



CATHOLIC CHRONICLE.

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The following masterly analysis of the Napoleonic policy is extracted from the speech of His Lordship the Bishop of Birmingham at a great Papal demonstration held at Birmingham on Tuesday the 14th ult. We bespeak for it a careful perusal, as it elucidates much that has hitherto been obscure in the conduct of Louis Napoleon since his elevation to the Throne of France, and proves how faithful he has been to the "Napoleonic idea":—

The celebrated Father O'Leary was asked by a lady, what county he came from. "Madam," said Father O'Leary, "I come from the county of Cork, where you can scarcely beat a bush, but out there jumps an O'Leary." So for thirty years back can I scarcely beat the bush of any conspiracy in the Pontifical States, but out there jumps a Buonaparte, or the cousin of a Buonaparte. Plotting is a habit engrained in the family. So early as Leo XII., that great statesman, Cardinal Gonsalvi, warned the Pope that, like all beaten men, the Buonapartes were in opposition and in league with the secret societies of the Carbonari. And whilst he was hospitable to them, and in their day of depression, the Pope was compelled to watch them. They had large territories in the Marches, which had been assigned to Eugene Beauharnais, when he was Napoleon's Viceroy in Italy. This appendage, as it was called, the Pope made proposals to purchase, but they were far too important for their schemes for the Buonapartes to part with them. Yet the secret of their influence, fallen as they then were, can scarcely be understood, unless you remember that Napoleon had long had possession of Italy—that his nephew was Viceroy in the Pontifical States, and first his brother Joseph, then his brother-in-law, Murat, King of Naples. Italy was flooded with revolutionary ideas and infidel sentiments. The noble youth of Italy were brought into Napoleon's schools, into his armies, into his public offices—marriages took place between the different branches of the Buonaparte family, and the families of Italy, and between his officers, their daughters, and the sons and daughters of Italy. On the other hand, the revolutionary clubs and secret societies of France were copied in Italy. Every revolutionary movement in Paris was responded to by one in the Pontifical States, but in scarcely one of these movements will you find a conspicuous leader who is not an alien, and in all of them you will find the connexions of the Buonapartes amongst the foremost and most active. When the Revolution of 1830 broke out in Paris, a conspiracy was plotted in Bologna, "some (says Farini, himself a revolutionist) sought to put Beauharnais on the throne of Rome, others thought to egg on one of the Italian sovereigns. The conspirators of the Pontifical States were for the most part either followers of Voltaire, or indifferentists in religion, and materialists in philosophy." It was a certain Menotti—a subject of the Pope—but a native of Modena, who agitated the States for the Buonapartes. Menotti was hanged, and the conspiracy put down. Yet, in the following year, during the election of Gregory XVI., that conspiracy broke out again more seriously. General Zucchi, no subject of the Pope's, but a native of Reggio, an old soldier of Napoleon's, a general of the Italian Viceroy, led the insurgents. The present Napoleon, and his elder brother Louis, hastened to the insurgent camp. They marched towards Rome, and were defeated. The elder brother of Napoleon died—met his death at Forli, and left his younger brother the heir of the ambition of his family. But Louis Napoleon was taken prisoner, and it was proved that the two brothers had been active in the conspiracy. The elder brother, before he died, wrote to the Pope, and entreated him to give up his temporal dominions, and at a later period Louis Napoleon again annoyed the Sovereign Pontiff with letters, in which he urged him to give up his temporal dominions. Other connexions of the Buonaparte family were equally active, but we shall meet with them again. It has been observed by a German writer who has investigated the history of the Conspiracies of 1831, 1849, and 1859 how strikingly the same men, the same principles, the same instruments, and the same secret agents come up in all of them, and how their cry is ever one and the same—Down with priestly rule.—The Pope's kingdom is not of this world. From the year 1839 to 1847, a society successfully assembled in the different cities of Italy which, under the pretence of discussing economic science, was diffusing the spirit of Revolution.—Charles Buonaparte, Prince of Canino, was its instigator, and one of its chief promoters. Even Farini calls its latter sessions an academy for the resurrection of Italy. This brings us to the insurrection of 1848-49. Napoleon has always taken to himself the credit of having delivered Rome from the horrors of Mazzini's Republic, and public opinion, so quickly forgetting facts, has done the same. It was not Napoleon, it was the French people, through their Legisla-

tive Assembly, under the Presidency of General Cavaignac, who did that noble deed. Napoleon, who was a member of the Legislature, opposed the expedition; he opposed the sense of the French people as he is opposing their sentiments. He wrote to the *Constitutionnel* in these terms:—"Knowing that my absence from the vote on the expedition to Civita Vecchia has been remarked, I think it right I should avow that however determined to support all measures necessary for securing the freedom of the Supreme Pontiff, I could not sanction by my vote a military demonstration which appeared to be dangerous even to the sacred interests it sought to protect, and calculated to compromise the peace of Europe." At the same time that he wrote this letter his cousin, Prince Canino, with his comrade Sterbin, were agitating for the constituting of a Republic at Rome; and amongst the members most vehemently opposed to that measure were some of the Deputies from Bologna. The first appearance of Garibaldi, who is no subject of the Pope, but a Genoese, is thus described by Farini. He came to Bologna "with a bundle of people from all nations;" and Lesseps, the French Envoy, who was recalled for the act by which he in the name of France held out the hand of fraternity to the Roman Republic, even he describes Garibaldi's army in Rome as "the scum of revolution, and of the secret societies of Europe," with whom it was not fit for republican soldiers to associate. Mazzini, no subject of the Pope remember, but a Genoese, Lesseps describes, as he then ruled Rome, in terms which I will not repeat. After the Pope was restored to Rome by the French army, the first decided act of Napoleon towards the Sovereign Pontiff was that hostile letter addressed to Colonel Ney.—After admitting that the Pope had "boldly put himself at the head of all useful reforms," he says—"It grieves me to hear that the benevolent intentions of the Holy Father, and our endeavors have been frustrated by hostile passions and influences. It is evidently desired to place the return of the Pope on proscription and tyranny. It is thus I epitomize the temporal government of the Pope: a general amnesty, the secularization of the administration, the Code Napoleon, and a liberal Government." How very much like the letters of his uncle to Pius VII., and then the Pope is never in fault, only his advisers—"I am your Emperor, my laws shall rule over Italy." Now, how do you think the brave men who had conquered Rome received this letter of the new President of the Republic? Colonel Ney, the creature of Napoleon, vehemently urged its publication to the army. General Rostolri indignantly refused to comply, and declared that it was opposed to the policy pursued by the ambassadors of France, and the Duke of Reggio complained of the ingratitude with which he had been treated, and declared that instead of the generous policy of the French nation which he had followed, it was intended to substitute "a rash, threatening, and oppressive policy," and on the plea of its informality they disobeyed Napoleon's direction for its publication. And how do you think the French people looked upon the letter of their president? France had yet freedom of speech by the mouth of the Deputies of their National Assembly. The report on the army of liberation was brought forward in October, 1849, by M. Thiers. That report was accompanied by a rebuke on Napoleon's letter to Ney. I will quote a few lines—"France (said the framer of the report), once represented at Rome by its army, could never commit the blunder of herself using violence to the Holy Father, whom she had just delivered from the violence of a faction. She of necessity restored him to his throne and his liberty, his free and entire freedom, for that was her mission. But she acquired from circumstances a right—a right but rarely obtained—the right to advise." "France did not find the Holy Father (he says, later on) either less generous or less liberal than in 1847; but circumstances had sadly altered. Laws were announced, and the word of Pius IX. sufficed to dispel all doubts. But the Councils of France should be directed to rendering effective the *motus proprio*, and above all, to extend the clemency of the Pontiff to all those who can be amnestied without danger to public order." Interrupted by the extreme left, composed of Voltairians and Red Republicans, this address was applauded in the name of France by the rest of the assembly. It is of importance that we should take the evidence of an adversary, thoroughly acquainted with what passed, as to the real disposition of the Pope's subjects with respect to the Revolution of 1846. Farini held office under the Pope—he became his adversary, he attacked himself, after the Pope's return, like a traitor, to hostile Piedmont, and now presides over the insurgents in Bologna, and with the help of Mr. Gladstone he has given his own views to England on the events in which he mingled. Farini, speaking of the provinces about Rome, says, "There were either but few and obscure secta-

ries or none at all, and the inhabitants were so devout, ignorant, and boorish that, but for the influence of such a number of extraordinary causes no sect would have been able to make head or prosper or try its hand at change."—Now, by sects and sectaries, he means the revolutionary clubs and secret societies, and the causes to which he refers were the dethronements and political agitations which shook all Europe as well as the sovereignties of Italy.—After describing the greater prosperity of Etruria and the Marches, he says, that in the provinces, that is the Romagna, "the intelligent and educated classes, however discontented with the Roman Government, were with very few exceptions, disinclined to revolution. Indeed, they feared and portended utter ruin from it." He then showed that the sects, as he politely calls the secret societies, "obtained the opportunity of drawing into their own notions the inexperienced youth, the malcontents, the grey-beards of conspiracy, and all who were influenced with hatred and revenge." This is the explicit confession of an enemy, that the great mass of the Pope's subjects had no wish or desire for revolution. Those grey-beards of conspiracy we have met before, and we shall meet them again in the actual revolt to which I now come. You will recollect that in 1830, Napoleon was associated with the secret societies; he had been initiated, and had taken their oaths, and who has so far committed his soul, is bound to them according to their decrees for life; bound in obedience to their chiefs, and liable to assassination if he prove unfaithful. You will recollect the attempt of Orsini to assassinate the Emperor of France; how that attempt had been preceded by attempts of the emissaries of those societies, and how he was executed. After he had executed the assassin, he published his letter in the *Moniteur*. It was an official act, and all the world understood that it was a sign held out of the intentions the Emperor had formed. The secret societies gave him a warning, that they comprehended the signal, and their organ, the *Unione*, a Piedmontese newspaper, said plainly—"Napoleon, as the executor of Orsini, must keep his promise, and that speedily, or explosions and daggers will accomplish their mission." Then came the meeting between Cavour, in August, at Plombieres, and the arrangement of the family compact. In January, Prince Napoleon was married to a Princess of Piedmont, and at the same time came out the Emperor's pamphlet, "Napoleon III., and Italy." Now, if any one will carefully examine that pamphlet, he will find that as far as the Pope and his dominions are concerned, though more guarded, it is identical in sentiment with his second pamphlet "The Pope and the Congress." He declared indeed that he did not contemplate war. He repeated that declaration to the Chambers in the beginning of February. He added that the Piedmontese marriage was the result of no hidden reason. But the Pope at once took alarm, and immediately requested the necessary preparation for the immediate withdrawal of the French and Austrian troops from his territories. His requests were not attended to and the war came, came as it had been contemplated and prepared for from the first. Let me now remind you how the revolutionists of Rome in 1848 took refuge on their defeat in Piedmont and in London. How in Piedmont they were received, put into office, and accepted as advisers; and how the King, in the hands of Cavour, dispersed religious congregations, plundered the Church, and exiled the bishops. He was at open war with Rome whilst Napoleon pursued his designs more covertly. The ambition of that King, fostered by Cavour, and stimulated by his antagonism to the Pope, spurred him on with hopes of extending his power over Central Italy, and so he put himself into the hands of Napoleon. I cannot think of Victor Emmanuel without thinking of that ancestor of his who was dethroned by the first Napoleon. The dethroned King, in company with the dethroned Grand Duke of Tuscany, met the dethroned Pius VII. as he passed a captive through Florence. In that affecting interview King Charles Emmanuel declared that the sweetness of the hour in which he met the Pope had consoled him for all his own sorrows, and even for the loss of his throne; and the aged Pontiff replied: "My son you see the vanity of this world of which you and I are examples. Let us look forward to those throes which when once given are never taken away." God grant that another Emmanuel of Savoy may meet another Pius in the spirit of his ancestor, but without his ancestor's misfortunes. It is a notorious fact that at the beginning of the war the Emperor pledged his word that the Pontifical States should not be compromised, that they should be held neutral. The King of Sardinia, who was already filling the Romagna with his emissaries, alone refused to consider them as neutral. At Milan the Emperor again promised that all the Pontifical States should be preserved to the Pope, and it was one of the conditions of the treaty of Villafranca.

The war roused all Italy, and the Emperor knew well what Piedmont was doing in the Romagna. Just as a wounded limb draws the blood from every part of the body to inflame that member, so the pests of Piedmont inflamed the Romagna and drew to it the secret societies from all quarters. The revolution broke out after the battle of Magenta, but never was conspiracy more carefully planned. The man who played the chief part in Bologna was the Marquis Joachim Napoleon Pepoli, and who is Pepoli? The first cousin of Napoleon. The man who played the same part at Ravenna was Count Rasponi, and who is Rasponi? The first cousin of Napoleon. Among the men who were active at Fermo, where the conspiracy failed, were, says a German authority which I have consulted, Prince Placid Gabrieli and the Marquis Trevisani, the first of whom is married to Augustine Bonaparte, and the latter to a daughter of Prince Jerome Bonaparte. Prince Napoleon landed at Leghorn, and marched a large army thro' Tuscany. People asked why he was not fighting. He had other work to do. His presence stirred up insurrection in Tuscany and the preparation of elements in that country for an insurrection in the Romagna. Prince Napoleon pressed upon the frontiers of the Papal States, and the closer he drew the more active became the conspirators. The Austrian troops, believing in the neutrality and remaining in Bologna as the French troops remained in Rome, were harassed in the streets. The centre of the conspiracy was the palace of Count Pepoli, who was everywhere active. At last the Austrians were compelled to retire suddenly, and without notice, and the Cardinal Legate was left without any forces whatever even for the duties of police. The stage was now clear for the conspiracy, whilst disturbances were raised in the streets, in the usual style of terrorism, the Papal arms were pulled down, though the Pope has recorded in an official document that his faithful people resisted the act and were not deterred from expressing their indignation. A deputation, with which was Count Tatini, the brother-in-law of Pepoli, went and told the Legate that the reign of the Pope had ceased, and the dominions of the Romagna transferred to Piedmont. On came the Sardinian Colonel Merricapo, with the insurgent forces gathered up out of Tuscany. Some sixty Piedmontese officers were engaged, seducing and drilling the youth of the Romagna, and with the help of a mere handful of the Pope's worst subjects. The revolution was completed. What Pepoli did at Bologna, Rasponi did at Ravenna. It is a well known fact that not only officers, troops and arms, were sent into the Legation, but that considerable supplies of money came with them.—A gentleman, whose name is a guarantee to any Englishman of his veracity, has written from Italy that he had it told him by an English Protestant gentleman residing at Perugia during the outbreak, that he predicted the rising there a week before its occurrence, from the quantity of Sardinian coin that suddenly appeared in circulation, and you have not forgotten the words addressed to Napoleon by the Pope in the letter quoted in the last encyclical addressed to the Catholic world.—"You are not ignorant," says His Holiness, "by what means and with what monies and protection the recent outbreaks of rebellion at Bologna and Ravenna, and other cities, had been excited and accomplished," while for the greater part of the population remained as if astonished at those outbreaks which they by no means expected, whilst they showed themselves by no means inclined to take part in them. These occurrences took place at that most exciting moment between the battle of Magenta and the battle of Solferino; and no sooner had Pepoli and Rasponi gained the fruits of their conspiracy, than they hastened to the allied camp to consult their Imperial cousin how to use them. Pepoli returned, and formed a provisional committee, consisting of himself, Count Farini, another of his brothers-in-law, and a forsworn priest, who had been employed in office by the Pope, had followed him to Gaeta to prove his fidelity, and then turned traitor with two other accomplices. He next introduced Cipriani as governor. Now Cipriani was no subject of the Pope's, but a man of Leghorn, of whom it is said that, in California, he failed in the search for gold, and came to seek for a better mine of the precious metal in the troubles of Bologna. But Cipriani, the creature of Pepoli, was considered too much of a Buonapartist by both Sardinia and the secret societies. He received a hint from the *Unione* that if he did not, with his ministers, soon quit the Government Palace, he would get a lesson from the people, who would not endure him. He was removed, and Farini, devoted to Sardinia, was put in his place. Garibaldi, of course, came hovering into the storm. I have read a statement of the composition of his army at this period, which shows that, of the 16,000 men of all countries, including 600 let out of the gaols and prisons, only 500 were subjects of the Pope. Now, what is this number when you consider how many loose men there are in every country who are ready to plunge into any fray, and to join any commotion; and this is one proof more that the great mass of the Pop's subjects were rather the passive and intimidated sufferers than the actors in the conspiracy. No effort could draw them into the revolt. The subjects of the Pope were, in short, far more intimidated, whilst they were as much oppressed as himself. As Cipriani was too much with the Buonapartes, so Garibaldi was too much at one with the Republicans; so he was removed, and the Piedmontese General Fanti was sent to take his place. D'Azeglio, a Piedmontese nobleman, was appointed as a kind of provisional Viceroy, and when on the petition of the conspirators a prince of Piedmont would have been nominated, had not Napoleon stopped the plan so adverse to his own designs. Buoncompagni, another Piedmontese, is put in place of D'Azeglio. Now is it not most strange and inexplicable that except Farini, who would become the subject of Sardinia, not one man appears in all these transactions as head of any conspiracy, or army, or government who is a subject of the Pope's dominions. Subordinates there are, but no man trusted with the leading positions. The mind of the whole affair is Buonapartist, Sardinian, and Mazzinian alternately, as each gets uppermost, and the troops are all poured in from Italy north of the Pontifical States. The *Times* of to-day states that Tuscany is beginning quietly to draw her insurgent forces who occupy the Romagna back to their own country. A protest of the Government the Holy See, of July 6, against the proceedings of Piedmont, showed that Bologna had become a harbor for Piedmontese officers who were preparing quarters for Sardinian troops; that thousands of muskets, and even cannon, were brought in from foreign nations;—that the appointment of D'Azeglio was a violation of the rights of the Pontifical sovereignty, and with the other acts a breach of the law of nations. The Piedmontese troops already occupied Pontifical territories, and even their engineers were sent to mine and destroy the fortress of Ferrara. You will have a very incomplete idea of the character of the revolt, and of the actual position of the Romagna, unless I can enable you to see the methods employed to bring about the appearance of a popular election in confirmation of the rebellion. You have heard a great deal through the English press on the side of the conspirators, now listen to the statement on the other side. What I have chiefly, however, to complain of against the English press is its prodigious suppression of facts, and it must also be kept in mind that the moment the conspirators got into power, they suppressed every newspaper and publication of events except their own official organ. And it is well known that one of the most formidable talents of these men, safe in their exclusive possession of the public ear, is their enormous power of imagination. Still Rome has always great sources of information at command, and whilst I remind you that it is the report of the antagonists of the revolt, I must equally remind you that the writers in the *Civiltà Cattolica* are both men of character and loyalty. I abridge from the reply of that able journal to the manifesto of Bologna.—Speaking of the election, the writer says, "The directors of this manifestation of the so-called will of the nation were almost all entire strangers to the Legations. They were altogether liege men of the Piedmontese Government. They were the actual crows of that Government.—They sent out flaming circulars, proclamations, articles and letters. Whoever refused to favor certain deputies were accused of treason against the nation. More than one person was privately threatened with the poignant whose vote was thought uncertain. That influence might be more efficacious, the Piedmontese occupied the police department, and the Marquis de Cabinae, in his publication, attributes the premature deficit in the revolutionary finances in great part to the salaries of the electors, and those who were elected. A large number were struck off the list of electors without reason assigned. Each elector had to sign his name. There was no resource left for them who had not great courage to face the giving an adverse vote, but to abstain from voting. This was all an honest man could do as a contrary protest. Accordingly, a great majority did abstain from voting, and out of 18,000 voters for the province of Bologna, two-thirds gave no vote—that is to say, there were only the sixtieth part of the people who voted. And even this proposition would be a matter of doubt if that took place which is said to have occurred at Rimini where the number of electors inscribed was only 1,200 and the too great zeal of the person in charge of the vote, brought 1,800 votes out of the urn. What is said of Bologna, may pretty nearly be said of the other provinces. If then to the two-thirds of the inscribed electors whose silence was a protest, we add the list of those who were excluded from voting, because their vote could not be depended on; the Bolognese assembly so far