a saviour wherever he appeared, and in September entered the city of Naples in triumph. The fugitive king, Francis II., made his last stand at the fortress of Gaeta, to pass at its surrender into life-long exile. His extensive kingdom (Naples and Sicily) declared by popular vote for annexation to Sardinia. The Garibaldians at the same time resolved to round off the previous Italian annexations in the center, and were on the point of seizing the Marches and Umbria, belonging to the States of the Church, when Cavour interposed and occupied them with the Sardinian army. It was only with difficulty that Garibaldi was dissuaded from attempting to seize Rome itself. The second stage of Italian unification had yielded so considerable a harvest that only Venetia and Rome were still outside the national state. As Venetia was held by Austria, and Rome guarded by French troops who had never discontinued their occupation begun in 1849, the attempt to seize either of these provinces meant war with a great power, and for such audacity Victor Emmanuel was not prepared. The progress of the unitarian movement was therefore adjourned to a more auspicious time.

In view of this situation the king and his great councillor, Cavour, resolved to inaugurate a period of rest and recuperation. Technically there existed only a kingdom of Sardinia

Garibaldi captures Sicily and Naples.

Victor Emmanuel is proclaimed king of Italy, 1861.

with annexations several times the size of the little state, which had championed the national cause. In February, 1861, deputies from all the absorbed sections met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. It was a proud and uplifting moment in the history of a brave people. But there was still much work ahead; an administration, finance, army and navy had all to be created, not to mention the necessity of finding a *modus vivendi* with the Pope, who, outraged by his spoliation, had excommunicated the king, Cavour, his rebellious subjects—in fact, everybody connected with the revolution. The new constructive work had hardly been begun when the great Cavour died (June, 1861), and the cloak of the statesman fell upon the shoulders of well-meaning but uninspired politicians.

Italy acquires
Venetia, 1866.

Victor Emmanuel, conscious that his task was incomplete, continued to look longingly toward Venetia and Rome, but was resolved to bide his time. Two great European crises furnished him the opportunity to realize his hopes. In the year 1866 there broke out the long-threatening war in Germany between Austria and Prussia. Prussia naturally appealed to Italy for help, and the two powers, upon both of whom Austria rested like an incubus, made an alliance. Austria was obliged to face two enemies at once; and although victorious over Italy, defeating her army at Custoza (June 24th) and her navy at Lissa in the Adriatic (July 20th) was so conclusively crushed by Prussia at Sadowa that she had to sign a peace. In the hope of winning French favor, the emperor of Austria had, on receipt of the news of Sadowa, handed over Venetia as a present to Napoleon III., but the French emperor at the conclusion of peace transferred the province to Victor Emmanuel. Venetia was presently incorporated with Italy, and in November the old republic of St. Mark gave the king a stirring and patriotic welcome.

Rome now alone remained outside the reconstituted na-

tion. If the question had been submitted to the vote of the Romans whether they wished to be governed by the Pope or by the king, there can be no doubt for whom they would have declared. But French troops held the city for the Pope, and Napoleon made it plain that much as he had done for Italian unity, his complaisance stopped at the walls of the Eternal City. To snatch Rome from the Pope would have precipitated a French war. Again the cautious Victor Emmanuel resolved to be patient and let time work for him. In the year 1870 broke out the famous war between France and Prussia; and although the king of Italy took no hand in it, his country profited from the conflict. Napoleon, hard pressed, withdrew his troops from Rome and shortly after was completely overwhelmed at Sedan. There was now no one to hinder the march upon Rome. In September, 1870, the Italian army appeared before the gates and forced its way into the city amid the plaudits of the citizens. Pius IX., abandoned by the Catholic powers, fulminated anathemas upon his despoilers, but was permitted to retain the Vatican palace and live there unmolested. The Vatican, flanking St. Peter's Church, has since been the Pope's official residence, but the ancient City of the Seven Hills was declared the capital of the Italian state.

Italy acquires
Rome, 1870.