

The Italian Revolution.

SUFFICIENT time has elapsed since the early stages at least of the Italian Revolution to justify the attempt to put before the public in a connected form some account of the principles and modes of action adopted by those who were the chief and apparently successful promoters of the stirring series of events that have changed the face of Italy. Nor is such an attempt uncalled for on various grounds. The knowledge, it is not too much to say, possessed by most Englishmen on this subject does not rise above that dim, misty impression that lingers in the mind after the cursory perusal of the sensational paragraphs of the daily newspaper and its special correspondents, without further relief of the dull haze of mental confusion thus produced than that caused by the lurid lights of prejudice that are the congenital inheritance of the British race as far as anything connected with Italy and Rome are concerned. It was a happy thought on the part of Mr. O'Clery to conceive the possibility of contributing something towards the removal of the existing ignorance; and it was better still to have girded himself up to the task of giving execution to his thought in the very able and satisfactory manner in which he has done his work. Mr. O'Clery confines himself in his present volume to the period between the entry of the French Republican armies into Rome in 1796, to the fall of the Roman Republic in 1849.

Italy, and especially Rome as gathering Italy into itself, must always stand out before the world's eye as an object of absorbing interest. The mighty figures that move so grandly in the dim light of her ancient days are still to some extent living and substantial to us; but there is this difference between Rome and the other seats of mighty empires that have passed away. These lie enshrouded in the melancholy gloom that broods over their decay, and the mighty cities that they once sustained are a mass of shattered ruins, the dwelling place

of the bat and of the dragon. But Rome lives still, and has added on the chronicles of a wider empire than that swayed by the Cæsars to the long glories of the olden time. And she was yet living when the wild waves of the revolutionary outbreak that had deluged the world broke against her walls in 1796.

The French armies, drunk with Republican enthusiasm, had trampled down the physical resistance by which Germany had sought to arrest their destructive march, and swept up to the walls of Rome to find a foe of a different order to any that they had hitherto encountered. Pius the Sixth, the reigning Pontiff, was a worthy successor of that long line of men who, with few exceptions, had risen up to the level of the high office which they filled; nay, some of whom stood forth in grand proportions as landmarks for all coming times. Endowed with the fulness of spiritual rule, the sovereignty of temporal power had also attached itself to them, and after twelve hundred years rested in their hands on the most legitimate of all titles. It was not that they had sought this sovereignty, but that sovereignty had sought them by the most natural of all processes, the willing gathering of the people under their protection, by the guidance of that Providence Whose will it is that men should live in society, and that kings should rule justly. And for twelve hundred years they had ruled in sunshine and in storm, leaving traces of their beneficent influence in the mitigation of barbarism, the refinement of manners, the dissipation of ignorance, and the fostering and confirming of social liberties throughout the world. This was the power against which the revolutionary waters now surged up, to find themselves withstood it is true, but in a way widely different from that in which they had hitherto been met. The Temporal Power of the Roman Pontiffs was the ostensible point of attack; but it was not by temporal weapons that Pius the Sixth could hope to meet the assault. He had recourse to the principles of that spiritual rule which was also vested in him, the principles of truth and justice upon which rested both his spiritual and his temporal power. To these principles he appealed as his sufficient shield and weapon of defence in the warfare that had been forced upon him.

During the latter part of the year 1797 Rome had been the scene of the active conspiracies of the secret societies, of whose operations the French Embassy, then occupied by Joseph

Bonaparte, was the focus. The first attempt at insurrection took place on the 28th of December, 1797, when one of the military *attachés* of the French Embassy, General Duphot, put himself at the head of the insurgents and was shot down in the disturbance that ensued. This afforded a pretext for the action of the French armies; and accordingly on the 10th of February, 1798, Berthier appeared before Rome. On the following day the Pope, to avoid the effusion of blood, ordered the gates of the city to be opened; issuing at the same time a protest against this violation of all law through the Commandant of St. Angelo. Berthier kept his troops encamped five days without the walls, but at length marched them into Rome, when the downfall of the Temporal Power was announced and the Republic proclaimed, amidst the shouts of a portion of the inhabitants. But the new Government by no means found favour with the whole of the Roman people. So furious were the men of the Trastevere at the loss of the Pope, that it was months before a French soldier or Roman Republican dared to enter their quarter alone.

The Pope himself was seized by the French and ordered to retire into Tuscany, and to dispossess himself entirely of all his temporal authority. The noble reply of the captive Pontiff shows upon what principle he relied in the unequal struggle in which he was engaged. "I am prepared for every species of disgrace. As Supreme Pontiff, I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my powers. You may employ force; you have the power to do so; but know that though you may be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul. Free in the region where it is placed, it fears neither the events nor the sufferings of this life. I stand on the threshold of another world; there I shall be sheltered alike from the violence and impiety of this." And, adds Alison, "Force was soon employed to dispossess him of his authority; he was dragged from the altar in his palace, his repositories were all ransacked and plundered, the rings even torn from his fingers, the whole effects in the Vatican and Quirinal inventoried and seized, and the aged Pontiff conducted, with only a few domestics, amidst the brutal jests and sacrilegious songs of the French dragoons, into Tuscany, where the generous hospitality of the Grand Duke strove to soften the hardships of his exile." Finally he was dragged to the fortress of Valence, where, broken down by the hardships he had undergone, he expired on the 19th of

August, 1799. Such was the first act in the drama of the Italian Revolution.

The conclave met at Venice in February, 1800, and on the 10th of that month Cardinal Chiaramonte was elected to the vacant throne of St. Peter and took the name of Pius the Seventh. Since Marengo, Italy lay at the feet of the French, whose policy at the same time found a certain advantage in keeping on good terms with the Head of the Church. Pius the Seventh was in consequence allowed to take possession of his capital on the 3rd of July, 1800. Then followed the concordat, and the journey of the Pope to Paris for the coronation of the new Emperor of the West. But events soon proved the interested nature of the apparently friendly relations that Napoleon cultivated with the Pope. The cloven foot was displayed even during the enforced prolongation of the Pope's stay in Paris, but on his firm rejection of Napoleon's insidious proposals, Pius the Seventh was at length allowed to return to the Eternal City. The respite, however, was not of long duration. As Napoleon advanced in his marvellous career of aggression and conquest, his attitude towards the Holy See became increasingly arbitrary and hostile, till at length he could write on the 13th of February, 1806, to Pius the Seventh, "I will not infringe the rights of the Holy See, but my enemies must be yours. Your Holiness must cease to have any delicacy towards my enemies and those of the Church. You are Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor; all my enemies must be your enemies." One thing that was meant by this latter clause was, that the Berlin and Milan decrees should be rigidly enforced within the Papal States, and that all the ports of his Holiness should be closed to the British flag on all occasions when England was at war with France. To these requirements the Pope replied, March 12th, 1806, "The demand to dismiss the envoys of Russia, England, and Sweden is positively refused: the Father of the Faithful is bound to remain at peace with all, without distinction of Catholics or heretics." So again the Pontiff thus loftily explains the principles that constrain him to act in a manner so opposed to all maxims of worldly prudence and views of worldly interest. "If they choose to seize upon Rome we shall make no resistance, but we shall refuse them the entry to the Castle of St. Angelo. All the important points of our dominions have been occupied by their troops, and the collectors of our taxes can no longer levy any imposts

in the greater part of our territory, to provide for the contributions which have been imposed. We shall make no resistance, but your soldiers will require to burst open the gates with cannon-shot. Europe shall see how we are treated, and we shall at least prove that we have acted in conformity to our honour and our conscience. If they take away our life, the tomb will do us honour, and we shall be justified in the eyes of God and man." Again: "Should he desire it, we shall instantly retire into a convent, or the Catacombs of Rome, like the first successors of St. Peter; but let him not think, as long as we are intrusted with the responsibilities of power, to make us by menaces violate its duties." In reply to this uncompromising language the threat was held out, that if upon the Continent the Pope alone wished to remain firm to England, the remainder of his dominions should be incorporated with the Empire. But no violence of language could drive the Holy Pontiff into a declaration of war against England, a step for which no just grounds could be alleged, and which in consequence if taken would amount to a great public crime; a crime, too, of a deeper dye, as proceeding from the appointed guardian of truth and justice in the world.

On the 2nd of February, 1808, a large body of French troops occupied Rome, where it was announced they would remain until the Holy Father had consented to join the general league, offensive and defensive, with Napoleon and the King of Naples. This declaration was followed by a decree, issued from Schönbrunn on the 17th of May, 1809, announcing that the States of the Pope were united to the French Empire, and that the City of Rome was constituted a free and imperial city. The Pope replied by a Bull of Excommunication, which startled and irritated the mighty conqueror in the midst of his triumphs. Soon afterwards the Quirinal was confronted by forty pieces of cannon; on the night of the 5th of July the outlying parts of the building were forcibly occupied, and on the following morning the inner doors of the palace were broken down by hatchets, and the Pope was arrested and carried into exile. Facts these that would seem to have been strangely forgotten in the fervour of certain recent declamations against the relations of the Papacy to questions of international right and civil allegiance. Pius the Seventh was simply a martyr to his fidelity to international obligations, or rather we may say to his fidelity to England, in his determination to suffer the loss of all things

rather than commit a grievous wrong by declaring war against her without just grounds for such declaration. The subsequent history of Pius the Seventh is too well known to require repetition here. It is sufficient to say that Napoleon fell, and that his fall restored the Pope to liberty and to Rome. The nature of his reception in his capital is abundantly indicated by the single fact that he was "borne into the city on the shoulders of the most celebrated artists of the day, foremost among whom was the great Canova."

The first great revolutionary wave having thus subsided, it seemed that the world might henceforth rest in peace. And accordingly a great calm for a time settled upon the earth, although a calm not without its partial disturbances. For the principles of which the great outburst of 1789 had been the efflorescence, were still buried deep in the great mass of human life. Nor could it be otherwise. Seeds which draw no nutriment from the wholesome soil, will spring forth in vigorous strength when cast upon the dunghill. The principles of revolution which had been sown broadcast for three hundred years—not to travel further back into the past centuries—in every land, beginning from the Reformation, could not be eradicated in a day. The great revolt against law and the divine authority of the Church had been pushed to its legitimate results in every region of the civilized world. What Henry the Eighth and Calvin and Luther had begun, was carried out by the Puritans and Hobbes and the deistical writers in England; by Puffendorf and Bœhmer and Kant in Germany; and by Montesquieu and Voltaire and Rousseau and the encyclopædists in France; the outcome had been the Guillotine and the Goddess of Reason, and the tramp of armed millions, and the groans of oppressed nations, and the subversion of all law, and the earth deluged with blood. Seeds that could produce such a harvest must necessarily die hard. And in the present case they did not die at all; for special means were at hand to keep them in life and to waft them in secrecy and silence throughout the length and breadth of the earth. The means referred to were the secret societies, which in the bowels of the earth, as it were, drew together and fostered the elements of future mischief, and kept Italy more especially in a state of chronic unrest till the outbreak of the Revolution in 1848.

Mr. O'Clery devotes three chapters to these organizations and their workings and failures, and his whole narrative is full

of interest and information. He first of all deals with the Carbonari, of the origin and workings of which body an admirable account is given. There has been much controversy with reference to the exact origin of Carbonarism. Some writers maintain that it took its rise in Italy, while others attribute its introduction into that country to the French armies at the beginning of the present century, the revolutionary leaders having availed themselves of the French occupation to spread the principles and organization of the Freemasons under a slightly modified form. The more probable view seems to be that taken by Mr. O'Clery, which regards Carbonarism as a purely Italian institution in its beginnings, although it subsequently passed into the hands of the revolutionary party and became one of their most powerful instruments. Botta in his history of Italy says that the Italian Carbonari took their origin in the Mountains of the Abruzzi and of Calabria, where charcoal is made. Many of its members followed the calling of charcoal burners, hence the name Carbonari. They gave the name of *Vendite*, sometimes contracted to *Vente*, to their assemblies, in reference to their sales of charcoal when they descended into the plains. Like the Freemasons, they had several grades, shrouded their rites in the greatest secrecy, and used certain signs for the purpose of mutual recognition. Italian Carbonarism wore in the beginning the mask of religion in order to insinuate itself more readily amongst a population full of simplicity and faith. Carbonarism soon gained ground in the Romagna and was actively propagated in Naples itself.

The true explanation of the matter probably is, that the Carbonari were an association Royalist in tendency, and having for their main object, at least as far as the inferior members of the body were concerned, the restoration of the Bourbons, the expulsion of the stranger, and the maintenance of the Catholic faith. The leaders, however, were to some extent influenced by the prevailing tendencies of the day, notwithstanding which, however, the organization was hostile to Murat, and received severe treatment at the hands of his government; so much so indeed that it may be considered to have been virtually broken up by the treacherous arrest and execution of Capobianco its leader. Maghella succeeded in resuscitating it and giving it a new direction. In his hands the Carbonari became the partisans of Murat, and for the most part they consisted of the more advanced Liberals of the old association,

who soon engaged in an active propagandism, no longer however drawing their recruits from the hardy charcoal-burners of the mountains, but from the population of the towns, the officers of the army, and the students of the universities. So rapid was their progress that in the first five years, from 1815 to 1820, upwards of 640,000 members were enrolled in the kingdom of the two Sicilies alone.

Under their new leaders the Carbonari took a more elaborate form, and was divided into several grades, the members being grouped into *Vendite* or local lodges, which acted in subordination to central committees established in each State. The grades designed for the commoner sort were confined to three, the apprentices, the masters, and the grand elect. True to their original policy, and having regard to the nature of the population with whom they had to deal, they still kept up the semblance of religious respect, although by the adoption of a jargon of their own they paved the way to the subversion of Christianity. In the first two grades especially names recur such as those of the Most Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Joseph, of Baptism, of original sin, of the deadly sins, and reference is made to the Cross, to the Crown of Thorns, and to the blows of our Lord's scourging; while passwords such as Faith, Hope, and Charity are met with. Even the *Pater* and *Ave* are recited, and honours are paid to the Creator of the universe, to Christ His envoy on earth, to His Apostles and preachers, and especially to St. Thibaldo, Patron of the Carbonari, whose canonization must be considered as doubtful, notwithstanding that the Annals of the Templars make him out to be the restorer of their order, and the first Grand Master after James Molay. But all this, it is needless to say, is only designed to amuse and corrupt the members of the lower grades, and by the use of familiar words to which new meanings are insensibly attached to lead them on to the gulf of Pantheism and Materialism, and so prepare them for the full development of shameless iniquity that appears in the higher grades of the order. The lowest grade of all consisted of the simply initiated, who knew only those that had introduced them, and had no power of initiating others; their specialty, in the words of Mazzini, was "to be silent and obey, to slowly deserve and receive confidence."

The whole organization, consisting of the central *Vendite* and the local lodges, was under the direction of the supreme

Vente, or *Alta Vendita*, as it was called. But besides the central and local lodges, the *Alta Vendita* had under its direction a special organization for its operations among the troops, which organization was again divided into the legion, the cohorts, the centuries, and the maniples. The duties of a Carbonaro were to be possessed of a musket, fifty rounds of ammunition, to be ready to surrender himself with entire devotion to the direction and to obey blindly the orders of his unknown chiefs. The association thus constituted rapidly spread into other countries. "It was at this time," says the Masonic journal, *l'Ami du Peuple*, of September 15, 1830, as well as the historians of the sect, Louis Blanc and Vaulabelle, "from 1815 to 1830, that the secret society of the Carbonari, formed at first in Italy, and subsequently spread over Europe, threatened every throne. It counted several deputies amongst its members in France, some of whom at present occupy high positions under Louis Phillippe. Under these chiefs, who constituted the supreme *Vente*, the name given to their lodge, there was another *Vente*, forming the famous directing committee, the members of which, five in number, evaded all attempts at discovery on the part of the Government. This committee was the medium of communication between the supreme *Vente* and the *Alta Vendita* or Grand Orient, which was composed of deputies from the local lodges, each of which consisted of twenty-five members. Never did any association exercise greater strictness in the choice of its members. It required an independent fortune and a finished education (in the University lodges), an ardent love of liberty, an invincible horror of despotism, a courage that rose above the fear of death. The proposed end of the association was the overthrow of the throne by means of the press and of armed force. Every member was required to have a musket and at least forty rounds of ammunition. The supreme *Vente* annually received two millions (of francs), the proceeds of voluntary contributions, and these were expended for the furtherance of their plans. The Revolution was to be the work of the Deputies; but the lower classes, under their influence and urged on by the public press, used the *ordonnances* as the pretext for insurrection. Charles the Tenth was betrayed and the Revolution accomplished."

We cannot follow this subtle organization into its various details, nor dwell upon the ceremonies sometimes childish,

sometimes terrible, by which it sought to work upon the imagination of its neophytes. We shall do a better work by attempting to lay before our readers as clearly and as briefly as we can the principles by which it was actuated.

"Whatever may be said of their origin," writes M. Ravitti, quoted by Father Gautrelet in his work on Freemasonry, "the Carbonari, like the Freemasons, have for their supreme and final object the destruction of the Catholic Church by the overthrow of the throne. They retain part of the masonic rites. In politics they have for their special purpose to render Italy independent of all foreign domination, and to establish a representative form of government." Such being the ostensible object of the association, let us hear the principles of its action as enunciated by the *Star* or instructor, to whose lot it fell to enlighten the grand elect at one of their nocturnal meetings. We quote the *Constitution and Organization du Carbonarisme*, by M. Saint Edme. The *Star* thus speaks:

In the beginning of things, during what we call the golden age, our reunions, my good cousins, were uncalled for. All men, living in obedience to the simple laws of nature, were good, virtuous, and serviceable; all their virtues had the one object of excelling in the exercise of benevolence. The earth, free from particular proprietors, furnished abundantly to those that cultivated it all that was necessary for their subsistence. Their wants were moderate; fruits, roots, and pure water supplied the needs of men and their companions. At first they covered themselves with leaves, but when they were prompted by their own corruption to make war on the innocent creatures over whom they have since arrogated to themselves the right of life and death, the skins of animals became their clothing. (Beasts and men are brothers according to the Carbonari; all belong to *humanity*.) The first forgetfulness of humanity soon destroyed the general fraternity and primitive peace. Hatred, jealousy, ambition, took possession of the hearts of men. The most able seized upon power, accorded at first by mediocrity without enlightenment, in the hope of being more profitably directed. The majority having made choice of chiefs, conceded a certain authority to them, granted them appanages, guards, the right to carry into execution the laws made by and for the people; but elected thus freely, the depositaries of a temporary power soon essayed to retain and augment it. To this end they made use of armed men, that had been placed at their disposal, to load their benefactors, the people, with chains. They dared to give out that their authority came from heaven, and that thenceforth it should be hereditary and unlimited. The force which ought never to be employed except for the defence of the territory of the different populations, was turned

against the unarmed citizens themselves. Their ungrateful chiefs constrained them to pay enormous contributions to minister to their pomp and pride, to wage their unjust wars and to pay their persecutors. They restricted the power of making laws to a few mercenaries devoted to their service; and when the people wished to assemble for the destruction of their tyranny, a handful of audacious bandits, calling themselves sacred, impeccable, shielded by a usurped inviolability, treated as rebels the true sovereigns of the State, who could be no other than the multitude or the totality of the individuals composing the nation. The poor man was despised, treated as a brigand, counted as nothing. . . . The most frightful despotism replaced, at almost every point of the earth's surface, the primitive liberty and equality that heaven had wished to establish for all men, and which now exists only at the death of each individual man.

No great critical acumen is required to detect the inspiration of Rousseau in this congeries of falsehoods, not unhappily unmixed with a dash of truth.

But another writer carries us still further into the innermost recesses of Carbonarism. Witt, in his *Mémoires des Sociétés Secrètes*, thus describes the general character of the association and its ultimate ends.

The Carbonari are still as unknown as the Freemasons themselves. The number even of the adepts is small who know the number of grades in the Order, the seat of the *Alta Vendita*, and of whom it consists. . . . And what a delusion is the man under who thinks he can gather the spirit of the Carbonari and its true tendencies from the three first grades! In these there is still question of Christian morality, and even of the Church. . . . The initiated imagine, after this formula, that the end of the Association is something high and noble, that it is the Order of those who wish for a purer morality and a more robust piety, for the independence and unity of their country. . . . But everything changes after the three first grades. Already in the fourth, that of the *Apostoli*, the engagement is taken to overthrow all monarchies, and especially the kings of the Bourbon race, (*lilia pedibus destrue*). It is only in the seventh grade, however, to which few attain, that the revelation fully unfolds itself. At length the veil entirely falls before the P : S : P : *Principe Summo Patriarcha*. Thus it becomes apparent that the end of the Carbonari is altogether identical with that of the Illuminati. This grade, in which a man is prince and bishop at the same time, coincides with the *Homo Rex* of the latter. *The initiated swears the ruin of all religion and all positive government, whether it be despotic or whether it be democratic.*

All means for the execution of their projects are permitted. Murder, poison, false oaths, all is at their disposal. The *Summo Maestro* laughs

at the zeal of the Carbonari, who have sacrificed themselves for the liberty and independence of Italy; for him *neither the one nor the other is an end, but only a means.*

It is striking to find how all this is confirmed by the undeniable proof of facts. We shall quote a somewhat lengthy passage from Mr. O'Clery in evidence.

When a man presented himself for admission into the Order, it was only accorded to him on condition of his giving himself up body and soul to its leaders. Giovanni Ruffini was asked, "Did he know that, as soon as he had taken the oath, his arm, his faculties, his life, his whole being, would belong no longer to himself, but to the Order? Was he ready to die a thousand times rather than reveal the secrets of the Order? Was he ready blindly to obey and to abdicate his will before the will of his superiors in the Order?"

Mazzini, too, has recorded the circumstances of his initiation into the Carbonari. He was asked if he was "ready to *act*, and to obey the instructions which would be transmitted to him from time to time, and to sacrifice himself, if necessary, for *the good of the Order*?" Then on his knees he took the Carbonaro oath upon a drawn dagger. In all this there was no definite object set before the adept, no limit fixed to his obedience. "In my own mind," says Mazzini, "I reflected with surprise and distrust that the oath which had been administered to me was a mere formula of obedience, containing nothing as to the aim to be reached, and that my initiator had not said a single word about federalism or unity, republic or monarchy. It was war to the government, nothing more."

Once, when an Italian had taken the Carbonaro oath—and it was often taken, as in Mazzini's case, in a burst of blind enthusiasm, which was followed, but not tempered, by anxious reflection—he became the slave of a despotism incomparably more complete than any that had ever existed in Italy or in Europe. He belonged, body and soul, to a central *vendita*, of whose existence he was scarcely aware, whose members were unknown to him, while the end to which they were directing their efforts, and which he had vowed to serve by a blind obedience, was equally hidden from him, and only alluded to in the vaguest generalities.

Nor was this blind obedience an empty name. If he refused it the symbolic dagger, on which he had sworn allegiance to the Order, guided by an unknown hand, became the instrument of his punishment. Even flight to distant lands was at times insufficient to shelter the life of an insubordinate or treacherous Carbonaro from the avenging daggers of the *Alta Vendita*. There was not one state in Italy free from political assassinations, and the object of these crimes was not so much to punish the guilty as to establish a system of terror over the members of the lower grades of the Order, so as to quell and eradicate all

tendencies towards a mutinous spirit amongst them. Mazzini relates an incident of this kind, which occurred at Genoa.

"I was desired," he says, "to be on the Ponte della Mercantia at midnight. There I found several of the young men I had enrolled. They had been ordered there, like me, without knowing wherefore.

"After we had waited there a long time, Doria appeared, accompanied by two others, whom we did not know, and who remained wrapped up to the eyes in their cloaks, and as mute as spectres.

"Having arranged us in a circle, Doria began a discourse directed at me, about the culpability of certain words of blame of the Order, uttered by inexpert and imprudent young men; and pointing to the two cloaked individuals, he told us that they were about to start on the morrow for Bologna, in order to stab a Carbonaro there for having spoken against the chiefs: for that *the Order no sooner discovered rebels than it crushed them.*" The italics are Mazzini's.

A similar incident is related by Ruffini. About twenty of the Carbonari were assembled at midnight in one of the smaller squares of Genoa, and there one of the leaders told them to pray for the soul of a comrade condemned to death by the *Alta Vendita*, and who would die by the dagger as the clock struck twelve" [p. 119].

Such was the organization and such the principles of that organization by which the scattered but by no means exhausted forces of the Revolution were once more drawn together and kept ready for action whenever the moment should seem to its leaders sufficiently opportune to let them slip once more against the dilapidated fabric of European society. Italy however enjoyed a period of external peace during the lull that followed after the mighty struggle of the great war. In the Pontifical States honest endeavours were made under the Government of Pius the Seventh to repair the damages of convulsion, and to correct official and other abuses. These efforts were rewarded by a rapidly returning prosperity, one evidence of which was a large increase in the population of the Roman States during the period of the five years between 1815 and 1820. But, as we have seen, the Carbonari had not been idle in the interval, and were fully prepared for action when the effect of the Spanish Revolution moved them like an electric shock. An insurrection organized by the soldiery broke out at Nola on June 1, 1820, under the leadership of Lieutenant Morelli, who immediately advanced to Avellino where he was joined by the civil and military officers long enrolled in the ranks of the Carbonari. The numbers of the insurgents were soon swelled by the accession of a regiment from Naples under

General P  p  , while the royal commander, Carascosa, remained inactive at the head of his troops. Naples showed symptoms of revolt, and in the end the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed, of which the bulk of the people hardly knew the name. The army, the people, the Court, and the Crown Prince himself assumed the Carbonari colours, black, pink, and sky blue ; a sufficient proof that Carbonarism was a real power and not a cobweb of the imagination.

The military revolution at Naples was followed by the popular movement at Palermo, where the yellow flag of Sicily was unfurled against the Carbonari tricolour, and the people demanded an independent kingdom under a Prince of the Royal House. The city was given up to riot and pillage, the resistance of the troops was overcome and fifteen hundred of the soldiers massacred, several of the officers having been beheaded, and their heads carried in triumph through the streets. The prisons were crowded to overflowing, as many as six thousand citizens supposed to be hostile to the revolution having been thrust into them. But the revolutionary Government at Naples succeeded in reducing Palermo to order, themselves soon after succumbing to an Austrian army of sixty thousand men under General Frimont, who speedily established the ancient order of things.

The movement thrilled through Lombardy, where however the outbreak was prevented, and Piedmont—where the insurrection was promptly suppressed, though it resulted in the substitution of Charles Felix in the place of Victor Emmanuel on the throne of Sardinia, and the banishment of Charles Albert, the heir presumptive to the Crown, and subsequently King, from the precincts of the Court. The first great movement therefore of the Italian Carbonari ended in failure and disgrace.

Ten years of comparative calm followed the events just recorded, during which the Italian lodges of the Carbonari were reorganized under the auspices of the *Haute Vente* of Paris, which comprized Guizot, La Fayette, and the Duke of Orleans amongst its members. It was during this period that Mazzini was initiated into the association, and he soon began to experience a sense of disappointment at the nature of its action. It had ceased to be simply an Italian organization, with but one end ostensibly in view—the liberation of Italy from a foreign yoke. Carbonarism had become international and cosmopolitan in its aspirations. Its immediate object was now to revolutionize

France. We will let him express this in his own words, as given by Mr. O'Clery.

The leaders of the Carbonari always spoke of Italy as a nation disinherited of all power to *act*, as something less than a secondary appendix to others. They professed themselves Cosmopolitans. Cosmopolitanism is a beautiful word, if it be understood to mean liberty for all men; but every lever requires a fulcrum, and while I had been accustomed to seek for that fulcrum in Italy itself, I found the Carbonari looked for it in Paris. The struggle between the French Opposition and the Monarchy of Charles the Tenth was just then at its height both in and out of the Chamber, and nothing was talked of among the Carbonari but Guizot, Berthe, Lafayette, and the Haute Vente of Paris. I could not but remember that we Italians had given the institution of Carbonarism to Paris [p. 138].

Thus in 1830 the political atmosphere throughout Europe was charged with all the elements of explosion, and the catastrophe was not long delayed. France first experienced the shock of the convulsion, and the throne of the elder Bourbons was levelled with the dust. The revolutionary current soon made itself felt throughout Italy, where the Carbonari were again in full activity. Menotti, a friend of the Duke of Modena and head of the police, commenced the movement by driving the Duke from his capital. Maria Louisa was similarly expelled from Parma; and the movement spread rapidly to the Papal States, then under the Government of Gregory the Sixteenth. Napoleon Louis and Charles Louis Napoleon, the sons of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, then residing at Florence, put themselves in communication with Menotti, the leader of the Modenese revolution. The two princes had both been enrolled amongst the Carbonari, and had been driven from Rome in consequence of the imprudence of Louis Napoleon, who had publicly appeared on the Corso with the tri-coloured ribbons on his saddle. When the insurrection in the Papal States broke out the two brothers joined the insurgents at Spoleto. The movement was speedily brought to an end, and things restored to their former condition, Louis Napoleon making his escape in the retinue of his mother, Queen Hortense, disguised as a servant, his elder brother having died at Forli during the campaign. Carbonarism was thus once more doomed to the bitterness of failure, and had soon to sink into the second rank amongst the instruments of the party of revolution. Mazzini now came to the front with the Giovine Italia, an account of

whose proceedings we must postpone to a future number. In our present paper it has been our chief endeavour to bring home to our readers the reality of the action of the secret societies in the more recent movements in Italy, and to place before them the true nature of the principles on which they are based, and the ultimate results to which they are tending. For the narrative of the events connected with these movements we must refer them to Mr. O'Clery's pages, where they will find their desires for information abundantly satisfied.

On a Catholic Poetess.

(A. P.)

SHE stooped o'er earth's poor brink, light as a breeze
That bathes, enraptured, in clear morning seas,
And round her, like that wandering Minstrel, sent
Two-fold delight—music with freshness blent :
Ere long in night her snowy wings she furl'd,
Waiting the sunrise of a happier world,
And God's New Song. O Spirit crystaline,
What lips shall better waft it on than thine?

AUBREY DE VERE.