

republic? If she would unite with us, no doubt she would be handsomely rewarded for that service. We are not making war upon any government. We are the friends of all those who shall assist us to confine the Austrian power within its proper limits.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

N A P O L E O N I N I T A L Y .

FROM A. D. 1796 TO A. D. 1809.

ITALY IN 1796.—MEASURES OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.—MESSAGE TO THE POPE.—THE CISPADANE REPUBLIC.—TROUBLES IN GENOA.—STATE OF SOUTHERN ITALY.—CAPTIVITY OF PIUS VI.—PIEDMONT ANNEXED TO FRANCE.—ATROCITIES OF LORD NELSON.—NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM EGYPT.—CAMPAIGN OF MARENGO.—LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.—LETTER TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.—IMPERIAL FRANCE.—THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.—THE BOURBONS OF NAPLES DETHRONED.—POPE PIUS VII. A CAPTIVE.—NAPOLEON'S DESIGNS FOR ITALY.

[N a letter to the French directory, Napoleon thus describes the political state of Italy during his first Italian campaign. The letter is dated December, 1796 :

“At present there are in Lombardy three parties; one which allows itself to be guided by the French; another which is anxious, and impatiently anxious, to obtain liberty; a third friendly to the Austrians and hostile to us. I support and encourage the first. The second I keep in check. The third I repress.

“The Cispadane provinces are likewise divided into three parties; the friends of their ancient governments; those who wish for a constitution, independent, but a little aristocratic; and the partisans of the French constitution, or of pure democracy. I repress the first, I support the second, and I moderate the third. I support, I say, the second because it is the party of the rich land-holders and the priests, whom it is essential to rally around the French cause. The last party is composed of young men, literary persons, and people who in France, and in all countries, change governments and love liberty, with no other view than the mere thirst for revolution.”

The pope had anathematized republican France, preached a crusade against her, and had suffered her ambassador to be assassinated in the streets of Rome. The English had seized Leghorn, the port of Tuscany; had taken possession of French property there, and had promised several thousand troops to aid the pope against France. It was necessary that these menaces of war in the south should instantly be dispersed, for Austria was already gathering an overwhelming army in the north, to pour down upon the exhausted bands of Napoleon.

The young conqueror, at the head of but five thousand men, commenced his march. He entered Modena. The duke fled to the Austrian camp, with all the wealth he could carry with him. The people rallied around Napoleon, imploring him to aid them in establishing republican liberty. He assured them of his sympathy, but said that it was not his mission to revolutionize Europe, but simply to compel those who were unjustly waging war against France to consent to peace.

He entered the papal states. The people welcomed him in almost a delirium of joy. The universality with which the masses rallied around Napoleon, abjuring the papal authority, alarmed the pope. "Bonaparte," says Thiers, "omitted nothing to honor Italy, and to rouse her pride and her patriotism. He was not a barbarous conqueror come to ravage, but a champion of liberty, come to rekindle the torch of genius in the ancient land of civilization."

Pressing forward, he entered Tuscany and drove out the English. The grand duke was friendly to France, and rejoicing in the expulsion of the British fleet, which had seized his port of Leghorn, hoping thus to compel him to join in the war against France, he gave Napoleon a magnificent reception in his palace at Florence. In twenty days all the powers of central Italy in sympathy with Austria, were compelled to abandon the alliance against the French republic.

But the pope, implacably hostile to popular liberty, was

watching eagerly for an opportunity to renew the struggle. An immense army was marching down the defiles of the Tyrol to assail Napoleon. The pope was secretly making arrangements to join them as soon as they should commence their impetuous assault. Napoleon, informed of these plots, sent the following energetic message to the pope by cardinal Mattei:

"The court of Rome desires war. It shall have war. But first I owe it to my country and to humanity to make a final effort to bring back the pope to reason. You are acquainted with the strength of the army which I command. To destroy the temporal power of the pope, I need but to will it. Go to Rome; see his holiness; enlighten him upon the subject of his true interests; rescue him from the intriguers by whom he is surrounded, who wish for his ruin and for that of the court of Rome. The French government permits me still to listen to words of peace. Every thing may be arranged. War, so cruel for nations, has terrible results for the vanquished. Save the pope from great calamities. You know how anxious I am to finish by peace, a struggle which war would terminate for me without glory as without danger."

We can not here enter into the details of Napoleon's first Italian campaign. After a series of victories, such as had never before been recorded, Austria, thoroughly humbled, was compelled to assent to peace on terms which modified the condition of the Italian states as follows:

A new and independent republic was formed in the heart of Italy, called the Cisalpine Republic. It was composed of a large number of petty states, called provinces, legations, and duchies, such as Lombardy, Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, etc. It contained sixteen thousand three hundred and thirty-seven square miles, being more than twice as large as the state of Massachusetts, and embraced a population of three and a half millions. Every man who had attained twenty-one years, excepting convicts and paupers, was entitled to the rights of

citizenship. The government consisted of five directors, and a legislature consisting of two bodies, both elective, a senate, and a house of representatives. Milan was its central capital. The republic could not stand an hour against the machinations and armies of Austria and Spain, unless upheld by France. Napoleon promised the feeble state the support of his strong arm, and with that aid it felt indomitable.

This was the dawn of a bright day for Italy. Napoleon having thus compelled Austria to sheathe the sword, and having established a republic, with free institutions, in the heart of Italy, based upon the principles of equal rights to all men, returned to Paris, laden with the gratitude and the blessings of those whom he had enfranchised. As he took leave of the grateful people, upon whom he had conferred the greatest of all earthly blessings, he thus addressed them :

“We have given you liberty. Take care to preserve it. To be worthy of your destiny make only discreet and moderate laws. Cause them to be executed with energy. Favor the diffusion of knowledge and respect religion. Compose your battalions, not of disreputable men but of citizens, imbued with the principles of the republic, and closely linked to its prosperity. You have, in general, need to impress yourselves with the feeling of your strength, and with the dignity which befits the free man. Divided and bowed down for ages by tyranny, you could not, of yourselves, have conquered your liberty. But in a few years, if you are left unmolested, no power on earth will be strong enough to wrest your liberty from you. Till then the great nation will protect you against the attack of your neighbors; its political system will be united with yours.”

The establishment of the Cisalpine republic excited the hopes of the patriots all over Italy, and rendered them more restless under the corrupt despotisms which so long had oppressed them. Napoleon wished to give the infant republic a more energetic organization, by increasing the power of the

executive. And subsequent events proved the wisdom of Napoleon's judgment. But the French directory insisted that the French constitution should be the model. Napoleon was at that time a moderate republican, yet believing in the necessity of a very energetic government. He was well aware that the Cisalpine republic, surrounded by powerful aristocracies, implacably hostile, needed the most efficient organization possible, to enable it to repel those assaults it was sure to encounter.

A stable government is always the growth of time. Napoleon had hardly left Italy, ere the infant republic was distracted by internal dissensions. There was in Italy, as in France, a Jacobin party, zealous for more radical democracy. There was an aristocratic party who were eager to escape the Austrian sway, but who wished to take the power into their own hands. There was also an Austrian party, closely allied with the pope. These assailed each other vehemently. Still the moderate republicans were in the great majority, and the ship of state, though often bowing before the gale, sailed prosperously on. But France armed the fortresses of the young republic, and supplied her with twenty-five thousand men for defense. The Italians supported these troops, and entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with France. There were thus two infant republics united for mutual protection; while all the powerful monarchies of Europe were in heart banded together for their destruction, and were watching only for an opportunity to strike them an annihilating blow.

In Genoa the aristocratic senate and the disfranchised people were bitterly hostile. The senate had expelled several members from their number, and banished many families from the republic, for the crime of sympathizing with the French republicans. The victories of Napoleon alarmed the aristocrats, and inspired the hopes of the people. The senate, while professing neutrality, had allowed a French frigate to be captured under the guns of their forts, by an English man-of-war,

and had thus ranged themselves in the ranks of the enemies of France. Conscious that Napoleon would pay them a visit to avenge these wrongs, as he returned to France, with his triumphant army, the Genoese government sent to France imploring peace. Generously the directory agreed to peace, upon condition that Genoa should be strictly neutral, pay an indemnity for the frigate which had been taken, recall those families, friendly to France, which had been banished, and reinstate those who had been expelled from the senate. Genoa was also to grant the republic a loan of five hundred thousand dollars.

As the march of the French army gave freedom to the expression of liberal opinions in Europe, the public mind in Genoa became more violently incensed against the aristocracy. The people met and drew up a petition to the oligarchy demanding reform in the government. The young men formed themselves into clubs and began to arm. The priests rallied for the nobles, and summoned all the powers of superstition, which the Catholic church could wield, to rouse the most ignorant portion of the populace against the advocates for reform. On the twenty-second of May, 1797, there was a bloody insurrection in the streets of Genoa. The nobles and the priests roused the populace to frenzy, and led them against the patriots. The patriots were beaten, and by the blind fury of the mob, were visited with every outrage. The French families in Genoa were seized and imprisoned. Napoleon immediately interfered in their behalf. This so encouraged the patriots that they rallied anew, and in such strength as to gain the ascendancy. A republican constitution was organized. The legislative body consisted of two chambers, elected by the people, and the executive was composed of twelve directors, or senators as they were called, chosen by the two legislative councils. This little republic, thus self-organized, took the name of the Ligurian republic.

In Naples the republican party was crushed by chains, and

buried in dungeons. The papal government in Rome was equally malignant, but not equally powerful. The pope, an infirm old man, and the aged cardinals, had not sufficient vigor to silence the complaints of the people. The little territory of Ancona, incited by the example of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, revolted, and established the Anconitan republic. Alone, it could hardly resist the papal army even for a day; but it hoped for the assistance of its sister republics. The papal government had become so corrupt and imbecile, that even the grandees of Rome inveighed against the rule of ignorant and incapable monks. The papal states were, however, the most benighted portion of all Italy; and the number of intelligent people was so small that Joseph Bonaparte, then the French minister in Rome, the brother of Napoleon, did every thing in his power to dissuade them from a decisive movement. He urged upon them that they would only ruin themselves and compromise France, to no purpose; that France could not undertake to support them, but that they must be left to their own resources. Napoleon at this time was anxious to conciliate monarchical Europe, by not exciting the oppressed of other governments to revolt.

The republicans in Rome, regardless of this advice, attempted an insurrection. The pope's dragoons dispersed them with slaughter. Some of the fugitives sought refuge under the piazza of the Corsini palace, where Joseph Bonaparte resided. Joseph, with several French officers, hastened to place themselves between the insurgents and the troops, to prevent any further massacre. But the papal troops, regardless of the sacredness of the ambassador's person, and of the sacredness of his palace, protected by the French flag, fired and killed General Duphot, at Joseph's side. This young officer was soon to have been married to a daughter of Joseph Bonaparte.

This outrage summoned many others of the foreign ambassadors to the residence of the French embassy. Joseph

Bonaparte waited fourteen hours without sending notice of the event to France, that the papal government might have opportunity to make explanations. Receiving none, he demanded his passports. This was in December, 1797. The directory in Paris were exceedingly reluctant to array against themselves the papal government; for the Catholic religion was even then one of the mightiest powers in Europe, and the pope could rouse all the religious fury of the fanatical populace against France. After long deliberation it was decided to demand an apology. On the tenth of February, 1798, General Berthier, at the head of a sufficient French army, entered the gates of Rome. It was in vain for the pope to attempt any resistance. The republicans received Berthier with boundless exultation, and conducted him, with the pageantry of an old Roman triumph, to the capitol. In a tumultuous gathering, an ignorant and frantic mass of people gathered near the remains of the old Roman forum, and adopted, with shouts which rent the skies, an act declaring that the Roman people resumed its sovereignty, and constituted itself a republic.

The pope was alone, abandoned and helpless, in the Vatican. Messengers were sent demanding his abdication of the temporal sovereignty; but declaring that there was no intention of meddling with his spiritual authority. He persistently refused to abdicate. At night he was taken by the French, though scrupulously treated with the respect due to his station and his age, and was conveyed from the Vatican into Tuscany, where he was imprisoned in a convent. From thence he was conveyed to France, where he died, at Valence, in August, 1799.

There was thus a fourth republic established in Italy, called the Roman Republic. All Europe was alarmed; for all Europe was in danger of being thus revolutionized step by step. Naples was almost frantic with rage in seeing the principles of the French revolution advance thus, even to her very

doors. Austria and Spain were roused vehemently. And the applause with which the English *people* greeted these republics, and their clamor for parliamentary reform, so thoroughly alarmed the *English government*, that they adopted the secret resolve that, at every hazard, the republic must be put down in France, and the Bourbons restored to their despotic throne. It was manifest to the least discerning, that these increasing and growing republics were but the fruit which the French revolution was bearing.

In May, 1798, Napoleon had sailed for Egypt. England organized a new coalition for the restoration of the Bourbons. Austria, Russia, Turkey, and Naples were active powers in this coalition. Prussia and Spain were in cordial sympathy, and were prepared to join the allies so soon as the march of events might make it safe to do so. One of the first objects to be accomplished in assailing France, was to trample down these confederate Italian republics, and restore the old despotisms. Without any declaration of war, Naples commenced operations by sending an army to drive the French from the papal states. With an army of sixty thousand men, and aided by the fleet of Lord Nelson, the Neapolitans took possession of Rome. The French slowly retired, that they might have time to rally their forces; and then falling upon the Neapolitans, routed them in several battles with great slaughter, drove them out of Rome, to the great joy of the Roman people, and pursued the fugitive army into the kingdom of Naples. The populace of Naples now rose madly, like barbarians as they were, against the detested government, and the king, in dismay, seizing the most valuable movable treasures of his crown, fled on board Lord Nelson's squadron, and was conveyed to the island of Sicily. The kingdom was plunged into a state of indescribable anarchy. The French took possession of the city of Naples and of the whole kingdom. The *lazzaroni* were disarmed, order was restored, and the kingdom was organized into a republic, called the Parthenopian republic.

The court of Turin, the capital of Sardinia, was hostile to France. But in Piedmont, as in every other state in Italy, there was a strong republican party. The French, assailed by all the monarchies of Europe, and not deeming it safe to leave a hostile government in possession of her communications with the Alps, compelled the king of Sardinia to abdicate the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retire to the island of Sardinia as his only realm. Thus, all of continental Italy passed under French influence; though all these freed states were nominally independent excepting Piedmont. It was thought not expedient to organize that province into a republic, but it was declared to be, until the conclusion of the war, under the provisional administration of France. This event took place in December, 1798.

Such remained the state of affairs in Italy in the spring of 1799, when the Austrians and Russians, with an army more than one hundred thousand strong, invaded the plains of Lombardy.

In the course of many and sanguinary battles, the French were entirely overpowered and driven out of Italy. The republics, with their free constitutions, were venomously destroyed, and the old despotisms reestablished. All the friends of republicanism who had not succeeded in escaping to France were massacred with most revolting cruelty, or sent by sentence of court martial to the dungeon or the scaffold. No tongue can tell the enormities perpetrated by the partisans of the king and the court in Naples. Lord Nelson brought back from Sicily in the British fleet, the king and queen of Naples, and took an active part in these most horrible scenes of cruelty and blood. The stain, thus left upon his memory, can never be effaced. The details of the carnage are too revolting for recital. Four thousand persons had capitulated. Nelson declared the capitulation null.

"Unfortunately," says Alison, "the English admiral, who had fallen under the fascinating influence of Lady Hamilton

(who shared in all the feelings of the court), was too much inclined to adopt the same principles. He instantly declared the capitulation null, as not having obtained the king's authority; and entering the harbor, at the head of his fleet, made all those who had issued from the castles, in virtue of the capitulation, prisoners, and had them chained two and two on board his own fleet. The king, who could not endure the sight of the punishments which were preparing, returned to Sicily, and left the administration of justice in the hands of the queen and Lady Hamilton. Numbers were immediately condemned and executed. The vengeance of the populace supplied what was wanting in the celerity of the criminal tribunals; neither age, nor sex, nor rank was spared. Women as well as men; youths of sixteen and gray headed men of seventy, were alike led out to the scaffold."

Nothing can more conclusively show, than the above, the bitterness of the passions engendered by this strife between aristocratic privilege and popular rights. France was terror-stricken. The directory had sunk into utter contempt. The army in Italy was nearly annihilated, and the remnants of the battalions, bleeding and starving, were seeking shelter upon the cliffs and among the defiles of the Alps. Armies amounting to three hundred thousand men were assailing France on the Rhinish frontier. Nearly all Europe was in arms against the republic. The English navy had swept French commerce from every sea, had wrested from France all her colonies, and was bombarding every French port which could be brought within range of her guns. France was threatened with immediate invasion, both on the side of the Alps and of the Rhine. The impotence of the directory was as manifest in the internal, as in the external administration of the government. Anarchy reigned throughout France. The treasury was hopelessly bankrupt. The soldiers, ragged and starving, were abandoning their colors, and retiring in despair to their