

Life & Writings of Joseph Mazzini

IN SIX VOLS.

VOL. V.—AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOSEPH MAZZINI

VOL. V.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL

A NEW EDITION

LONDON

SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE

1891

V52:51 y7 mic

C0.5

3017

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ROYALTY AND REPUBLICANISM IN ITALY—	
CHAPTER I	41
II.	66
III.	113
ADDRESS TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRS OF COSENZA	156
A LETTER TO MESSRS. DE TOCQUEVILLE & DE FALLoux,	
MINISTERS OF FRANCE	222
ROME AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT	257
THE HOLY ALLIANCE OF THE PEOPLES	265
FROM THE POPE TO THE COUNCIL	283
ON THE ENCYCLICA OF POPE PIUS IX.	331
APPENDIX	367

APPENDIX.



OFFICIAL ACTS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

I.

[THE Republic was proclaimed, by an assembly elected by universal suffrage, on the 9th of February 1849. On the 24th of February the members of the *mountain* in the French Constituent Assembly sent an address of congratulation and promise of fraternal aid to the Roman Constituent Assembly. Being commissioned by the Roman Assembly to reply to that address, I sent the following answer:]

Citizens,—Your address reaches us at a solemn moment; on the eve of battle.* It will inspire and encourage us to fresh energy in the holy struggle about to begin. France has done great things for the world: you have hoped, suffered, and fought for humanity, and every word spoken by you imposes upon us duties which, with God's help, we shall know how to fulfil.

You, citizens, have understood all that there is of great, noble, and providential in this flag of regeneration floating above the city that encircles the Capital and Vatican,—a new consecration of eternal right; a third world arising upon the ruins of two worlds extinct: an Italy who will be sister to France, bursting the walls of her sepulchre, and demanding, in the name of the mission she is destined to fulfil, her right of citizenship in the

* The renewal of hostilities between Austria and Piedmont.

federation of the peoples. You have understood that our hearts are pure from all hatred or intolerance; that we are fulfilling a work of human improvement and love, and that by asserting our rights without attacking the existing religion, by separating the Pope from the Prince, we have assumed the obligation never to contaminate this great work by the base passion and cowardly vengeance of which we have been accused by a corrupt or deluded press. This obligation we shall fulfil: such words as yours are to us a recompense for many calumnies, and an assurance against many a covert betrayal; we know that you will enlighten your fellow citizens upon the true character of our revolution, and sustain our right to the national life which you have already proclaimed and achieved for yourselves.

There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth: there is but one aim, one law, one faith—*association and progress*—for all the populations of the earth. Like yourselves, we fight for the whole world. The peoples are brothers and will remain such, happen what may.

Trust in us; we will trust in you. If in the coming struggle our strength fail us, we shall remember your promises and cry aloud to you:—*Brothers arise, the hour has come*, and we shall see your volunteers hasten to our aid.

In the days of the empire we fought side by side, and we will fight side by side again for all that men hold most dear—God, the Fatherland, Liberty, the Republic, and the holy alliance of the peoples.

II.

[The Triumvirate, of which I made one, was elected on the 29th of March. The following is the Programme of Principles we published.]

Citizens,—Five days have elapsed since we received our sacred mandate from the Assembly. We have carefully studied the actual condition of the Roman

States, and that of Italy, our common country. We have sought to interrogate the wishes of the worthiest citizens, and the dictates of our own conscience ; and it is now time that the people should hear our voice and learn what are the general principles by which we shall be governed in the execution of the mandate imposed upon us.

To provide for the safety of the Republic ; to protect it from dangers within and without ; to cause it worthily to maintain its ground in the war of independence ; such is the task entrusted to us.

This mandate signifies in our eyes respect, not only for a form of government, for a name, but also for the *principle* represented by this name and by this form of government. This principle is for us a principle of love, of civilisation, of fraternal progress by all and for all, of moral, intellectual, and economical improvement for the entire body of the citizens. The Republican flag, raised in Rome by the representatives of the people, does not represent the triumph of one fraction of the citizens over another. It represents the common triumph—a victory—gained by the many, acquiesced in by the immense majority,—of the principle of good over the principle of evil ; of the common right over the will of a small number ; of holy equality, the gift of God to all the human species, over privilege and despotism. We cannot be republicans without being superior, and proving that we are superior, to the powers now overthrown for ever. Liberty and virtue, the Republic and fraternity, ought to be inseparably united. It is for us to set an example to Europe. The Republic in Rome is an Italian programme ; it is a hope, a future for twenty-six millions of men, our brothers. It is bound to prove to Italy and to Europe that our cry of *God and the People* is not a lie ; that our work is eminently religious, a work of education and morality ; that the accusations of intolerance, anarchy, and violent upturning of things directed against us, are false ; that

united thanks to the Republican principle, into one family of righteous men, under the eye of God, and following the inspiration of the highest amongst us in genius and virtue, we advance towards the attainment of true order—the association of Law and Power.

It is thus we understand our mission ; and it is thus that we hope all the citizens will learn by degrees to understand it with us. We are not the Government of a Party ; we are truly the Government of the Nation. The Nation is Republican. The nation embraces all who sincerely profess its republican faith ; it pities and instructs all those who do not as yet comprehend the sacredness of that faith ; it crushes, in the omnipotence of its sovereignty, all who attempt to violate it by open revolt, or secret intrigues provocative of civil dissensions.

Neither intolerance nor weakness. The Republic is at once conciliatory and energetic. The Government is strong ; therefore it is fearless. Its task is to preserve intact the rights, and aid the free performance of the duties of all the citizens ; therefore it does not sink into the repose of vain and culpable security. The Nation has conquered—conquered for ever. Its Government ought to exhibit the serene and generous calmness, not the abuse of victory. Inexorable as to principles ; tolerant and impartial as to persons ; equally incapable of compromise and mistrust ; neither fearing offence nor seeking to offend ;—such ought a Government to be, in order to be worthy of republican institutions.

Economy in the public offices ; morality in the choice of officials ; capacity—proved by experience when possible—at the head of the administrative departments.

Severe verification, order, and control in financial matters ; limited expenditure, avoidance of all waste ; the money of the country devoted exclusively to the good of the country ; every sacrifice exacted when demanded by the necessities of the country.

No war of classes ; no hostility to existing wealth ; no wanton or unjust violation of the rights of property ;

but a constant disposition to ameliorate the material condition of the classes least favoured by fortune; a firm determination to re-establish the credit of the state, and to check every culpable egotism, either of monopoly, artifice, or passive resistance tending to dissolve or impair it.

Laws few and well-weighed; but vigilance and firmness in their execution.

The power and discipline of the regular army held sacred to the defence of the country and to the National war for the independence and liberty of Italy.

Such are the general bases of our programme, which will be developed more or less speedily according to circumstances, but never violated by us.

Recently invested with power, surrounded by the abuses fostered by the fallen government, and impeded at every step by the effects of the inertia and hesitation of others, we shall have need of toleration from all; need above all things that none should judge us save by our own acts. Friends to all who desire the well-being of our common country; pure in intention if not great in intellect; surrounded by circumstances the gravest that ever befell a people or their government, we shall have need of the active aid of all, of the harmonious, fraternal, and pacific work of all. And this we hope to have. The country ought not, it must not, go back: it ought not, it will not, fall into anarchy. Let all good men assist us: God, who has decreed the resurrection of Rome and the nationality of Italy, will be with us.

5th April 1849.

III.

Whereas it is the office and duty of a well-organised Republic to provide for the gradual amelioration of the condition of the most necessitous classes;

Whereas the improvement most urgent at the present moment is that of withdrawing as many families as possible

from the evils resulting from crowded and unhealthy habitations;

Whereas, while the Republic is occupied in endeavouring to destinate proper localities, both in the provinces and in Rome itself, for the use of the indigent classes, it is a work of republican morality to cancel even the vestiges of past iniquity by consecrating to benevolence that which past tyranny employed for torture, the Constituent Assembly, at the suggestion of the Triumvirs, decrees :—

1. The edifice hitherto used as the *Holy Office*, is henceforth dedicated to the use of necessitous families or individuals, who shall be allowed to have lodgings therein on payment of a small monthly rent.

2. A commission is instituted, composed of three representatives of the people, and two civil engineers, to provide with all due speed for the execution of the present decree :

a. By receiving applications from Roman families or individuals asking for lodgings in the above-mentioned locality, and selecting those who are proved to be the most necessitous;

b. By causing such alterations to be made in the above-mentioned locality as are necessary in order to adapt it to its new destination.

c. By appropriating the necessary amount of space to those whose applications shall have been granted, fixing the rent they will be required to pay, and putting them in possession of their lodging.

d. By drawing up rules for the maintenance of order and discipline within the building, and for the general administration and preservation of the locality.

3. No sub-letting of the aforesaid lodgings will be permitted.

4. The Commission will commence its sittings within the building itself on the 9th inst., for the immediate execution of the duties with which it is entrusted.

4th April 1849.

IV.

Whereas there is no more appropriate and speedy method of rendering the labours of the agriculturist lucrative, and of benefiting a most numerous and useful class; of strengthening their affection for their country, and interesting them in the organisation of the great reform; of improving the soil and its cultivators at one and the same time, by the emancipation of both, than that of parcelling out a large portion of the vast rural possessions now actually administered, or to be administered by the State, into small leasehold allotments at a moderate annual rent, redeemable at any given time, to one or several families of the poorest peasants; under such regulations and conditions as shall be deemed most fitting to ensure the speediest, most just, and most stable execution of so salutary a purpose, it is decreed:—

Article 1. A large portion of the rural domains belonging to religious corporations or other *main-mortes* of whatsoever description in whatsoever portion of the Roman territory, which either are or are to be placed under the administration of the State, shall be immediately divided into a given number of portions, sufficient for the maintenance of one or more necessitous families having no other means of subsistence; who shall hold them in free and permanent leasehold in consideration of a moderate *cens* payable to the State, redeemable at any given time from the leasehold.

Article 2. A special regulation will distinctly determine the method of proceeding by which this wholesome provision shall be effectuated.

Article 3. Analogous measures will be taken with regard to the *fondi urbani*, arising from the same or from similar sources, with a view of providing better and less costly habitations for the poorer classes.

Article 4. The measures already announced with regard to the fitting payment of the expenses of public worship, the pastoral administration of parishes, and

other establishments of public interest, either through payment in kind, the produce of leaseholds or other public monies belonging to the provincial or municipal authorities, will remain in force.

Article 5. The Ministers of Finance and of the Interior, are respectively charged with the execution of the present law.

V.

[The decree of the 15th April, after setting forth that it should be the "constant aim of Republican institutions, progressively to ameliorate the condition of the masses," and that the high price of salt had "an injurious effect upon agriculture, the fisheries, retail trade, commerce, and the health of the poor;" reduced the duty upon every description of salt to one bajocco for every Roman lb.]

VI.

Romans,—The territory of the Republic is threatened by foreign intervention. A body of French troops has appeared before Civita Vecchia.

Whatever may be their intentions, the maintenance of the Principle of Government freely accepted by the people, the right of Nations, and the honour of the Roman name, command the Republic to resist.

The Republic will resist. It is necessary that the people should prove to France and to the world that they are not a people of children, but a people of men, and of men who once gave laws and civilisation to Europe. It is necessary that none should be able to say that *the Romans desired to be free, but knew not how*. It is necessary that the French nation should learn from our resistance, our declarations, and our whole bearing, that we are firmly resolved never again to submit to the Government we overthrew.

The people will prove this. They who think otherwise, dishonour the people and are traitors to their country.

Order, solemn tranquillity, and serious energy. The Government is on the watch inexorably to prevent any attempt to excite anarchy, or any act injurious to the Republic. Citizens, organise yourselves and rally round us. God and the People, law and energy will be triumphant.

25th April 1849.

[I drew up at the same time with the above, the following Protest, which the Assembly sent the same day to General Oudinot.]

“The Roman Assembly, disturbed by the threatened invasion of the territory of the Republic, feeling that this invasion, in no way provoked by the conduct of the Republic towards foreign powers, unpreceded by any communication from the French Government, and calculated to excite anarchy in a country calmly-reposing in the consciousness of its rights and the order and concord of its citizens, is a violation alike of the rights of nations, the guarantees offered by the French Constitution, and the bonds of fraternity which should unite the two Republics,—protests in the name of God and the People against the unlooked for invasion, declares its firm determination to resist, and holds France responsible for the consequences.”

VII

Whereas all religious vows are simply a moral obligation between the human conscience and God ;

Whereas a civil state has no right as such to interfere by any extrinsic and material means in the sphere of spiritual duty ;

Whereas the life and capacity of every man belong of right to the Society and Country wherein he has been placed by Providence ;

Whereas the State cannot recognise as irrevocable

any promises which deprive it of the services, or restrain the free will and action of the citizens ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

The State does not recognise the perpetuity of the vows uttered by individuals belonging to the so-called regular religious orders.

Every individual, to whatsoever religious order he may belong, is empowered to withdraw from the rules and observances to which he bound himself upon taking the religious vows.

The State will protect all those who determine to avail themselves of the present decree from violence or opposition.

The State will gratefully receive into the ranks of its army any Priests who may be desirous of joining in the defence of the Country for which they have until now offered up their prayers to God.

The present decree will be read aloud by a Government Commissioner to the Members of the Religious Corporations assembled in full community in their respective Convents.

27th April 1849.

VIII.

[The decree of the 15th of April having proclaimed that a large portion of the uncultivated lands held by the various religious corporations and other *mazzin* *moviles* had been declared by the vote of the Assembly of the 21st February to be the property of the Republic ;— another decree of the 27th April provided for the execution of that measure.]

IX.

Having faith in the generous principles, as well as in the courage of the Roman people ; being convinced that, although determined to defend the independence of their country to the last extremity against all invasion—the people of Rome does not consider the French

people responsible for the errors and faults of their Government ;

Relying unboundedly on the people, and on the sanctity of the republican principle ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

All foreigners, and especially the French, dwelling peaceably in Rome, are placed under the guardianship of the nation ;

Whosoever shall attempt to do them the least injury, shall be considered guilty of an offence against the honour of Rome.

The Government will take care that no one shall violate the duties of hospitality.

April 28th 1849.

X.

Romans !—A body of Neapolitan troops has passed the frontier, and appears to be moving in the direction of Rome.

Their purpose is to re-establish the Pope in absolute temporal power. Their weapons are persecution, ferocity, and pillage. Their ranks encircle the king to whom Europe has given the name of the *Bombarder* of his subjects, and around him stand the most determined of the conspirators of Gaeta.

Romans !—We have conquered our first assailants ; we will conquer the second. The blood of the best among the Neapolitan patriots, the blood of our Sicilian brothers weighs heavily upon the head of the traitor king. God, who confounds the wicked and strengthens the defenders of the right, has chosen you, O Romans ! as avengers. The will of God and our country be done.

In the name of the rights common to all countries, and in the name of the duty Rome owes to Italy and Europe,—in the name of the Italian mothers who have cursed that king, and of the Roman mothers who will bless the defenders of their children,—in the name of our liberties, our conscience, and our honour,—in the name

of God and the people—we will resist. We will resist, soldiers and people, capital and province. Let Rome be as inviolable as eternal justice. We have learned that in order to conquer, it suffices to fear not death. Long live the Republic!

2d May 1849.

XI.

People of the Republic!—The Neapolitan troops have invaded our territory and are marching upon Rome. Let the war of the People begin.

Rome will do her duty—let the provinces do theirs.

The moment has arrived to make a supreme effort. All who believe in the dignity of their immortal soul, in the inviolability of their rights, in the sanctity of their oaths, in the justice of the Republic, in the independence of the peoples, and in Italian honour, are this day bound in duty to act. For all who hold dear their liberty, their homes, their families, the beloved one, their native land, their life,—action is a necessity. Citizens, your life, liberty, property, rights,—all are threatened; they seek to tear all from you.

The banner raised by the king of Naples is for us the banner of despotism and unlimited tyranny. His first footprints are printed in blood. The lists of proscription are traced in blood.

You have too long been content with words, whilst others conspired and laid in wait. Be not deceived. You have to-day to choose between exile, poverty, and the scaffold, or battle and victory. Peoples of the Republic, all hesitation or uncertainty would be cowardice, and useless cowardice.

Arise then and act. The decisive hour has sounded. Slavery such as you have never known, or liberty worthy of your ancient glory, lasting security and the applause of all Europe. Arise then and arm. Let it be war; inexorable, universal war, since they will have it so, and it will be brief.

While Rome assails the enemy in front, surround and molest them on the flank and rear.

Rome will be the central nucleus of the national army of which you will be the flying squadrons.

Resist in whatever way you may. Whensoever local defence is impossible; let every fifty men form a guerrilla band, every ten a national squadron; let each man of undoubted honesty who can rally ten others around him, be their chief. The Republic will gratefully reward them. Let each Prefect direct a centre of insurrection and give commissions to chiefs of guerrilla bands or squadrons. The Republic will take note of all the names, and assign rewards in money, land, and honour. The brevets will serve as a *feuille de route*, which will be recognised by the communes as giving the right of free passage and of succour.

The guerrilla bands and flying squadrons will avoid regular encounters with the enemy, but harass them, destroy their repose, cut off their provisions and stragglers, annoy and distress them, surrounding them as with a web of iron, impeding their movements, and wearying them out.

Let insurrection at once become the daily life, the pulse, the breath of every patriot. Let the inactive be punished with infamy, traitors with death.

Let the Republic be as terrible in war as it has been great in peace. Let Europe learn then we are determined to live and that we know how. God and the people will bless our arms.

3d May 1849.

XII.

Romans!—Rare, but grave disorders have arisen. Some acts of devastation and injury to property have been committed, which endanger the majestic tranquillity with which Rome has sanctified her victory. For the honour of Rome and the triumph of the sacred principle

we defend, it is necessary that such disorders should cease.

Everything must be great in Rome : alike the energy in battle, and the conduct of the people after victory.

The weapons of those who dwell amid the eternal monuments of their fathers' greatness, may not be turned against the unarmed, nor used to enforce arbitrary acts. The repose of Rome should be as the repose of the lion, a repose as majestic as his rage is terrible.

Romans! Your Triumvirs have solemnly pledged themselves to prove to Europe that you are superior to your assailants,—that the accusations cast upon you are calumnious,—that the Republican principle has destroyed the germs of anarchy sown by the former Government, and to which the renewal of the past alone could give life,—that you are not only brave but virtuous, that law and courage are in your eyes the breath and soul of the Republic.

On these conditions your Triumvirs are proud to remain at your head ; on these conditions, they will, if need be, join you on the barricades. Be these conditions inviolable as the love that unites the people with its government, as the resolution of both people and government to maintain the banner of the Republic unsullied and pure from every stain.

Persons are inviolable. The Government alone has the right to punish.

Property is inviolable. Every stone of Rome is sacred. The Government alone has the right to modify the inviolability of property when public utility renders it necessary.

No one is allowed to make arrests, or domiciliary perquisitions, without the direction or assistance of the head of a military post.

Foreigners are under the special protection of the Republic. All the citizens are responsible for the reality of this protection.

The military commission recently organised, will

deliver speedy judgment, according to the necessities of the exceptional state of affairs and the public safety, upon all acts of sedition, reaction, anarchy, or violation of the laws.

The national guard, which has shown itself ready to fight for the Republic, will also be ready to keep our honour pure from all reproach in the face of Europe. The national guard is specially charged with the preservation of order, and with the execution of the above-mentioned regulations.

4th May 1849

XIII.

Whereas Rome and the French people are not and cannot be at war with each other ;

Whereas Rome, in virtue of her right and her duty, defends her inviolability, but deplores every attack directed against the two Republics as a crime against their common faith ; Whereas, the Roman People does not regard soldiers who fought from obedience, responsible for the actions of a mistaken government ;

The Triumvirate decrees :—

Article 1. The French prisoners taken on the 30th of April are free, and shall be sent back to the French camp.

Article 2. The Roman people will, at noon, bid a fraternal adieu to the brave soldiers of the French Republic, our sister.

7th May 1849.

XIV.

Soldiers of the French Republic.

You are for the second time led as enemies beneath the walls of Rome, of the republican city that was at once the cradle of liberty and of military valour.

Your leaders are urging you to fratricide.

And that fratricide, were it possible to effect it, would be a mortal blow to the liberties of France. The peoples are securities for one another. The destruction of our

Republic would leave an ineffaceable stain upon your banner, would deprive France of an ally in Europe, would be a new step taken upon the path of monarchical restoration, towards which your great and beautiful country is being led by a government either deceiving or deceived.

Rome, therefore, will fight as she has fought. She knows how to fight for your liberty and for her own.

Soldiers of the French Republic, while you are advancing against our tri-coloured flag, the Russians, the men of 1815, are advancing against Hungary and looking towards France.

A few miles distant from you, a body of Neapolitan troops, defeated by us a few days since, yet bears aloft the flag of despotism and intolerance. A few leagues to our left, Leghorn, another republican city, is, at this present writing, engaged in resisting an Austrian invasion. Your post is there.

Tell your leaders to fulfil what they said to you. Remind them that they promised in Marseilles and Toulon to lead you against the Croats. Remind them that French soldiers bear the honour and liberties of France upon the point of their bayonets.

French soldiers! soldiers of liberty! Do not attack men who are your brothers. May the two tri-colour banners intertwined advance to the emancipation of the peoples and the destruction of tyranny! God, France, and Italy will bless your arms.

Long live the French Republic! long live the Roman Republic!

10th May 1849.

XV.

LETTER TO M. LESSEPS.*

Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

Sir,—You have asked us for some notes as to the

* The negotiations of M. Lesseps, the French Envoy, with the Assembly and Government of the Republic, formed as we all know,

present condition of the Roman Republic. You shall have them from me, dictated with the sincerity which has been my inviolable rule during twenty years of political life. We have no reason to hide or to mask anything. We have been lately the object of strange calumnies in Europe; but our answer to those who have listened to these calumnies has always been, *come and see*. You, sir, are now amongst us; you are sent to verify the truth of these accusations—do so. Your mission may be fulfilled with perfect freedom. We, all of us, heard of that mission with pleasure, because it can only result in our justification.

France undoubtedly does not intend to dispute our right to govern ourselves as we choose; the right of drawing from the heart of the country, so to speak, the ruling idea of that country's life, and making of it the foundation of our institutions. France cannot intend other than to say to us: "While I recognise your independence, it is my duty to ascertain that it is the

a very important element in the history of the invasion. Of a more candid and honourable disposition than the General with whom he came to co-operate; M. Lesseps had no sooner arrived in Rome, on the 15th of May, and examined matters for himself, than he became convinced that the French Government had proceeded on a complete mistake if they had imagined that the people of Rome were willing to accept a French settlement of their national crisis. After his first glance at the state of affairs, he wrote to General Oudinot as follows:—

"In the critical situation we are in, it appears to me extremely important to avoid every species of engagement. I see a whole town in arms. . . . I find here, at the first glance, the aspect of a population determined to resist; and rejecting all exaggerated estimates, one may reckon on at least about 25,000 serious combatants. If we enter by sheer force into Rome, we shall pass, not only over the bodies of some foreign adventurers, but we shall leave on the pavement men of the middle class, shopkeepers, and young men of family—all those classes, in short, that defend order and society in *Farus*."

"*Ma Mission à Rome*" Memoire présenté au Conseil d'Etat,
Par Ferdinand Lesseps."

page 23.
(Tract No. 11 published by the Society of the Friends of Italy.)

result of the free and spontaneous vote of the majority. Bound as I am to the other Governments of Europe and desirous of peace,—should I find it true that a minority among you are holding in check the wishes of the Nation—if it should prove true that your actual form of Government is the mere caprice of a faction substituted for the common will, I could not see with indifference the peace of Europe continually endangered by the passions and anarchy inseparable from every Government of Faction.”

We concede this right to France, because we believe in the solidarity of nations in the cause of good. But at the same time we affirm that if ever there existed a Government sprung from the will of the majority, ours is that Government.

The Republic was implanted amongst us by the will of an Assembly sprung from universal suffrage; it has been received with enthusiasm, and has encountered no opposition. And observe, Monsieur, that never would opposition have been easier, never less dangerous—I will even say never so provoked,—not indeed by the acts of the Government—but by the peculiarly unfavourable circumstances in which it was placed at its commencement.

The country emerged from the long anarchy inherent in the inmost organisation of the fallen Government. The agitations inseparable from every great change, fomented by the emergencies of the Italian question, and by the efforts of the retrograde party, had thrown it into a state of feverish agitation, which laid it open to any daring enterprise, to any appeal to interests and passions. We had no army—no repressive force; and in consequence of past abuses, our finances were impoverished—exhausted. The religious question, handled by able and interested men, might have served as a pretext for agitation among a population gifted with magnificent instincts and aspirations, but unenlightened. Nevertheless, as soon as the republican principle was

proclaimed, one first incontestable *fact* became evident,
ORDER.

The history of the Papal Government offers constant periodical *incidents*; the story of the Republic not a single one. The assassination of Rossi,* a fact deplorable but isolated—an individual excess, rejected, condemned by all, provoked, perhaps, by his own imprudent conduct, and the authorship of which remains unknown, was followed by order the most complete.

In the meantime the financial crisis increased. By the most culpable intrigues, the credit of the paper of the Republic had been lowered to such an extent that it could only be discounted at 41 or 42 per cent. The bearing of the other governments of Italy and of Europe became more and more hostile towards us. These material difficulties and our political isolation failed to disturb the tranquillity of our people. They had an unshaken faith in the future results of the new principle.

Now, in the midst of the actual crisis, in the face of French, Austrian, and Neapolitan invasion, our credit is improving; our paper is only at 12% discount, our army is daily augmented, and our populations are making ready to act as our reserve.

You see Rome, Sir, and you know of the heroic struggle sustained by Bologna. I am writing alone, in the midst of the most profound tranquillity. The garrison quitted the town yesterday evening, and, before the arrival of new troops, at midnight, our gates, our walls, our barricades, were, by a simple word passed from mouth to mouth, manned, without noise, without boasting, by the people in arms. Deep in the very heart of this

* The assassination of Rossi took place on the 15th of November, in the last days of Papal dominion, more than three months before the formation of the Republic. It was committed amid the acclamations that hailed the Mamiani Ministry, and followed by the Cabinet of which he was president. It should not in justice be forgotten that the ministry repudiated all knowledge of, or connection with that act. Mazzini was at that time in Switzerland, and did not arrive in Rome until four months later.—(*Translator.*)

people there is a clear determinate resolve—the abolition of the temporal power invested in the Pope ;—a hatred of the Government of the Priests, in whatsoever mitigated or altered form it may be presented. Hatred, I say, not of the men, but of the Government.

Towards individuals, our people have always, thank God, shown themselves generous, since the establishment of the Republic ; but the mere idea of the clerical government, of the king-priest, makes them thrill with indignation. They will struggle with energy against every project of restoration. They will rush into schism* sooner than submit.

Partly in consequence of certain obscure threats, but more from the absence of all the habits of political life, a certain number of electors had abstained from voting at the time of the election of the Assembly.

This fact appeared to weaken the expression of the general will. A second fact, decisive and vital, put an end to all possibility of doubt a short time since.

Shortly before the constitution of the Triumvirate, the re-election of the Municipalities occurred. The universality of electors presented themselves to vote.

* The effect produced by these words upon M. Lesseps may be inferred from the following extract :—

“ A first message sent to the Roman Assembly had for its object to direct its attention to manœuvres, which I believe to be contrary to the influence of France, as well as to the interests of Italy. These manœuvres concerned the great question of a religious schism, or a new Protestantism. The following note, which I transcribe from my memorandum-book, indicates the motives of my procedure. ‘ I suspect Mazzini—a remarkable and very influential man—of wishing to favour a religious schism : his writings ought to make one fear it. He has frequent conferences with English travellers ; he sees Protestant Missionaries of all nations. To seek to remove him from these influences, and to persuade him that France, which he distrusts, ought to be the sole hope of Italian liberty ; to turn him from his ideas of schism, and, if need be, to denounce those tendencies to the patriots of the Assembly, making them regard them as treason to the cause of Italian liberty, which cannot exist apart from Catholicism.’ ”

“ Ma Mission à Rome,” p. 38.—*Translator's Note.*

The municipal element always and everywhere represents the conservative element of a State. Some feared that through it a spirit of retrogression might be introduced amongst us.

Well, amid the roar of the tempest around us,—after the intervention had taken place,—while all appearances appeared to limit the existence of the Republic to days alone,—the municipalities sent in the most complete and spontaneous adhesion to the form of government chosen. To the addresses sent up from the various clubs, and from the headquarters of the National Guard, were added, in the early part of the present month, those of all the municipalities with the exception of two or three. I have the honour, Sir, to forward you the list. They explicitly declare their devotion to the Republic, and their conviction that the two powers* are incompatible in one individual. This is, allow me to repeat it, a decisive fact; a second legal proof confirming the first, and forming the indestructible basis of our right.

When the two questions—the Republic and the abolition of the Temporal Power—were put to the Assembly, a few of the members, more timid than their colleagues, thought that the inauguration of the Republic in the face of the actual organisation of Europe, was premature and rash; but there was not a single vote against the dethronement of the King-Priest; both the right and the left were united in that idea.

Could a free government dare to propose to such a people a return to the past, without being guilty of crime and inconsistency? That return—reflect on this Sir—would be equivalent to a renewal of the former disorders, to the formation of *secret societies* for purposes of resistance, to anarchy in the heart of Italy, to a spirit of vengeance awakened in a people which now asks only to forget. That return would light a flame of permanent warfare in Europe; it would be the programme of the extreme parties substituted for the organized Republic

* The Temporal and Spiritual Powers.

we represent. Can France desire this? Can her Government desire it? Can the nephew of Napoleon? Their persistence in hostile designs in the face of the Neapolitan and Austrian invasion, would recall the dismemberment of Poland. And remember, moreover, Sir, that such designs could only be realised by planting the banner which the people have overthrown upon a heap of corpses, upon the ruins of our city.

You will shortly receive another letter from me upon this subject.

16th May 1849.

XVI.

(Letter accompanying the rejection of the three following propositions of Lesseps :

1. *The Roman States request the fraternal protection of the French Republic:*

2. *The Roman populations have the right of freely deciding upon their form of Government:*

3. *Rome will receive the French army as an army of brothers, etc.)*

Sir,—We have the honour to transmit to you the decision of the Assembly with regard to the project communicated by you to the commission. The Assembly is unable to accept it. We are desirous to express to you the regret felt by the Assembly, and the reasons which have determined its refusal.

And it is with deep sorrow, natural to men who love France and still trust her, that we, Sir, fulfil the duty entrusted to us.

When, after the decree of your Assembly which required the Government at once to take measures to prevent the Italian expedition from being diverted from its professed aim, we heard of your arrival, our hearts bounded with joy. We believed in the immediate reconciliation in one sole principle—the principle proclaimed by us and by yourselves—of two peoples, whose naturally friendly dispositions towards each other, whose memories,

common interest, and political position inclined them to affection and esteem. We thought that, having been chosen to verify the state of things, and struck by the absolute harmony that links the various elements of our state in one, your communications would have destroyed the only obstacle to our wishes, and the only doubt able to delay France in the fulfilment of the noble idea expressed by the decision of your Assembly.

Harmony, internal peace, a well-weighed determination, enthusiasm and generosity of conduct, the voluntary and formal vote of our municipalities, national guard, troops, people, government, and sovereign assembly in favour of the existing system of institution,—all these things have been made evident to you. You have declared this, no doubt, to France; and we had therefore good right to hope that, speaking in the name of France, you would have addressed us in terms very different from those contained in your project.

The Assembly has observed the manner in which the words *Roman Republic* are studiously avoided in your first article; and has inferred from their suppression an unfavourable intention towards it.

It appeared to the Assembly that, with the exception of the greater importance given to it by your name and authority, your project contained little more than was contained in certain acts of the General, previous to the 30th April. Having irrefutably ascertained the opinion of our people, why persist in insulting them by the proposal of occupying Rome? Rome has no need of protection: there are no combatants within her walls, and should any enemy approach them from without, Rome will defend herself with her own forces. Rome is at present able to protect herself upon her Tuscan frontier, and in Bologna. The Assembly has therefore seen in your third article a political intention, which it cannot think of accepting; less than ever since the decree of the French Assembly, showing it to be decidedly adverse to an occupation which circumstances neither provoke nor require.

We cannot conceal from you, Sir, that the disastrous coincidence of the information received relating to the circle of our defence, has contributed to the decision of the Assembly. A nucleus of the French army has this very day passed the Tiber in violation of the spirit of the truce, and thus narrowed the circle of military operations around the capital. Nor is this, Sir, an isolated act. The popular distrust already excited by the idea of seeing the city occupied by foreigners, is so much increased as to render very difficult, if not impossible, any compromise in a matter which the Assembly, on its part, regards as vital to our dignity and independence.

For this and other reasons, the project has unwillingly been judged inadmissible by the Assembly. We shall have the honour of transmitting to you, Sir, to-morrow, in fulfilment of its instructions, a proposition, inferior, certainly, to our just hopes, but which would at least have the advantage of removing all danger of collision between two Republics founded upon identical rights and similar aspirations.—Receive, Sir, &c.

19th May 1849.

XVII.

Romans!—Yesterday some among you, moved by rumours of new dangers, have, in a moment of unreflecting zeal, seized upon some of the confessionals belonging to the churches, for the purpose of using them as barricades.

The act would be serious and deserving of punishment, were we not to take in consideration your intentions.

You intended by that demonstration once more to prove that all things are possible in Rome except the re-establishment of the priestly government. You desired to give expression to the idea that there is not, there cannot be any true religion in a country which is not free; and that the cause of our free and immortal souls is centred in the citizens' barricades.

But the enemies of our holy republic, in every part of

Europe, are on the watch to give evil interpretation to your actions, and to accuse the people of irreverence and irreligion. He who should furnish any ground for such accusations would be a traitor to his country. Romans! Your city is great and inviolable among all the cities of Europe, because it was the cradle and guardian of religion. God protects and will protect the Republic, because its sacred name is never divided from that of the people; and because we are fighting for His law of liberty and love, while elsewhere men fight for interest and ambition, which profane and destroy every religion. In those churches, sanctuaries of the religion of our fathers, prayers will be raised while we are fighting, to the God of the redeemed.

From those confessionals, whence too often have issued words of corruption and slavery, in violation of the teachings of Christ—will also go forth—forget it not—words of consolation to the aged mothers of those who are fighting for the Republic.

Brothers in the blessed cause of God and the People—Your Triumvirs ask from you a proof of trust, in answer to the accusations to which an imprudent act has given rise. Do you yourselves carry back to the churches the confessionals which yesterday you removed from them.* The citizens' barricades will be defended by their breasts.

20th May 1849.

XVIII.

Peoples of the Republic!—The Austrian is advancing. Bologna has fallen—fallen after eight days of sublime valour and sacrifice; she fell as others triumph. Let her last cry be the cry of war and vengeance for us all; let every Italian heart take it up as a sacred legacy. Citizens! Rome asks from you a supreme effort: she asks it with the certainty that it will be made; for the blood shed by her sons on the 30th has authorised her to make the claim.

By sending in your adhesion to our programme when

* The confessionals were immediately taken back to the churches by the people.—*Translator's Note.*

the danger had already begun, you have borne solemn testimony before Italy and Europe to your community of faith with us. We now ask of you another proof—that of action. Be every man ready to seal his testimony with his blood. Let every city, every village, every homestead arise to avenge Bologna. Let every steeple sound a knell; the doom decreed by the people to their foreign invaders. From gorge to gorge upon your mountains, kindle as symbol of fraternal anger the fires that in 1847 were the signal of revolution. Let the red flag float from every steeple and tower on every side. Let the rage of battle thrill from land to land, from homestead to homestead. Let the enemy, let Italy, let Europe know that here, in the heart of the Peninsula, are three millions of men bound together by a solemn oath to resist; irrevocably resolved to fight to the last; to bury themselves beneath the ruins of their country rather than yield. And while heaven stands no human power can forbid our victory. Three millions of the people are omnipotent when they declare: we *will*. Italians, sons of Rome! Soldiers of the Republic! this is a solemn hour, elaborated by the ages, one of those historic moments which decree the life or death of a people.

Great and powerful for ever, or stamped for ever with the sign of slavery; recognised by the nations as free men and brothers; or condemned to the nullity of men governed by the caprice of others; masters of yourselves, of your own homes, your own altars and your own sepulchres, or chattels, the by-word of every tyrant; destined to an immortality of glory or of shame—the choice rests with yourselves. You will be judged by God and man according to your choice.

Be great—decree your victory. The people gave victory to Spain, to Greece, to Switzerland; let the people give it to Italy. Let your chief magistrates and the extraordinary commissioners organize the insurrection; let them assemble from province to province, carry round and interpret the inspiration of Rome.

let them assume exceptional powers and decree extreme remedies in cases of extreme peril. Let the chief who hesitates or capitulates before giving battle, be declared a criminal: the province that allows the enemy to enter unresisted, be cancelled from the list of the republican territories. Let him who does not in some way struggle against the enemy, be infamous; let him who, were it even for an instant, takes part with them, be deprived for ever either of his country or his life. Let those who yield up any material of war to the enemy, be chastised; chastised all who do not endeavour to rob them of food, lodging, and rest—chastised all who do not abandon, if able, the soil they tread. Let the army bearing a foreign flag find itself encircled by a circle of fire, or a desert. Let the Republic, hitherto gentle and generous, arise tremendous and terrible in anger. Rome will stand firm.

21st May 1849.

XIX.

TO M. LESSEPS.

Sir,—I had the honour to transmit to you in my note of the 16th, some details as to the unanimity which marked the inauguration of the Republic. It is now necessary to speak to you of the actual question as it exists *de facto* if not *de jure*, between the French Government and our own.

You will, we hope, allow us to speak with the frankness required equally by the urgency of the case, and those international sympathies which should animate the relations between France and Italy. Our only diplomacy consists of truth; and the character given to your mission, is, Sir, a pledge that what we have to say will be received in the best possible spirit. Allow me to go back for a moment to the origin of the present state of things.

After certain conferences and arrangements, which took place some time back between the Europea-

Catholic Powers, without the Roman Government being called upon to take any part therein, it was decided :—

1st, That a political modification in the government and institutions of the Roman State had become necessary ; 2d, That the basis of this modification should be the return of Pius IX., not only as Pope—to this we offer no opposition—but as temporal sovereign and prince ; 3d, That if in order to achieve this aim an intervention were necessary, that intervention should take place.

We are happy to admit that while the sole aim of some of the parties to this agreement was a dream of the re-edification and absolute return to the treaties of 1815, the French Government was only drawn into the agreement in consequence of erroneous information, depicting the Roman States as a prey to anarchy and to a state of terror exercised by an audacious minority.

We know, moreover, that in the proposed modification, the French Government intended to represent a more or less liberal influence, opposed to the despotic programme of Naples and Austria. Nevertheless, whether in a tyrannical or constitutional form, with or without the guarantees of a certain amount of liberty to the Roman population,—the predominating idea of all the contracting parties was a return towards the past ; a compromise between Pius IX., considered as Temporal Sovereign, and the Roman people. The French invasion was—it would be useless to conceal the fact—planned and executed with this idea. Its double purpose was, on the one hand, to cast the sword of France into the balance of the agreement to be initiated in Rome ; and on the other hand to ensure the Roman people against all retrograde excesses ; but always regarding the re-constitution of a Constitutional Monarchy in favour of the Pope, as a fundamental point. This purpose is clearly proved, not only by the exact details we have had of the anterior negotiations, but also by the proclamations of General Oudinot, the formal declarations

of all the Envoys sent one after the other to the Triumvirate, and the obstinate silence maintained whenever we have attempted to treat the political question, and to obtain a formal declaration of the fact certified in our note of the 16th—namely, *that the institutions by which the Roman people are actually governed, are the free and spontaneous expression of the inviolable will of the people legally interrogated.* And the vote of the French Assembly implicitly confirms the fact we assert.

In the face of such a state of things, in the face of the menace of a compromise which could not be accepted, and of negotiations which are in no way warranted by the condition of our populations, our course could not be doubtful. Resistance was a duty alike towards our country, towards France, and towards Europe.

We were bound, in order to fulfil a mandate loyally bestowed and loyally accepted, to maintain to the utmost of our power the inviolability of our country, of its territory, and of the institutions unanimously proclaimed by all the powers and elements of the State.

We were bound to gain sufficient time to enable us to appeal from France deceived, to France better informed, and to spare the sister Republic the remorse of having, by yielding to foreign influence, rendered herself an accomplice in an act of violence and oppression which has no parallel save the first dismemberment of Poland.

And we owed it to Europe to bear our testimony as far as in us lay, in favour of the fundamental principle of all international life,—the independence of each people in all that regards its internal administration. By resisting with enthusiasm the attempts of the Neapolitan Monarchy and our eternal enemy Austria,—by resisting, with deep sorrow, the arms of France, we are proud to declare that we have deserved well not only of ourselves, but of the peoples of Europe.

You are aware, Sir, of the events that followed after the French intervention. Our territory was invaded by

the troops of the King of Naples, and 4000 Spaniards set sail (probably on the 17th) to attack our coasts. The Austrians, having overcome the heroic resistance of Bologna, are advancing upon the Romagna, and threaten Ancona. We have repulsed from our territory the forces of the King of Naples. We shall do the same—such is our conviction—with the Austrian forces, if the attitude of the French troops do not prevent us from acting.

We speak in sorrow. But it is necessary that France should at last know the true results of the expedition to Civita Vecchia, which was undertaken, if we are to believe the assertions made to us, with a view of protecting us.

We declare, Sir, that of all the interventions undertaken to our injury, the intervention of France has been the most fatal to us. We are willing to fight the troops of the King of Naples and the Austrians; we are unwilling to fight the French. As regards them we are not in a state of *war*, but merely of *defence*. Such will continue to be our attitude whenever we find ourselves confronted with France. But that attitude—it is useless to deny it—has for us all the evils of war, without any of its possible advantages.

The French expedition rendered indispensable that concentration of our forces which laid open our frontier to the Austrian invasion, and left Bologna and the cities of Romagna disarmed. The Austrians took advantage of this. After a struggle heroically sustained for eight days by the population, Bologna was compelled to succumb.

We purchased arms for our defence in France; 10,000 of these muskets were sequestered between Civita Vecchia and Marseilles; they are in your hands. By depriving us of these arms, you have deprived us of 10,000 soldiers, because every armed man would have become a soldier against the Austrians.

Your forces are posted within gunshot distance beneath our walls, in order of siege. They obstinately maintain that threatening position without any declared

aim or programme ; obliging us to maintain the city in a state of defence, which is financially very heavy upon us, and taking away all possibility of sending our troops to preserve our provinces from the occupation and devastation of Austria.

Were our people less good and devoted, the excited state of men's minds might lead to fatal consequences. If the attitude of your troops has not given rise to anarchy or reaction, it is simply because neither is possible in Rome ; but it does produce great irritation against France ; and that is a great misfortune for us, who have hitherto regarded her with affection and hope.

We are besieged, Sir, besieged by France under cover of a mission of protection, while at a few leagues' distance the King of Naples is carrying off our hostages, and the Austrians are massacring our brothers.

You, Sir, have made propositions. Those propositions were declared inadmissible by the Assembly, and it would be useless for us to discuss them. To day you have added another to them. France, you say, *will protest against foreign invasion all those portions of the Roman territory occupied by her troops.* This fourth proposition in no way changes our position. The portion of territory you occupy is already protected, by that fact, against every other invasion, but if viewed with regard to the present, that portion is of the very smallest importance ; and if viewed with regard to the future, have we no other means of protecting our soil save that of abandoning the whole of it to you ?

But this is not the true point of the question : the whole question lies in the occupation of Rome. And this is the condition placed by you at the head of all your propositions. Now we have the honour to tell you, Sir, that that condition is impossible ; our people would never consent to it. If the aim of the occupation of Rome be no other than that of protecting her, our people will be grateful to you, but will tell you that being able to protect Rome themselves, they would

regard themselves as dishonoured in your eyes if they were to declare themselves so impotent as to render the aid of a few French regiments necessary for the defence of their city. If the occupation of Rome has—which God forbid—a political aim, the people, who have freely chosen their institutions, cannot submit to accept it. Rome is their capital, their palladium, their sacred city. They know that the occupation would not only entail a principle violated, and honour betrayed, but produce a civil war. And all insistence on your part augments their suspicion ; they foresee that if foreign troops were admitted, the inevitable result would be a change both of institutions and of men, fatal to their liberties.

The people have the example of Civita Vecchia before their eyes, and they know that if once surrounded by foreign bayonets, the independence of the Assembly and the Government would be an empty name.

Upon that point, Sir, you may believe me, their determination is irrevocable. They will never succumb until they have covered their barricades with corpses. Will, can, the French soldiers massacre a people of brothers whom they declare themselves come to protect, because they refuse to yield up their capital to their arms ?

France has only three courses before her in the Roman States.

To declare herself with us, against us, or neutral. To declare herself with us signifies that she must formally recognise our republic, and combat side by side with our troops against Austria.

To declare herself against us signifies to crush for no reason the national life of a friendly nation, and to fight side by side with Austria.

France *cannot* do this, and she *will* not risk involving herself in an European war in order to defend us as an ally. Let her then remain neutral in the struggle we have to sustain. A short time back we hoped other things of her ; now, this is all we ask of her.

The occupation of Civita Vecchia is an accomplished fact. France believes that in the actual state of things, it does not become her to remain at a distance from the field of battle; and she thinks that, whether as conquerors or conquered, we may have need of her protection and moderating influence. We do not believe this; but we shall not re-act against her for this; let her then keep Civita Vecchia; let her extend, if the number of her troops renders it necessary, her cantonments in that salubrious territory lying between Civita Vecchia and Viterbo,—and let her await, unmoved, the final issue of our war. We offer her all the facilities possible, and every possible proof of loyal friendship. Her officers will be permitted to enter Rome as visitors; her soldiers shall receive, if need be, both assistance and comfort from us; but let her neutrality be sincere and without disguise, frankly and explicitly declared. Let her leave us free to dispose of our forces without fear of her. Let her give us back the arms we purchased. Let not her ships close our ports to those Italians who may come from other parts of Italy to share our dangers. Let her remove all her troops from beneath our walls, and thus cease all appearance of hostility between two peoples destined, we cannot doubt it, in future years to be united in the same international faith, as they are even now united in the adoption of the same form of Government.—Accept, Sir, etc.

25th May 1849.

XX.

Whereas it is the duty of Rome, both from her past traditions and her future mission, to extend as far as possible her own life and liberty to all those who suffer, combat, and hope in the cause of the nations and of humanity;

Whereas through her sufferings, her energy in sacrifice, and her immortal hopes, Poland is sister to Italy and sacred among the nations;

Whereas the Polish exiles are the representatives of the Poland of the future;

The Triumvirate decrees:—

1. A Polish legion is formed upon the Roman territory, which will combat beneath the Roman standard for Italian independence.

2. The legion will adopt their own national flag, with the Italian tricolor scarf. The word of command will be in Polish, the uniform, etc.

3. The legion will consist of two thousand men and upwards.

The Government of the Republic will, if necessary, provide means of transport for the recruits. Slavonians joining the Republican army will be incorporated in this legion.

4. The legion will elect its own officers. The military chief will present the list of names to the Government, who will then make choice. The Commander must be a Pole, elected by universal suffrage among the troops.

5. The pay of the legion will be the same as that of the Roman army. Those wounded or mutilated in defending the Republic will have the same rights as the wounded or mutilated citizens of the State.

6. The legion will be bound to one year's service, with power to prolong their obligations to military service from year to year for six years.

Should the Polish war of independence recommence, so that the legion should be able to consecrate their services to their own country, they will be free to do so, and to quit the territory of the Republic, first giving the Government notice of their intention.

29th May 1849.

XXI.

[Answer to the Declaration of Lesseps of May 29, reproducing, with slight alterations, the same propositions alluded to in document No. xvi.]

Sir,—We have received the declaration sent by you on the 29th May. As the Assembly, to whom a copy of that declaration was transmitted, has reconfirmed the authority already given us to negotiate, the duty of answering you devolves upon us, and we hasten to fulfil it. If we have delayed answering your note of the 26th, be good enough to remember that it neither contained any proposition made in the name of France, nor discussed those sent by ourselves.

We have carefully examined your propositions, and the following are the modifications we propose. They are rather modifications in form than in substance :—

We might develop at length the causes of the changes we propose—changes required, we beg you to believe, not only by the instructions we have received from the Assembly, but also by the explicit vote of our people, against whose will any convention would be impossible ; but time presses, and we cannot therefore enter into details. We prefer to trust to your own good faith and to the favour with which you have already shown us that you regard our cause and our acts, to supply this omission. Ours, Sir, is not, it cannot be, *diplomacy* ; it is a frank and cordial appeal from a people to a people, made without menace, and without hidden design. France above all other nations, is capable of hearing and understanding that appeal.

It would be inconceivable that the abnormal state of things now existing between the French Republic and ourselves should continue ; especially after the recent declarations of your Assembly, and recent manifestations of your people with regard to us. And the proposal tending to put a stop to that state of things, is sent to you, Sir, with all the earnestness of conviction and of purpose of which we are capable. Accept it as sacred, for it is the summing up of the unalterable faith and warmest wishes of a people, small in numbers, but brave and loyal ; who remember who their fathers were, and the deeds they did on earth, and who, in combating

now for the sacred cause of liberty and independence, are irrevocably resolved to be worthy of them. This people, Sir, has a right to be understood by France, and to find in her a support, and not a hostile power. They have a right to receive from her, not *protection*, but *fraternity*. Any demand for protection uttered by this people would be interpreted by Europe as a cry of despair, as a declaration of impotence, rendering them unworthy of that friendship from France upon which they had relied until recent events. No cry of despair will ever issue from their lips. There is no impotence for a people that knows how to die; and it would ill become a great and generous nation to misconceive the noble motives of the people of Rome.

It is necessary, Sir, that this state of things should cease. At present, *fraternity* between us is an empty word, void of all practical meaning. Let it become a reality. Allow our couriers, our arms, and our troops, to pass as freely over our territory as is necessary for our defence. Let not the Romans be compelled, as now, to regard with suspicion men whom they have been accustomed to consider as friends. Leave the path open for us to use all our means of defence against the Austrians, who are bombarding our cities. Let there be no longer any doubt as to the righteous and loyal intentions of France. Let it no longer be possible for Europe to declare that France takes from us the means of defending ourselves, in order hereafter to impose upon us a protection through which our territory would be preserved from violation by others, through the loss of the things we hold most dear—our liberty and our honour.

Do this, Sir. The difficulties which now divide us will disappear; the affection, now lost, will revive; and France will again acquire that right to offer us counsel, of which her present hostile attitude deprives her,

The cantonments which we think most suitable, extend along the line from Frascati to Velletri.—Accept, Sir, etc.

30th May 1849.

The following are our proposals :—

1st, The Romans, confiding now as formerly in the fraternal support of the French Republic, require the cessation of all real or apparent hostility, and the establishment of such relations as shall evidence that fraternal support.

2d, The 5th Article of the French Constitution is for Romans a guarantee of the free exercise of their political rights.

3d, The French army shall be regarded by the Romans as a friendly army, and received as such according to an agreement to be made with the Government of the Roman Republic; they will be stationed in suitable cantonments, adapted alike to the necessities of the defence of the country, and the health of the troops. The French army will remain extraneous to the administration of the country. Rome is sacred alike to friends and foes. The city will form no part of the cantonments of the French troops. Her brave people are her best defence.

4th, The French Republic will defend the territory occupied by its troops against all foreign invasion.

XXII.

[The above proposals having been, with some slight modification in form, accepted by the French Plenipotentiary, M. Lesseps—General Oudinot—alleging that he had secret instructions—refused to ratify the agreement, broke the truce, and signified his intention to besiege the city; promising, however, that he would not begin the attack before Monday. He then began the attack on the night between Saturday and Sunday.]

Romans.—To the crime of assailing a friendly Republic with Republican troops, General Oudinot has added the infamy of treachery. He has violated his written promise, now in our hands, *that he would not commence the attack before Monday.*

Romans, arise! To the walls, to the gates, to the barricades! Let us show the enemy that not even treachery can vanquish Rome.

Let the whole city rise up with the energy of one sole idea. Let every man fight, and every man have faith in victory. Remember your fathers and be great.

Let right triumph, and eternal infamy weigh upon the ally of Austria! Long live the Republic!

3d June 1849.

XXIII.

Romans.—You have sustained the honour of Rome, the honour of Italy. For more than fourteen hours you have fought like veteran troops. Suddenly surprised by treachery, by the violation of a promise formally signed, you have contested the ground inch by inch, regained positions for an instant lost, repulsed the bravest troops in Europe, and met death with a smile. May God bless you, guardians of the honour of your forefathers, as we, proud of having rightly judged the elements of greatness within you, bless you in the name of Italy.

Romans! this day is a day of heroes, a page of history.

Yesterday we said to you, be great; to-day we say to you, *you are great*. Continue such. Be constant.

Of the Roman people one may ask miracles. And we say with perfect trust in the people, in the National Guard, and in the youth of every class, that Rome is inviolable. Watch over her walls this night; within those walls is the future of the nation. Watch while they who for fourteen hours have fought, repose. To the gates! to the barricades! The angel of your land watches with you; and the angel of your land is the angel of the Italian nation. Long live the Republic!

3d June 1849.

XXIV.

Roman daughters of the people,—Your husbands, brothers, and sons, are fighting your country's enemies

upon the walls; you have a right to the love and protection of your country. The enemy who retreated yesterday before our men, now threaten your dwellings with their bombs. You are Romans; you cannot tremble at their impotent threats. Our troops will hold the enemy afar; they will, if need be, join your dear ones on the barricades; but Rome owes protection to the aged mothers, and to the children of her defenders. The Triumvirate therefore decrees:—

Those families of the people whose houses may be endangered by the bombardment, during the siege of to-morrow—shall to-morrow, or, if need be, before, be lodged by the Government in such houses, palaces, or convents, as are out of all danger.

The representatives of the people in every quarter of the city shall receive their applications for lodgings, verify the necessity, and give tickets of admission to the various localities chosen; a list of these will be given to them with the requisite instructions by the Minister of the Interior.

The Triumvirate trusts to the virtue and patriotism of the Roman women to keep vigilant order, and to preserve the habitations assigned to them from injury.

5th June 1849.

XXV.

[The following lines were our answer to a last summons from General Oudinot, when the French were already in possession of the first bastion on the left of the gate of S. Pancrazio.]

We have the honour to transmit to you the answer of the Assembly to your communication of the 12th.

We will never betray our word. In execution of the orders of the Assembly and the Roman people, we have promised to defend the banner of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the sanctity of the capital of the Christian world: we will keep our promise.—Receive, General, etc.

13th June 1849.

XXVI.

[Answer to a letter addressed by M. de Corcelles, envoy extraordinary of the French Republic, to M. de Gerando, Chancellor of the French embassy in Rome. The letter attempted to excuse the flagrant contradiction between the agreement of Lesseps and the assault upon Rome by General Oudinot.]

Sir,—The letter written to you by M. de Corcelles, dated the 13th, and which you have politely communicated to me, does not in any way invalidate, as you must admit, the answer given by the Roman Constituent Assembly to General Oudinot. The date of this or that French dispatch, is of little moment; it is of little moment whether M. Lesseps was or was not recalled at the moment he affixed his signature to the convention of the 31st May.

Everything may be answered in one word: *the Assembly had never had any official communication of those dispatches, and was in ignorance of them.*

The diplomatic question then, as far as we are concerned, may be stated in these terms:—

M. Lesseps was the French plenipotentiary in Rome. He was such to us on the 31st May, as much as he was before. No information or warning had been conveyed to us of any modification or suppression of his powers. We therefore treated with him in perfect good faith, as if treating with France; and to this good faith we owed the occupation of Monte Mario by the French troops on the night of the 28-29th May. Engaged in a perfectly pacific discussion with M. Lesseps; anxious to avoid everything tending to create an impression contrary to the true wishes of our people, and not being able to persuade ourselves that France's mission of protection would be commenced by the siege of Rome, we viewed these incidents unmoved. At every movement of your troops, every operation tending to narrow the military circle, and gradually approach positions which we might have de-

fended, M. Lesseps hastened to assure us that the sole object of the French in those operations was to give a vent to the feverish excitement of the troops, weary of their long inaction ; he implored us, in the name of the two countries, in the name of humanity, to avoid all conflict, to trust in him, and to fear no evil consequences from those unusual movements. And we yielded with confidence to his entreaties. At present I am constrained to repent my part in that confidence ; not that I fear for Rome, but because now our brave men have to defend with their own breasts, all that those good positions might have defended for them. On the 31st May, at eight o'clock in the evening, the convention between ourselves and M. Lesseps was signed. He carried it with him to the camp, assuring us that he regarded the signature of General Oudinot as a mere formality, about which no doubt could exist. We were all joyful in spirit.

It appeared as if affairs were about to resume their natural course between France and ourselves.

During the night, the dispatch of General Oudinot reached us, refusing his adhesion to the agreement, and declaring that M. Lesseps, in signing it, had exceeded his powers.

A second dispatch, dated the 1st June, 3½ P.M., signed by the General, declared to us that events had justified his determination, and that by two dispatches from the ministry of war and the ministry of foreign affairs, dated 28th and 29th May, the French Government had announced to him the recall of M. Lesseps."

Twenty-four hours were allowed us to accept the *ultimatum* of the 29th May.

You are aware that on the same day M. Lesseps addressed a communication to us, saying : " I maintain the Convention signed yesterday. I am starting for Paris to obtain its ratification. That agreement was concluded in virtue of instructions which empowered me

to occupy myself exclusively with the negotiations and the relations to be established with the authorities and population of Rome."

On the same day, at a late hour, General Oudinot declared to us that he should recommence hostilities, but that, at the request of the Chancellor of the French Embassy, the attack would be deferred until Monday morning at the earliest.

We were attacked on Sunday,* and the consequence of this violation of faith was the occupation of Villa Pamfili, and the surprise of two companies, which will doubtless form part of the *bulletin* of the 3d. Those two hundred men, together with twenty four prisoners made during that day's battle, are now at Bastia, in Corsica.

After these things, pray tell me, Sir, of what import to us is the dispatch of the 26th May, quoted in the letter of M. de Corcelles? What are the dispatches quoted by General Oudinot? We never saw those dispatches; we know not what they contain; we have had no official information of their existence. On the one side we have the affirmation of General Oudinot; on the other that of the minister plenipotentiary—they contradict each other. Let France unfold this coil, and save her own honour if she can. Placed between a minister plenipotentiary, and a General of division, our Assembly has thought fit to conform to the history of the facts established by that plenipotentiary. I agree with its decision, and remind you, Sir, that only to day, the tenth day of the siege, has the presence of M. de Corcelles in the camp, with the attributes of minister extraordinary, been indirectly made known to us.

Reflect, Sir, upon the date of those official notes; compare them with the occupation of Monte Mario, and the other operations of the French army, and then tell us whether, on a calm examination of the diplomatic

* The night between Saturday and Sunday.

question, Europe will not be obliged to say : "The object of the French Government was to deceive the Roman Government. General Oudinot took advantage of the good faith of the Roman Government, to narrow the circle of assault, and occupy favourable positions, so as to facilitate taking possession of the city. Either the dispatch of the 26th has no real existence, or it was not communicated in time to M. Lesseps. The dispatch of the 29th May was in fact known in the French camp on the morning of the 1st June ; that of the 26th might therefore have been in General Oudinot's hands on the 29th. The fact that the General did not then produce it, so as to suspend the negotiations and the powers of the negotiator, suggests the idea that he intended to take advantage of those negotiations, which diminished alike the vigilance and the power of the Roman people, in order, little by little, to make himself master of the best positions without resistance, certain as he was of putting a stop to all negotiations, when it suited him, by revealing the dispatch of the 26th, and to break the truce as soon as he was ready to attack.

Allow me, Sir, to say to you with the freedom that befits a man of a frank and not servile nature, that the conduct of the Roman Government in the negotiations that took place, never departed a single line from the path of honour. The Government of France would find it difficult to affirm so much. This in no way affects France, thank God ; the proud and generous nation is, like ourselves, the victim of a base intrigue.

Your cannon are now thundering against our walls ; your bombs are falling upon the sacred city. France had to-night the honour of killing a poor girl of the Transtevere, sleeping by her sister's side. Our young officers, our improvised soldiers, our people fall beneath your shots to the cry of *Viva la Republica!* The brave soldiers of France fall to no cry, in silence, like men dishonoured. I feel sure that there is not a single heart

amongst you that does not secretly declare what your deserters declared to us yesterday : *we know not what voice within us tells us we are fighting against brothers.*

Wherefore this bloodshed among brothers ? I know not : you know not. The banner of France has no concern here, she fights against men who love her, and who but a few days since trusted in her. She is seeking to set fire to a city which has in no way injured her, without any political programme, without any determinate aim, without any right to exercise, any duty to fulfil. She is, through her generals, playing the game of Austria, and without having even the evil courage to confess as much. She is dragging her banner through the mud of the conciliabules of Gäeta, and shrinking from a frank confession of her work of priestly restoration. M. de Corcelles no longer ventures to speak of anarchy or faction, but writes—like a man disturbed in mind—these senseless words :—

“The aim of France is the liberty of the revered head of the church, the liberty of the Roman states, and the peace of the world !”

We at least know what we are fighting for, and we are strong because we do know it. If France were here to represent a principle among us, one of those ideas which make a nation great, and which made her great in the past, the valour of her sons would not be spent against our youthful soldiers.

It is a sad page, Sir, which your generals are inscribing in the history of France ; it is a mortal blow to that papacy you pretend to protect, but which you are really smothering in blood ; it is a gulf that cannot be closed, which you are digging between two nations that were meant to advance together for the good of all men, and who have for centuries held out their hands towards each other, eager for fellowship ; it is a tremendous violation of that morality which should rule the relations between people and people ; of the common faith which should

be their guide ; of the sacred cause of liberty which lives by that faith ; of the future, not of Italy, her sufferings are the baptism of her progress—but of France, which cannot maintain her place in the front rank of the nations save through the manly virtues of good faith and liberty rightly understood.

15th June 1849.

XXVII.

[After the decree of the Assembly ordering the cessation of the defence.]

Romans,—The Triumvirate has voluntarily resigned. The Constituent Assembly will communicate to you the names of their successors.

The Assembly, after the successes obtained yesterday by the enemy, moved by a desire to spare the Romans the last extreme of danger, and to prevent the useless sacrifice of more valuable lives, has decreed that the defence shall be discontinued. The men who have directed the struggle could ill direct the coming state of things. Their mission is practically ended, and they hasten to resign their mandate into the hands of the Assembly.

Romans, brothers,—you have inscribed an indelible page in history, which will remain a proof of the latent energy within you, and of the greatness of your future destiny, of which no power can deprive you. You have given a baptism of glory, and a consecration of noble blood to that new life now dawning upon Italy,—the Collective life ; the life of a people that *wills* to exist, and will exist. Gathered beneath the Republican flag, you have redeemed the honour of our common country, elsewhere contaminated by the arts of the wicked, and by monarchical impotence. Your Triumvirs come back to you as simple citizens, bearing with them a supreme consolation in the consciousness of the purity of their intentions, and the honour of having their names associated with your noble deeds.

A cloud has arisen between you and your future ; a temporary cloud. Stand firm in the consciousness of your rights, and in the faith for which so many of your best men have died armed apostles. God, who has treasured up their blood, is your security. God wills that Rome shall be free and great, and she will be such. Yours is no defeat,—it is the victory of martyrs, whose sepulchre is a stepping-stone to Heaven. When the heaven of your resurrection shall beam above you ; when, at no distant day, the price of the sacrifices you have so cheerfully made in the cause of honour shall be counted to you, may you then remember the men who lived for months your own life, who suffer now in your suffering, and will fight again to-morrow, if it may be, among your ranks. Long live the Roman Republic !

30th June 1849.

XXVIII.

Romans,—Your city has been overcome by brute force, but your rights are neither lessened nor changed. The Roman Republic lives eternally inviolable in the suffrages of the men by whom it was proclaimed ; in the spontaneous adhesion of all the elements of the State ; in the faith of the peoples who have admired our long defence ; in the blood of the martyrs who have fallen beneath our walls for its sake. Our invaders betray their solemn promises as they list. God does not betray. Be you constant and faithful to the faith of your hearts in the trial which He wills you should for a while endure, and do not despair of the future. Brief are the dreams of violence ; infallible the triumph of a people that hopes, combats, and suffers in the cause of justice and holy liberty.

You have given brilliant proof of military courage ; now give proof of moral courage. By all you hold sacred, citizens, keep yourselves incontinent, free from weak fear or base egotism. Let the division be-

tween yourselves and your invaders remain evident to all men. Let Rome be their camp, not their city. And brand with the name of traitor to Rome, he who from whatever compromise with his own conscience, passes over to the enemy's camp. The destinies of Europe render it impossible that Rome should remain the conquest of France, or of whomsoever.

Let not this French occupation lose its character of violence and conquest. Isolate the enemy. Europe will raise a powerful voice in your favour. Meanwhile, none can hinder the pacific expression of your will. Organize such pacific manifestation. Let your municipalities unceasingly declare with calm firmness *that they voluntarily adhered to the Republican form of government, and the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Pope; and that they regard as illegal whatsoever government be imposed without the free approval of the people:* then, if necessary, let them resign. From every quarter of Rome, from every provincial city, let lists be issued, signed by thousands of names, bearing testimony to the same faith, invoking the same right. In the streets, the theatres, in every place of meeting, let the same cry be heard. *Away with the Government of Priests! Freedom of vote!* After that cry retire. When the Papal arms are again raised, let all who have taken the oath to the Republic, retire from their functions. Thousands cannot be imprisoned; men cannot be compelled to degrade themselves. And you would degrade yourselves, O Romans! you would degrade yourselves for ever, if, after having once declared to Europe that you were determined to be free, and having fought and lost the best men among you to become such, you should resume your slavery and make any compact with defeat.

Your forefathers, Romans, were great, not so much because they knew how to conquer as because they never despaired when overcome.

In the name of God and the People, be you great as

your forefathers. Now, as then, and more than then, you have a world—the Italian world—in your keeping. Your Assembly is not extinct; it is dispersed. Your Triumvirs—their public function suspended by the force of things,—are on the watch for the opportune moment—which will depend on your conduct—in order again to convene the Assembly.

5th July 1849.

END OF VOLUME V.

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

SMITH, ELDER, & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

NEW EDITION OF MAZZINI'S LIFE AND WORKS.

To be completed in Six vols. crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. each.

Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini.

Volumes 1, 3, and 5 will be entitled

'AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL,'

And Volumes 2, 4, and 6

'CRITICAL AND LITERARY.'

Volume 6, completing the edition, will be published on March 26.

NEW WORK BY PROFESSOR JOHN EARLE.

ENGLISH PROSE: its Elements, History, and Usage. By JOHN EARLE, M.A., Rector of Swanswick; formerly Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College; Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford; Author of 'The Philology of the English Tongue' &c. 8vo. 16s.

'Will be read with delight by every British man of letters. . . . The book is at once a treasure-house of useful information, and a noble specimen of the art which it expounds with rare lucidity and completeness.'—DAILY TELEGRAPH.

NEW WORK BY THE REVEREND DR. BREWER.

Now ready, crown 8vo. about 1,000 pages, 10s. 6d.

THE HISTORIC NOTE-BOOK. With an APPENDIX OF BATTLES. By the Rev. E. COBBAN BREWER, LL.D., Author of 'Guide to Science,' 'The Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,' 'The Reader's Handbook,' 'Dictionary of Miracles,' 'Theology in Science,' 'Rules for English Spelling,' &c. &c.

NEW EDITION OF MATTHEW ARNOLD'S IRISH ESSAYS.

Just published, POPULAR EDITION, crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

IRISH ESSAYS, AND OTHERS. By MATTHEW ARNOLD.

NEW EDITION OF MATTHEW ARNOLD'S CELTIC LITERATURE.

Just published, POPULAR EDITION, crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

ON THE STUDY OF CELTIC LITERATURE. By MATTHEW ARNOLD.

Royal 8vo. 15s. each, in cloth; or in half-morocco, marbled edges, 20s.

Vols. I. to XXV. (ABBADIE—HENRY I.) of the

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN and SIDNEY LEE.

*.° Volume XXVI. will be published on March 26th, and the subsequent volumes at intervals of Three Months.

Nearly through the press, THIRD EDITION, with Maps and Illustrations, cr. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

GEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE VOLCANIC ISLANDS AND PARTS OF SOUTH AMERICA, visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Beagle.' By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S.

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place.

W. M. THACKERAY'S WORKS.

THE LIBRARY EDITION.

In Twenty-four Volumes, Large Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. each, with Illustrations by the Author, RICHARD DOYLE, and FREDERICK WALKER.
Sets in cloth, £9; or, in half-russia, £13. 13s.

VANITY FAIR. A NOVEL WITHOUT A HERO. Two Volumes. With Forty Steel Engravings and 150 Woodcuts.

THE HISTORY OF PENDENNIS: HIS FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES; HIS FRIENDS AND HIS GREATEST ENEMY. Two Volumes. With Forty Steel Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

THE NEWCOMES: MEMOIRS OF A MOST RESPECTABLE FAMILY. Two Volumes. With Forty-eight Steel Engravings by RICHARD DOYLE, and numerous Woodcuts.

THE HISTORY OF HENRY ESMOND, ESQ.: A COLONEL IN THE SERVICE OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ANNE. With Eight Illustrations by GEORGE DU MAURIER, and numerous Woodcuts.

THE VIRGINIANS: A TALE OF THE LAST CENTURY. Two Volumes. With Forty-eight Steel Engravings and numerous Woodcuts.

THE ADVENTURES OF PHILIP ON HIS WAY THROUGH THE WORLD, SHOWING WHO ROBBED HIM, WHO HELPED HIM, AND WHO PASSED HIM BY. To which is prefixed A SHABBY GENTLE STORY. Two Volumes. With Twenty Illustrations.

THE PARIS SKETCH-BOOK OF MR. M. A. TITMARSH AND THE MEMOIRS OF MR. C. J. YELLOWPLUSH. With Illustrations by the Author.

THE MEMOIRS OF BARRY LYNDON, ESQ. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF; WITH THE HISTORY OF SAMUEL TITMARSH, AND THE GREAT HOGGARTY DIAMOND. With Illustrations by the Author.

THE IRISH SKETCH-BOOK: AND NOTES OF A JOURNEY FROM CORNHILL TO GRAND CAIRO. With Illustrations by the Author.

THE BOOK OF SNOBS; SKETCHES AND TRAVELS IN LONDON; AND CHARACTER SKETCHES. With Illustrations by the Author.

BURLESQUES:—

Novels by Eminent Hands—Adventures of Major G. Hagan—James's Diary—A Legend of the Rhine—Rebecca and Rowena—The History of the Next French Revolution—Cox's Diary. With Illustrations by the Author and RICHARD DOYLE.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS OF MR. A. TITMARSH:—

Mrs. Perkins's Ball—Dr. Birch—Our Street—The Kickleburys on the Rhine—The Rose and the Ring. With Seventy-four Illustrations by the Author.

BALLADS AND TALES. With Illustrations by the Author.

THE FOUR GEORGES: THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. With Portraits and other Illustrations.

ROUNDABOUT PAPERS. To which is added the SECOND FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON. With Illustrations by the Author.

DENIS DUVAL; LOVEL THE WIDOWER; AND OTHER STORIES. With Illustrations by FREDERICK WALKER and the Author.

CATHERINE, a Story; LITTLE TRAVELS; THE FITZBOODE PAPERS; CRITICAL REVIEWS; AND THE WOLVES AND THE LAMB. Illustrations by the Author, and a Portrait.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS, SKETCHES, AND REVIEWS. With Illustrations by the Author.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO 'PUNCH.' With 132 Illustrations by the Author.

THE POPULAR EDITION.

Complete in Thirteen Volumes, Crown 8vo. with Frontispiece to each Volume, price 5s. each.

Sets, handsomely bound in scarlet cloth, gilt top, price £3. 5s.; or in half-morocco, gilt, price £5. 10s.

- 1.—VANITY FAIR.
- 2.—THE HISTORY OF PENDENNIS.
- 3.—THE NEWCOMES.
- 4.—ESMOND AND BARRY LYNDON.
- 5.—THE VIRGINIANS.
- 6.—THE ADVENTURES OF PHILIP, to which is prefixed A SHABBY GENTLE STORY.
- 7.—PARIS, IRISH, AND EASTERN SKETCHES:—Paris Sketch Book—Irish Sketch Book—Cornhill to Cairo.
- 8.—HOGGARTY DIAMOND, YELLOWPLUSH PAPERS, AND BURLESQUES:—The Great Hoggarty Diamond—Yellowplush Papers—Novels by Eminent Hands—James's Diary—Adventures of Major G. Hagan—A Legend of the Rhine—Rebecca and Rowena—The History of the Next French Revolution—Cox's Diary—The Fatal Boots

- 9.—THE BOOK OF SNOBS, AND SKETCHES OF LIFE & CHARACTER:—The Book of Snobs—Sketches and Travels in London—Character Sketches—Men's Wives—the Fitzboode Papers—The Bedford Row Conspiracy—A Little Dinner at Timmus's.
- 10.—ROUNDABOUT PAPERS AND LECTURES:—Roundabout Papers—The Four Georges—The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century—The Second Funeral of Napoleon.
- 11.—CATHERINE, &c. Catherine—Lovell the Widower—Denis Duval—Ballads—The Wolves and the Lamb—Critical Reviews—Little Travels and Roadside Sketches.
- 12.—CHRISTMAS BOOKS:—Mrs. Perkins's Ball—Dr. Birch—Our Street—The Kickleburys on the Rhine—The Rose and the Ring.
- 13.—MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS, SKETCHES, AND REVIEWS; CONTRIBUTIONS TO 'PUNCH.'

London: SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 Waterloo Place.