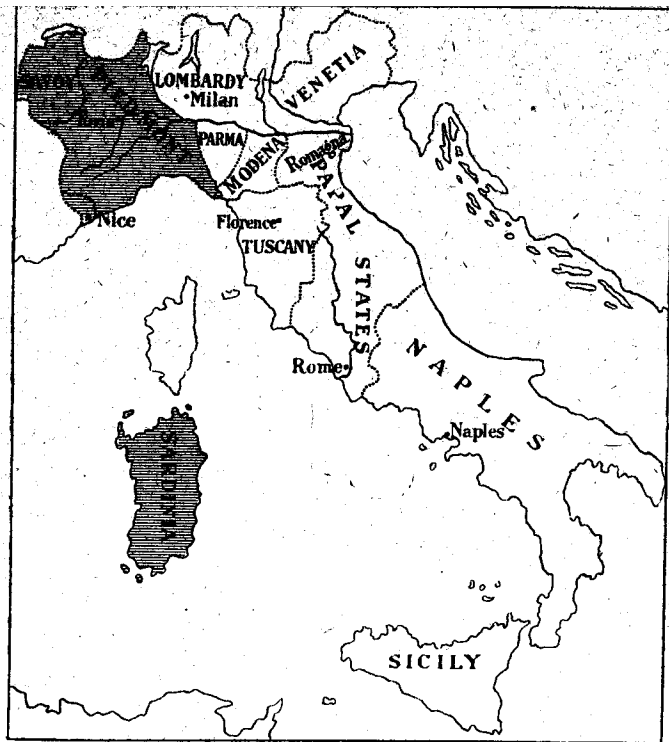
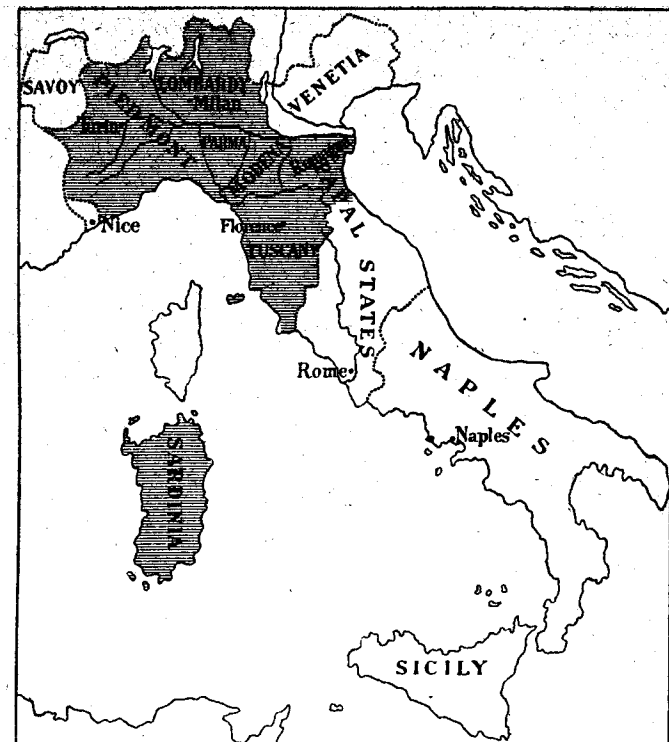


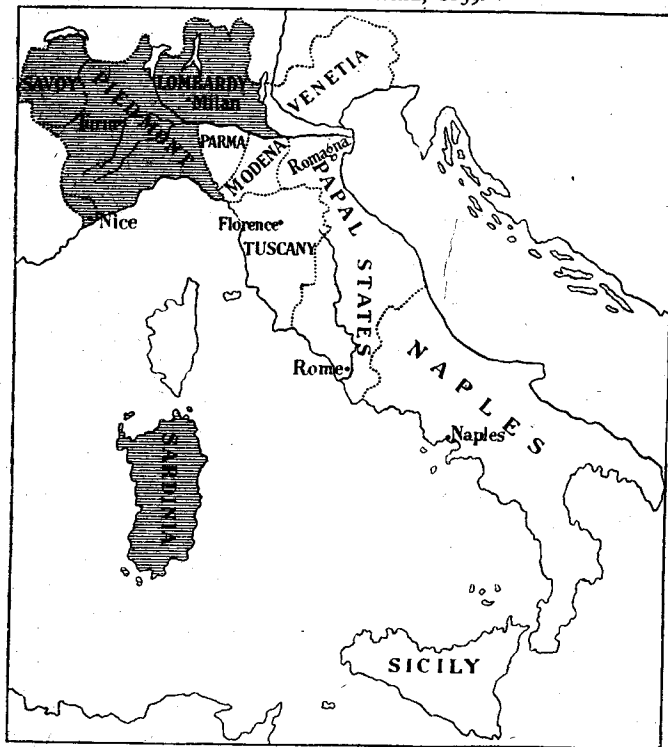
A HISTORY OF
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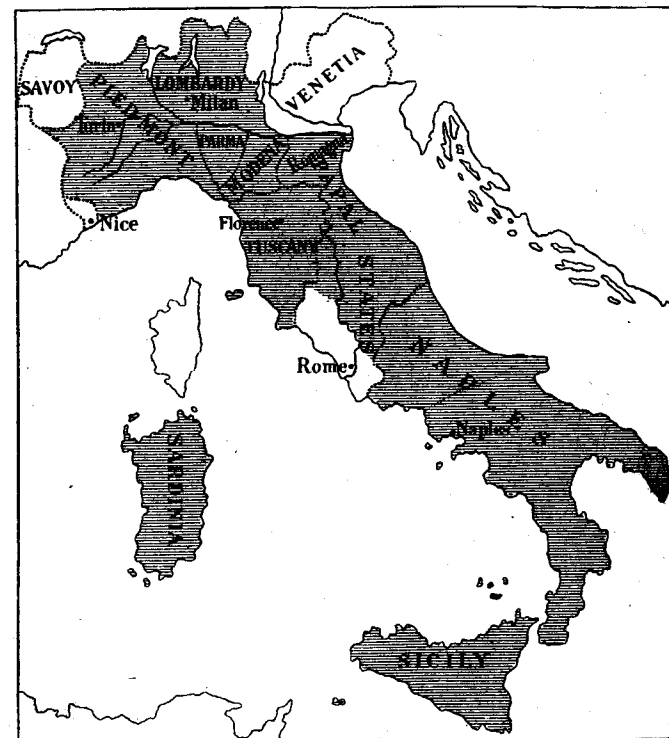
PIEDMONT IN APRIL, 1859.



KINGDOM OF ITALY IN MAY, 1860.



PIEDMONT IN AUGUST, 1859



KINGDOM OF ITALY IN NOVEMBER, 1860.

A HISTORY OF
ITALIAN UNITY

BEING

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF ITALY

FROM 1814 TO 1871

BY

BOLTON KING, M.A.

"Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples"

VOL. II

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APPENDICES

A

CHARLES ALBERT AND THE CARBONARI

(Vol. I. p. 32.)

DID Charles Albert explicitly encourage the revolution of 1821? Of first-hand evidence we have Santa Rosa's and Charles Albert's statements, which give each other the lie. Santa Rosa (*Révolution*, 71, published in 1821) says that the Prince consented to join the movement. Charles Albert in a MS. written in 1822 (Manno, *Informazioni*, 436) says that he absolutely declined. See also his similar statement in Vayra, *Carlo Alberto*, 259. I prefer to believe Santa Rosa, because (a) Santa Rosa had a name for scrupulous honesty, which Charles Albert had not; (b) Charles Albert had a strong motive for denying his complicity, as on that depended his restoration to favour; (c) the other persons present at the interview never contradicted Santa Rosa's printed statement; (d) Charles Albert himself in 1848 said that he gave a qualified promise to "place himself at the head of the Piedmontese army to help the Lombard rising" (Leopardi, *Narrazioni*, 253). Cantù (*Cronistoria*, II. 180) says that there is documentary evidence of Charles Albert's adhesion on the evening of March 6, but, so far as I know, he has never replied to Manno's challenge to produce it. Among second-hand but contemporary evidence Un officier Piémontais, said to be the younger De Maistre (*Simple Récit*, 39), confirms Charles Albert's denial. Cesare Balbo, the son of Prospero (*Sommario*, 449), "knew" that Charles Albert was sincerely Liberal and passionate for independence, but (Ricotti, *Balbo*, 377) "firmly believed that before the outbreak the Prince broke frankly from the revolutionists." (This probably refers to his later betrayal of the plot.) Collegno, who was very intimate with the Prince, says that he expressed his desire for independence (Bianchi, *Diplomazia*, II. 109). Giffenga thought him loyal (Manno, *op. cit.*, 661). Thacon de Revel had strong suspicions,

and thought that he as good as disclosed revolutionary intentions (*Mémoires*, xlv). Metternich at first believed in his complicity (Vayra, *op. cit.*, 135, 141), but afterwards thought there was no sufficient proof (*Mémoires*, III. 526-527); so also Wellington (*Despatches*, New Series, I. 456). There were undoubtedly communications between Charles Albert and the Lombard conspirators; messengers came to Confalonieri with "very strange words" from the Prince, though they may have been forged or misdelivered (Casati, *Confalonieri*, I. 107-112; Pallavicino, *Memorie*, I. 22-23). For Charles Albert's popularity in Central and Southern Italy as early as 1816 see Del Cerro in *Gazzetta Letteraria* of Oct. 27, 1894. For the statement that Charles Albert betrayed the details of the plot to Bellegarde after the collapse of the Revolution, see Lezat de Pons, *Études*, 147; but Predari (*Primi Vagiti*, 417) denies it on the strength of documents seen by him at Milan, and Mario (*Mazzini*, 36) shows the improbability of the whole story.

B

THE "THEORY OF THE DAGGER"

(Vol. I. p. 136; Vol. II. p. 27.)

IN a letter dated May 25, 1856, Manin attacked "the theory of the dagger" as "the great enemy of Italy." He implicated no one by name, but the reference was intended and taken to apply to Mazzini (see *Manin e Pallavicino*, 519). The charge has slender foundation. Mazzini held that political assassination is wrong, unless in very exceptional cases. He "abominated any theory of the dagger" (*Mazzini, Opere*, III. 41; X. 51). He refused indeed to condemn the honest assassinator as morally guilty; the same code of ethics, which glorifies Judith and Harmodius and Brutus, would in the future honour Orsini and Agesilao Milano; and he would throw no stone at the man who killed a traitor (*Ib.*, IX. 136). But assassination, he held, is often a crime and almost always a blunder (*Ib.*, IX. 137-138). It is, he says, "a crime, if attempted with the idea of avenging or punishing; a crime, when there are other roads to freedom open; culpable and mistaken, when directed against a man, whose tyranny does not descend into the grave with him" (*Ib.*, X. 54). Thus while Triumvir at Rome he energetically suppressed the political assassinations at Ancona (see above, Vol. I. p. 331); and when Cavour charged him with plotting against Victor Emmanuel's

life, he indignantly replied that the King's "life is protected, first by the Statute, next by the uselessness of the crime" (Ib., X. 48). Assassination, therefore, was only legitimate, when it was the only means of attacking a tyranny, and when at the same time it was likely to overthrow the tyranny. When assassination approximated to insurrection and became an "arm of irregular warfare," as in the cases of Marinovich and Rossi (see above, Vol. I. pp. 221, 281), he justified it (Ib., IX. 132). The statutes of Young Italy never advised assassination (Ib., III. 41-42; see also Gaiani, *Roman Exile*, 115). This was one of its most distinctive differences from Carbonarism. In 1858 Mazzini challenged Cavour to find any of its writings advising otherwise (Ib., X. 48), and at an earlier date he declared that, except perhaps in a few obscure lodges of Romagna, the Society had never condemned a member to death (Ib., III. 42).

On one occasion, however, in his early days Mazzini encouraged assassination. A Corsican, named Gallenga (see above, Vol. I. p. 136), came to Mazzini in 1833 to tell him that he intended to assassinate Charles Albert in revenge for a brother, who had perished in the revolution of 1821. Mazzini tried to dissuade him, but not succeeding and convinced that Gallenga was one of those "whom Providence sends from time to time to teach despots that their life may depend on the will of a single man," gave him a dagger, and money. Gallenga, on arriving at Turin, found himself watched by the police, and left. In later life he became special correspondent of the *Times* (Ib., III. 340-345). Pinelli probably refers to this incident, when he says (*Storia*, III. 55-56), without giving any evidence, that Mazzini hired a man to assassinate the King.

In 1832 or 1833 three Italians, supposed to be spies of the Duke of Modena, were assassinated at Rodez in the Department of Aveyron. At the secret trial, which followed, an alleged decree of Young Italy, with Mazzini's signature, was produced, ordering their assassination; but the decree was written in bad Italian (the text in *Westminster Review*, 1844, 248), the dates did not agree with the facts, and the forgery was so obvious, that the Supreme Court of Aveyron pronounced that the crime was committed without premeditation. Gisquet, who had been Prefect of Police in 1833, in his *Memoirs* published in 1840, repeated the charge against Mazzini; Mazzini brought a libel action against him, and the court at Paris, which tried it, acquitted Gisquet on the ground that the charge must have referred to another Mazzini! (Mazzini, *Opere*, III. 35-41). In 1845 Sir James Graham again revived the charge in the House of Commons, but after seeing the documents of the Aveyron trial, publicly retracted it (*Hansard's Debates*, LXXX. 238). It was reserved to the Paris corres-

pendent of the *Times*, to rake up twenty years later the oft-refuted calumny (*Times* of March 25, 1864). [It was at this time that the disgraceful attempt was made by the French government and some English Conservatives to connect Stansfeld with projects of assassination (Hansard's *Debates*, CLXXIV. 259-263)].

According to Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, III. 143, Mazzini's organ, *L'Italia del Popolo*, in 1850, commenting on an assassination at Pesaro said, "Silence, it is the people acting for itself," and the same author instances other assassinations at the time, which were ascribed to Mazzinians. But there is no evidence to connect either the article or the assassinations with Mazzini, any more than there is to connect Orsini's plans for assassinating the officers of the garrison at Milan in 1853.

The French police attempted to connect Mazzini with Grilli and Tibaldi's plot against the Emperor in 1857. The evidence produced is vague or suspicious, though a letter said to be by Mazzini rather points to complicity (Taxile-Delord, *Second Empire*, II. 110-112; La Gorce, *Second Empire*, II. 201-202); but one cannot accept documents produced by the police of the Second Empire without corroboration of their authenticity. Mazzini was certainly ignorant of the Orsini plot (*Opere*, X. xiv-xv).

The Greco plot. Pasquale Greco was a Calabrian, who took a part in the revolutionary movements of 1860 and 1862, and was not probably a paid agent of the Piedmontese police (Mazzini, *Opere*, XIV. lxxiv). Early in 1864 he was arrested for complicity in a plot to assassinate the Emperor; according to Kératry (*Le 4 Septembre*, quoted in Taxile-Delord, *op. cit.*, III. 470) the police had a hand in the business. At his trial Greco said that Mazzini concocted the plot, and Mazzini was condemned in contumacy. Mazzini in a letter to the *Times* (January 15, 1864) categorically denied Greco's statements, and the *Times* thought there was "a glaring improbability about the whole of Greco's story." According to Diamilla-Müller (*Politica segreta*, 24-27), Mazzini had a small and unwilling part in it, but did not condemn it when he first heard of it. "Melena" (*Garibaldi*, 172) says that the authoress met in October 1863 a woman sent by Mazzini to buy Garibaldi's support for the plot; but like others of "Melena's" statements, the story is intrinsically improbable and has no evidence to support it.

C

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND THE BANDIERAS

(Vol. I. p. 148.)

MAZZINI, when living in London in 1844, discovered that his letters had been opened before delivery (*Opere*, V. 364-365; VI. 117-120), and charged the government with communicating their contents to the government of Naples. The matter was brought before the House of Commons by Thomas Duncombe. Sir James Graham did not deny that information had been given to the Neapolitan government, but Lord Aberdeen dishonoured himself by the quibble that "not one syllable of the correspondence had been communicated to any person whatever" (Hansard's *Debates*, LXXVI. 313); and Sir Robert Peel stated that Lord Aberdeen knew nothing of an attack from Corfù and never communicated anything relating to that (Ib., LXXVII. 748-749). Secret Committees were appointed in both Houses to inquire. The Lords' Committee reported that information from Mazzini's letters was communicated to a foreign government, "but without names or details, that might expose any individual then residing in the foreign country to which the information was sent to danger" (*sic*). [N.B. The Bandieras had not yet landed.] The Commons' Committee reported that "representations had been made to the British government, that plots, of which M. Mazzini was the centre, were carrying on . . . to excite an insurrection in Italy. . . . The British government issued . . . a warrant to open and detain M. Mazzini's letters. Such information deduced from these letters as appeared to the British government calculated to frustrate this attempt was communicated to a Foreign Power." But "the information so communicated was not of a nature to compromise and did not compromise the safety of any individual within the reach of that Foreign Power."

Nisco (*Ferdinando II.*, 65), whose book is based on the Neapolitan archives, says that "the Austrian and Neapolitan governments had notice from the English police of an approaching attack by Italian exiles." It is clear from the official documents published in *Carte secrete*, II. 431 and Orsini, *Memoirs*, 270, that both the Austrian and Papal governments had been informed beforehand. Of course the information, once sent to any Italian government, would be passed on to the others. See also Hansard's *Debates*, LXXV.

892, 973; LXXVI. 212; Gualterio, *Rivolgimenti*, II. 352. It is clear, that the Foreign Office sent enough information to the Bourbon government to enable it to be prepared for the attack, and to it must be charged in part the fate of the Bandieras. For the intense indignation with the government in England see *Westminster Review*, September, 1844; Carlyle's letter to the *Times* of June 19, 1844; Molesworth, *History of England*, II. 133.

D

ROSSI'S ASSASSINATION

(Vol. I. p. 281.)

I HAVE not seen the full published minutes of the trial of the alleged murderers of Rossi; but I have seen the summary, evidently from a clericalist hand, in "Storia dell' assassinio di P. Rossi tratta dai processi e descritta dalla Civiltà Cattolica" (Torino, 1854), and extracts may be found in Gennarelli, *Governo pontificio*, II. 361; D'Ideville, *Rossi*; Trollope, *Pius IX.*, 277 *et seq.* The theory of the prosecution was that a republican plot had been maturing all through the summer and autumn under the leadership of Sterbini and Ciceruacchio, and to which Galletti also was privy; that about the beginning of November the conspirators' plans were betrayed to Rossi, and that they, discovering this and fearing arrest, decided on Rossi's death; that the assassination was entrusted to a band of about sixty returned volunteers, and that they carried it out without any concealment. The findings of the trial are suspicious; the most important evidence came from a criminal, who was promised pardon if he gave information (*Storia dell' assassinio*, 7); and as Tivaroni says, "a Papal trial cannot serve as a historical document." But in the main I think they are correct. The true theory I believe to be that a small band of extremists, believing the exaggerated versions of Rossi's policy, and expecting a suppression of the constitutionalists by force, determined to forestall him by murdering him. This is supported by the facts alleged by Rusconi, *Memorie*, 47; Leopardi, *Narrazioni*, 368-369; Trollope, *op. cit.*, 276. The Papalist writers and on the whole "Un Romano" (*Sulle questioni urgenti*, 19) take the same view. The fact that Rossi had warnings of his fate (*Storia dell' assassinio*, 79-80; Bianchi, *Zucchi*, 149) point to the plot being premeditated and not being the work of a single fanatic; the paper, *Don Pirlone*, seems to

have hinted at it beforehand (*Storia dell' assassinio*, 71). The passage referred to in Trollope, *op. cit.*, 276, seems to implicate Sterbini.

Niccolini (*Pontificate*, 79), who was in Rome at the time, ascribes it to a single fanatic. Gazola (*Gazola ed il vicariato*, 34) ascribes it to the reactionaries, but the only evidence for this theory appears in Leopardi, *loc. cit.*, which suggests that Papalist *agents provocateurs* had a hand in it. The Papalists at Rome rejoiced at the deed (Farini, *Roman State*, II. 129); but against this may be set the approval of the Tuscan Liberals (Pigli, *Risposta*, 103; Guerrazzi, *Appendice*, 85), of Garibaldi (*Memorie*, 213-214), and of Mazzini (see Appendix B), all of whom certainly were unconnected with the plot.

There is not a scrap of evidence to connect it with the Albertists, in spite of clericalist attempts (see *Storia dell' assassinio*, 57); though they denounced him at a prior date as a public enemy (*Archivio triennale*, I. 116).

E

THE INQUISITION DUNGEONS

(Vol. I. pp. 79, 330.)

THERE is no doubt that when the offices of the Inquisition were opened to the public on April 1, 1849, a large quantity of human bones and instruments of torture were seen. There is ample evidence as to this from republican and clerical and independent sources. The clericalist Spada visited the offices and speaks of the "holes here and there with fragments of bones," "the irons and hooks and chains and ropes" for purposes of torture. The *Roman Advertiser* (the organ of the English community) says that crowds of sightseers saw "the dark dungeons, the arched caverns full of bones, the pitfalls," &c. Gavazzi found a trap covering a hole seventy feet deep, which contained "much human hair . . . no bones, nothing but hair and ashes," and another cave in which were "some dozens of skeletons . . . buried in lime," the skulls belonging to them being piled in a corner. Pianciani (who was a member of the Assembly, and therefore was probably in Rome at the time) says that all who visited the Inquisition prisons saw "bones of all sexes and ages, . . . the torture benches, the horrible chafing-dishes, the chairs of the judges and the instruments of the executioner. . . . Some were hanging on the walls, others were hidden in corners; all were in good preservation and

carefully kept as if for daily use." Pianciani's book is however somewhat of a *chronique scandaleuse* and not always accurate. Beghelli and others mention that in the cells were found a Livornese, who had been imprisoned for 18 years for blasphemy, and an Egyptian bishop named Cashur, who had been imprisoned since the days of Leo XII. and could no longer walk.

The doubt lies as to whether the bones and instruments of torture had been brought there after the government took possession of the offices, in order to excite indignation. It is quite certain that the Triumvirs would not have connived at the deception, but it may possibly have been done unknown to them by underlings. Spada, who is generally accurate and trustworthy, thought that the bones and instruments of torture had evidently been brought there recently, and says that "a piece of pavement underneath the soil and bones had been unintentionally left in view (this however does not explain the presence of the skeletons mentioned by Gavazzi); he asserts too that many Romans, who visited the dungeons before April 1, found no trace of the bones. Maguire, who visited the offices after the fall of the Republic, says that there was only one trap-door and that an improvised one, that the bones had been dug up from beneath the foundations, which were on the site of an ancient graveyard, and that the cells were on the second-floor and well lit; but his evidence is discounted (*a*) by his general inaccuracy, (*b*) by the obvious conclusion that he did not see the dungeons (see the evidence of Gaiani and Pianciani, below). There is negative evidence against the genuineness of the discovery in the fact that neither Rusconi nor Gabussi (both moderate republicans) mention it. On the other hand Gavazzi says that "when the doors of the Inquisition were opened in Rome, I was the first to enter." He does not make it absolutely clear whether he entered when the Republic first took possession or on April 1; but the context seems to point strongly to the former, and if this is so, his evidence would be almost conclusive. It is clear that the writer in the *Roman Advertiser* had no suspicion of any trick.

There is some indirect evidence in favour of the genuineness of the discoveries. Gaiani, when imprisoned by the Inquisition in the '30s, was put in an underground dungeon with unpaved floor, in which lay bones and skulls. (Pianciani quotes the evidence of a friend, who was imprisoned there, as to the fearful state of the dungeons.) Pianciani believes in the practice of torture from the allusions of men known to him, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition. It must be remembered that torture was practised in Sicily at a later date than this, and that even the Austrians resorted

in Lombardy to starvation, repeated floggings, and drugs to extort confessions. Pianciani also mentions that human bones were found under a trap-door in the offices of the Inquisition at Perugia in 1849. On the other hand, when the French entered Rome in 1798, they found the Inquisition prisons healthy and almost empty.

On the whole I find it so difficult to balance the evidence as to the genuineness of the discoveries, that I give it in full and leave the reader to draw his conclusions. (See Spada, *Rivoluzione*, III. 335; Campanella and Niccolini, *Gavazzi*, 249-251; *Roman Advertiser* 1848-9, 398; Pianciani, *Rome des Papes*, II. 75-85; Gaiani, *Roman Exile*, 148; Beghelli, *Repubblica*, II. 78; Maguire, *Pontificate*, 164-168; La Farina, *Storia*, I. *proemio*; Tournon, *Études*, II. 51-52.)

F

GARIBALDI, RATTAZZI, AND VICTOR EMMANUEL
IN 1862

(Vol. II. pp. 236-244.)

(a) *March—April*

It is impossible, until further evidence is forthcoming, to pronounce decidedly as to what was the understanding between Rattazzi and the King on the one hand and Garibaldi on the other. Rattazzi told the Chamber (speech of June 3, 1862) that he promised Garibaldi to consolidate Italy, but refused to consent to any irregular programme; that he had the promise, of Menotti Garibaldi that the mobilized guards should be used to combat brigandage only and should act under the orders of the government; that he neither suggested nor in any way was privy to any expedition either to the Tyrol or over sea; that he had promised Garibaldi a certain sum of money, but only to assist some of the refugees to emigrate, and on condition that they left the country without arms. Bixio (speech of June 3), who was present at the interview between Rattazzi and Crispi, when many of these details were arranged, gives a rather different version. Rattazzi, he says, told Crispi that the government could not prevent few or many individuals leaving the country, but that it would not allow any kind of expedition; he confirms Rattazzi's statement as to Menotti Garibaldi's promises; he says he knew positively, that the government was not informed of Garibaldi's projects, but he owns that he communicated them to Guerzoni, who was Depretis' secretary.

In his speech of June 6 he qualifies his first statement considerably by saying (1) that if the government knew of the projects, it gave no approval, (2) that he asked Rattazzi himself whether he would assist an expedition, (3) that Rattazzi promised to pay him over a fixed sum, on condition that it should be spent only in such manner as the government wished. (Rattazzi in a subsequent speech evaded the latter point.) Nicotera (speech of November 25, 1862) stated that Rattazzi, before he took office, invited him to an interview, and there pledged himself to the arming of the nation and a radical change of administration. According to Nicotera, Depretis was given a place in the ministry, as a guarantee to the Left. Mme. Rattazzi (*Rattazzi*, I. 619) states that her husband knew of Garibaldi's plans, but opposed any raid on Venetia, and tried to dissuade him through Bixio and Depretis. According to G. Torelli (*Ricordi*, 283-285), Rattazzi professed a wish to continue Ricasoli's policy, to conciliate Garibaldi through the King and others, but keep him from imprudent acts, if necessary by force. Castelli, who knew Rattazzi well, thinks (*Ricordi*, 205) that he struggled against great difficulties to maintain the authority of the government.

But the more charitable view of Rattazzi's policy found little credit inside or outside of the Chamber (Boggio's speech of June 4; Tavalini, *Lanza*, I. 283). Ricasoli said (*Lettere*, VII. 28) that he had trustworthy evidence that in December 1861 Rattazzi promised to assist Garibaldi in an expedition to Dalmatia and send him to organize volunteers in South Italy. Crispi (speech of June 3) asserted definitely that Rattazzi promised a million lire to Garibaldi to arm an expedition in support of the Greek insurgents, but denied that there was any intention to raid the Tyrol. He stated that Rattazzi, while at Naples with the King, sent a cypher telegram, "I am ready to give the arms, the General to send receipts and indicate the place." Guerzoni (*Garibaldi*, II. 283) gives additional evidence in support of the promised million. (See also Cantù, *Cronistoria*, III. 578.) It is quite clear from Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 295, that at the end of April there were communications between Garibaldi and Depretis respecting a raid into the Tyrol. About May 7 in consequence of a message from the King Garibaldi seems for the moment to have abandoned the Tyrol expedition and gone back to the Greek plan (Guerzoni, *op. et loc. cit.*). Not only men and arms and red shirts, but ambulance and biscuits were collected on the frontier (Boggio's speech of June 4).

There can be no doubt that Garibaldi expected much from Rattazzi's appointment. In March 1862 he said that Rattazzi had promised to be independent of foreign influence and try to get Rome (Chambers, *Garibaldi*, 179). When he saw Rattazzi after his appointment, he returned enthusiastic about him and the King (Guerzoni,

op. cit., II. 279-280). "With Rattazzi in power I can always do something" (Tavallini, *op. cit.*, I. 288). He counted on Depretis' devotion. Mario (*Bertani*, II. 293) states that Garibaldi thought that Rattazzi would at once undertake the liberation of Venetia. It is true that Garibaldi in his letter to the Chamber after Sarnico stated that Rattazzi only gave him large hopes that Italy would be definitely constituted, and made offers as to the arming of the nation; but there can be little doubt that Garibaldi only signed what others wrote, and that at the best the letter told only half the truth (Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 294). But Garibaldi seems as early as March 28 to have been disappointed and bitter towards the government (Castelli, *Carteggio*, I. 418; Chambers, *op. cit.*, 193). It would seem that Crispi, Bertani, and others played on these suspicions and suggested that the government had ulterior objects in sending him out of Italy (Mario, *Garibaldi*, 679; see also Mazzini, *Opere*, XIII. cxiii). They however opposed equally any attack on Venetia or the Tyrol, and Garibaldi accused them of conspiring with Mazzini to spoil his plans (Mario, *op. et loc. cit.*).

Vecchi (*Garibaldi*, 338) states, without giving his authority, that the plan was to raid the Tyrol in connection with an expected rising in Hungary; but that when Deak came to a compromise with the Viennese government and the hope of Hungarian cooperation vanished, the government saw the danger of the raid and hence its suppression at Sarnico. Saffi gives a similar explanation in Mazzini, *Opere*, XIII. cxiii. For Garibaldi's secret interview with the King and Rattazzi after Sarnico, see Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 298.

Pasolini (*Memoirs*, 270) says that England vetoed an expedition to Albania, but he gives no evidence. Bonghi (*I partiti*, 243) gives some, but not conclusive, evidence, that Garibaldi was in correspondence with the Greek court in 1862, apparently with the object of attacking the Turks. On the other hand, Vitzthum (*St. Petersburg*, II. 196) thought that the intrigues were to put Prince Amadeus on the Greek throne; so also Bideschini, *Garibaldi*, quoted in Tivaroni, *L'Italia*, II. 418.

(b) *June to August*

Garibaldi gave quite inconsistent accounts of his intentions in going to Sicily. According to his diary (quoted in Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 299) he went to prevent an autonomist movement, which he believed was threatening. [It is possible that this was a deliberately false statement, in order to screen the King. See Mario, *Nicotera*, 61.] According to "Melena" (*Garibaldi*, 151), he confessed at the end of May that he was projecting a conquest of Rome, and was

going to Sicily with that object; but "Melena's" statements are often suspicious. He had already before Sarnico talked confidently of going to Rome, and when he was at Milan, it was fashionable to wear legends of "Rome or Death" in hats (Cantù, *op. cit.*, III. 574). Three days before his speech at Palermo he wrote to a friend that he was "hoping to do something for King and country" (Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 342). Saffi (Mazzini, *Opere*, XIII. cxxii) thinks that he intended going to Greece, but that when the government denied the promised help, he changed his plans and made Rome his objective. So too Salazaro (*Cenni*, 106). Guerzoni (*op. cit.*, II. 300) thinks that he had no clear end in view, when he left Caprera.

Probably one of Battazzi's objects was to play Garibaldi so as to extort concessions from the Emperor (Bianchi, *Matteucci*, 385).

As to the part taken by the King, Garibaldi read to some of his followers a letter from him, offering means for an expedition to Greece. This was according to Mario (*Mazzini*, 423) on the voyage to Palermo, according to Saffi (Mazzini, *Opere*, XIII. cxxiv) a few days before sailing. Garibaldi told "Melena" that the King gave his private consent to an attack on Rome, if he were ready to take the punishment on himself in case of failure (Melena, *op. cit.*, 158). Garibaldi certainly maintained almost up to the last that the King was behind him and that therefore the ministers dared not stop him (Salazaro, *op. cit.*, 104; Chambers, *op. cit.*, 194-196, 207; Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 344). On the other hand the King said that the expedition to Rome was a breach of a solemn promise (Diamilla-Müller, *Politica segreta*, 85); and this is confirmed in the main by N. Bianchi (*op. cit.*, 386), who claims access to authentic documents.

As to the part taken by the government, there was doubtless for some time an absence of any clear instructions to the officials in Sicily. Even Cugia, the military governor, was puzzled how to act (Adamoli, *Da San Martino*, 194; Tavallini, *op. cit.*, I. 291; Vecchi, *op. cit.*, 345). Soldiers were allowed to desert to the volunteers (Chambers, *op. cit.*, 206; Mazzini, *Opere*, XIII. cxxx). According to Vecchi (*op. cit.*, 343) 3000 rifles were publicly landed for Garibaldi by the government. Garibaldi asserted before Catania that he had a letter from the admiral in command of the Italian squadron, offering to take him to any port he liked (Guerzoni, *op. cit.*, II. 309), but according to Zini (*Storia*, II. 1039) it was merely an offer to take him to Caprera under an impression that the volunteers had broken up. Garibaldi afterwards thought (*Memorie*, 401) that the frigates at Catania had orders to prevent his escaping, but that the captains turned a blind eye. Vecchi (*op. cit.*, 346-347) says the same, and gives evidence, which, if true, shows how un-

decided the officers still were. Adamoli (*op. cit.*, 214) implies that they must have seen Garibaldi sail. But the government did everything to prevent volunteers from joining Garibaldi (Ib., 183, 190-191). There appears again to have been some understanding between Garibaldi and Depretis. If Cordova is correct (*Discorsi*, I. 141-142) Garibaldi thought that the proclamation of August 3 was a mere blind, and said, as soon as he saw Depretis' signature to it, "we are in agreement with the government."

It is said that a relative of Benedetti told Fabrizi that the object of the government was to get rid of Garibaldi (Mario, *op. cit.*, 423). This was communicated to Garibaldi. Ricasoli (*op. cit.*, VII. 101) also thought that it was a trap laid by Rattazzi to wreck Garibaldi. But in spite of similar and better-grounded suspicions in 1864 and 1867 (see above, Vol. II. pp. 255, 350), I do not think this probable.

In weighing the evidence all through it must be remembered that no implicit reliance can be placed on the statements of Rattazzi or Crispi or Garibaldi. The two former were notorious equivocators, and too many of Garibaldi's statements in his *Memorie* and *Les mille* are too glaringly untruthful to allow of dependance on his other statements.

G

POLITICAL NOMENCLATURE

I HAVE uniformly used the names of political parties in their Italian significance. Down to about 1844 Liberal includes all sections of nationalists, the majority of them being of course constitutionalists as well. From 1844, while Liberal remains on the whole the generic term, the common nomenclature is Moderate and Democrat for the conservative and advanced nationalist wings respectively, the anti-nationalists being Reactionaries (*retrogradi, reazionari*), or Codini from a real or supposed preference for the old-fashioned pig-tail wig. Radical is also used, practically as a synonym of Democrat. After 1849 Conservative and Liberal are in common use as an equivalent for Moderate and Democrat, and are perhaps the more usual terms during the decade; but with the rise of parliamentary life in Piedmont the more defined party-names are Right, Right-Centre, Left-Centre, Left. (See Vol. I. pp. 387-389.) In the '60s Moderate is in common use again, but Democrat is almost superseded for a time by Garibaldian. For Consorteria and Permanent, see Vol. II. pp. 251, 267.

H

TABLES OF COINAGE, &c.

PIEDMONT (afterwards Kingdom of Italy)	{ 1 lira= 100 centesimi	} = 1 franc = 9.6d.	. . . . . 25 lire	= £1
LOMBARDY-VENETIA	{ 1 Austrian lira= 100 centesimi	} = .87 franc = 8.35d.	. . . . . 28.7 Austrian lire	= £1
TUSCANY	{ 1 Tuscan lira= 20 soldi = 240 denari 1 paolo	} = .84 franc = 8.06d. = 5½d.	. . . . . 29.7 Tuscan lire	= £1
PAPAL STATES	{ 1 scudo= 10 paoli= 100 bajocchi	} = 5.3 francs = 4s. 3.5d.	. . . . . 4.6 scudi	= £1
NAPLES	{ 1 ducat= 10 carlini= 100 grani	} = 4.3 francs = 3s. 4.7d.	. . . . . 5.7 ducats	= £1
SICILY	{ 1 oncia= 30 tari= 600 grani	} = 12.7 francs = 10s. 4.8d.	. . . . . 1.9 oncie	= £1

APPENDICES

Piedmontese mile	=	1.53	English miles.	
Tuscan	„	= 1.02	„	„
Roman	„	= .87	„	„
Neapolitan	}	„	= 1.14	„
Sicilian				
Italian chilometro	=	.62	„	„
				8 chilometri = 5 miles.

Italian Kingdom	.	1 ettaro	=	2.47 acres.	259 ettari = 1 sq. mile.
Naples	.	1 moggia	=	.83	„
Sicily	.	1 salma	=	4.32	„
Papal States	.	1 rubbia	=	4.54	„

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¹ There seems little doubt that the part relating to the campaign of 1848 was written from notes supplied by Charles Albert, probably to C. Promis. See Bianchi, *Carlo Alberto*, 25-27; Capponi, *Lettere*, II. 443.

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