

INTECH (1984) associates

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THIS ORIGINAL DOCUMENT IS IN VERY POOR CONDITION

France and the Roman question.

(Paris Correspondence N. T. Theobald.)
"There is a dilemma. The Pope needs Rome for his residence. Italy desires the possession of Rome, which she regards as the cradle of her civilization. We, however, desire in the name of the French Government, Italy shall not take possession of Rome? (Lead applause). Never!"

So spoke M. Rouher, yesterday, toward the close of his long discourse on the Roman question. At the close, and lest there should be misunderstanding, he explained that by "Rome" he meant all the territory now ruled by the Pope. His other important statement was that the Pope had accepted the conference, without reserve or reservation."

It will be an aid to those with whom we have put in the above report, that the Minister Rouher, to very briefly glance at the great debate on the Roman question, which began last week in the Senate, and after four days of long speeches, making this week in the Corps Legislatif, closed last night. In the Senate no vote was raised in favor of liberty, against the temporal weakness of the Pope; but the effort was made by the three clerical orators, two cardinals and the Archbishop of Paris, to induce Government to pronounce itself in favor of the temporal power. The cardinals themselves, clearly and positively, enough, and logically, too, maintained that there should be two rational courses to follow: renounce all protection of the Pope, give him up to a sacrifice to Italy, ambitious of unity; or effectively protect that sovereign by restoring to him the territory which ambitions Italy has taken from him since 1870—break up united Italy, and restore (or not confederate) Italy, and destroy its power of aggression. Of course, they were favorable to the latter process. Their arguments in support of it, cleared of declamatory surplusage, is that the spiritual power depends, for its faithful exercise, on the temporal power; and that a Pope, beside the King of Italy, at Rome, would be a subject; while, protected by the rule of France, he would be independent. The Archbishop of Paris, a comparative liberal, and more moderate in tone than the Cardinals, kindly wished to stand with the Emperor, offered what might be regarded as the best terms of compromise: that his order should consent to, in nearly these words:—"It would be desirable, if possible, to restore the provinces of which the Pope has been deprived. It is absolutely necessary to preserve, for him, the territory he actually rules over. Means should be sought to strengthen the Pontifical Government by a wise and vigorous development of its resources." A certain vagueness in these propositions, taken with the known relations and sentiments of the speaker, gave them, at the time of their utterance, a sort of semi-official authority. And yet the moderate, conciliating Archbishop, and even that wary old ex-Volturnian, Senator Chas. Dupin, joined with the more zealous Cardinals in asking Government to define its policy, if it had one, in regretting its (at least) seeming vacillation. On Monday, the Corps Legislatif, the debate was opened by Jules Favre, with one of the ablest of all that great orator's masterpieces of eloquence and criticism,—a searching, merciless examination of the long, contradictory, vacillating course of French policy and impolicy, and no policy, pursued in this Roman business, from 1840 till to-day, and his concluding it is to be noted, is nearly identical with that of the Cardinal's.—"We must get out of this dilemma at any price, and there are but two outlets,—either abandonment of the temporal power, which will arrange itself with Italy, or maintenance of the temporal power, and in this latter case, we have a way from Italy, and restoration to the Pope, the provinces he possessed before 1870. The time for half measures and expedients is passed. The clear and definite policy is,—This does not mean the clerical party, but it is a matter of course as the intelligent eyes among them could expect.

On Wednesday, Thiers delivered his great speech. The first article in Thiers' creed of foreign policy is the balance of power in Europe. He does still believe that that is the key and cornerstone of a wise, permanent construction of Europe. From this point of view he treated at length, last Wednesday, the relations of France and Italy and the Temporal Power. His condemnation of the errors committed by Napoleon, both when acting for Italy, and as pope, and when semi-active or passive between the two, was all the more impressive, that it was solidly based, for a large part—say exactly based—on the declarations and statements of real or pretended principles of Government itself.

And Thiers' condemnation, not markedly different, though arrived at by a quite different process of argument, from that of the Cardinals of Jules Favre—was, added to the preceding calmly-severe censure of the illogical, contradictory, vacillating policy of the Government, that finally forced Minister Rouher to come to a partial definition of its future policy.

I am afraid that in an attempt to review in this column of the Tribune a debate whose printed report fills forty columns of the *Moniteur*, I have poorly succeeded in showing the grounds and constantly increasing weight of the original source, brought to bear on Government, finally squeezing out the declaration of Minister Rouher which heads this letter.

The relative faith we may put in that utterly positive declaration, amounts to this:—For the present, France will give up the Pope's temporal power, in so far as it affects the domain and the 700,000 inhabitants, against Italy. Napoleon can get the Congress together, (which is not very probable), and the get it to share the responsibility with him in such a maintenance (which is less probable), on the other hand, and if the Pope himself will come into the arrangement by recognizing claims on the provinces that Italy has annexed to herself (which is utterly improbable), why, then, yet better. Meaning, conservative, Catholic France may come—at least till after the next general election, and the death of Pius IX.—on practical French occupation of Rome. With the present state of affairs and the complications, the garrison may be withdrawn as far as Rome.

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THE LIFE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS
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This is a full, complete and authentic history of the life and services of the great Southern leader. It is a work of great importance, and is being read by all who are interested in our country's history. It is a work of great value, and is being read by all who are interested in our country's history. It is a work of great value, and is being read by all who are interested in our country's history. It is a work of great value, and is being read by all who are interested in our country's history.

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