

The Surveillance of a “Temporary Minority”: The Italian Migrants in the Tuscan Departments Annexed to the French Empire During the Political Conjuncture of 1809-1810

by *Francesco Saggiorato*

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This article deals with the transnational surveillance network on seasonal migration flows between the two neighbouring states: the Napoleonic Empire and the Kingdom of Italy during the political conjuncture of 1809-1810. The aim of this study is to reflect on the concept of “temporary minority”, using the writings of the authorities responsible for controlling seasonal workers. The article also reflects on the role played by the Italian consulate in Tuscany, monitoring cross-border mobility on both sides of the border. Finally, through the analysis of cross-border mobility control devices, I highlight the wide range of surveillance measures that the Italian diplomatic mission used in the Tuscan departments annexed to the French Empire, in order to consider the activities of policing exercised by consular personnel.

Keywords: Seasonal Migration, Migrants, Napoleonic Police, Diplomatic Personnel, Consuls, Identification.

Introduction. Mobile Spaces and Transregional Mobility in the Northern Apennines in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries

The Napoleonic domination on the Italian peninsula marks a decisive moment in the process of regulating the mobility of individuals. Despite the efforts of central and peripheral administrations to identify mobile

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populations and to monitor their movements, surveying archival papers reveals a complex situation wherein the authorities were not always able to exercise effective surveillance in the border areas. The northern Apennines is an ideal case to investigate the mechanisms of social control, which the two neighbouring states – the Kingdom of Italy and the departments of Tuscany annexed to the French Empire – employed to monitor cross – border migration flows to the Maremma¹.

During the early modern age the populations of the Apennines had consolidated solid bonds of interrelation and exchange with the coastal areas and, more generally, with the plains societies². Usually in winter, whole groups of individuals descended to the valley from the mountains and crossed Tuscany to go to the Maremma in search of work³ or to lead the herds to pasture during the transhumance⁴. These seasonal migratory movements – internal to Tuscany or coming from neighbouring states – characterise fluid transregional geographies that do not correspond at all to a static territorial dimension, based on the demarcation imposed by the contemporary political institutions⁵. In the northern Apennines in the late 18th and early 19th centuries longstanding migratory flows endured. The Apennines inhabitants were employed in the Maremma plains in traditional occupations, such as woodcutting, coal mining, smelting, quarrying, and construction works⁶. These perennial migration flows were intensified by the addition of a new, sizeable minority of migrants driven by hunger and subsistence needs⁷. In the Napoleonic age, this kind of mobility towards the coastal plains did not concern only the internal migrations to the Tuscan and Roman departments annexed to the French Empire, but also affected the Apennine districts of the Kingdom of Italy. In Tuscany, Italian migrants constituted a sort of “temporary minority”, which was able to consolidate complex networks of social relations both within the host communities and towards the imperial administrations. The fluid spaces distinguished by the border crossings allow reflection on new historiographical issues related to the study of trans-regional mobility⁸, expanding the horizon of investigation on the forms of state control “at a distance” on cross-border seasonal migration flows⁹.

With this research I intend to deepen the analysis of the relationships developed between the authorities of the Kingdom of Italy and of the French Empire in the Tuscan departments, which were used to surveil cross-border mobility and protect Italian migrants in the Maremma. The main objectives of this article are threefold: first, to reflect on the role played by the Italian consulate in Tuscany within the transnational surveillance network on seasonal migration flows between the two

neighbouring states¹⁰. Second, the article reflects on the concept of “temporary minority” using the writings of the authorities responsible for controlling seasonal workers. Furthermore, I examine the classification criteria that imperial police and the Italian consulate in Tuscany used to distinguish between migrants, who were entitled to move towards the Maremme, and brigands and fugitive deserters of the Kingdom of Italy, who were not. As will be shown, in many cases the difference was imperceptible. Third, through the analysis of cross-border mobility control devices, I intend to highlight the wide range of surveillance measures that the Italian diplomatic mission used in the Tuscan departments annexed to the French Empire, in order to reflect on the activities of policing exercised by consular personnel.

The Structure of the Transregional Surveillance Network

Control over the Italian seasonal migrants in Tuscany annexed to the French Empire was mainly exercised through an articulated surveillance network and provided for close collaboration between different authorities (police, judiciary, prefectural, military and consular) of the two neighbouring states. To verify the identity of a foreigner without documents it was necessary to know where he originally came from, where he was going and what were the reasons for the trip. In this system of transregional surveillance, the Consulate of the Kingdom of Italy in Livorno assumed a central position¹¹. The consul served as a hub in the collection and transmission of information on “compatriots” who crossed the Tuscan territory¹². He had the task of validating travel documents, in particular issuing passports or exchanging them with nationality cards, which were indispensable for authorizing the temporary stay of Italian migrants on imperial soil¹³. The consul also took charge of informing the Tuscan authorities about government provisions on passports in force in the Kingdom of Italy and, conversely, keeping the Milan ministries updated on the regulations adopted by the imperial authorities operating in Tuscany¹⁴. Therefore, the Italian diplomatic mission was in a pivotal position, acting as an intermediary for the relations between the two states regarding the control of cross-border mobility.

By examining the procedures for transmitting information between the institutions of the Kingdom of Italy and those of Tuscany, we can reconstruct the complex administrative surveillance network, through which the Napoleonic authorities exercised the control of migratory flows towards the Maremme. Normally, the Italian local authorities

were not authorized to correspond directly with their counterparts in Tuscany, if not addressing their requests to the office of the II division of the Ministry of Foreign Relations¹⁵, headed by Senator Carlo Testi, or to the Italian consul in the Tuscan departments. Diplomatic management of public security issues was preferred. However, this mode was not always respected. There could be cases in which the peripheral and local authorities of the border territories – in particular the *maires*, but to a lesser extent also the sub-prefects (or vice prefects in the Kingdom of Italy) and the prefects – held a direct correspondence with the Tuscan authorities across the border¹⁶. The directives prescribed both by the General Police of the Kingdom of Italy and by the French Empire were transgressed¹⁷. In this regard, there are numerous occasions in which the Italian consul denounced the non-observance of Italian officials, reaffirming the importance of adhering to pre-established procedures¹⁸. According to Senator Testi, with the exception of a few cases defined as “urgent”, the communications should have necessarily been filtered by the Italian consulate in Tuscany. Thus, the diplomatic mission would be able to exercise efficient control over all events affecting relations between the two neighbouring countries¹⁹.

During the years 1809-1810 on the other side of the border there was an increase in control measures to counteract the unregulated mobility of the outlaws of the Kingdom of Italy, who fled to the Tuscan departments to escape justice²⁰. The police of the two neighbouring states worried that a variety of criminals hid among seasonal migrants headed to the Maremme, including deserters, fugitive conscripts and brigands. During that political conjuncture criminals sought refuge across the border²¹. In general, the highest offices of the Grand-ducal administration addressed their requests to the Consulate of the Kingdom of Italy, which transmitted the provisions coming from its own government to support, on an operational level, the monitoring of cross-border mobility on both sides of the border²².

But how is the Italian consular network structured within the Tuscan departments annexed to the French Empire? Examination of the reports of the Consulate of the Kingdom of Italy in Tuscany reveals the existence of a complex architecture, which was structured in different nodes corresponding to the relationships established between the diplomatic agent and the imperial authorities (police, prefectural, judicial, military, etc.) or the consulates of other foreign states²³. The dynamic of relations between the Italian consulate personnel and the imperial institutions sheds light on the vast panorama of socio-institutional actors that formed the surveillance network on Italian seasonal migrants.

The diplomatic agent of the Kingdom of Italy liaised with the highest political offices of Tuscany. Therefore, he regularly went to the reception of the Grand Duchess Elisa Baciocchi to discuss the strategies – police and military – implemented by her government to control the border of the Apennines²⁴. With permission from the governor of Tuscany, the consul Tambroni was allowed to maintain correspondence with the two major police officers of the Grand Duchy: the director-general in Florence and the commissioner-general in Livorno. Regarding the surveillance measures on cross-border migration, the Tuscan police chief asked the consul to intercede with the Italian government, in order to facilitate collaboration and mutual assistance between the law enforcement agencies of the two neighbouring states. The aim was to be able to repress irregular crossings of the border²⁵. The personal identification procedures of Italian migrants were a constantly debated issue by both officials. It was the task of the Italian consul to confer with the Tuscan police in order to establish a shared method with which to verify the validity of the travel documents of Italian subjects on imperial soil²⁶.

Consul Tambroni's authority was such that, in many cases, he successfully negotiated with Joachim Oudet-Ducrouzot, commissioner-general of police in Livorno, for the release of Italian migrants that did not have identity documents. In his correspondence, the consul emphasizes that agreements with the commissioner-general were generally taken verbally²⁷. Tambroni and Oudet-Ducrouzot comfortably negotiated any issues. In this regard, the Italian diplomatic agent referred to his superior in the Foreign Ministry, Senator Testi, that the head of the Livorno police was often inclined to collaborate with the Italian consulate for the management of migratory flows around the Tuscan port city. Nonetheless, the Minister of General Police in Paris had set up controls for the issuance of passports by foreign consuls on imperial soil²⁸. It was in fact the task of the commissioner-general to validate all passports issued by the Italian consulate. Without the mark of this official, the Tuscan police would have deemed these documents to be irregular and arrested the carriers²⁹.

However, the relationship between the consul of the Kingdom of Italy and the police commissioner-general in Livorno was not always characterized by a strict application of the ministerial directives regarding passports. For example, about the issuance of nationality cards to Italian migrants who practiced an itinerant craft, there were situations in which forms of compromise prevailed with respect to the regulations in force. Upon the request of Tambroni, the commissioner-general of police (de La Malle, successor of Oudet-Decrouzot) permitted several seasonal migrants

to move not only within the district of Livorno, as prescribed by the ministerial instructions on passports, but within the entire department of the Mediterranean³⁰.

The consular surveillance network on migratory flows towards the Maremma relied not only on the Tuscan police but could also boast excellent links with the prefectures and sub-prefectures of the Grand-Duchy. The prefectural officers kept the Italian consulate informed of all the subjects of the Kingdom of Italy who were arrested and detained in the Tuscan prisons. The consul could thereby verify the identity documents of the Italian migrants and interrogate suspected brigands and fugitive deserters³¹. However, the news of the imprisonment of “compatriots” could come with weeks or even months of delay to the consul’s attention. Therefore, many individuals languished in prison for long periods without any authority of the Kingdom of Italy being informed³².

The Italian consul’s relations in Livorno span different levels of the Tuscan administrative office (departmental and local) and allowed the diplomatic agent to interface, according to his needs, with a wide range of socio-institutional actors. The close collaboration between the consulate and Tuscan institutions also led to the introduction of special identity documents, designed specifically for Italian migrants, called *carte di passo*³³. From 1809, the consul played a decisive role in the process of regulating cross-border mobility, coinciding with the occurrence of the brigades in the Kingdom of Italy. The correspondence by the Italian consul with the various Tuscan public offices exhibits the wide breadth functions exercised by the diplomatic mission in Livorno. In fact, study of cooperation between consulate, prefectures and police highlights the use of a sort of administrative pedagogy³⁴, through which local officials can be trained on the surveillance measures to be adopted for the control of Italian seasonal migrants. The constant transmission of original copies of *carte di passo* of the Kingdom of Italy by the consul to the prefects exemplifies this pedagogy³⁵. The prefects in turn spread the documents to the *mairies* under their jurisdiction and to the gendarmerie brigades in the department, so that local officials and law enforcement officers were able to distinguish official and counterfeit certificates³⁶.

It should be emphasized that the widespread training of local administration personnel took shape in a state of exception, when the authorities intended to stem the endemic phenomenon of brigandage during the political conjuncture of 1808-1810. But, at the same time, this “pedagogical” action responded to the need to protect migrants who had the right to cross the border to exercise their seasonal profession

in Tuscany³⁷. The negligence or inexperience of the Tuscan mayors in issuing passports to Italian migrants was in fact considered «the main error that makes us lose track of many individuals sought by justice [claimed the consul Tambroni] and it is mainly against this that I will complain at the prefects and the police of the Grand Duchy»³⁸. This training operation of local administrators suggests that the real purpose was to generalize identification procedures through the adoption of a new type of uniform and standardized document with which to classifying and monitor Italian seasonal migrants who temporarily moved towards the Tuscan Maremma³⁹.

This process of regulating cross-border mobility makes it possible to grasp the different ramifications of the transregional surveillance network between the Kingdom of Italy and the Tuscan departments annexed to the Empire. Even though the introduction of the *carte di passo* encountered many difficulties and the application was not linear or even immediate⁴⁰, the new identity documents allowed the police of the two neighbouring states to institute classificatory distinctions between “regular” migrants and the outlaws, who instead exploited seasonal migrations to avoid police in the Kingdom of Italy.

Italian Seasonal Migrants: a “Temporary” Minority to be Protected or a Threat to Public Order?

During the seasonal migrations from the departments of the Kingdom of Italy bordering on Tuscany, Italian migrants established complex networks of social relations with the host societies, based on mutual understanding and on mediation with local communities⁴¹. Italian seasonal workers constituted a group socially recognizable also by the Tuscan authorities, to whom they commonly applied the appellation of “Lombard farmers” or simply *Lombardiens*⁴². Despite this general nomenclature, the officials of the French Empire referred precisely to migrants coming from the Apennine districts of the Kingdom of Italy. It should also be stressed that the Tuscan administrators were aware of the importance of this specific category of migrants for the economy of certain areas of the Grand Duchy annexed to France. For example, in September 1810, the *maire* of Pistoia, Francesco Tolomei, trying to safeguard the commercial relations of its fellow citizens with the mountaineers of the Modena Apennines, warned the prefect of the Panaro about the risks of Italian migrants traveling with *carte di passo* without prefectural validation. This could result in arrest and

detention by imperial police⁴³. Again in Pistoia, the sub-prefect Giovanni Minutelli assured consul Tamborni that all «migrants known under the name of Lombards» equipped with *carte di passo* would find assistance in the Tuscan institutions, if they needed it⁴⁴.

Despite the specific economic usefulness of Italian seasonal workers in the annexed departments, the mobile nature of their professions (charcoal burners, woodcutters, agricultural laborers, etc.) could constitute a public order problem for the imperial police. Often the identity documents issued by the Kingdom of Italy or the Italian consulate in Livorno did not allow the designation of a fixed domicile⁴⁵. As mentioned earlier, this problem became more acute during the political conjuncture between 1808 and 1810, when anti-French revolts and brigades occurred in both neighbouring states, for different reasons, following the annexation of Tuscany to France and the re-opening of hostilities with Austria⁴⁶. Until then, the tolerance granted to seasonal workers who migrated with different documents, issued by mayors or parish priests of mountain communities, seemed to decline steadily⁴⁷. The tightening of control measures by the Tuscan law enforcement agencies led to the arrest of numerous Italian subjects, possessing neither passports nor other travel documents that complied with the Empire's regulations⁴⁸.

It was therefore necessary to find a method shared by the governments of the two neighbouring countries to protect Italian seasonal migrants on their journey to Tuscany and instead repress the malefactors who, in disguise, evaded police searches. Still, in 1810, the attitude of some Tuscan magistrates was supportive towards Italian migrants without travel documents conforming to the regulations in force. In this regard, the imperial prosecutor of the Arno department, Fabbroni, addressed the consul Tambroni, stating:

O Lord, according to the laws in force [on passports] I could have translated many of your Kingdom before the competent courts to condemn them as vagabonds, but because of the close relations between the two neighbouring states and governed by a single sovereign, I thought I should not inveigh with all the rigor against the same until now. Rather, I have adopted the system of postponing non-suspects with a simple walking paper. Those who seemed to me [suspicious] and of whom I was aware of the faults, I used the gendarmerie to return them to their homeland. However, since the wicked inhabitants of the borders of your state may abuse such a correctness, I feel compelled to inform you that from now on I do not think it would be convenient to adopt such a soft method, otherwise it could become harmful to both governments⁴⁹.

The recognition of this sort of temporary minority by the Tuscan judicial authorities guaranteed a certain degree of tolerance towards the migrants of the Kingdom of Italy. Like the Italian consul, the general prosecutor also tried to reconcile the execution of the laws of the Empire with the need to protect Italian seasonal workers from possible abuse and harassment by imperial forces⁵⁰. However, public officials asserted the need to identify criteria and an effective methodology with which to distinguish those who had the right to move and reside in Tuscany from the fugitives who instead should have been punished by justice. This question appeared to be rather problematic. Many individuals who had taken part in the anti-French revolts in the Apennine districts of the Kingdom of Italy had literally «legally transferred» to the Maremme to practice their profession. Some criminals, reported the director-general of police, were even carriers of passports approved by the prefect of Crostolo department or the police secretary of the same prefecture⁵¹.

The deserters and fugitive conscripts represented a further problem for the police of the two neighbouring states. Many of them fled to the nearby departments of Tuscany to avoid the obligations of conscription, obtaining the necessary documents from the mayors of their municipalities⁵². The situation was much more complex than one might imagine or as far as the sources might suggest. In fact, it could be that Italian migrants in the period of conscription were at work in the Maremme at the time of the call to arms. In many cases even the Tuscan landowners, to whom the young conscripts of the Kingdom of Italy lent their labour, favoured their escape⁵³. It is likely that the departure of the Italian labourers would have caused considerable economic damage to the Tuscan landowners. Suffice it to say that in some cases landowners misdirected gendarmerie searches, attempting to avoid the arrest of Italian migrants labouring in their possessions⁵⁴.

Except for the age criterion and the information that the local authorities and the prefects of the departments of the Kingdom of Italy could provide to the Italian consulate in Tuscany, it was quite difficult for the police and the gendarmerie to distinguish whether they were Italian migrants or were fugitive conscripts or brigands. The risk was that the police were making indiscriminate arrests against all those individuals who could even arouse the slightest suspicion of being fugitives. To remedy this problem and to guarantee protection and assistance to Italian seasonal migrants in good standing, the consulate of the Kingdom of Italy used various police measures to identify the malefactors on the spot with greater care and precision.

Surveillance Measures on Italian Migrants

Given the difficulty faced by the police in Tuscany to discern accurately which subjects of the Kingdom of Italy had the right to move to the Maremme, and those who had to be punished for the crimes committed in their country, we must consider the police devices with which surveillance was carried out on Italian migrants. It was necessary for the imperial police to equip themselves with other means by which to classify and locate Italian fugitives, although in possession of travel documents conforming to the regulations in force. Alongside the standardization of passports and, for Italian mountain dwellers, *carte di passo*, it is possible to find frequent recourse to *signalements*, lists in which the police catalogued the names, the physical characteristics of the fugitives and their alleged domicile on imperial soil⁵⁵. The prefects and the police of the Kingdom of Italy transmitted these descriptions to the consul in Tuscany, who was responsible for issuing those lists to the authorities of the annexed departments⁵⁶. The control of the travel documents, assisted with the help of the *signalements*, made the gendarmerie searches of the Italian fugitives more effective. However, the main obstacle of this identification procedure lay in the fact – as Tambroni himself pointed out – that numerous fugitive conscripts and brigands of the Kingdom of Italy changed their name once they crossed the Apennine border⁵⁷. To combat this stratagem, the Italian diplomatic agent became an ardent supporter of police espionage practices, through which the use of paid-for confidants was encouraged to obtain information on the hiding places of Italian subjects who had fled to the Maremme⁵⁸.

The secret expenses incurred by the Italian consulate in Livorno deserve attention. They shed light on the unofficial ramifications of the trans-regional surveillance network on mobile populations. The payment of sums of money as a prize for the capture of criminals, deserters and conscripts (or for information on their domicile in Tuscany) was a practice adopted by the Italian Foreign Ministry during the regency of Maria Luisa, during the Kingdom of Etruria⁵⁹. The advantages of the use of secret measures are explained by the consul Tambroni in a dispatch addressed to his Ministry. First, thanks to the input of informers, arrests were quick. Second, the secrecy of the operations prevented alarm from spreading among the fugitives about the searches by imperial police⁶⁰. The secret expenses were the subject of a lively debate between the director-general of police and the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of Italy. The head of the police, Francesco Mosca, in charge of authorizing these expenses from his budget, complained about a reckless recourse to this practice by the

consul in Livorno. Furthermore, he claimed that the police officers, being paid by the public treasury, had no right to request further rewards for the performance of their work⁶¹. Although this measure was to be considered provisional and usable only on exceptional occasions, in practice this became a common and durable police device.

The Italian consulate enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy in offering rewards to its informal collaborators⁶². He claimed that the confidants had to face hard trials in searching for Italian fugitives: walking through the Maremme and the woods for whole days and many times in vain due to frequent changes in the abode of fugitives⁶³. For this reason, Tambroni believed that it was convenient to pay for the efforts made by spies, in order to encourage the continuity of services rendered to the consulate⁶⁴. The objective underlying this reward system, promoted by the consul and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Italy, was to expand the espionage network, incorporating in particular private citizens to collaborate with the Tuscan police, in order to target their searches better⁶⁵. The special structure of the police in the arrondissement of Grosseto (located in the heart of the Maremme) is a paradigmatic example. The sub-prefect, Michele De Re, claimed to have organized «a different police from the other districts of the Grand Duchy, which is more suited to local needs and by which I am able to perform numerous arrests»⁶⁶. Because of the strong irregularity of the identity documents with which the Italian migrants travelled, De Re implemented, according to him, an effective intelligence system to distinguish seasonal workers from abusive criminals. Significantly, in De Re's espionage network fugitive conscripts were often used as sources of information on other criminals, rather than arrested⁶⁷. The director-general of the Tuscan police, Dubois, praised the zeal of sub-prefect De Re and invited the Italian consul to allocate small sums for the agents employed in investigations in order to put an end to the unrest in the Maremme⁶⁸.

As the fugitive criminals offered mutual protection and found shelter in the Tuscan countryside, consul Tambroni believed that «without any expense and prize for espionage you will never be at the head of anything»⁶⁹. The diplomatic agent of the Kingdom of Italy wanted in particular to avert the dramatic eventuality, anticipated by the Grand Duchess Elisa⁷⁰, of resorting to a general round-up by the gendarmerie against all Italian migrants who were still in the Maremme at the start of spring⁷¹; in other words, in the period in which the Italian seasonal workers returned to their communities in the Apennines. The imperial police had persistently advocated using the gendarmerie and mobile columns against the brigands – Italians and Tuscans – who hid in those areas of Tuscany,

at least since the winter of 1809 but without ever getting to it⁷². However, after amnesty was granted to deserters and fugitive conscripts on March 25, 1810, the Tuscan authorities considered it unavoidable to intervene in the Maremma with a massive police-military operation of general round-up⁷³. The considerations of the Italian consul display the forms of protection that the diplomatic agent sought for Italian seasonal migrants.

The personnel of the Italian consulate in Livorno, which had two employees in addition to Consul General Tambroni, were unable to supply to the Tuscan authorities all the required *signalements* due to the high number of Italian fugitives across the border. «It happens that after the arrests carried out [in Tuscany], that all the malefactors became alarmed and have fled to the center of the Maremma, where to pursue them it is no longer possible to use only the moderate means proposed and authorized by the police»⁷⁴. It was unavoidable to send mobile columns to make mass arrests. Tambroni proposed that either he or the chancellor of the consulate go in secret to assist the operations of the military, to verify the identity of those arrested on the spot. In this way, they would prevent abuses and harassment of lawful Italian seasonal workers and, at the same time, the consul would repatriate the criminals⁷⁵.

The reconstruction of this episode foregrounds two significant issues. Firstly, we observe, from a different perspective, the importance represented by the Italian consulate within the transregional surveillance network on the mobility in and out of the Kingdom of Italy. The Italian diplomatic agent displays mastery of the police's techniques and practices. Moreover, from the analysis carried out on surveillance measures, it can be argued that this official is not a simple intermediary in charge of transmitting his government's directives to the Tuscan authorities or vice versa. Instead, he derives from his position wide margins of autonomy. The pragmatism with which Tambroni manages his network of informers and confidants is a litmus test with respect to the policing functions conferred gradually to consuls during the 19th century⁷⁶. Secondly, it must be emphasized that on the one hand, the police exercised coercive power on migrants, but on the other, they implemented the softer social discipline of state identity documents, with which they could regulate migratory mobility⁷⁷.

Conclusions

Reconstructing the various effects on Italian seasonal migrants of the transregional surveillance network exhibits the wide range of socio-

institutional actors involved in the control of migrant mobility. The most significant aspect, the leitmotiv of this research, concerns the central role of the Italian consulate in Tuscany in regulation and protection of the minority in movement: its compatriots temporarily emigrated to the departments of the Grand Duchy annexed to France. The regulatory intervention operated by the Napoleonic administrations is supported by a system of state control at a distance⁷⁸, which manifests itself in the use of differentiated police measures. Likewise, the political conjuncture between 1809 and 1810 is crucial: in this period the process of disciplining cross-border mobility was outlined. The standardization of uniform travel and identity documents, conceived specifically for the mountaineers of the Kingdom of Italy, occurs in parallel with the intensification of the repression of the anti-French revolts, brigandage and desertion. However, the resistance to the imposition of *carte di passo* and the protraction of illegal crossings of the Apennine border are proof that the Napoleonic regime was still far from achieving an efficient level of control over migratory flows⁷⁹. As Marco Meriggi argues, the customary practices linked to seasonal migrations were in conflict with the methods of control of individuals envisaged by the administrative state⁸⁰. Therefore, the use of secret charges for espionage appears to be a consubstantial factor in the police practice adopted to monitor the movement of individuals and for the search for alleged malefactors⁸¹.

To conclude, it should be emphasized that the continuation of brigandage and other criminal phenomena between the Kingdom of Italy and the Tuscan departments annexed to the Empire spurred the consolidation of mechanisms and techniques of social control over the migratory populations. As we have seen, the state of exception of the years 1809-1810 contributed to an acceleration of the regulatory process on cross-border migration flows. Finally, it is important to stress that the Italian consulate in Tuscany always tried to ensure a form of protection for the Italian seasonal migrants, in many cases using the practices of negotiation with imperial officials stationed in the annexed Tuscan departments.

Notes

1. As claimed by Vittoria Ardito, the Tuscan Maremma represented a space difficult to control by the French police. Obstructing surveillance on this territory was the fact that the population was, for the most part, non-resident and foreign to the region. Seasonal migrants generally worked on farms. However, the Maremma was also a region where the smuggling phenomena, in coastal areas, and brigandage, in wooded and mountainous areas on the border with the Roman departments were endemic. V. Ardito, *Le brigandage dans*

le département de l'Ombrore (1808-1814), in *La Toscana nell'età rivoluzionaria e napoleonica*, ed. by I. Tognarini, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples 1985, p. 203.

2. As regards the study of the links of interdependence and complementarity between the mountains and the plains in the Mediterranean area, the following works are highlighted: D. Albera, P. Corti, *Migrations montagnardes dans l'espace méditerranéen: esquisse d'une analyse comparative*, in "Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée", CXII, n. 1, 2000, pp. 359-84; L. Fontaine, *Montagnes et migrations de travail. Un essai de comparaison globale (XV-XX^e siècle)*, in "Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine", LII, n. 2, 2005, pp. 26-48.

3. I. Biagiatti, *Risorse naturali e artigianato nell'Appennino centrale, secoli XVIII-XIX*, in "Proposte e ricerche", IV, 1989, pp. 135-67.

4. D. Barsanti, *La transumanza in età moderna: il caso toscano*, in "Proposte e ricerche", IV, 1989, pp. 17-30; O. Dell'Omodarme, *La transumanza in Toscana nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, in "Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, Temps modernes", C, n. 2, 1988, pp. 947-69.

5. M. Meriggi, *Storia transnazionale e storia regionale. Gli spazi mobili nell'Italia preunitaria*, in "Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione", XXI, n. 1-2, 2012, pp. 58-69.

6. F. Mineccia, *I flussi stagionali trans-frontalieri tra lo Stato toscano e quello pontificio (1765-1815)*, in *Movimenti e confini. Spazi mobili nell'Italia preunitaria*, eds. by L. Di Fiore, M. Meriggi, Viella, Rome 2013, pp. 54-5.

7. Concerning migrations due to poverty and impoverishment of the lower sections of the population, refer to the study of S. J. Woolf, *La formazione del proletariato (secoli XVIII-XIX)*, in *Storia d'Italia. Annali I. Dal feudalesimo al capitalismo*, eds. by R. Romano, C. Vivanti, Einaudi, Turin 1978, pp. 1049-78.

8. D. Albera, *Montagne*, in *Dictionnaire de la Méditerranée*, eds. by D. Albera, M. Crivello, M. Tozy, Actes Sud, Arles 2016, pp. 975-8.

9. In this regard, see the recent study by L. Di Fiore, *Alla frontiera. Confini e documenti d'identità nel Mezzogiorno continentale preunitario*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2013.

10. On the rich historiographical debate on the consuls and on the competences of the consular institutions, refer to the following contributions: M. Aglietti, *L'istituto consolare tra Sette e Ottocento. Funzioni istituzionali, profilo giuridico e percorsi professionali nella Toscana granducale*, Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2012; A. Bartolomei, G. Calafat, M. Grenet, J. Ulbert (eds.), *De l'utilité commerciale des consuls. L'institution consulaire et les marchands dans le monde méditerranéen (XVIII^e-XX^e siècle)*, École française de Rome, Rome 2018; *La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne. L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1700)*, eds. by J. Ulbert, G. Le Bouëdec, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2006.

11. The diplomatic mission of the Kingdom of Italy in Tuscany was moved following the annexation from Florence to Livorno. Moreover, the representative of the Italian government, Giulio Cesare Tassoni, left Tuscany for Naples in January 1809 and was replaced by general consul, Giuseppe Tambroni. The change of residence took place during that year. However, the diplomatic agent Stefano Fucci remained active in Florence, while in Livorno, awaiting the arrival of the consul Tambroni, Giovanni Battista de Dioniggi, temporarily in charge of the Italian consulate administration, was operative. Archivio di Stato di Milano (from now on ASMi), Ministero degli Esteri, II Divisione – "Testi" (from now on Testi), Cart. 94, letter from the Italian diplomacy agent in Florence, Giulio Cesare Tassoni, to Foreign Ministry, 10 January 1809; letter from Giovanni Battista de Dioniggi to Foreign Ministry, 26 May 1809.

12. As regards the functions of the consuls as information officers, see *Les Consuls en Méditerranée, agents d'information XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, ed. by S. Marzagalli, Classique Garnier, Paris 2015; *Les consuls, agents de la présence française dans le monde XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles*, ed.

by F. Jesné, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2017; E. Beri, *I consoli genovesi nel Tirreno, agenti d'informazione (1640-1797)*, in "RiMe", XVIII, n. 2, 2016, pp. 153-88.

13. On the competences of the consulate on issuing and authenticating passports, see also the recent essay of L. Di Fiore, C. Lucrezio Monticelli, *Il controllo politico transnazionale dei consoli al tornante del 1848: un confronto tra Stato pontificio e Regno delle Due Sicilie*, in *Consoli e consolati italiani dagli Stati preunitari al fascismo (1802-1945)*, eds. by M. Aglietti, M. Grenet, F. Jesné, École française de Rome, Rome 2020, pp. 95-115.

14. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from senator Carlo Testi, in charge of the Milan office of the II division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the General Consul of the Kingdom of Italy in Livorno, Giuseppe Tambroni, 14 February 1810.

15. It is possible to note a similarity with respect to the mediation carried out by the Foreign Ministry between police and consuls, in the article of L. Di Fiore, C. Lucrezio Monticelli, *Sorveglianza oltre i confini. Il controllo delle polizie napoletana e pontificia dopo il 1848*, in "Passato e Presente", CI, n. 2, 2017, pp. 47-70. On the organization of the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of Italy, see A. Arisi Rota, *Diplomazia nell'Italia napoleonica. Il Ministero delle Reazioni Estere dalla Repubblica al Regno (1802-1814)*, CENS, Melzo 1998.

16. On the transgressions and negligence of the *maires*, see the study of V. Denis, *Une histoire de l'identité. France 1715-1815*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel 2008, pp. 259-66.

17. This is the case reported by the director-general of police of the Kingdom of Italy against the regularity with which the prefect of Reno department (Kingdom of Italy) corresponded with the *maire* of Pistoia (French Empire). ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter n. 8569, 15 October 1810.

18. For example, see the letter n. 458 from Tambroni to Testi, 13 July 1810 (ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97).

19. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from Testi to Tambroni, 14 February 1810.

20. On the anti-French revolts and the brigades of the years 1809-1810 in the Kingdom of Italy see P. Leech, *Il brigantaggio nelle campagne bolognesi in età napoleonica*, in *I «giacobini» nelle legazioni. Gli anni napoleonici a Bologna e Ravenna. La società bolognese (1796-1815)*, tome II, ed. V. Angelo, Costa, Bologna 1999, pp. 407-28; M. Leonardi, *L'insorgenza del 1809 nel Regno d'Italia*, in "Annuario dell'Istituto Storico per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea", XXXI-XXXII, 1979-1980, pp. 435-47. On the phenomenon of desertion, refer to the work of A. Grab, *Army, State and Society: Concription and Disertion in Napoleonic Italy (1802-1814)*, in "The Journal of Modern History", LXVII, n. 1, 1995, pp. 25-54; F. Della Peruta, *Esercito e società nell'Italia napoleonica: dalla Cisalpina al Regno d'Italia*, Franco Angeli, Milan 1988.

21. Archives Nationales Paris (from now on ANP), F⁷ 6523a, *Police de Toscane, Directeurs généraux, Rapports de Dubois directeur général de la Police, mai 1809-octobre 1810*, Bulletin n. 9 of the director-general of police, Florence, 8 October 1810.

22. Concerning the intelligence activities of the consuls for the benefit of police operations, see E. Beri, *La lotta al contrabbando nel teatro marittimo corso durante il medio Settecento fra polizia, intelligence e diplomazia*, in *Contrabbando e legalità: polizie a difesa di privative, diritti sovrani e pubblico erario*, eds. by L. Antonielli, S. Levati, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2016, pp. 73-92.

23. On the relations between the diplomatic agent of the Kingdom of Italy and the consulates of other foreign powers in Tuscany, reference should be made to the frequent references in correspondence with the Italian Foreign Ministry and with the imperial police (ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, private letter n. 201 of the consul Tambroni to senator Testi, 15 December 1809).

24. It refers to the missions conducted by the councillor of State Scolopi and by general Bonfanti (see the letters from Tambroni to Testi in ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 133, 17 November 1809 and Cart. 99: letters n. 36 and n. 27, respectively of 19 and 22

January 1810). On the control operations of the Apennine border and, more generally, of the departments affected by the 1809 brigades, see G. Natali, *L'insorgenza del 1809 nel dipartimento del Reno*, in "Atti e memorie, Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Emilia e la Romagna", XV, n. 2, 1936-1937, pp. 64-70; L. Pucci, *Indagini sul brigantaggio nel Dipartimento del Panaro e del Crostolo*, in *Reggio e i Territori Estensi dall'Antico Regime all'Età Napoleonica*, vol. I, eds. by M. Berengo, S. Romagnoli, Pratiche Editrice, Parma 1979, pp. 291-2.

25. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter n. 3417 from the director-general of police, Dubois, to Tambroni, 4 May 1810.

26. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 125 from Tambroni to Testi, 10 November 1809.

27. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 83 from Tambroni to Testi, 9 October 1809.

28. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter from the commissioner-general of police Oudet-Ducrouzot to Tambroni, 11 December 1809 and private letter n. 201 from Tambroni to Testi, 15 December 1809.

29. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, private letter n. 61 from Tambroni to Testi, 9 February 1810.

30. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 95, letter from the commissioner-general of police of Livorno, de La Malle, to Tambroni (23 November 1810) and letter from Tambroni to Testi (26 November 1810).

31. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 218 from Tambroni to Testi, 22 December 1809.

32. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter n. 234 from Tambroni to Testi, 13 April 1810. On the Tuscan prisons see S. J. Woolf, *Porca miseria. Poveri e assistenza nell'età moderna*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 1988, p. 107; C. Ciano, *Bagni penali, carceri e forzati nella Toscana napoleonica*, in "Rivista Italiana di Studi Napoleonici", XVI, n. 2, 1979, pp. 9-22.

33. This is an identity paper issued in lieu of the passport. In general, this document is issued by the mayor on a printed medium issued by the prefecture. The *carta di passo* attests the good behaviour of the carrier, allowing him to leave the borders of the Kingdom of Italy to go abroad to exercise his profession. The carrier is obliged to report to the first town hall across the border to exchange this *carta di passo* with a security card to continue his journey. In addition, this document is valid for a limited period and always carries an expiration date. Finally, a description of the carrier is indicated on the paper (age, size, colour of the eyes, hair, beard, eyebrows, mouth, nose, chin, distinctive marks). Regarding the changes in "identity papers" in France at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, see Denis, *Une histoire*, cit., pp. 19-43.

34. On the administrative pedagogy towards local officials see V. Denis, *Le contrôle de la mobilité à travers les passeports sous l'Empire*, in *Police et migrants. France 1667-1939*, eds. by M.-C. Blanc-Chaléard, C. Douki, N. Dyonet, V. Milliot, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Rennes 2001, p. 76; E. Donati, *La Toscana nell'Impero napoleonico: l'imposizione del modello e il processo d'integrazione*, tome I, Polistampa, 2008, Firenze, p. 16; S. J. Woolf, *L'Italia nell'età napoleonica*, in *Venezia e le terre venete nel Regno Italico. Cultura e riforme in età napoleonica*, eds. by G. Gullino, G. Ortalli, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, Venice, 2005, p. 6.

35. In general, the Italian consul in Livorno requested the original *carta di passo* be sent to the Foreign Ministry, so that the latter would ask the press for the director-general of police of the Kingdom of Italy (ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from Testi to the director-general of police, Francesco Mosca, 27 March 1810). It should be emphasized that the training of local administrations was directed not only towards the Tuscan officials, but also towards their Italian counterparts (*Ibid.*, letter n. 147 from Tambroni to Testi, 19 March 1810). The police of the Kingdom of Italy found itself inundated with requests, coming from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of new examples of *carte di passo* (*Ibid.*, Cart. 95, letter n. 9899 from the director-general of police, Francesco Mosca, to Testi, 13 November 1810).

36. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from the prefect of Ombrone department, Angelo Gandolfo, to Tambroni, 18 April 1810.

37. On the protection that the consuls guarantee their compatriots abroad see S. Marzagalli, *Introduction*, in *Les Consuls*, ed. by *Id.*, cit., pp. 9-10; F. Jesné, "Introduction", in *Les consuls*, cit., p. 9.

38. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter n. 147 from Tambroni to Testi, 19 March 1810. Original text in Italian: «l'errore principale che ci fa perdere la traccia di molti individui ricercati dalla giustizia ed è principalmente contro questo che reclamerò presso i prefetti e la polizia del Granducato». On the negligence committed by the *maires*, see also Denis, *Une histoire*, cit., pp. 259-61.

39. In April 1810, the Italian consul in Livorno communicates to his ministry that the model of the new *carte di passo* for Italian migrants has been distributed throughout the Tuscan departments (ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter n. 264 from Tambroni to Testi, 20 April 1810).

40. In this regard, only in 1811 did the viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy, Eugenio de Beauharnais, declare the official introduction of uniform *carte di passo*, which however had already been in effect since the end of 1809. See Decree n. 136, which regulates the exercise of administrative police on the mobility of foreigners and nationals inside and outside the Kingdom of Italy: *Bollettino delle leggi del Regno d'Italia*, Reale Stamperia, Milano 1811, part I, pp. 569-85.

41. On relations between foreign mobile populations and host societies see: V. Milliot, *La mobilité des personnes: un laboratoire du contrôle social?*, in *Gens de passage en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne: procédures de contrôle et d'identification*, eds. by C. Moatti, W. Kaiser, Maisonneuve & Larose, Paris 2007, pp. 29-31; Di Fiore, *Alla frontiera*, cit., pp. 63-5. More generally, on the relationship between the populations of the Apennine mountain and the coastal societies, see Albera, Corti, *Migrations montagnardes*, cit., pp. 372-4; F. Mineccia, *La montagna pistoiese e le migrazioni stagionali: tradizioni e mutamento tra età napoleonica e restaurazione*, in *Il territorio pistoiese e i Lorena tra '700 e '800: viabilità e bonifiche*, ed. by I. Tognarini, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Naples 1990, pp. 222-4.

42. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 95, letter from the commissioner-general of police of Livorno, de La Malle, to Tambroni, 23 November 1810.

43. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from the *maire* of Pistoia, Francesco Tolomei, to the prefect of the Panaro department, 27 September 1810.

44. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 95, letter from the sub-prefect of Pistoia, Giovanni Minutelli, to Tambroni, 29 October 1810.

45. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter from Tambroni to the commissioner-general of police in Livorno, 23 November 1810.

46. There is a great deal of literature dealing with the anti-French revolts in central-northern Italy. Refer to the work of M. Broers, *Napoleon's Other War. Bandits, Rebels and their Pursuers in the Age of Revolutions*, Peter Lang, Oxford 2010, pp. 73-6. Regarding the brigandage of 1808 and the «petites insurrections» that took place in Tuscany, see J. P. Filippini, *Diserzione e brigantaggio nella Toscana napoleonica*, in "Rivista italiana di studi napoleonici", XXVI, 1989, pp. 125-46; Donati, *La Toscana*, tome II, cit., pp. 717-850.

47. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 43 from Tambroni to Testi, 18 September 1809.

48. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from Testi to the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, 8 February 1810.

49. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter from the imperial procurator of the Arno department Fabbroni to Tambroni, 18 June 1810. Original text in Italian: «Avrei potuto, o Signore, a norma delle leggi che qui governano sopra tale materia tradurre molti del vostro regno avanti i tribunali competenti a fargli condannare quali vagabondi, ma per i rapporti immediati che passano tra due Stati limitrofi, e governati da un solo sì gran sovrano,

ho creduto finora di non dovere inveire con tutto il rigore contro i medesimi, ma ho piuttosto adottato il sistema di rinviare con semplice carta di strada i non sospetti, e quelli che tali mi sembravano, e dei quali mi erano affatto incognite le colpe. Mi sono servito del mezzo della gendarmeria per riconsegnarli nel seno della loro patria. Ma siccome una tal correttezza cangiar si potrebbe in abuso in rapporto a dei malvagi abitatori dei Confini dello Stato vostro, piacemi di farmi un dovere prevenirvi che d'ora innanzi non credo altrimenti conveniente l'adozione di un metodo sì dolce, poichè funesto divenire potrebbe ad ambedue le potenze».

50. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter from Tambroni to the commissioner-general of police in Livorno, 23 November 1810.

51. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 3693 of the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, Francesco Mosca, to Testi, 2 December 1809.

52. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 67 from Tambroni to Testi, 2 October 1809.

53. In this case also refer to Ardito, *Le brigandage*, cit., pp. 210-8.

54. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 95, letter n. 1071 from the Department Council of Levy of the department of Panaro to the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, 12 December 1810; letter from the Cantonal Committee of Levy of Montefiorino to the prefect of the Panaro, 10 December 1810.

55. Regarding the use of *signalements* in the 18th and early 19th centuries in France, see the study by Vincent Denis, who illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of this practice of identification. Denis, *Une histoire*, cit., pp. 58-65; V. Denis, V. Milliot, *Police et identification dans la France des Lumières*, in "Genèse", LIV, n. 1, 2004, pp. 4-27.

56. In this regard, see the letters from Tambroni to Testi: ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter n. 211, 2 April 1810 and Cart. 97, letter n. 380, 28 May 1810.

57. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 198 from Tambroni to Testi, 15 December 1809. On the survival strategies of floating populations see A. Gueslin, *Gens pauvres, pauvres gens. Dans la France du XIX^e siècle*, Aubier, Paris 1998, pp. 129-33; Id., *D'ailleurs et de nulle part: Mendians, vagabonds, clochards, SDF en France depuis Moyen Âge*, Fayard, Paris 2013, pp. 125-30, 160.

58. Regarding the use of the secret police and informal collaborators, please refer to the Geneva case, studied by V. Fontana, *Briser l'empire des habitudes. Le mémoire du préfet Léman et la réorganisation policière, Genève (1812-1813)*, in *Circulations policières 1750-1914*, ed. by C. Denys, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2012, pp. 159-90.

59. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 99, letter from Testi to the new Italian consul in Livorno, Alberti, 30 November 1811. Senator Testi speaks of a prize for the capture of any fugitive conscripts, which was around 24 or 28 Milan lire. This fee was defined as a reimbursement of expenses for the capture and was conferred on the *bargello*, that is, the head of the companies of *sbirri* and executors of justice. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter from Testi to Tambroni, 18 October 1809. See also Carlo Mangio, *La polizia toscana. Organizzazione e criteri d'intervento (1765-1808)*, Giuffrè, Milano 1988.

60. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 198 from Tambroni to Testi, 15 December 1809.

61. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy to Testi, 27 February 1810.

62. For the arrest of the famous criminal Francesco Galanti, originally from the department of Panaro, who had migrated together with his parents and his wife Marianna to work as a wood cutter in the Tuscan Maremma, the Consul Tambroni was granted the license to pay out 12 sequins for favour his capture. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letters n. 40 (7 January 1810), n. 54 (2 February 1810), n. 164 (21 March 1810) from Tambroni to Testi.

63. Regarding the mobility of land workers and of brigands in the Maremma, see also Ardito, *Le brigandage*, cit., pp. 209-10.

64. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter n. 426 from Tambroni to Testi, 29 June 1810.

65. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from Testi to the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, 27 March 1810.

66. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from the sub-prefect of Grosseto, Michele De Re, to Tambroni, 12 January 1810. Original text in Italian: «una polizia diversa dagli altri circondari del Granducato, e più adatta al locale, e mediante questa mi riesce di fare eseguire gli arresti».

67. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 97, letter from the sub-prefect of Grosseto, Michele De Re, to Tambroni, 22 May 1810.

68. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter from the director-general of police, Florence, to Tambroni, 23 December 1809.

69. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter n. 44 from Tambroni to Testi, 26 January 1810. Original text in Italian: «senza qualche spesa e premio per lo spionaggio non si verrà mai a capo di nulla».

70. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 94, letter from Testi to the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, 21 December 1809.

71. It is considered necessary to underline the importance of espionage as a practice used by the French authorities and the Italian consulate to support the mobile columns to identify the targets to be hit. ANP, F⁷ 8804, dossier n. 8126, councilor of state Anglès to director-general of police, Florence, 15 July 1811; ANP, BB¹⁸ 145, prosecutor of the Arno department Carelli to French minister of Justice, 29 November 1811.

72. Regarding the use of mobile columns to repress insurgents and brigands, please refer to the studies of M. Broers, *La contre-insurrection et ses développements dans l'Europe napoléonienne*, in *Police et Gendarmerie dans l'Empire napoléonien*, ed. by J.-O. Boudon, Editions SPM, Paris 2013, pp. 153-6; Y.-M. Bercé, *Société et police dans l'Ombrie napoléonienne*, in “Annales historiques de la Révolution française”, CCXX, 1975, pp. 235-7.

73. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter from Testi to the director-general of the police of the Kingdom of Italy, 27 March 1810, and *Ibid.*, Cart. 97, letter from the sub-prefect of Grosseto to Tambroni, 12 May 1810.

74. ASMi, Testi, Cart. 96, letter n. 278 from Tambroni to Testi, 23 April 1810. Original text in Italian: «Accade che dopo gli arresti vistosi qui fatti, che tutti i prevenuti si sono allarmati, e sono fuggiti verso il centro delle Maremme, ove per inseguirli non si può più contare sui moderati mezzi proposti, e autorizzati dalla polizia».

75. *Ibid.*

76. Di Fiore, Monticelli, *Sorveglianza*, cit., pp. 64-70.

77. In this regard, see the reflections of M. Meriggi, *Cittadinanza di carta*, in “Storica”, XVI, n. 1, 2000, pp. 114-5.

78. Di Fiore, *Alla frontiera*, cit., p. 12.

79. Denis, *Une histoire*, cit., p. 259.

80. Meriggi, *Cittadinanza*, cit., p. 117.

81. V. Milliot, *Despotisme policier ou réduction de l'arbitraire ? Quelques réflexions sur la formalisation des pratiques policières à Paris, XVIII^e siècle*, in *Le polizie informali*, ed. by L. Antonielli, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2010, p. 148.

