

The patriots of the Papal States were impatient, and could scarcely be restrained as they grasped their arms and listened to the blast of Garibaldi's bugles. The eyes of all Europe and America were turned to Italy. The popular sympathies all over the world were with the Italian patriots.

After many severe conflicts, Garibaldi, on the 8th of September, 1860, at the head of his staff, entered Naples in triumph. The whole population rose *en masse* to welcome him. His army of thirty thousand troops followed him in easy marches, everywhere welcomed by the most hearty acclaim of the Neapolitan population.

The king, Francis II., upon the approach of Garibaldi, fled, taking with him thirty thousand mercenary troops, to Gaëta, a seaport about sixty miles north-west of Naples. Nearly the whole Neapolitan fleet, with an immense amount of military stores, and a large quantity of money in the treasury, fell into the hands of Garibaldi. He immediately organized a provisional government, and proclaimed Victor Emanuel king of Italy.

The greatest panic prevailed at Rome. Insurrections were everywhere developing themselves throughout the Papal States. The pope had enlisted in his army a large number of foreign soldiers to hold the native Italians in subjection. But there were French troops in Rome protecting the pope. This French intervention requires a chapter.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### FRENCH INTERVENTION.

FROM A. D. 1860 TO A. D. 1870.

BIRTH AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE POPE.—HIS SPIRIT OF REFORM.—ASSASSINATION OF COUNT ROSSI.—INSURRECTION IN ROME.—FLIGHT OF THE POPE.—INTERVENTION OF AUSTRIA, NAPLES, AND SPAIN.—RECKLESSNESS OF THE INSURGENTS.—FRENCH INTERVENTION.—THE MODERATE REPUBLICANS AND THE REDS.—VIEWS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.—THE CAPTURE OF ROME.—INSURRECTION IN PARIS.—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

IN this chapter it will be necessary to turn back a few pages in the volume of history, that we may give our readers a consecutive narrative of the causes and results of the intervention of France in behalf of the States of the Church. It is a question upon which the minds of men are greatly divided; the Catholic community being with great unanimity on one side, the Protestant on the other. The writer will content himself in giving simply the historical facts,—facts which well-informed men of both parties will admit to be true. From these facts, each reader can deduce such conclusions as may be in accordance with his predilections.

The pope, Giovanni Mastai, was the second son of Count Mastai Ferretti. His parents were wealthy, and resided in the ancient town of Sinigallia, on the Adriatic, where Giovanni was born on the 13th of May, 1792. As his elder brother inherited the title and the estate, Giovanni entered the army, and became a member of the Pope's Guard. At Rome he fell in love with a beautiful girl named Chiara Colonna. She refused his addresses. His chagrin was so great, that he renounced the world, and entered the church.



He soon became distinguished for his apostolic virtues, his gentleness, and his unbounded charities.\*

One of the first acts of the pope, upon the commencement of his reign in 1846, was to issue an act of general amnesty for all political offences. This opened the prison-doors to nearly three thousand captives, many of whom were of distinguished rank. These released captives, in a dense crowd, with their friends, repaired to the Palace of the Quirinal to express their gratitude. The pope appeared upon the balcony to give his blessing to the multitude. Illuminations blazed, and rejoicings were diffused, throughout the whole city. This was on the 18th of July, 1846.

Count Rossi, a man distinguished for his virtues and abilities, was prime-minister of the pope. On the 15th of November, 1848, as he was on his way to the Chamber, a band of assassins, belonging to the Revolutionary party, in broad day, surrounded him, and plunged their daggers into his heart. The papal government was so weak, that this one assassination seems to have annihilated it. The deputies in the Chamber, each thinking that he was marked for assassination, fled in dismay. The triumphant revolutionary clubs in Rome, taking advantage of the consternation, prepared to force a revolutionary government upon the pope.

The pontifical territory then consisted of nineteen States, embracing seventeen thousand square miles, and a population of about three millions. A few hundred adventurers in Rome, armed to the teeth, without consulting these millions, endeavored to force their views of government upon them.

The day after the assassination, several hundred of these desperadoes, followed by an immense crowd, marched to the Palace of the Quirinal with a list of several of their partisans, whom they demanded that the pope should appoint as his ministers. The Swiss Guard, one hundred in number, closed the gates against them. With cannon and musketry the gates were blown open, and a prelate was shot in the ante-

\* Italy and the War of 1859, p. 266.

chamber of the pope. The delegation broke into the chamber of the pontiff, and, with loud menaces, compelled him to sign their appointments.

The pope was now a prisoner in his palace, and powerless. Through the assistance of the Bavarian minister, Count Spaur, he effected his escape. The count obtained passports for two fictitious personages, — Dr. Kann and lady from Munich. The pope represented the doctor; the countess assumed to be the doctor's wife; while the count himself mounted the box as a servant. Under this guise, in the carriage of the Bavarian minister, the fugitives reached Gaëta, the first town on the Neapolitan frontier. Rome was thus left in the hands of the revolutionists. These events took place in November, 1848, one month before the election of Louis Napoleon as President of the French Republic. General Cavaignac was at that time dictator of France.

It was manifest to all reflecting men that the revolutionists were acting insanelly, even upon the admission that their motives were right, and that the results at which they aimed would be beneficial if accomplished. Count Rossi, whom they had assassinated, was the sincere friend of reform. He knew perfectly well, that, even if there were entire unanimity in the Papal States in favor of reform, Austria would instantly send in an army, and crush out every vestige of revolution. What could three millions do to resist thirty millions? Moreover, it was not improbable that the friends of revolution, even in Italy, were decidedly in the minority. In an earnest appeal to the insurgents, Count Rossi said, —

“What do you propose to yourselves by your incessant provocations against Austria? It is not threatening you. It confines itself to the limits which the treaties have assigned. Is it a war of independence which you would invoke? Let us, then, calculate your forces. You have sixty thousand regular troops in Piedmont,\* and not a man more. You speak of the enthusiasm of the Italian populations. I

\* It is to be remembered that this was before the emancipation of Sardinia by the aid of France. The insurgents probably hoped the patriots all over Italy would rise against Austria.



know them. Traverse the provinces from end to end : see if a heart beats, if a man moves, if an arm is ready to commence the fight. The Piedmontese once beaten, the Austrians may go from Reggio to Calabria without meeting a single Italian.

"I understand you : you will apply to France! A fine result, truly, of the war of independence, — to bring foreign armies upon your soil! The Austrians and the French fighting on Italian soil! — is not that your eternal, your lamentable history? You would be independent? France is so already. France is not a corporal in the service of Italy. She makes war when and for whom she pleases. She neither puts her standards nor her battalions at the disposal of any one else." \*

The impulsive revolutionists did not need this warning. It was alarmingly manifest to General Cavaignac and the dictatorial government in France that Austria would instantly intervene, not to aid the Romans in the establishment of a republic, but to reseat the pope upon his throne, and to surround him with such influences as to render any essential popular reform hereafter impossible. The pope, being thus under supreme obligation to the Austrians, regaining and holding his power under the protection of the Austrian armies, would be the intimate ally of Austria in enforcing absolutist principles throughout Europe, and in frowning down every movement for popular reform.

Thus the papal power, which is decidedly the greatest moral power in the world, controlling the consciences of two hundred millions of people, would be held in entire subservience to Austria. France, struggling to throw off the fetters of the old *régimes*, could not but regard this immense ascendancy of Austria with alarm. It was certain that Austria would thus move. She was already marshalling her armies with that intent. All the Catholics in Rome, friends of the pope, would welcome these troops as deliverers. The result could not be doubtful.

Under these circumstances, General Cavaignac, as dictator,

\* D'Hausonville, vol. ii. p. 521.

acting in behalf of Catholic France, immediately despatched three steam-frigates to Civita Vecchia to take the holy father under the protection of the French government. It was a political movement, in order that the papal government might be brought under the influence of the liberal policy of France, rather than under the domination of the absolutism of Austria. The commander of the expedition was left much to his own discretion in reference to the detail of operations; while he was authorized to rescue the pope, and to convey him to France if he would accept French hospitality.

Though General Cavaignac was at this time dictator, France was nominally a republic, and measures were in progress for the organization of a new government on the principles of republicanism. Still, in the republican ranks, there were two parties, — the Moderates, and the Radicals, or Reds, — who were bitterly hostile to each other. The Reds hoped that this military expedition would exert all its influence to establish a republic in Rome. The Moderates feared that this decisive action would alarm all the courts in Europe; that it would be regarded as a proclamation that the French republic was devoting itself to the propagation of revolutionary principles, seeking the overthrow of every throne; and that this would array, as in the days of Napoleon I., all the monarchies of Europe against republican France. On a debate upon this question in the French Chambers, M. Barrot said, —

"If we allow Austria time to go to the Eternal City, it will be, in the first place, a very serious injury to French influence in Italy. It will also insure the re-establishment of absolutism at Rome as in the time of Gregory XVI. Let us, then, intervene ourselves, that the cabinet of Vienna may not acquire an undue influence in Italy, and that we may prove a safeguard to Roman liberty." \*

Protestants generally are not aware of the degree of veneration with which the pope is regarded by members of the Roman-Catholic Church. The Abbé J. H. Mignon writes, —

\* MM. Gallix et Guy, p. 197.



"There is one name which my lips never pronounce but with profound veneration. It recalls to me in my mature years, as in my more tender youth, the power and the goodness of Christ visibly represented on earth; and the day in which that name shall fall upon my ear, without awakening in me filial respect, I shall believe that an impious thought has come to succeed in the depths of my soul that pure faith which I have imbibed with my mother's milk. This name is that of the pope." \*

It is estimated that the Catholic communion in Europe numbers over two hundred millions. The government of a Catholic country which should ignore a sentiment so profound and so widely disseminated would be insane.

Soon after this, France, with great unanimity, elected Louis Napoleon — the grandson of Josephine, and the son of Louis Bonaparte and of Hortense — president of the newly-formed republic. The difficulties and embarrassments which surrounded the new government were of the most formidable kind.

"It was true that Louis Napoleon had many a stormy element to encounter; had to pass all the quicksands and shoals of Parisian capriciousness; to set upon and subdue the boisterous, bloody mountain; to bring order out of the chaos of revolution; to quiet the minds of the people of France, and re-assure them that there was sufficient stability, conservatism, and virtue in society to preserve it. He managed this so steadily as to elicit confidence, excite hope, and rally around himself those who desired domestic peace, the preservation of property, and the protection of life. His name, amid all the wild tumults of his two-years' presidency, loomed up as a landmark of safety, a breakwater against the angry waves of discord, a symbol of future solidity and rest." †

At the time that Louis Napoleon was elected president, the pope was still a fugitive at Gaëta, and the French steamers had accomplished nothing. The pope had transferred

\* *Projet de Solution de la Question Romaine*, par l'Abbé J. H. Mignon.

† *Italy and the War of 1859*, p. 89.

his court from Rome to Gaëta. The pontifical government was still recognized by all Europe, and the ambassadors of all the foreign courts had followed the pontiff to his retreat. The leaders of the insurrection in Rome were generally avowed unbelievers in Christianity, revilers of all religion. As such, they were very obnoxious to the Catholics throughout Europe. It was denied that they represented the opinions of the Roman people, but that they and their followers were desperate men, who from all parts of Europe had flocked to Rome, allured by the attractions of that license and plunder which revolutions ever afford. Austria had already gathered a powerful army, which was just ready to move to replace the pope upon his throne in the Vatican.

The president of the French republic immediately sent General Oudinot, with a detachment of three thousand five hundred men, to Civita Vecchia. The expedition sailed from Toulon, and entered the harbor of Civita Vecchia on the 25th of April, 1849. As the troops disembarked, General Oudinot issued the following proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of the Roman States! a French army corps has landed upon your territory. It is not its object to exercise an oppressive influence, or to impose upon you a government not conformed to your wishes. The corps comes only to preserve you from the greatest misfortunes, and to facilitate, if it can, the establishment of a *régime* equally separated from the abuses forever destroyed by the illustrious Pius IX., and from the anarchy of these last times."

The revolutionary assembly at Rome feared that the expedition imperilled the revolutionary government which it had adopted, and that the restoration of the pope would prove the overthrow of the republic. It called that government a republic which was established without any appeal to the suffrages of the people of the Roman States, and probably in opposition to their wishes. The revolutionary government accordingly closed the gates of Rome, manned the forts and ramparts, and opened fire upon the approaching columns of Oudinot. After a pretty severe battle, the



French were driven back with considerable loss. Re-enforcements were immediately despatched to General Oudinot; and in a letter to him, dated the 8th of May, 1849, the president wrote, —

“The intelligence announcing the unforeseen resistance you have met under the walls of Rome has given me much pain. I had expected that the inhabitants of Rome, opening their eyes to evident reason, would receive with joy an army that came amongst them to accomplish a benevolent and disinterested mission.”

In the first message of the president of the French republic to the Corps Législatif we find the following statement of the motives which led to the intervention:—

“At Rome, a revolution has been effected which deeply moved the Catholic and the liberal world. During the last two years, we have seen in the Holy See a pontiff who has taken the initiative in useful reforms, and whose name, repeated in hymns of gratitude from one end of Italy to another, was the symbol of liberty, and the pledge of all hopes; when suddenly it was heard with astonishment, that that sovereign, lately the idol of his people, had been constrained to fly furtively from his capitol.

“The acts of aggression which compelled Pius IX. to leave Rome, appear, in the eyes of Europe, to be the work of a conspiracy, rather than the spontaneous movement of a people who could not, in a moment, have passed from the most lively enthusiasm to the most afflictive ingratitude. The Catholic powers sent ambassadors to Gaëta to deliberate upon the important interests of the papacy. France was represented there. She listened to all parties without taking sides. Austria, in concert with Naples, responding to an appeal from the Holy Father, notified the French government that these two powers had decided to march upon Rome, to re-establish there unconditionally the authority of the pope.

“Being thus obliged to take some action, there were but three courses which we could pursue, — either to oppose by

arms all intervention (and in that case we should break with all Catholic Europe) for the sole interest of the Roman republic, which we have not recognized; or to leave the three coalesced powers\* to re-establish at their pleasure, and unconditionally, the papal authority; or to exercise, of our own accord, direct and independent action.

“The government of the republic adopted the latter course. It seemed to us easy to satisfy the Romans; that, pressed on all sides, they had no chance of safety but from us; that, if our presence had for its result the return of Pius IX., that sovereign, faithful to himself, would take back with him reconciliation and liberty; that we, being once at Rome, would guarantee the integrity of the territory by taking away from Austria all pretext for entering Romagna. We even hoped that our flag, planted without resistance in the centre of Italy, would have extended its protective influence over the whole of the peninsula, to none of whose griefs can we ever be indifferent.

“Our expeditionary corps, small in numbers, since serious resistance had not been anticipated, disembarked at Civita Vecchia; and the government is instructed, that if, on the same day, it could have arrived at Rome, the gates would have been thrown open with joy. But, while General Oudinot was notifying the government at Rome of his arrival, Garibaldi entered there at the head of troops formed of refugees from all parts of Italy, and even from the rest of Europe. His presence, as may be imagined, increased suddenly the force of the party of resistance.

“On the 30th of April, six thousand of our soldiers presented themselves before the walls of Rome. They were received with cannon-shot. Some even, drawn into a snare, were taken prisoners. We all must mourn over the blood shed on that sad day.† That unexpected conflict, without

\* Austria, Naples, and Spain which had also joined the coalition.

† “In this untoward affair, the French lost four officers and one hundred and eighty men killed, eleven officers and four hundred men wounded, and eleven officers and five hundred and sixty men made prisoners; while the entire loss on the side of the Romans was only three hundred and twenty.” — *Ann. Hist.*, 1849, p. 62<sup>a</sup>.



changing the final accomplishment of our enterprise, has paralyzed our kind intentions, and rendered vain the efforts of our negotiators.

General Oudinot repaired to Palos to await re-enforcements. Soon eight regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a train of artillery, reached him. In the mean time, a united army of Austrians, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, fifteen thousand in number, were advancing upon Rome. General Oudinot declining any co-operation with these forces, and being then at the head of twenty-eight thousand men with ninety pieces of artillery, marched to Rome, and, on the 2d of June, commenced the siege of the city. The assault was conducted in such a way as not to imperil the inestimable treasures of art with which the city abounded. In the instructions sent to General Oudinot, there was written, —

“The President wishes that the monuments of Rome, which are the admiration of all civilized people, should be honored and protected. Act so that art and history may not have occasion to deplore the ravages inseparable from a siege. If you are forced to carry the city by assault, remind your soldiers that they are not at war with the inhabitants of Rome, but with their oppressors and their enemies. Burn more powder if necessary. Put off the capture of the city a day or two to spare the blood of our brave soldiers.”

The executive government at Rome consisted essentially of three men, — Mazzini, Annelini, and Saffi. Before commencing the siege, the French government sent a commission to the triumvirate, stating that, should France withdraw, Austria would inevitably and immediately occupy Rome; that French protection would secure equal rights for all; and that Austrian domination would inevitably doom Italy to civil and ecclesiastical absolutism.

These representations produced no apparent effect upon the revolutionary party at Rome. They strengthened the fortifications, mounted heavy pieces of artillery, and prepared for a vigorous defence. There were twenty thousand

armed men within the walls, with two hundred pieces of artillery and an ample supply of ammunition. It was hoped, that, by prolonging the defence until fall, the malaria of the Campagna would prove more fatal than bullet or sword, and would either destroy the besiegers, or put them to flight.

Early in June, General Oudinot, at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, and with ninety pieces of artillery, again approached the walls of Rome. The siege and the defence were conducted alike with great energy. The French were embarrassed in their operations by their great desire to avoid injuring any of the monuments of antiquity with which the city abounded. The siege commenced on the 2d of June. On the 2d of July, a practical breach was made. At three o'clock in the morning an advance bastion was carried by assault, and the French were in possession of the city. They immediately proclaimed the re-establishment of the papal authority under the protection of France. The triumvirate, with five thousand men, fled from the city at midnight, after having issued the following proclamation:—

“Romans! in the darkness of the night, by means of treason, the enemy has set foot on the breach. Arise, ye people, in your might! Destroy him! Fill the breach with his carcasses! Blast the enemy, the accursed of God, who dare touch the sacred walls of Rome! While Oudinot resorts to this infamous act, France rises up, and recalls its troops from this work of invasion. One more effort, Romans, and your country is saved forever. Rome, by its constancy, regenerates all Europe. In the name of your fathers, in the name of your future hopes, arise, and give battle! Arise, and conquer! One prayer to the God of battles, one thought to you: faithful brethren, one hand to your arms! Every man becomes a hero. This day decides the fate of Rome and of the republic.  
“MAZZINI, ANNELINI, SAFFI.”

It will be noticed, that in this spirited proclamation, scarcely appropriate, indeed, for men under full flight, there was the declaration that “France rises up, and recalls her troops