

PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

V.

THE French Republicans who had seized Rome and their Roman adherents whom they had installed as nominal rulers of the city had not been restrained by any feelings of veneration or compassion from driving Pius VI. into exile, but they seem to have dreaded the odium which they would have incurred had his death been the result of their brutality, and the aged Pontiff was allowed to bring his first day's journey to a close at the village of Monterosi, about twenty-six miles from Rome.¹ The greater part of his escort of dragoons had been withdrawn on reaching the French camp beyond Ponte Molle; the remainder left him at La Horta, the first post station, after insisting on being paid for their services, and the two majors continued to accompany him to the end of his journey. Pius VI. was then in his 81st year. He had barely recovered from a long and dangerous illness, and such was his state of exhaustion on reaching the Benedictine Abbey of Monterosi that he had to be lifted out of his carriage by his attendants and carried to his apartments. He was able, however, to continue his journey on the following day, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, and traveled to Tuscany by easy stages, stopping at Viterbo, where he prayed at the shrine of Santa Rosa, whose body is still preserved intact in the convent of the Franciscan nuns at San Lorenzo Nuovo, Radicofani and San Guirico.²

At many places along the road followed by the Holy Father the peasantry assembled from the neighboring villages to receive his blessing, and in the towns where he stopped the crowds were so great that his carriage could hardly make its way through them; but on arriving at the Tuscan frontier no representative of the Grand Duke came to welcome him. Ferdinand III. and his Ministers, who

¹ Mgr. Pietro Baldassari: "Relazione delle avversità e patimenti del glorioso Papa Pio VI. negli ultimi tre anni del suo Pontificato." Roma, 1889. Mgr. Baldassari was secretary to Mgr. Innico Diego Caracciolo, the Maestro di Camera to Pius VI. Though he did not accompany the Holy Father when he was carried away from Rome, he rejoined him when he was living at the Carthusian monastery near Florence, and was able to obtain a minute account of his journey.

² Sciout (Ludovic) *Le Directoire*, Paris, 1897, Vol. M, p. 330. The Directors had at first intended to send Pius VI. to Portugal, and on the 1st Ventose (19th February, 1798) had sent General Berthier a decree to that effect. They then changed their minds, and by a decree of the 8th Ventose (26th February) they ordered him to send the Holy Father to Brazil on board of one of the frigates at Incona or Civita Vecchia. But the Pope was already in Tuscany.

knew how powerless they were to offer any resistance to the armies of the republic, were much embarrassed on learning that it was the intention of the Directory to send Pius VI. into Tuscany, as they feared that a snare was being laid for them, and that any manifestation of sympathy with the misfortunes of the Holy Father might afford the French Republicans a pretext for invading their country. The government had therefore decided that the Pope should not be allowed to live in Florence, and Mgr. Zondadari, the Archbishop of Sienna, was requested to prepare lodgings for the Papal Court in some monastery in that town. Notice was also given to the Bishops, to the heads of religious orders and to the police that, as the Grand Duke believed that the Pope was traveling merely as a private person, he forbade any public demonstration in his honor, such as the ringing of bells, ceremonious receptions or even the applause of the people.*

Pius VI. arrived at Sienna on February 25, which was the first Sunday in Lent, and though great crowds had assembled to greet him, no acclamations were allowed, all signs of rejoicing were sternly suppressed and the people could only show their veneration for the Holy Father by kneeling in silence to receive his blessing. The Augustinian monastery at Sienna had been chosen as the residence of Pius VI., who was received on his arrival by Mgr. Odescalchi, his Nuncio at Florence, and a few days later the Marchese Manfredini, one of the Ministers of Ferdinand III., came to compliment him on the part of his sovereign and to request him to take up his abode at Sienna rather than at Florence. The Holy Father willingly consented, but as many prelates and persons of high rank, both French and Italian, known to be hostile to the republic, came to reside in Sienna, the anxiety of the Tuscan Ministry to avoid giving any offense to the Directory was such that Lieutenant General Martini, the Governor of Sienna, received orders in the beginning of May not to allow any persons who had formed part of the Papal Court in Rome, with the exception of those actually in attendance on the Holy Father, to remain in the town for more than forty-eight hours, or, in very exceptional cases, three days at the utmost. Few even of the Cardinals who passed through Sienna were allowed to stay so long, and every obstacle was placed in the way of the Bishops of Tuscany to prevent them from coming to do homage to the Head of the Church.

Before the French troops entered Rome some of the Cardinals who, on account of their official connection with the Papal Govern-

* Count A. F. D'Allonville, "Memoires tires des papiers d'un Homme d'Etat sur les causes secretes qui ont determine la politique des Cabinets dans les guerres de la Revolution," Paris, 1831-1837, Vol. V., p. 251.

ment or their well-known hostility to France, had reason to dread the vengeance of the republic, had taken the precaution of seeking a refuge in the kingdom of Naples; others fled to Tuscany soon after the departure of Pius VI. Of the thirteen who still remained in Rome, six were arrested on March 8 and imprisoned in the Convent of the Convertile, together with the Governors of Rome and Perugia and some other prelates; the others were ordered to leave Rome and to return to their native cities. Two Cardinals, unfortunately—Tommaso Antici and Vincenzo Marias degli Altieri—when threatened by the consuls of the new republic, first with imprisonment and then with deportation unless they renounced the dignity of Cardinal, yielded to these menaces, and said to the Holy Father that their great age and their infirmities rendered it impossible for them to fulfill any longer the duties attached to their position or to uphold it becomingly, and they therefore requested him to accept their resignation. Pius VI. was deeply affected by this cowardly act, and in the hope that the erring Cardinals might repent and revoke this abdication of their rank, he deferred taking any decision in the matter until the month of September, when, finding that they still persisted in their determination, he accepted their resignation and declared them to be no longer members of the Sacred College.⁴

The six Cardinals who had been imprisoned in the Convent of the Convertile were sent after a few days to the Dominican manastery at Civita Vecchia, and it was suggested to them also that they should lay down the dignity of Cardinal, but they rejected the proposal with indignation, and even refused to purchase their liberty with money, as they considered that it would be dishonorable to make such a concession to those who had arrested them so unjustly. They were soon joined by Cardinal Archetti, Bishop of Ascoli, and by the prelates who had been Governors of Frosinone, Loreto, Ascoli and Spoleto, and their imprisonment lasted until the end of March, when they were ordered to leave the territory of the republic and were obliged to embark in very stormy weather for Leghorn, from where they retired to various parts of Italy.

The banishment of the Sovereign Pontiff, the dispersion of the

⁴Baldassari, p. 45. Cardinal Altieri died on February 10, 1800, aged seventy-five. He had deeply repented the weakness of which he had been guilty, and when dying he wrote to the Cardinal Dean of the Sacred College, asking him to obtain for him the forgiveness of the Pope who should be elected in the conclave then being held. In renouncing the dignity of Cardinal he had acted by the advice of a theologian who held Jansenist opinions. Cardinal Antici passed the rest of his life in retirement at Recanati. At the time of the conclave in 1800 he sought to be readmitted into the Sacred College, but his demand was rejected, and he died in 1812, after having written to Pius VII., who was then imprisoned in Savona, to express his repentance and ask pardon for his fault. *Ibid*, p. 57.

Cardinals and the consequent disorganization of the congregations for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs over which they presided was apparently considered by the French Directory as presenting a favorable opportunity for inflicting further injury on religion by the creation of an anti-Pope and of a schismatical church, which, like that which had been founded in France, might furnish a convenient pretext for further confiscations and proscriptions. The candidate selected for the purpose by the French authorities in Rome was Mgr. Emmanuel di Gregorio, of the family of the Marquises of Squillace, the civil vicegerent of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, a prelate distinguished by his learning and whose kindness and affability had rendered him very popular in that city. He was privately informed that it was the intention of Generals Vial and Dallemagne, who commanded the French garrison, to name him Patriarch of the West and Pope, and on his objecting that the Sovereign Pontiff was still alive, he was informed that Pius VI. would be persuaded or forced to resign, and that as the Cardinals were absent from Rome, the election would be made by the parochial clergy and the people. Mgr. di Gregorio was astounded at this proposal, and fearing to excite the anger of the Republicans by refusing to act the part of an anti-Pope, he fled from Rome and rejoining Pius VI. at Sienna, revealed to him this conspiracy which threatened the unity of the Church. It was not, however, carried any further, for the French and Italian revolutionists were confronted with more difficult problems which demanded an immediate solution, namely, the extortion of more money from a country which had already paid such heavy contributions, and the suppression of the insurrections which had been excited in many parts of the Papal States by the insults offered to religion, the spoliation of the churches and the taxes levied by the newly created republican authorities for the celebration of patriotic feasts in honor of government.⁵

The rising of the inhabitants of the villages near Rome, so easily put down by Murat, was followed in April and May, 1798, by a far more serious revolt in the mountainous region near the Lake of Trasimen. From Castel Rigone, where it began, the movement was spread rapidly throughout the district by bands of from 400 to 800 armed peasants carrying the Papal flag, who pulled down

⁵ "Mémolres du General Baron Thiebault," Paris, 1894, Vol. II., p. 204: "L'insurrection du Traslme eut les memes causes que toutes les insurrections qui l'avarent precedee; la composition des nouvelles autorites; le cholese de agents tres mal fames les contributions forcees des villes pour des fetes dites patriotiques: les requisitions pour ainsi dire incommes des sujets du Pape; les vexations et concussions des percepteurs . . . la loi qui defandait aux religieus de queter et aux pretres de faire des aumones."

the trees of liberty, and at last concentrating their forces, seized Citta di Castello, where they massacred the French garrison and the republican municipality. A strong French column which attacked the town was repulsed with loss, but when it returned to the assault with artillery, the insurgents left the town during the night and the inhabitants surrendered. What remained of the bands was soon scattered and the country was apparently pacified, but the commissioners who represented the Directory in Rome, instead of acknowledging that the rapacity of their agents had driven the people to take up arms and adopting measures to put a stop to their dishonesty, preferred to throw the blame on the clergy, and especially on the Holy Father. They wrote, therefore, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany asserting that the signal of revolt had been given from Sienna; that the agitators had received their instructions from Pius VI. and from those about him; that these facts showed the necessity of removing the Pope from the neighborhood of the frontier, and they requested His Serene Highness to send him to Leghorn, where they would provide a vessel which should bring him to Cagliari. The commissioners probably hoped that in the feeble condition of the Pope's health the sea voyage to Sardinia might prove fatal to him; but Ferdinand III., though careful to avoid whatever might irritate the republic, refused to yield to this insolent demand. He sent Marquis Manfredini to Rome furnished with medical certificates to prove that to send the Holy Father to Sardinia would endanger his life, and at the same time to remind General Gouvion de St. Cyr and the commissioners of the precautions which he had taken to isolate Pius VI. and to remove from Sienna the prelates who had been in the service of the Holy See; but he was only able to obtain as a favor that the Pope should be allowed to reside at the Certosa di Val d'Enza, a Carthusian monastery about two miles from Florence, which he should be ready to leave for some other place whenever the Directory might judge fit.

This uncertainty as to his future movements, and the fear that at some future period he might be deprived of all communication with the faithful, caused Pius VI. before leaving Sienna to send to Cardinal Albani, the Dean of the Sacred College, who, together with the greater number of the Cardinals, had taken refuge at Naples, the bull "Christi Ecclesia," which he had signed on December 30 of the preceding year, and by which he had authorized the election of his successor, to be held wherever the majority of the Cardinals should judge most convenient and without observing the delay of ten days which should elapse between the death of a Pope and the opening of the conclave.

In obedience to the will of the French Commander-in-Chief, the

Grand Duke issued the order for the departure of the Holy Father on May 26, and on the same day a violent earthquake took place in Sienna by which the Augustinian convent was much damaged, and the Pope, who narrowly escaped with his life, was obliged to take refuge in a villa outside the town. He left for Florence on June 1. Crowds of people had assembled along the road from Sienna to Florence to see him pass and ask his blessing, but between Florence and the Carthusian monastery patrols had been placed to prevent any demonstration or concourse of spectators, and such was the Grand Duke's anxiety to avoid whatever might displease the Directory, that when he had paid one ceremonious visit to the Sovereign Pontiff shortly after his arrival, he had no other interview with him during his stay of nearly ten months at the monastery. It was a period of almost absolute seclusion for the Holy Father, who while at Sienna had been allowed to receive visitors and give audiences every day, but at the Carthusian monastery this liberty was denied him. Neither the inhabitants of Florence nor strangers passing through were allowed to visit him, and the French Ambassador Reinhard, who caused him to be narrowly watched, denounced to the Grand Duke the persons suspected of wishing to see him and requested him to expel them from the city. Before long the Holy Father's health became still more enfeebled; he was unable even to stand without the assistance of two persons, and was obliged to cease from the celebration of Mass.

The Emperor of Austria and the King of Spain, at the request of the Nuncios at Vienna and Madrid, had vainly endeavored to persuade the French Government to allow Pius VI. to remain at the Carthusian monastery, but finding that the Directors were resolved to expel him from Italy, they expressed their desire to receive him in their States. The King of Spain proposed to convey him to one of the Balearic Islands, but the Holy Father could not accept this offer. The Emperor demanded that he should be allowed to reside in the Venetian territory recently added to Austria, and he also invited the Cardinals to take up their abode there, promising them that in case of the Pope's death he would assure the liberty of the conclave for the election of his successor. Pius VI. advised the Cardinals to accept this offer, and those who were living in various towns of Northern Italy went to Venice, where those who had taken refuge at Naples followed them when King Ferdinand left his capital and fled to Palermo on the advance of the French army. The demand for the expulsion of the Holy Father from Tuscany and his exile to Sardinia was again renewed by Reinhard in the month of July, while Manfredini suggested, on the other hand, that the Convent of Melk, in Austria, would be a more suitable place of

residence; for, besides the danger which might result to the Pope's health from a journey by sea, he would also run the risk of being captured by an English cruiser or an Algerine corsair, and the matter was again referred to the Directory for their consideration. The Grand Duke, indeed, had made every effort to please the French Government; he had expelled the French emigrants; he had recognized the Cisalpine Republic, though its emissaries were seeking to revolutionize Tuscany; he had also been obliged, in spite of his protestations, to grant at least a partial recognition to the Roman Republic by taking down the Papal arms from the Nuncio's palace; but he saw that the Directors aimed at causing the death of the Holy Father without rendering themselves directly responsible for it, and he steadfastly refused to allow himself to be made a tool for the execution of their odious intrigues.

The derogations which Pius VI. had made by the bull "Christi Ecclesia" to the laws regulating the election of a Sovereign Pontiff did not seem to many of the Cardinals sufficient to provide against all interference with the liberty of the conclave or the danger of the election of more than one Pope by isolated groups of Cardinals. Yielding therefore to their request, the Holy Father by the bull of November 13, 1798, "Quum nos, superiori anno," granted a still further relaxation of the laws and constitutions of his predecessors and decreed that if all the Cardinals were not able to come together, those who were in greatest number in the States of a Catholic monarch were alone to exercise the right of election. They were also allowed to make preparations for the conclave during his lifetime, but they were not to discuss the choice of a candidate. Two-thirds of the votes of the Cardinals present would suffice for a valid election. The bull was sent to the senior of the Cardinals residing in the Venetian provinces in the beginning of March, 1799, but on the death of Pius VI., as the exceptional case to be guarded against did not occur, it was not necessary to have recourse to it.

The Directory continued to aim at the conversion of the Italian States into vassal republics humbly devoted to the interests of France. It still pretended, indeed, to recognize the independence of the King of Piedmont, but it encouraged invasions of his territory by armed bands from the adjacent Cisalpine and Ligurian Commonwealths for the purpose of exciting his subjects to revolt; but Charles Emmanuel appealed to his people, who rallied round him and crushed the insurgents. When the Directors found that all attempts to excite a revolution in Piedmont were of no avail, they imposed on the King a new treaty, by which a French garrison was to occupy the citadel of Turin for the space of two months, and they promised in return to guarantee the tranquillity of his kingdom

and not to assist directly or indirectly those who sought to overthrow his government.

It was only the dread that the Directory might side openly with the revolutionary party, which by itself was unable to overcome the loyalty of his troops, and the hope that Austria would soon declare war again that could have induced Charles Emmanuel to make such concessions. They did not, however, satisfy the Directors; they sought to extort from the King by threats several millions for the support of their army. The French troops continued to hold the citadel of Turin long after the expiration of the prescribed time, and when at last the King's downfall had been decided, a demand was made for the contingent of 9,000 men which had been agreed on by the previous treaty. As the King could not comply at once with the request, Eymar, the French envoy at Turin, withdrew to the citadel as though his life were threatened, while the French troops in the Cisalpine Republic, crossing the frontier by night, surprised and disarmed the garrisons of several towns (15 Frimaire an VII.—5th December, 1798). At the same time General Joubert, the French Commander-in-Chief at Milan, published an order of the day in which he accused the Piedmontese Court of plotting against France and shedding the blood of French and Piedmontese republicans and declaring that his army, which was about to invade Piedmont, would respect property and religion and assure the peace and happiness of the country. General Grouchy, who commanded the citadel of Turin, then, by gaining over some of the advisers of Charles Emmanuel, persuaded the King to abdicate, though without making any formal proposals to him, so that it might seem that the act was voluntary;⁶ and on the night of the 9th December, 1798, the royal family left Turin for the Island of Sardinia, the only possession which was left to them. On the following day a pro-

⁶ "Le Marquis de Costa de Beauregard, un Homme d'Autrefois," Paris, 1877, p. 435. After the hasty retreat of the French on the approach of the Austro-Russian forces, a copy of General Grouchy's secret report to the Directory on the abdication of Charles Emmanuel IV. was found, in which he described the perfidious mode whereby, without binding himself by any engagement, and although war had not been declared, he persuaded him to abdicate. "Le moment etait venu de faire jouer tous les ressorts secrets que j'avais prepares, je les mis en mouvement, et tentat un envoi du roi m'arriva c'etait l'avocat (name omitted) homme a gagner, et il le fut. D'autres personnes l'etaient egalement; mais la grande difficulte etait que les propositions emanassent du Roi; qu'il fit ce qu'on voulait, et que sa volonte seule le lui fit faire sans que rien d'ecrit ne Vienne de moi; afin que dans tous les cas je puisse etre desavoue. Cette conduite etait d'autant plus necessaire que la guerre n'etait pas declaree au Roi de Sardaigne, qu'on ignorait le parti que seraient forces de prendre le Directoire et le corps Legislatif, et qu'il fallait agir de telles manieres que l'acte du Roi paraisant volontaire ne put amener l'Europe entiere contre la Republique Francaise et faire rompre le Congress de Rastadt."

visional government was established in Turin. The French republican calendar was imposed on the Piedmontese people; many of the principal nobles were sent as hostages to France; a war tax of two millions of francs was levied on the country, and on February 8, 1799, the annexation to France was voted by the provisional government.

The overthrow of the King of Sardinia was followed in a few months by that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, from whom Reinhard, the French Ambassador, continued by order of the Directory to demand the deportation of Pius VI. to Sardinia. The temporary occupation of Leghorn by an Anglo-Neopolitan force on November 28, 1798, when the King of Naples was marching upon Rome, and the seizure there of some French privateers, was made the pretext for demanding an indemnity of 2,500,000 francs, of which half was paid, although the Grand Duke had remained neutral and was in no way responsible for the invasion of the port. The arrival, too, of the King of Piedmont in Florence (January 18, 1799) while on his way to Sardinia under the escort of an adjutant-general named Chipault, was taken advantage of by the Directors to make fresh efforts to induce the Holy Father to accompany him to that island, and thus cast on Charles Emmanuel instead of on the Grand Duke the responsibility for the fatal consequences which might ensue. But Pius VI. was then dangerously ill of fever; his limbs were covered with sores; the doctors had lost all hope of saving his life, and he had received the last sacraments. When, therefore, at the end of January, 1799, Adjutant-general Chipault came to visit the Holy Father with orders from the Directory that he should embark for Sardinia along with the royal family, he was so much shocked and affected on finding that he presented more the appearance of a corpse than that of a living being, that he did not venture to carry out his instructions, but merely said that the King of Piedmont, being about to leave, invited the Holy Father to accompany him, to which the Pope replied that it was impossible for him to comply with the request. The King sailed, therefore, for Sardinia, and on March 10 Chipault was again commanded by the Directory to make every effort to oblige Pius VI. to leave Italy, and it was only by the production of a protest written by the Holy Father, accompanied by medical certificates which proved that it was absolutely impossible for him to undertake the journey, that he was induced to desist.

Before the certificates had been placed before the Directors the Grand Duke was warned by a despatch from his representatives in Paris that if he wished to preserve his States and ensure the tranquility and welfare of his subjects, he should at once insist that

Pius VI. should leave for Sardinia. Ferdinand III., who fully understood the hopelessness of his position, yielded at last to these repeated threats. He assured Mgr. Odescalchi, the Papal Nuncio, that nothing should ever induce him to constrain the Sovereign Pontiff to leave his States, but that he hoped that Pius VI. would consider how impossible it was for him to withstand the power of France, and that in case of an invasion, Tuscany would be overwhelmed with the same misfortunes which had befallen the rest of Italy. He therefore requested the Holy Father to take whatever steps he might judge advisable and promised to respect his decision.

Pius VI. received this intelligence calmly and fearlessly. He declared that he was prepared to undergo any suffering in obedience to the will of God, and that he would not allow his dread of undertaking a journey to Sardinia to serve as a pretext to the Directory for invading Tuscany. Preparations were therefore made for the departure of the Holy Father, but on the following day Reinhard suddenly informed the Grand Duke that the Pope was to remain at the Certosa.

Neither the contributions which had been exacted from the Grand Duke nor whatever concessions he might be induced to make with regard to Pius VI. could avail to preserve him from sharing the fate of the other Italian sovereigns, and when the Directors thought that their interests demanded that Tuscany should adopt republican institutions they accused Ferdinand III. of conspiring with Austria and Naples against the French republic and of having consented to the occupation of Leghorn by the Anglo-Neapolitan expedition. The legislative councils in Paris, therefore, declared war against both Austria and Tuscany on March 12, 1799, and though when the news was received in Florence, Manfredini was despatched to Mantua to treat with General Scherer, the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Italy, and offer whatever terms might be necessary to obtain peace, and though Reinhard assured that he had received no information on the subject, the French troops in the province of Bologna crossed the frontier on the 24th under the command of General Gauthier and entered Florence on the 25th, while another detachment coming from Lucca took possession of Leghorn and seized all the merchandise belonging to the English, the Russians and the Portugese. The Grand Duke and the members of his family were allowed to leave Florence for Vienna, and when a few days later General Scherer received orders from Paris to arrest and bring them as prisoners to Briancon, they were happily beyond his reach. The occupation of Tuscany by the French was followed by the grotesque ceremony of planting "trees of liberty" in the various towns, as was customary on the proclamation of a

republic. The Tuscan troops were disarmed and sent to the Genoese territory; a provisional government was installed in Florence under the guidance of Reinhard and the usual band of French agents and commissioners who accompanied the French armies plundered the palace of the Grand Duke of all its treasures.

On the day following the arrival of the French troops a detachment of sixty men was sent to guard the Certosa, and next day Pius VI. was informed by a French general that it had been decided that he was to leave that night for Parma, to which he merely replied: "For Parma? Very well," and though the prelates who accompanied the Holy Father and the representatives of Spain made every effort to obtain from General Gauthier a delay of twenty-four hours, his departure was fixed at 2 o'clock on the next morning (28th March) in order that he might pass through the streets of Florence before dawn. Such was the helplessness of Pius VI., the lower part of whose body was paralyzed, that he required to be lifted by four servants into the carriage in which he was to travel, and the effort caused him so much suffering that some of the troopers who formed his escort were affected to tears.

The Directory had already decided that Pius VI. was to be imprisoned at Briançon, a fortified town in the department of *des Hautes-Alpes*, but that fact had not as yet been made known to him, and he had been allowed to believe that his ultimate destination was to be Parma. Before, however, entering on the description of the long and painful wanderings in which Pius VI. was mercilessly forced to pass the last year of his life, it will be necessary to follow the progress of the armies of revolution, as under pretense of inaugurating an era of liberty, equality and universal prosperity, they spread bloodshed and desolation throughout the southern provinces of Italy.

The Neapolitan army of nearly 40,000 men which had invaded the Papal States had been hastily raised. It was largely composed of untrained recruits and its officers belonged to the aristocracy, among which the Masonic lodges had been allowed to diffuse the principles of the revolution almost without hindrance. It had been beaten at all points by Championnet's troops, which did not reckon more than 15,000 or 16,000 men, forced to evacuate Rome and retreat hastily across the frontier. The French followed it in several columns, committing the same error as that of which Mack had been guilty, but without paying the same penalty. General Duhesme, marching along the shores of the Adriatic, seized the important fortresses of Civitella del Frontone and Pescara, both strongly fortified and garrisoned, without meeting with any serious resistance, and on the coast of the Mediterranean the town of Gaeta, generally considered

to be impregnable, was surrendered to General Rey after a few shells had been thrown into it.⁷

General MacDonald alone was checked in his advance by a re-trenched camp under the walls of Coyma, where the defeated Neapolitan army had been rallied. The King, who was warned on December 18 by General Mack that he despaired of offering any serious opposition to the progress of the French, had already issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Abruzzi, calling on them to take up arms for the defense of their religion, their King and their homes, and reminding them of the bravery with which their ancestors had fought to place the crown of Naples on the head of his father. Though this appeal met with an immediate response, and though the *lazzaroni* or populace of the capital asked for arms to defend the King and attacked those whom they suspected of holding revolutionary opinions, Ferdinand IV. felt that his position at Naples was untenable. The nobles about him urged him to come to terms with the French, but the fate of the King of Sardinia deterred him from accepting their advice. His army was disorganized and the majority of its officers had shown themselves to be traitors or cowards. The fleet could not be manned, as the greater part of the sailors refused to serve, though offered double pay,⁸ and the turbulent *lazzaroni* inspired but little confidence, for their manifestations of loyalty took the form of pillage and assassination. The King decided, therefore, to take refuge in Sicily, where he

⁷ The fortress of Civitella del Pronto stands upon a steep rock which commands the surrounding country; the town at its foot is defended by strong walls washed by a deep torrent. Its works were in good condition and armed with twelve guns. Its garrison of one hundred men was sufficient for its defense. It surrendered after an attack of a few hours. "Thiebault," II, p. 296.

Pescara was strongly fortified. It had eighty guns, was well provided with stores and had a garrison of two thousand men, while General Duhesme had only four small field pieces, yet it surrendered after a few hours' fire. *Ibid*, p. 307.

Gaeta was generally looked upon as an impregnable fortress. It had seventy heavy guns, twelve mortars, twenty thousand muskets, a garrison of three thousand men and provisions for a year; but its commander, Marshall Tachudy, a Swiss officer, surrendered it when General Rey had sent a few shells into it from a howitzer. *Ibid*, p. 340.

⁸ Freiherr von Helfert. Fabrizio Ruffo. Revolution und Gegan—Revolution von Neapel, November, 1798, bis August, 1799. Wien, 1882, p. 517. Letter from Queen Caroline to the Emperor of Austria, 21st December, 1798: "Nous sommes complètement malheureux, les fuyards arrivent en grand nombre, toute la ville est découragée, le peuple crie, hurle, se rassemble, mais dit vouloir saccager punir les Jacobins internes, non chatier, les combattre, c'est à dire il voudrait saccager avant la venue des Français et ceci est une populace très nombreuse . . . la noblesse ne fait rien que blâmer tout ce que fait le Gouvernement; le militaire et la marine est douteuse, . . . il faut tenir avec le canon les matelots à bord, car tous veulent s'enfuir."

might form another army with which to reconquer his States, and on the night of December 21 he left the palace by a secret passage, together with the royal family, and embarked on Nelson's flagship, the *Vanguard*. They carried with them over £2,000,000, the crown jewels and the most precious works of art from the royal palaces and the museums, which would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the French. On the following day a deputation of all classes of citizens, headed by the Archbishop of Naples, came to implore of the King to remain in his capital, but he refused and sailed on the 23d for Palermo, accompanied by two vessels of his fleet, the crews of which had remained faithful, after naming Prince Francesco Pignatelli-Strongoli vicar general of the kingdom and General Mack captain general of the army.

Before the French columns which had marched along the Adriatic and through the central provinces could rejoin General Championnet at Capua they had to fight their way through the Abruzzi, where the mass of the population had risen, and though badly armed and without organization, were opposing the invaders with an undaunted courage which offered a splendid contrast to the feeble resistance made by the regular army. At Aquila every house had to be taken at the point of the bayonet; at Pepoli nearly all the inhabitants were massacred; at Isernia, where the churches, the convents, the houses were loopholed and changed into so many fortresses, no quarter was given, and all those taken in arms were shot, to the number of 1,500. If General Mack had taken advantage of this rising and coöperated with it, Championnet, whose communications with Rome had been intercepted, would have been obliged to surrender; but Mack had lost all confidence in his army, for a revolutionary committee formed in Naples and comprising many members of the aristocracy had gained over some of his superior officers. He and Prince Pignatelli decided, therefore, on demanding an armistice for the purpose of concluding a peace, and the Prince di Migliano and the Duke di Gesso were sent to treat with Championnet. The French general was hemmed in on all sides; the mountaineers had taken Itri, Fondi and San Germano; they had blown up a park of artillery, and his troops were almost without provisions or cartridges, but he refused at first to treat unless Naples were surrendered. The envoys came back next day and were again dismissed; it was only on their third visit to the French advanced posts at Sparanisi that Championnet, who had just learned that General Duhesme was within two days' march, consented to grant a truce to an army which, were it properly led, had it in its power to make him surrender unconditionally. By the terms of this armistice, which was to last two months and was signed on January 12, 1799, Capua was to be sur-

rendered, the Neapolitan troops were to be withdrawn behind a line passing across Italy from the mouth of the Lagni on the Mediterranean to that of the Ofanto on the Adriatic, thus abandoning a third of the kingdom to the French; the seaports were to be declared neutral, and the King was to pay to the republic ten millions of *livres tournois* (about \$2,000,000). The French entered Capua on the 14th, and Championnet fixed his headquarters in the palace of Caserta, where a committee of Neapolitan revolutionists, presided over by the unfrocked monk Bassal, who had organized the Roman revolution and whom the Directory had just dismissed from his post of secretary to the Roman Consuls, maintained an active correspondence with the disaffected in the capital. But when the French Commissioner Archamba appeared at Naples to receive the first instalment of the war tax, the *lazzaroni*, considering themselves betrayed, rose to the cry of "Death to the French!" They disarmed and expelled the troops which had just returned from the expedition to Leghorn; they seized the four castles which commanded the city without resistance from their garrisons, threw open the prisons, set free the galley slaves and proceeded to massacre the persons whom they suspected of being Jacobins. Representatives elected by the people then chose as their leader the Prince of Moliterno, a distinguished cavalry officer, in whom they had much confidence, but who had been secretly gained over to the cause of the revolution. He succeeded in appeasing the people and restoring order and placed the four castles under the command of members of the aristocracy. Prince Pignatelli was then requested to leave, and he set sail for Palermo, where the King caused him to be arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Girgenti, while Mack fled to Championnet's camp, surrendered to him and was allowed to return to Vienna.

It was only a minority of Neapolitan revolutionists which wished to introduce the French army and French institutions into the kingdom; the majority hoped to repel them and to found an independent State based on democratic principles, while the populace had but one idea—to fight against the Jacobins for their religion and their King. When, therefore, the Prince of Moliterno went to request Championnet not to enter Naples, a demand which the general (who considered the amistice as having been broken) roughly rejected, the *lazzaroni* denounced him as a traitor, seized again the arms which they had laid down and dragged several pieces of cannon to positions which commanded the approaches to the city. They then renewed their onslaught on persons reputed to be partisans of the French, plundering and burning their houses until, towards nightfall, Cardinal Capece-Zurlo, the Archbishop, succeeded in calming their fury. They marched out on the following day with the intention

of seizing the French camp near Aversa, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and during their absence the revolutionists, who were now all united in desiring the coming of the French as their only safeguard against this state of anarchy, took by surprise the castle of Saint Elmo, the most important of the Neapolitan fortresses. On January 21 Championnet, whose army now amounted to over 22,000 men, attacked Naples from three sides, and though the city was not protected by walls of bastions, the *lazzaroni*, aided by a few thousand of the disbanded foreign soldiers of the royal army, disputed every inch of the ground with such courage and tenacity, though cannonaded by the castle of St. Elmo and repeatedly charged with the bayonet, that it was only after a combat of three days that the French overcame their opposition and were masters of the capital.

The *lazzaroni*, decimated and exhausted by a struggle which had lasted sixty-seven hours, offered no further resistance to the revolution, and Championnet proceeded to inaugurate the new commonwealth, which took the name of the Parthenopean Republic. He appointed a provisional government, with Carlo Lauberg, an unfrocked monk, as President, which under the influence of Bassal introduced the French republican calendar, decreed the formation of a national guard and divided the kingdom into eleven departments. A war tax of 2,500,000 *livres tournois* was imposed on Naples and one of 15,000,000 on the provinces. It must be said, however, to the credit of Championnet, that he expelled from Naples the French Commissioner Faypoult, whose plundering he considered to be on too large a scale, but he was recalled in consequence by the Directory and replaced by General MacDonald.

In order to cause the authority of the provisional government to be acknowledged in the provinces and its representatives accepted, General Duhesme was sent with three columns toward Lucera and Foggia, meeting with no resistance until reaching San Severo, a town in the neighborhood, where on February 25 he fought against a royalist army of 12,000 men composed of peasants and disbanded soldiers, defeated them with a loss of 3,000 men and then plundered the town. Another expedition under General Broussier was sent in March to relieve Bari, the inhabitants of which were republican and had held out against royalist bands for over a month. On their way the French attacked Andria, and though repulsed at first, took it, burned it and massacred 4,000 of the inhabitants. Trani underwent the same fate on April 25, though it was defended house by house after the walls had been scaled by surprise. It was plundered and burned, "and this once beautiful, rich and populous city was changed into an abode of misery and desolation." Even Bari was not saved by its republicanism from the imposition of a war

tax of 40,000 ducats and the payment of forced contributions for the support of the army.

The courage which these towns displayed in maintaining their fidelity to the cause of royalty is a proof that the entire kingdom was far from following the example of the capital, where since so many years the ideas of the French philosophers had been spread among the aristocracy and the middle class; but in many provincial towns the Jacobins, owing to their better organization, had been able to impose their will on the royalists and establish a republican form of government. Nevertheless, the partisans of the Bourbons, though scattered and disorganized, were so numerous that the presence of a representative of the crown would suffice to rally them and enable them to restore to his throne a sovereign who had been overthrown by a foreign invader rather than by the will of his subjects. It was for this reason that, shortly after the arrival of Ferdinand IV. in Sicily, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo was chosen by him to be his lieutenant, with the title of vicar general and with full powers for the reconquest and reorganization of the kingdom, and on February 8, 1799, he landed at Catona, on the coast of Calabria, with a few companions and a sum of only 3,000 ducats. He was met by a body of three hundred of the tenants of his family, which owned extensive possessions in that province, and immediately issued an address to the Bishops and the clergy, calling upon them to make the people take arms for the defense of religion, of their King and of their country. His appeal met with a response which surpassed his expectations. From all sides the people, led by their priests and wearing white crosses in their hats, thronged around him, and in a few days two camps were formed of several thousand men each—at Palmi, for those from the low country; at Mileto, for those from the mountains. Out of this crowd of badly armed volunteers, which comprised rich landowners, townsmen, peasants, workingmen, disbanded soldiers and retainers of noble houses (*armigeri baroniati*), Cardinal Ruffo, who throughout the campaign displayed the talents of a great administrator and of a great general, succeeded in organizing an efficient army,⁹ which when he passed it in review towards the end of April, when it had been two months in the field, was composed of ten battalions of 500 men each, consisting of soldiers of the disbanded regular army, while the irregular troops formed 100 companies of 100 men each. He had also 1,200 horsemen and eleven field pieces. The Cardinal had also organized a commissariat, and to provide pay for the troops he sequestered the revenues of the landed proprietors who were residing not on their

⁹ Abate Domenico Sacchinelli, "Memorie storiche sulla vita del Cardinale Fabrizio Ruffo," Napoli, 1836.

lands, but in Naples. The towns in the province of Calabria, where the republicans had most power, were Monteleone, whence they fled on the Cardinal's approach; Catanzaro, where the royalists rose and expelled them; Cotrone, which the royal army stormed and plundered, and Altamura, from which its defenders fled at night after making a short resistance and shooting in cold blood fifty of its royalist inhabitants.

The Cardinal had not to fear any opposition to his progress from the French, for the war which had again broken out between France and Austria in Switzerland (on March 6) and in Lombardy (on March 26, 1799) had proved so disastrous to the armies of the republic, especially when on the arrival of a strong Russian contingent the command of the allied armies was given to Marshal Suvaroff, that it became necessary to recall General MacDonald from Naples. He therefore broke up his camp at Caserta on May 7, leaving a garrison of 3,000 men at Capua and of 700 both in the castle of Saint Elmo and in the fortress of Gaeta, and marched with 7,000 in two columns by Itri and San Germano. That which took the latter road was commanded by General Watrin and was that which had invaded Apulia under General Duhesme. The soldiers who composed it, brutalized by the atrocities they had committed, "seemed especially anxious to shed the blood of priests, but every human being who came within their reach fell pierced with bullets." They massacred some Trappists in a monastery near Veroli; they burned part of the town of San Germano and plundered the monastery of Monte Cassino; they took, after five hours of desperate fighting, the town of Isola, which had been strongly barricaded, plundered it and reduced it to a heap of ashes; while the column under General MacDonald had to fight its way through the defiles of Itri and Fondi, "losing men and baggage at every step."¹⁰

After taking the chief towns in Calabria the march of Cardinal Ruffo was continued through the other provinces without meeting with serious resistance until he reached Naples. Near Manfredonia he was joined by a detachment of 480 Russian marines and later on by some Turks. The Neapolitan republicans established a fortified camp at the Ponte della Madalena, an adjacent fort, and gunboats

¹⁰ "Thiebaut," Vol. II., p. 324: "Peu d'insurrections ont ete aussi formidables. C'etait une croisade: or, ainsi que je l'ai dit, apres nous avoir forces a les mepriser comme soldats ces Napolitains nous avaient appris a les redouter comme hommes . . . c'est, pour ainsi dire lorsqu'il n'y eut plus d'armee Napolitains que la guerre de Naples devint effrayante. Quoique as Napolitains de 1793 farouches et superstitieux aient ete battus partout, quoique sans compter les pertes qu'ils firent dans les combats, plus de 60,000 des leurs aient ete passes au fil de l'eppee sur les decombres de leurs villes ou sur les cendres de leurs chaumières nous ne les avons laisses vaincus sur aucun point."

commanded by Admiral Caracciolo also commanded the position; but on June 13 it was stormed by the Calabrian bands, which after a few days' more fighting were masters of Naples. The *lazzaroni* in the meanwhile had arisen against the republicans and slaughtered all the partisans of the French who fell into their power, in spite of the efforts of the Cardinal to restore order. The forts of the *Castle Nuovo* and the *Castle del Novo* soon capitulated, and though the Cardinal consented to allow the Neapolitan prisoners to leave for France together with the French soldiers, Nelson on his arrival with the English fleet refused to recognize the capitulation and seized those who had the most active share in promoting the revolution, an action which has given rise to much bitter controversy which it would be impossible to examine here. The castle of St. Elmo capitulated shortly afterwards, and its commander, General Mejean, surrendered to the Neapolitan Government those of its subjects who had joined the French revolutionists and founded the Parthenopean Republic.

MacDonald's troops passed through Rome on the 16th and 17th of May, where they were reinforced by a few thousands of the division of General Garnier, who remained in command of the district with 2,400 men, while 1,900 of MacDonald's sick and wounded filled the hospitals. Garnier before long replaced the consuls by a provisional government, put Rome under martial law and tried to raise the national guard to the number of 10,000 men. A large number of towns and villages in the Papal States still showed the utmost hostility to the revolution. Civita Vecchia, rendered independent by the Neapolitan invasion in November, refused to submit to the Roman consuls, stood a regular siege, repelled several assaults of the French troops and capitulated only on March 7. The neighboring village of Tolfa was then attacked by the republican army and stormed, though defended house by house. It was reduced to ashes and 156 persons taken in arms were shot. In July an insurrection at Ronciglione was suppressed by the massacre of eighty-six of its citizens, but the armed bands of Rodio, Pandigrano and Michele Pezza, of Itri, better known under the name of *Fra Diavolo*, were advancing from the south, and though they were sometimes driven back by the French, they soon regained their positions and put themselves in communication with the bands coming from Tuscany.

There, on May 6, the citizens of Arezzo had revolted and, aided by the peasantry of the neighborhood, who came, led by their clergy, they had driven out the French garrison and formed a league known as the Federation of Arezzo, which barricaded the town and governed it in the name of the Grand Duke. Disciplined and led by an Austrian officer, Baron Schneider, they spread the insurrection

to the neighboring towns. Together with some Austrian troops they entered Florence on July 7 after it had been evacuated by the French troops. They took Perugia in August, Monte Rotondo and Finmicino in September, at which time only Rome and Ancona remained in the power of the French. The latter town and the adjacent provinces were defended by General Monnier against the bands of Ascoli and the Marches commanded by Donato de Donatis and Giuseppe Costantini, surnamed Sciabolone; but though winning many victories with a handful of troops, he was gradually driven back on Ancona, which after a brilliant fight of three months against an allied army of Austrians, Russians and Turks, he surrendered to the Austrians on November 13, 1799.

General Garnier, who could put only 2,000 men under arms, saw that further resistance was impossible; he did not wish to expose Rome to be taken by indisciplined mountaineers, and preferred, therefore, to negotiate with Commodore Troubridge, who commanded an English squadron then cruising before Civita Vecchia. He concluded with him a capitulation, by the terms of which Civita Vecchia, Corneto and Tolfa were to be occupied by the English and Rome by the Neapolitan troops of the regular army commanded by Marshal Burckhardt, a Swiss officer whom Cardinal Ruffo had sent forward after he had taken Naples. The French soldiers were allowed to keep their arms and the Romans who had been compromised in the revolution and who wished to leave were also to be brought to France by the English. Marshal Burckhardt entered Rome on September 30 and immediately formed a provisional government to take charge of the State in the name of the King of Naples.

A month previously to the overthrow of the republican government in Rome the sufferings of Pius VI. had come to an end at Valence, in the south of France, the last stage of the long and painful journey which the Directory had obliged him to perform without consideration for his age and his infirmities. At Bologna, through which the Holy Father passed on his way from the Certosa di Val d'Emma to Parma, he had been allowed to rest for a night at the Spanish College, but was brought away hastily on the following day, for the French troops had been defeated by the Austrians near Legnano, on the Adige, and it was feared that he might be rescued by the Imperialists. For the same reason his stay at Parma, where he was lodged at the monastery of St. John the Evangelist, was suddenly ended. An officer arrived at dawn on April 13 with a despatch from the Commander-in-Chief at Florence ordering the Holy Father to leave for Turin within two hours and stating that if the Duke of Parma hindered his departure or did not furnish him at once with everything requisite for his journey, Parma and

Piacenza should be treated as hostile towns. It was only on the production of certificates by two doctors testifying on oath that such was the state of exhaustion of the Holy Father that he could not be removed without endangering his life that the officer consented that the Pope's departure might be deferred till the following day. Pius VI., however, had expressed his resolution not to leave Parma, but the Duke's minister, the Marchese Ventura, represented to him so dolefully the dangers to which his refusal would expose Parma and its inhabitants, that the Pope, interrupting him in the course of his lamentations, answered calmly that he would be very sorry to be the cause of any misfortune to the Duke or his people; that he was resigned to the will of God, and that at any risk to himself he would continue his journey. He left Parma, therefore, at an early hour on April 14, and at the request of the French officer who escorted him, the Duke, who had no cavalry, furnished a guard of twelve halbardiers, who followed in carriages.¹¹

The Holy Father passed that night at Borgo San Donino in the Bishop's palace and the next at the College of San Lazzaro, belonging to the missionaries of St. Vincent of Paul, near Piacenza. His journey next day by Lodi to Milan was interrupted, as it was reported that the Austrians were approaching, and he was again brought back to San Lazzaro; but only a short rest was allowed him, and at daybreak on the 17th he crossed the swollen waters of the Trebbia by a ferry. Castel San Giovanni, Voghera, Tortona, Alessandria, Casale and Crescentino were the stages by which Pius VI. reached Turin. With very few exceptions the people received him everywhere with signs of veneration and compassion, crowding around his carriage in the towns, and in the country hastening from a distance to kneel by the roadside and ask his blessing as he passed. At Voghera the French commandant had the courtesy to allow him to rest beyond the appointed time, but at Tortona the officer in command insisted on his immediate departure for Alessandria, and it was only because heavy rains had rendered impossible to ford the Scrivia, a mountain torrent which crossed the road, that he was allowed to remain for the night. The citizens of Tortona showed such indignation at this brutality that the commandant judged it prudent to put the garrison under arms, but Pius VI., with the courage and resignation which never abandoned him, calmly said:

¹¹ Abate Coppi, "Annali d'Italia dal 1750 al 1829," t. II., p. 15. In May, 1796, Bonaparte had made an armistice with the Duke of Parma, by the intervention of the Spanish Ambassadors which enabled him to remain independent from 1796 to 1801, on condition of paying 2,000,000 francs and furnishing 1,700 horses fully equipped, 10,000 quintaux of wheat, 5,000 of oats, 2,000 head of cattle and 20 paintings (1 quintal = 100 kilogrammes = 220 pounds).

“Everything depends on the will of God. We are in His hands; may His will be done.” At Alessandria the Pope was received with enthusiasm by the people and by many of the aristocracy, who came a long way from the town to meet him. At Casale the national guard rendered him military honors on his arrival at the Bishop’s palace, and he met with equal respect at the little town of Crescentino, where he passed the night in the house of the Fathers of the Oratory. General Grouchy, on the contrary, who commanded in Turin, irritated by seeing the people leave the city by thousands to salute the Holy Father, ordered his journey to be delayed at the village of Chivasso, where he was obliged to stay at a filthy inn until nightfall. Even then he was not allowed to pass through the streets of Turin in order to reach the citadel, but he was brought to it by a long and circuitous road outside the walls, broken up with deep ruts and quagmires, and so great were the sufferings he underwent that he fainted several times.

The general was persuaded by the prelates who accompanied the Holy Father to allow him to rest for a day before continuing his journey, but he would not permit him to have an interview with the Archbishop of Turin or with Don Pedro de Labrador, who had been just named representative of Spain in the place of Cardinal Lorenzana; and he made him leave Turin at midnight for Suza, at the foot of Mont Cenis, on the road to Grenoble, where he said the Directory intended that he should reside. The Holy Father arrived at Suza on the evening of April 26, where he was received with military honors and lodged in the Bishop’s palace; but he was so exhausted that the commandant, who was more courteous and friendly than most of the officers of the republic, ventured to disobey the instructions he had received and consented to let him stay till the 28th. He also told the Pope that his destination was Briancon, and not Grenoble, and the commissioner who had accompanied him from Turin stated that General Grouchy had purposely concealed the fact, as he feared an outburst of indignation on the part of the citizens if they learned that the Sovereign Pontiff was to be imprisoned in a town situated high among the Alps with a rigorous climate. It was therefore necessary to dismiss, after satisfying their exorbitant demands, the drivers who had been hired for the crossing on Mont Cenis and to hire a sedan chair and bearers to bring the Holy Father over Mont Genevre by steep and rugged paths covered with snow, as well as mules for the prelates and attendants who accompanied him.

It was on April 30 that Pius VI. crossed the Mont Genevre. He had been detained for more than a day at the little village of Oulx, for a heavy fall of snow had covered the path leading over

the mountains and workmen had to be assembled from the environs to clear the way; but though the delay was involuntary, he was made to pay for the maintenance during that time of the detachment of cavalry which escorted him. At Briancon the Holy Father was respectfully received. The town was crowded with people from the neighborhood and the national guard came to meet him and render him military honors; but the Jacobin municipality, fearing a demonstration on the part of the Catholics, had decreed that the keys of the belfry and of the church should be kept in the town hall.

Pius VI. and a few of his servants were lodged in a house belonging to the hospital of the town, where they had four rooms. The sitting room was large, the windows had neither glass nor shutters, but were closed with linen, and the chimneys smoked. Some of the servants slept there, and when their beds had been removed in the morning Mass was said there, after which it served as a refectory for the Papal household. The Pope's bed room, where he remained all day, opened off this room. The prelates and the other priests who accompanied the Holy Father and formed the Papal household had lodgings in the town, but passed the day along with the Holy Father. Sentinels guarded the door and allowed no one to enter who was in the service of the Pope. The commissioner who represented the Directory in the town was named Berard, a man despised for his vice and his impiety, who reprimanded the commandant because his wife heard Mass in the Pope's apartment, and ordered her not to assist at it again.

The Austro-Russian troops were at that time not far from Briancon. Their leader, Marshal Suvaroff, had reconquered Lombardy and was still driving the armies of Moreau and Victor before him. He seized Tortona on May 9 and Novi on the 15th, and the Piedmontese peasantry were everywhere taking up arms against the French, undeterred by the atrocious cruelty with which these risings were suppressed. The citizens of Turin opened their gates to Suvaroff on the 26th, and on June 20 the citadel capitulated. A panic terror prevailed among the troops at Briancon; the forts round it were hastily armed and put in a state of defense, but Suvaroff, who, it was reported, had orders to rescue the Holy Father, and whose advanced posts had taken Suza on May 28, withdrew them on June 10 and marched in the direction of Parma.

A large number of Italian republicans, flying before the allied armies, had taken refuge in Briancon, and from hatred for the Church they sought to excite the authorities against the prelates of the Papal household by accusing them of manifesting their joy at the news of French defeats and Austrian victories; of corresponding secretly with the enemies of France and sending them plans of

the forts. Berard, who always tried to inflict as much annoyance as possible on the Holy Father, laid these denunciations before the commandant and requested him to send Pius VI. to some town in the interior of France; but a council of war held by the officers of the garrison rejected the accusations as calumnious and declared that the Directory alone had the power to order the Pope to be removed. Berard then applied to General Muller, who was in command of the department, and the general ordered the Pope and his household to be transferred to Grenoble, or, if he were too feeble to undertake the journey, he might remain at Briancon, while the prelates and the servants who were not absolutely necessary should leave.

The remonstrances and the supplications of the prelates could obtain no modification of this decision, though the commandant allowed them to delay their departure until they procured traveling carriages from Embrun; but when General Muller arrived at Briancon on June 7 he severely reprimanded the commandant for not having executed his orders and insisted that the Pope's household should leave immediately for Grenoble, and that Pius VI. should remain at Briancon. A strong protest against this act of injustice and cruelty was drawn up by the principal citizens of Briancon, but it was rejected by the general, who allowed only a few servants to remain with the Holy Father and but one priest, his confessor, Padre Girolamo Fantini, of the Trinitarian order, a very pious monk, but unused to the world and not fitted for the task of aiding the Holy Father with his advice in the intricate matters which he laid before him. On the evening before their departure the prelates had an audience of Pius VI., when he granted them all the faculties and privileges which are usually granted in the countries where the Church is openly persecuted, and named Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, Apostolic Delegate with power to sub-delegate his authority whenever he should judge it necessary for the greater glory of God and the advantage of souls. The Abate Marotti, his secretary, then said: "Let us pray to the Lord that we may not be hindered in the exercise of these faculties." This apparent want of confidence displeased the Holy Father, who replied in a loud voice: "When will you then leave aside these doubts of yours?" "Habete fiduciam!" They had a last interview with the Sovereign Pontiff on the morning of the 8th before they left, when he gave them his blessing and looking at them affectionately, merely said: "*Andate nel nome del Signore.*" (Go in the name of the Lord.)

When the prelates arrived at Grenoble on the 12th they were closely guarded by sentinels at the inn where they had alighted and

were informed that on the following day they were to continue their journey to Dijon. By a happy coincidence, however, Don Pedro de Labrador, who had been vainly trying to find out to what place Pius VI. had been carried, arrived in Grenoble on the same day and hastened to visit the prisoners. He obtained from the general that they might remain at Grenoble, and some of them even were about to be allowed to return to Briancon when the Directory by a decree of 22 prairial an VII. (10 June, 1799) decided that Pius VI. was to be transferred to Valence, in the department of la Drome. A commodious carriage was therefore to be sent from Grenoble and a doctor, who should take charge of him during the journey, but though General Muller authorized the commandant of Briancon to delay the Pope's departure until their arrival, and though the surgeons of the hospital bore witness that the Holy Father was so infirm and feverish that he could not be removed without endangering his life, the commissioner of the Directory for the Department *des Hautes-Alpes*, whom Berard had asked to come to Briancon, insisted on his leaving and said: "Alive or dead, the Pope must be brought away to-morrow morning."

On the 27th of June, therefore, the Holy Father was carried by his servants down to the gates of the city (for no wheeled vehicles can pass through its steep and narrow streets), and there placed in a carriage which was little better than a cart. Padre Fantini sat beside him and two servants before him. A large number of soldiers had been put under arms to suppress any disturbance on the part of the inhabitants, but they could not prevent them from manifesting their grief and their indignation by their tears and the reproaches which they addressed to the representatives of the republic.

All that day the Pope remained in a state of lethargy, from which even the jolting of the carriage failed to arouse him. On the following day the commissioner who accompanied him refused to stop at Embrun, where the most distinguished citizens were anxious to receive the Sovereign Pontiff, but went on to the village of Savines, and there made him pass the night in a filthy inn, though the owner of a neighboring castle begged to be allowed the honor of offering him hospitality. Dr. Duchadez, who had been sent from Grenoble to attend the Holy Father and to whom General Muller had given full powers to regulate his journey as he might judge fit, met him not far from the town of Gap, where he made him rest for two days, and this repose so revived the Pope's strength that he was able to give audience to the administration of the department and to the municipal council.

The towns of Corps, la Mure and Vizille were the stages where the Holy Father stopped on his way from Gap to Grenoble, and

during this progress the people of the neighboring villages came from all sides to line the road along which he passed or surround the houses where he stopped and to testify by their enthusiasm that in spite of the persecution which the Catholic Church was even then still undergoing, the French people had not lost their faith.

The house of la Baronne de Vaulx at Grenoble, where Pius VI. was to reside, had been surrounded by guards in order to keep the people at a distance, but vast crowds left the city to greet him, and though the authorities, irritated at the sight of such enthusiasm, ordered the gates to be closed as soon as the Pope's carriage passed, other crowds assembled in the streets and accompanied him to his destination. There he had the happiness of being received by Mgr. Spina, Mgr. Caracciolo, the Abate Marotti, the Abate Baldassari and Padre Pio, of Piacenza, from whom he had been so long separated; while the people which thronged the street and filled the windows and covered the roofs of the surrounding houses, asked for his blessing with such persistency that the commissioner of the department, fearing a disturbance, allowed him to be carried to a window and shown to the crowd. Cries were at once raised of "*Viva la Saint Pere!*" but as the commissioner stood insolently beside him, wearing his hat, other cries were also raised of "*A bas le chapeau! A bas le commissaire!*" on which he angrily withdrew and closed the window.

The Holy Father, escorted by cavalry and gendarmes, continued his journey to Valence on July 10. The prelates and secretaries had left the day before, and his carriage was again surrounded by enthusiastic crowds, who barely left room for it to pass. Tullins, Saint Marcellin and Romans were the towns where he stopped, being received everywhere with the same demonstration of affection and respect, while some of those present uttered cries of indignation at the treatment to which the Holy Father was subjected and asked if he, too, were about to be led to the scaffold like their own priests.

The house where Pius VI. was to reside at Valence was situated in the citadel and had been occupied by the Governor of the town. The rooms were then completely bare and some noble families of the environs offered to send what should be necessary to furnish them, but the administration of the department refused to accept any loan from the aristocracy, and as nobody else offered anything the rooms were still unfurnished shortly before the Pope's arrival. Then the authorities announced their readiness to accept assistance from any one, and in less than forty-eight hours they received more furniture than was wanted.

The administrators of the department, who, with the exception

of one of their number were bitterly hostile to the Church, announced by a decree dated July 12, two days before the arrival of the Holy Father, that he was under arrest (*dans un etat de detention*), but that the persons along with him might circulate freely, on condition of not causing any assemblage, and both the Pope and his household were warned to be "very prudent in their language and to avoid any expression which might afford a pretext for malevolence or fanaticism." A strong guard prevented any one having access to the Holy Father without permission. There was a sentinel at the door of his room, and the thirty-two priests who were imprisoned in an adjacent monastery were not allowed to go into the courtyard of their prison at the same time that the Holy Father was carried out by his servants on the terrace in the garden of the citadel lest they should communicate with him by signs.

The Directory, apparently, still dreaded that the Pope, whom they regarded as a hostage, might be rescued from their power, and they therefore decreed on July 22 that he should be transferred to Dijon. On being informed by Mgr. Spina of this new act of barbarity, the Holy Father, with that patience and fortitude which never abandoned him, merely remarked: "Let it be as God wills. Truly we had hoped that we should have been allowed to remain here to die in peace. But in this, too, let the will of God be done." The paralysis from which the Holy Father had long suffered had since some time become more developed, and the doctors certified that it was absolutely impossible that he could leave Valence. Curnier, the commissioner of the department, had always shown himself well disposed to the Pope and willing to render his captivity less painful; he, too, was anxious that the Pope's journey should at least be deferred until he should regain his health, and he was therefore dismissed from his post and replaced by one Brosset, whom the Directors considered more adapted to carry out their views. But even the new commissioner and the administrators had to agree that it would be impossible to execute the decree, and on the 18th of August the Directors consented to suspend it.

The Holy Father had been able to take part in the devotions for the novena of the feast of the Assumption, but on the 27th of August, feeling his strength becoming exhausted, he asked to receive the Viaticum, which was administered to him by Mgr. Spina after Mgr. Caracciolo had recited for him the Profession of Faith, of which he was able to pronounce the last words. On the 18th he received Extreme Unction, and about midnight his household was warned that the end was near. The Holy Father could still, however, recognize them, and when Padre Fantini asked him to forgive his enemies, he was able to reply: "*Domini, ignosce illis.*" Then

while Padre Fantini was reciting the prayers for a departing soul he gave his blessing three times to those standing round his bed, and a few minutes later tranquilly passed away. He was then aged 81 years, 8 months and 2 days and 24 years, 5 months and 14 days.

The authorities consented to allow the body of Pius VI. to be embalmed and placed in a leaden coffin, which remained exposed in the chapel of the citadel for nine days, according to the Roman usage, but the administrators made every effort to exclude the Catholics who came to pray around it, and finding that the national guard would not execute their orders, replaced them by a detachment of regular troops. The coffin was then deposited in a vault beneath the altar. Mgr. Spina and the Spanish Ambassador applied to the Directory for leave to transport the remains of Pius VI. to Rome, but their request was not answered, though the servants received passports and were allowed to leave.

On October 10 as the two prelates and the secretaries were walking on the road to Lyons they were overtaken by some carriages accompanied by an escort of gendarmes. In one of these was General Bonaparte, along with General Berthier, just returned from Egypt. Bonaparte questioned the prelates about Pius VI., whose death he deplored, and then asked them what were their plans. When he found that they could not obtain leave to convey the remains of the Pope to Rome, or even to correspond with their families, he expressed his indignation, and taking leave of them courteously, continued his journey. When the passports were furnished a few weeks later the exiles returned to Italy, with the exception of Mgr. Spina, who remained to watch over the tomb of the Sovereign Pontiff, and it was not until December 30 that Bonaparte, then First Consul, decreed that Pius VI. should be buried in France and a monument raised over his grave. The ceremony took place on January 30, 1801, when the remains of Pius VI. were interred in a specially constructed vault in the cemetery of Valence. There were no religious rites, for it had been the intention of the authorities that the constitutional clergy should have officiated on the occasion, but Mgr. Spina, anxious to prevent what would have been an insult to the deceased Pope, succeeded in persuading them to change their decision.

It was not until 1802 that the remains of Pius VI. found their proper resting place. On January 10 they were placed in charge of Mgr. Spina, who had come from Italy to receive them, and on February 17 they entered Rome by the Porta Flaminia. The richly decorated car which bore them was received by the clergy of Rome and by all the Bishops then present in the Eternal City and brought in procession to Saint Peter's, where Pius VII., surrounded by

eighteen Cardinals, was awaiting it, and they were placed in a temporary tomb until the time came to deposit them in the crypt of the basilica, and the statue which commemorates the illustrious Pontiff represents him kneeling in front of the tomb of the Apostle.

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SOME RECENTLY BEATIFIED MARTYRS.

THE persecution that is now being waged against Catholicism in France gives a special significance to the ceremony that took place in Rome on May 27 last. Without treating the separation of the Church and State, taken as a bare fact, as an unmitigated evil, it would be childish to ignore that in France, owing to attendant circumstances, it is fraught with grave danger to the cause of religion. Given the well-known opinions of the politicians who have brought it about, a change so radical cannot, in their hands, be innocent of evil.

The French Government, as our readers are aware, is at the present time in the possession of atheists and Freemasons, who openly express their determination to unchristianize the country. To them separation does not imply liberty and independence as regards the Church. It means not merely that she is no longer supported by the State, but that she is to be gradually and craftily despoiled of her possessions and influence. The art treasures that generations of believers have bestowed upon her will be taken away, her utterances and teaching will be hampered, her work maimed, her power restricted in every way.

The law, so severely condemned by Pius X., is full of hostile provisions, expressed in subtle language, but all tending to this result. In course of years the undying vitality of the Church will evidently assert itself and she will come out from the ordeal triumphant, but the present moment is none the less full of solemn import to the Catholics of France.

To minds familiar with the history of the terrible upheaval of 1789 there are symptoms abroad that are strangely significant. The suppression of religious orders throughout the country, the confiscation of their property, the attempts made to secure the allegiance of the clergy and detach it from Rome, all these things are merely a repetition of what happened in France at the outset of the great Revolution just a hundred and seventeen years ago.