

homes. The republic was on the eve of utter and remediless ruin.

Napoleon, apprised of these calamities, left Egypt, and landed in France on the ninth of October, 1799. Proceeding immediately to Paris, by a bloodless revolution he overthrew the directory, and established the consular government. He then appealed to England and Austria for peace. Contemptuously both powers rejected his proposal. He was told that France could never hope for peace until she abolished her free institutions and reestablished the throne of the Bourbon.

Napoleon, sending Moreau, with the flower of the French troops, to repel the invaders on the Rhine, collected such an army as he could, of sixty-five thousand men, for the recovery of Italy. Suddenly concentrating them at Dijon, he led them across the Alpine pass of the Great St. Bernard, met the Austrians, vastly outnumbering him, upon the field of Marengo, and, in one of the fiercest battles ever fought, gained one of the most decisive victories ever won. He had just appealed to Austria, in vain, for peace. Upon the field of his victory, surrounded by the gory corpses of the slain, he wrote again, in the following terms:

"Sire! It is on the field of battle, amidst the sufferings of a multitude of wounded, and surrounded by fifteen thousand corpses, that I beseech your majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, and not to suffer two brave nations to cut each other's throats for interests not their own. It is my part to press this upon your majesty, being upon the very theater of war. Your majesty's heart can not feel it so keenly as does mine."

The appeal was long and earnest. It could be met but by one answer, and that was, "The stability of European thrones demands that, cost what it may, republicanism in Europe, under whatever form, must be put down." It was manifest, hence, that there could be no peace but in the entire overthrow of Napoleon, or in his becoming so strong as to render attack

hopeless. After the battle of Marengo, the remnants of the Austrian battalions were entirely at the mercy of the conqueror. He, however, allowed them to retire unmolested, they promising to abandon Italy. In triumph Napoleon entered Milan, where he was received with indescribable rejoicings by the liberated inhabitants. Though the Austrians refused to accede to peace, and continued the war upon the Rhine, one decisive battle had driven them from Italy. Napoleon, having thus protected his Alpine frontier from invasion, reorganized the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and returned to Paris.

Pope Pius VII. now occupied the pontifical chair. Again the allied army, having recruited its forces among the mountains of the Tyrol, invaded Italy by the valley of the Mincio. Ferdinand IV. of Naples, conscious of the execrations of his people, and that they would immediately rise against him if the Austrians were expelled from Italy, with almost superhuman exertions raised an army of eighty thousand men, and, marching through the papal states, entered Tuscany, rallying everywhere the partisans of the aristocracy beneath his banners. They were attacked, overwhelmed, and driven back like sheep before the patriots. Murat was then sent, by Napoleon, at the head of twenty-eight thousand men, to chastise the infamous court of Naples, and bring it to terms. The queen of Naples, terror-stricken, in mid-winter, undertook a journey to St. Petersburg, to implore the Czar of Russia to intercede with Napoleon in their behalf. He did so. The first consul, anxious to secure the friendship of the eccentric, yet powerful sovereign of Russia, granted all his wishes. Paul had recently, in disgust, abandoned the alliance against France, and was manifesting decided sympathies for Napoleon.

France and Russia soon united in the *continental system* so called, which was simply an effort to exclude all English goods from the continent of Europe, and to refuse to have any commercial transaction with the English whatever, until

the court of St. James would consent to make peace with republican France. The Bourbons of Naples were permitted to remain on the throne, they agreeing that all the ports of Naples and Sicily should be closed against English merchandise. But for the intercession of Russia, Napoleon would have driven the infamous Ferdinand IV., and his equally infamous wife, from Italy, and would have established a government of liberal principles in the kingdom of Naples. At the request of Paul he pardoned them, and left them on the throne which their despotism and crimes disgraced.

Austria, vanquished on the Rhine, as well as in Italy, was at length again compelled to make peace. By the treaty of Luneville, in February, 1801, Lombardy was erected into an independent state, with the Adige for the boundary between it, and the Austrian dominions. Venice was left in the possession of Austria. Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine republic, and its eastern boundary was extended to the Adige. Austria acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, declaring that their inhabitants should have the power of choosing whatever form of government they preferred. Piedmont remained incorporated with France as one of the departments of the republic.

The grand duchy of Tuscany had been ceded to Spain. It was in May, 1801, erected into a monarchy, under the title of the kingdom of Etruria, and the duke of Parma, who had married the daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, was placed over it as king. It was an independent kingdom in close alliance with Spain. This measure was adopted as an act of conciliation to the Spanish Bourbons, and with the hope that it would disarm them of their enmity against France.

In the month of May, 1804, Napoleon was declared emperor of France. It was thought that the adoption of monarchical forms might, in some degree, reconcile Europe to France, even while the principles of republican equality were maintained by the energies of the throne. It was also said

that the experiment had proved that the people of France, with but little intellectual culture, unskilled in governing, and surrounded by hostile monarchies, who were incessantly assailing them, were unable to maintain republican forms. Most of the surrounding monarchies expressed their gratification. England remained implacable. One of Napoleon's first acts, after his enthronement, was to write to the king of England in the following terms:

“Sire, my brother. Called to the throne by Providence, by the suffrages of the senate, of the people, and of the army, my first desire is for peace. France and England, abusing their prosperity, may contend for ages. But do their respective governments fulfill their most sacred duties in causing so much blood to be vainly shed, without the hope of advantage or prospect of cessation? I do not conceive that it can be dishonorable in me to make the first advances. I believe it has been sufficiently proved to the world that I dread none of the chances of war, which indeed offer nothing which I can fear. Though peace is the wish of my heart, war has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your majesty, then, not to refuse the happiness of giving peace to the world. Delay not that grateful satisfaction, that it may be a legacy for your children; for never have arisen more favorable circumstances, nor a more propitious moment for calming every passion, and displaying the best feelings of humanity and reason.

“That moment once lost, what term shall we set to a struggle which all my efforts have been unable to terminate. In the space of ten years your majesty has gained more, in wealth and territory, than the extent of Europe comprehends. Your people have attained the height of prosperity. What, then, has your majesty to hope from war? The world is sufficiently extensive for two nations, and reason might assist us to discover the means of conciliating all, were both parties animated by a spirit of reconciliation. At all events, I have discharged a sacred duty and one dear to my heart. Your

majesty may rely upon the sincerity of the sentiments now expressed, and on my desire to afford your majesty every proof of that sincerity."

This appeal was like all the rest unavailing, and war still raged. The Cisalpine republic, influenced by the same considerations which had prevailed with the French republic, also judged it best to adopt monarchical forms; and conscious of their entire inability to repel their foes, but by the aid of France, they sent a deputation to Paris to consult Napoleon upon the proposed alteration in their form of government, and to solicit him to accept the crown of the kingdom of Italy. In reply Napoleon said:

"The separation of the crowns of France and Italy, will be necessary hereafter, but highly dangerous at present, surrounded, as we are, by powerful enemies and inconstant friends. The people of Italy have always been dear to me. For the love I bear them, I consent to take the additional burden and responsibility which their confidence has led them to impose upon me, at least until the interests of Italy shall permit me to place the crown on a younger head. My successor, animated by my spirit, and intent upon completing the work of regeneration, already so auspiciously commenced, shall be one who will be ever ready to sacrifice his personal interests, and, if necessary, his life, in behalf of the nation over which he shall be called by Providence, the constitution of the country, and my approbation, to reign."

Upon this occasion Napoleon said to his secretary, Bourrienne:—"In eight days I shall set out to assume the iron crown of Charlemagne. That, however, is but a stepping-stone to greater things which I design for Italy, which must become a kingdom, comprising all the transalpine country from Venice to the maritime Alps. The union of Italy with France can be but transient. For the present it is necessary, in order to accustom the Italians to live under common laws. The people of Genoa Piedmont, Milan, Venice, Tuscany, Rome

and Naples, cordially detest each other, and none of them could be induced to admit their inferiority. Rome, however, by her situation and historical associations, is the natural capital of Italy. To make it so in reality the power of the pope must be restricted to spiritual affairs. It would be impolitic to attempt the accomplishment of this just now; but if circumstances are favorable, there may be less difficulty here after.

"Since it would be impossible at once to unite Italy into a single power, yielding obedience to uniform laws, I shall commence by making her French. All the petty, worthless states into which she is divided, will thus acquire a habit of living under the dominion of the same laws, and, when this habit is formed, and local feuds and enmities become extinct, there will again be an Italy worthy of her olden renown. Twenty years are requisite, however, to accomplish this, and who can calculate with certainty upon the future?"

Napoleon and Josephine crossed the Alps together, accompanied by the pope, Pius VII. On the twenty-sixth of May, 1805, the iron crown of Charlemagne was placed upon Napoleon's brow in the cathedral at Milan. The petty jealousies, which were so strong in Italy, rendered the Genoese averse to be incorporated with the new Italian kingdom. As the liliputian Ligurian republic could by no means stand alone, and as such a kingdom would be a mere burlesque, the Genoese petitioned to be annexed to France. The incorporation was completed in October, 1805. Eugene Beauharnais, son of the empress Josephine, by her former husband, was entrusted with the vice-royalty of the kingdom of Italy.

In a new coalition, combined Europe was soon again on the march to crush Napoleon. An immense Austrian army, under the archduke Charles, entered Italy. Napoleon, leaving his lieutenants to repel them, marched, in person, directly upon Vienna, and in the renowned campaign of Austerlitz, again chastised the allies into peace. By the treaty of Pres-

burg which immediately ensued, December, 1805, the emperor Francis, of Austria, acknowledged the kingdom of Italy, and surrendered Venice to be united with it.

The perfidious court of Naples, deeming the destruction of Napoleon certain, when, in the wilds of Germany, more than a thousand miles from his capital, he was struggling against his banded foes, treacherously joined his enemies, and inviting the British fleet into their harbor, contributed fifty thousand troops to swell the ranks of the allies in assailing Napoleon in the rear. Just after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon received despatches informing him of this treachery. In the following proclamation to the army, he announced the crime of the court of Naples and their destined punishment:

“Soldiers! For the last ten years I have done every thing in my power to save the king of Naples. He has done every thing to destroy himself. After the battles of Dego, Mendovi, and Lodi, he could oppose to me but a feeble resistance. I relied upon the word of this prince, and was generous toward him. When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the king of Naples, who had been the first to commence this unjust war, abandoned by his allies, remained single-handed and defenseless. He implored me. I pardoned him a second time. It is but a few months since you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficiently powerful reasons for suspecting the treason in contemplation. I was still generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples. I ordered you to evacuate the kingdom. For the third time the house of Naples was reëstablished and saved. Shall we forgive a fourth time? Shall we rely a fourth time on a court without faith, honor, or reason? No! No! *The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign.* Its existence is incompatible with the honor of Europe and the repose of my crown.”

In January, 1806, a French army, under Joseph Bonaparte, crossed the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The English immediately spread their sails and departed, taking

with them the impotent king and his haughty wife. With hardly the shadow of resistance, the Neapolitans threw open all their gates to the French, the advocates of popular equality receiving them there, as every where else, with unbounded enthusiasm. Joseph Bonaparte was crowned king of the Two Sicilies. It is the undisputed testimony of both friend and foe, that the reign of Joseph Bonaparte in Naples was the happiest period the kingdom had ever known.

“The brief reign of Joseph,” says the *New York American*, “was a succession of benefits to a people who had been long degraded by a most oppressive despotism. He founded civil and military schools, some of which yet exist—overthrew feudal privilege—suppressed the convents—opened new roads—caused the lazzaroni of Naples to work and be paid—drained marshes, and every where animated with new life and hope a people long sunk in abject servitude.”

Upon the dethronement of the Bourbons of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte was transferred to that throne, greatly to the regret of his Neapolitan subjects, and Murat, who had married Napoleon's sister Caroline, was declared king of Naples and Sicily. “He was received,” says Alison, “with universal joy by the inconstant people, who seemed equally delighted with any sovereign sent to them by the great northern conqueror. His entry into Naples was as great a scene of triumph, felicitations, and enthusiasm, as that of Joseph had been.”

Sir Hudson Lowe, who has gained unenviable notoriety for his inhumanity to his illustrious prisoner upon the island of St. Helena, was then with a British force holding the island of Capri. Murat fitted out an expedition and recaptured the island. The English garrison capitulated, and was sent to England.

Pius VII., the Roman pontiff, was exceedingly desirous for the restoration of his temporal power, that he might be recognized as a temporal prince, as well as the head of the church. He was ceaseless in his importunities with Napoleon to grant

him territorial aggrandizement. But Napoleon was decisive and explicit in refusal. It was essentially the old quarrel of investitures. Napoleon wrote to the pope:

"Your situation requires that you should pay me the same respect in *temporal*, which I do you in *spiritual* matters. You are sovereign of Rome, but I am its emperor."

Pius VII. replied, "Your majesty lays it down as a fundamental principle, that you are sovereign of Rome. The supreme pontiff recognizes no such authority, nor any power superior in temporal matters to his own."

The pope, claiming that he was an independent sovereign, claimed the right, powerless as he was, of throwing open his ports to the enemies of France. Napoleon, wishing earnestly to be on amicable terms with his holiness, proposed as the basis of an arrangement between the two governments: 1. That the ports of the papal states should be closed against English ships, when France and England were at war. 2. That when a hostile force had landed upon Italy, or were menacing the coast, the papal fortresses, having no power in themselves to resist the enemy, should be occupied by French troops. The pope peremptorily refused these terms. Napoleon wrote to Eugene the following letter, which he was requested to lay before the pope:

"So the pope persists in his refusal. He will open his eyes when it is too late. What would he have? What does he mean to do? Will he place my kingdoms under the spiritual interdict? Is he ignorant how much times are changed? Does he take me for a second Louis le Debonnaire, and does he believe that his excommunications will make the weapons fall from the hands of my soldiers? What would he say if I were to separate from Catholicism the greater part of Europe? I should have better reason for doing so than Henry the VIII. had. Let the pope think well of it. Do not let him force me to propose, and to enforce in France and elsewhere, a worship more rational than that of which he is the chief. This would

be less difficult than he thinks, in the present state of men's ideas, and when so many eyes have been opened, for half a century, to the iniquities and follies of his clergy."

It was one of the first principles of Napoleon that perfect freedom of conscience, in religious worship, should prevail in every state over which he had any control. But the pope declared that the toleration of dissenters and Jews was a sin against God, and a disgrace to any Christian state. The pope refused to recognize the new sovereignty in Naples, affirming that the kingdom of Naples was in feudal dependence upon the papal see; refused to introduce the code of Napoleon into his states; refused to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with France; refused to allow the free public exercise of all forms of worship. Such was the nature of the conflict. As the pope held his power by the permission of Napoleon, the emperor demanded the pope's cooperation in repelling his foes, and in promoting the regeneration of Europe.

In May, 1809, Napoleon issued a decree, declaring, that as the pope refused an alliance with France, and that as the safety of France demanded that an unfriendly power should not be left in Italy, the papal states were annexed, a part to the kingdom of Italy, and a part to the empire of France. The pope, thus deprived of his temporal power, was granted an annuity from France of four hundred thousand dollars a year, for his personal expenses. "The city of Rome," said this decree, "so interesting from its recollections as the first seat of Christianity, is declared an imperial and free city."

The pope immediately issued a bull of excommunication against the emperor. Napoleon was at this time struggling against his foes at Wagram. Murat sent from Naples a battalion of troops, seized the pope, and conveyed him a prisoner first to Savona, and then to the palace of Fontainebleau, in France. Here the pontiff remained in gorgeous captivity until the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. At St. Helena, Na-

oleon, in the following words, dictated to Count Montholon his intentions in reference to Italy:

"It was Napoleon's desire to raise up the Italian nation, and to reunite the Venetians, Milanese, Piedmontese, Genoese, Tuscans, Parmesans, Modenese, Romans, Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Sardinians into one independent nation, bounded by the Alps and the Adriatic, the Ionian and Mediterranean seas. Such was the immortal trophy he was raising to his glory. This great and powerful kingdom would have been, by land, a check to the house of Austria, while, at sea, its fleets, combined with those of Toulon, would have ruled the Mediterranean, and protected the old course of trade to India by the Red sea and Suez. Rome, the capital of this state, was the eternal city; covered by the three barriers, of the Alps, the Po, and the Apennines; nearer than any other, to the three great islands. But Napoleon had many obstacles to surmount. He said, at the council of Lyons, 'It will take me twenty years to establish the Italian nation.'"

CHAPTER XXIX.

ITALY UNDER NAPOLEON, AND UNDER THE AUSTRIANS.

FROM A. D. 1809 TO A. D. 1848.

FRENCH MEASURES IN ITALY.—CONDITION OF SICILY.—OF SARDINIA.—OF NAPLES.—JOSEPH BONAPARTE.—MURAT.—THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.—THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.—EUGENE BEAUHARNAIS.—ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA UPON NAPOLEON.—THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.—ITS EFFECTS UPON ITALY.—THE AUSTRIAN SWAY IN ITALY.—EXECUTION OF MURAT.—INSURRECTIONS.—ENERGY OF AUSTRIA.—STRUGGLES OF THE YEAR 1820.—REVOLUTION OF 1830.—RUIN OF THE ITALIAN PATRIOTS.—ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.—REVIVAL OF THE ITALIAN STRUGGLE.

THE establishment of French power in Rome wrought immediate and wonderful results. They can not be better described than in the language of Alison:

"The immediate effects of the change," he says, "were in the highest degree beneficial on the city of Rome. Vast was the difference between the slumber of the cardinals and the energetic measures of Napoleon. Improvements, interesting alike to the antiquary and the citizen, were undertaken in every direction. The majestic monuments of ancient Rome, half concealed by the ruins and accumulations of fourteen hundred years, stood forth in renovated splendor; the stately columns of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, relieved of the load of their displaced architrave, were restored to the perpendicular, from which they had swerved during their long decay; the beautiful pillars of that Jupiter Stator, half covered up with fragments of marbles, revealed their exquisite and now fully discovered proportions; the huge interior of the Coliseum, cleared of the rubbish which obstructed its base, again exhibited its wonders to the light; the channels which conducted the water for the aquatic exhibitions, the iron gates