

from this invasion." Though the republic was established in France, there was a class, more radically democratic, who were violently opposed to its moderate measures; who insisted upon a government more thoroughly democratic; and that France, with her armies, should immediately proclaim war against every throne, and engage in the propagandism of revolutionary principles throughout all Europe. In the preamble to the French constitution which the Assembly had drawn up, it was declared, —

"The republic respects all foreign nationalities in the same manner as she expects her own to be respected. She undertakes no war with the idea of personal aggrandizement, and will never employ her strength against the liberty of any nation."

This declaration was exceedingly offensive to the "Red Republicans," as they were called. They endeavored in every way to promote insurrection in Paris, hoping to overthrow the republic, to establish the reign of radical democracy in France, and then to aid vigorously in establishing a similar government in Rome and in all the capitals of Europe. These radical democrats were divided into many antagonistic parties, but all united in a common sentiment of hostility to the existing republic. The clubs and the opposition newspapers in Paris were loud in their condemnation of French intervention in favor of the reigning pontiff.

"The minister," exclaimed Ledru Rollin in the Assembly, "who ordered an expedition to Rome, and who did not direct it to act for the interest of the Roman republic, shall henceforth bear a mark of blood on his forehead."

While the leaders of the clubs were striving to excite insurrection in the streets of Paris, M. Ledru Rollin presented in the Assembly, on the 10th of June, an act of accusation against the president and the ministry. But this very Assembly had voted to send the expedition to Rome, and to furnish the supplies. The act was promptly rejected by a large majority. The conspirators then resorted to the terrors of insurrection.

On the morning of the 13th of June, 1849, an immense concourse, composed of the lowest classes and the most desperate characters in Paris, began to gather on the boulevard near the Château d'Eau. The throng soon assumed so menacing an aspect, that all Paris was thrown into a state of alarm. It was observed that the whole body of the socialists, marching from their various clubs, were in the ranks. As in a tumultuous throng, armed with all sorts of weapons, they advanced towards the Chamber of Deputies, they shouted, "We are going to finish with Bonaparte and the National Assembly!" The following placard was posted throughout the streets: —

"The president of the republic, and the ministers, are without the pale of the constitution. That part of the Assembly which, by voting, has rendered itself their accomplice, is also without the pale of the constitution. National Guards, arise! Let the workshops be closed! Our brethren of the army remember that you are citizens, and, as such, that your first duty is to defend the constitution. Let the entire people rise!"*

General Changarnier, who was in command of the military force of Paris, quietly took his station with five regiments of infantry and cavalry in the Rue de Richelieu. When about one-half of the column of the insurgents had passed along the boulevards, he issued from his retreat, and, falling upon the flank of the struggling mass, easily cut it in two. Then wheeling to the right and left, with his troops rapidly coming up from the rear, he advanced in both directions at the *pas de charge*. The insurgents, terror-stricken, fled in all directions. Not a bullet was fired; not a sabre was crimsoned with blood. In a few moments, the streets were cleared. It was so adroitly done, that shouts of derisive laughter echoed through the streets of Paris at the expense of the discomfited insurgents.

The conspirators were so sure that they should succeed in

* Histoire Politique et Populaire du Prince Louis Napoléon, par Émile Marco de St. Hilaire, p. 280.

dispersing the Assembly, and in overthrowing the government, that their leaders had met, twenty-five in number, with Ledru Rollin at their head, in the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers, in the Rue St. Martin, to organize a provisional government. When they learned that the mob was dispersed, and that the troops were near the door, they leaped from the windows, and fled in all directions. Ledru Rollin succeeded in escaping to England.*

At four o'clock in the afternoon no vestiges of the *émeute* could anywhere be found. The president, with his staff, rode along the whole length of the boulevards, loudly cheered by the people, who were rejoiced in being thus easily rescued from the horrors of insurrection.

This utter failure of the socialistic and radical democratic factions to overthrow the government greatly strengthened the arm of legitimate power. Though the success of the French army at Rome re-established the authority of Pius IX., he did not immediately return to the city, but intrusted the government to three cardinals. These ecclesiastics were all strong advocates of the old civil and religious despotism. With their passions roused by the outrages committed by the insurgents, they immediately introduced measures of antagonism to all those reforms which the pope had inaugurated. When the president of the French republic was informed of this, he sent the following despatch to Colonel Ney, his orderly-officer at Rome:—

“The French republic has not sent an army to Rome to smother Italian liberty, but, on the contrary, to regulate it by defending it from its own excesses, and to give it a solid basis by restoring to the pontifical throne the prince who had boldly placed himself at the head of all useful reform. I learn with pain that the intentions of the holy father, and our own action, remain sterile in the presence of hostile passions and influences. As a basis for the pope's return, there are those who wish for proscription and tyranny. Say

* *Moniteur*, June 14, 1849.

to General Rostolan from me, that he is to allow no action to be performed, under the shadow of the tricolor, that could distort the nature of our intervention. I thus sum up the re-establishment of the temporal power of the pope,—*general amnesty, secularization of the administration, Code Napoléon, and liberal government.*”

The pope, Pius IX., exasperated by the rude treatment he had received from the Revolutionary party, many of whom were the open revilers of all religion, had thoroughly renounced the liberal opinions which he had formerly advocated, and was turning to Austrian despotism for sympathy and support.

The pontiff was, by universal admission, naturally a sincere, kind-hearted man, honestly seeking to promote the welfare of his realms. “Mild and affectionate in disposition, averse to violence, having a horror of blood, he aspired only to make himself loved; and he thought that all the objects of social reform might be attained by this blessed influence.

“His information, both in regard to his own and neighboring countries, was considerable; and he was animated with a sincere desire to bring up Italy, by pacific means, to a level with those countries which had recently so much outstripped it in liberty, literature, and social progress. Unfortunately, he wanted one quality which rendered all the rest of no avail, or rather rendered them the instruments of evil: he was destitute of firmness, and, like most ecclesiastics, had no acquaintance with mankind.

“He thought he would succeed in ruling men, and directing the social movement which he saw was inevitable, by appealing only to the humane and generous feeling; forgetting that the violent and selfish are incessantly acting, and that, unless they are firmly restrained, the movement will soon be perverted to objects of rapine and spoliation. Experience soon taught him this; and, in consequence, he was forced into the hands of the other party, became the opponent of progress, and acquired the character of vacilla-

tion and inconsistency. Kind and benevolent, but weak and inexperienced, he was the man of all others best fitted to inaugurate, and least to direct or restrain, a revolution.*

The emperor of the French, having rescued the pope from revolutionary violence, and replaced him upon his throne, was much disappointed to find him turning against those reforms for the promotion of which France had interposed in his favor. The emperor wrote to the pope, urging him to grant those reforms which the welfare of his States so imperiously demanded.

"I entreat your holiness," wrote the emperor, "to listen to the voice of a devoted son of the church, but who comprehends the necessities of his epoch, and who perceives that brutal force is not sufficient to resolve questions and to remove difficulties. I see in the decisions of your holiness either the germ of a future of glory and of tranquillity, or the sure continuance of violence and calamity."

The priestly court of Rome was not at all disposed to co-operate with the emperor of the French in his endeavors to popularize the papal government. It opposed all reform. The Austrian princes, whom the treaties of 1815 had imposed upon the people of the dismembered Italian States, had fled before the uprising of the people. The question of Italian confederacy, or of Italian unity, was everywhere agitated. The pope still retained his throne. He was maintained there by French troops. All the Catholic powers, and apparently all the leading Catholic laymen, in Europe, like Thiers, were agreed in the opinion, that it would not be consistent with the interests of Europe that Victor Emanuel, or Francis Joseph, or any other sovereign, should be permitted to annex the papal territory to his dominions, and thus compel the holy father to become his subject.

"The only possible security for the independence of the pope," said M. Thiers, "is the temporal sovereignty."

A very able writer, in a pamphlet entitled "*Le Pape et le*

* History of Europe, by Sir Archibald Alison, vol. viii. p. 205.

Congrès," says, "In a political point of view, it is necessary that the chief of two hundred millions of Catholics should not belong to any person; that he should not be subordinate to any power; and that the august hand which governs souls, not being bound by any dependence, should be able to raise itself above all human passions.

"If the pope were not an independent sovereign, he would be a Frenchman, an Austrian, a Spaniard, an Italian; and the title of his nationality would take from him his character of universal pontiff. The Holy See would be nothing but the support of a throne at Paris, at Vienna, at Madrid."

Thus the Roman question became one of the most embarrassing which had as yet arisen in Europe. How could there be a united Italy, cut in two by the Papal States, with Rome, the natural capital of Italy, the metropolis of the realms of the pope? By what right could Sardinia, Naples, and Venetia seize upon the realms of the pope, and annex them to their united realms? The possessions of the pope were sanctified by centuries. No one denied that he had as good a title to his throne as any other sovereign whatever. The fact that he was the head of the Catholic Church no more interfered with his temporal rights as a sovereign, it was said, than Queen Victoria's rights are annulled by her being the head of the Church of England, or than the rights of the Czar of Russia are impaired by his being the recognized head of the Greek Church. And again it was asked, "How is it possible to deprive the pope of his possessions, and thus of his legitimate revenues, without sinking him into subserviency to a master, and thus destroying all possibility of independent action?" Thus it will be seen that the Roman question became one of exceeding difficulty and delicacy.