

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No.

785016

ACC - Italy

10000/105/80

110pp.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No.

785016

10000/105/80

1007.3 - Study Group
- Capt. Buckley
May - June 1944

110pp.

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

18 May 1944

NOTICE OF MEETING

Attached, a notice of the Meeting on Tuesday May 23, 1944, at 12:30 P.M.

It is suggested that a small committee, say of four, should be appointed to direct this scheme.

If you approve this suggestion would you kindly mark four names accordingly.

Lt. Col. R.R. Cripps
Maj. G.G. Hannaford
Lt. Col. C.R.S. Harris
Brig. G.S. Parkinson
Lt. Col. T.V. Smith
Lt. Col. R.G.B. Spicer
Air Comdr Lord Stansgate
Col. R.G. Upjohn
Lt. Col. R.H. Wilmer
Col. A.E. Young

G.R. Hyatt
18 May

R.W. Buckley,
Capt., 3054
Acting Secretary.

785016

CORSO SUPERIORE DELLA STORIA ITALIANA

Members: Lord Stansgate, HCA. W. Smith, Col. Upjohn, Col. Williams, HCA. Gripps
 R. H. Field, Col. Spruce, Col. Young, Brig. Jennings. Fee 1000 L.

Organisers: Cap. Buckley, Sq. Pajolero-Cantelli, Translat. General.

Stansgate, Don Alfani. Library will be found - apply to Cap. Buckley

Col. Smith at 1230 in Room 49, followed by lecture. Discussion.

- Tues. 25 May. Review of Italian history up to French Revolution 1790, by Pontieri
- " 30 " Napoleonic Period - 1800-1815 by Giuseppe S. Valente
- " 6 June 1815-70 The Resurgence by S. E. Crocchi
- " 13 " 1870-1915 The Kingdom of Italy by Cortese
- " 20 " 1915-1918 WAR & AFTERMATH by Floriano del Secco
- " 27 " The Church & Italian History. OTTAVIO
- " 4 July Italian Political Thought from Machiavelli - 1790
- " 11 July " " " " French Revolution to 1815 } R. FIORI

3055

? If lib. also be found can send reply?

COURSE OF STUDIES

Herewith notes in English of the two last lectures of the series. Every member now has a complete course in notes in English.

This concludes the course and brings the group to an end. Owing to the generous action of the Naples Professors, who refused to accept any fee for their lectures, we have a certain amount of money in hand. This might have formed the working capital for continued activity on the same lines, but in ~~participation~~ ^{business} to some of the members who might not be able to participate, the committee recommend that the money be rein-
bursed.

The statement of accounts is as follows:-

RECEIPTS.

10 subscriptions at 1000

PAYMENTS

Pfr. Valenta . . 1500 L/
Lunch, wines,
cigarettes, etc.
for the series. 1100
2600

CASH IN HAND

7400 L.

This amount divided between the 10 subscribers equally comes to 740 L/ each. Herewith that amount.

Since no receipt was given for the 1000 subscription, no receipt is asked for the enclosed 740 L.

← on behalf of the Committee,

R. W. Buckley,
Dept.

740 pd.

Stangor ✓

Vijde ✓

Walker ✓

T.V. Smith ✓

2011

785016

for the series. 1100
8000

CASH IN HAND 7400 L.

Total amount divided between the 10 subscribers equally
comes to 740 L/ each. Herewith that amount.

Since no receipt was given for the 1000 subscription,
no receipt is asked for the enclosed 740 L.

← on behalf of the Committee,

R. W. Buckley,
Capt.

23

3031

740 pd. ✓
Stanger ✓
Upde ✓
Walker ✓
T.V. Smith ✓
Spencer ✓
Harris ✓

Pennison
Vento
Caplan
Mans

785016

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
Finance Sub-Commission
A.P.C. 394

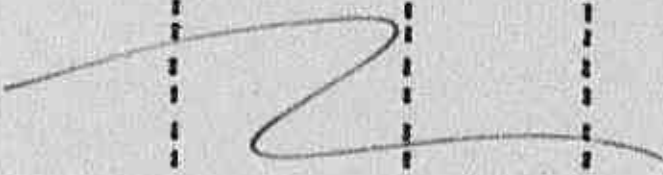
OFFICERS' — MESS

R E C E I P T

District SALERNO

No. _____

Pay to A.C.C. R.H.Q. OFFICERS' MESS

DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLE OR PURCHASE	QUANTITY	RATE	AMOUNT.
RED Wine	2 BOTTLES	L. 25	L. 50.
			L. 50.

Received on the _____ day of Sept. 194 4
(Ricevuto il giorno _____ del mese _____ 194In payment of the items above, the sum of Lira 50.
(In pagamento degli oggetti sopra elencati, la somma di Lira _____)Written
(Scritto)Gifted LiraSignature of Recipient
(Firma in Quistango)

fol.

Received from Captain BUCKLEY, (P.A. to Lord Stanagate), the sum of
800 Lire (EIGHT HUNDRED LIRE) on account of the following supplied
for five (5) luncheons for LORD STANAGATE'S lectures.

Flowers	250 lire
Fruit (oranges, cherries)	250 lire
Waitress Fees	300 lire

Total 800 lire

In the Field
14 June 44.

J. B. [Signature]

3049

785016

STUDY GROUP
COURSE OF LECTURES

15 Giugno 1944

1. The last lecture in the series will take place on Friday, June 16. Lunch at 1215. Lecture by Prof. Onodero. Subject: "The Church & State in Italian History" Onodero is the world expert on this pressing intriguing problem.

2. The remaining lectures have been cancelled owing to the new situation.

3. Written notes of the first 2 lectures and a Date Chart have already been received by all members. The remaining lectures are being typed, and will be distributed very shortly. The 2 gaps in the course 1856-70 to 1915-44, will be filled in by Lt. Gerardo, who has kindly promised to make short summaries of these periods for distribution.

4. Financially, we are sound, Received.... 10,000 lire

Paid Prof Valenti	1500	
Lunch	<u>1100</u>	<u>2,600</u>
		7,400 Bal.

The Naples professors would not accept any fee, but were not averse to a gift of books to their university library. In view of that the possibility of continuing the course in Rome, the money will be kept in hand for the present.

For The Committee.

R.W. BUCKLEY, Capt.

3048

785016

Salerno 14 Giugno 1944

Caro Professore

Ho ricevuto a mezzo del Professor
Pugliese le L. 1500 quale Vostro onorario.

Questo ritorno e' un atto molto
gentile da parte Vostra e state sicuro che lo abbia-
mo molto apprezzato e ve ne saremo riconoscenti.

Faremo del nostro meglio per cercare
i libri per la Vostra biblioteca all'Universita', e
cio' servira' come nostro ricordo.

Con i piu' distinti saluti

R.W. BUCKLEY
Capitano

EGR. PROFESSOR
ERNESTO PONTIERI
Napoli
Parco Margherita, 14

3047

785016

14 Giugno 1944

Caro Professor Pugliese

1. In questo momento ricevo la gradita Vostra del 12 corrente e sono dolente che siate stato ammalato; vi auguro una rapida convalescenza.
2. Ho ricevuto le L. 1500 quale onorario rifiutato dall'Egr. Prof. Pontieri.
3. Riguardo alla promessa del Prof. Omodeo, apprendo con piacere la sua offerta e aspetteremo Venerdi' la sua conferenza sulla Chiesa e Stato.
Per il suo viaggio, poiche' la nostra macchina e' in riparazione, il solo mezzo per venire qui e' la Corriera e se Egli vorra' compiacersi andare Venerdi' prossimo, alle 9 meno 5 alla Provincia, stanza n. 6, sara' fornito di un permesso e di un posto. Potra' ritornare alle 2 o alle 5, secondo come desidera.
4. Ad eccezione di questa conferenza del Prof. Omodeo, non ve ne saranno piu', causa la cambiata situazione, dovremo annullare le altre. Questo ci rincresce, ma forse continueremo in Roma i nostri studi.
Vogliate per favore informare quei Signori che avrebbero dovuto tenere la loro conferenza, e naturalmente io faro' altrettanto.
5. Appena ne sarete in possesso, vogliate farvi pervenire l'elenco dei libri e vedremo di procurarvene il piu' possibile.
6. Se il Prof. Omodeo ha gia' scritto un sommario o delle note riguardanti la guerra di Grimesa al 1870, sarei molto contento riceverle a giro di posta, ma se non l'ha praticato non fa niente.
7. Spero di vederVi prima di partire e frattanto vi invio i miei migliori saluti

R. W. BUCKLEY
Capitano

785016

Salerno 14 Giugno 1944

Cara Eccellenza

Come ho già scritto al Prof. Pugliese, desideriamo fare il più possibile per procurarVi dei libri storici per l'Università di Napoli, come ricordo di questa occasione.

Ci è molto dispiaciuto che non abbiamo sentito la seconda parte della Vostra conferenza; se l'avete scritta o fatto un sommario, sarebbe un vero peccato non poterla avere, ma io so che in questi ultimi giorni siete stato molto occupato, e se non l'avete preparata non fa niente.

Venuti
Nella speranza di rivederVi in un prossimo futuro, distintamente Vi saluto

e di sentire volentieri la Vostra

R.W. BUCKLEY
Capitano

30 15

A S.E. ADOLFO OMODIO
NAPOLI

785016

Salerno 14 Giugno 1944

Caro Professore,

Dato i cambiamenti nella situazione odierna, abbiamo dovuto sospendere le rimanenti conferenze del nostro corso; ciò ci dispiace molto, perché avevamo atteso con molto piacere la Vostra conferenza.

Vi ringraziamo comunque per la vostra gentile adesione.

Con i più distinti saluti

R.W. BUCKLEY
Capitano

Egr. Sig.
PROF. FLORIANO DEL SECOLO
Direzione del "Risorgimento"
Napoli

3044

785016

Salerno 14 Giugno 1944

Caro Brigadiere

Vi ringrazio della Vostra lettera del 3
corrente,

In questi giorni col nuovo Governo e con tutti gli attuali movimenti politici, sono molto occupato.

E' molto gentile da parte Vostra di volerVi mettere a mia disposizione, ma per ovvie ragioni e' impossibile, e credo che non sara' neanche possibile fare niente col vostro suggerimento; comunque non vi dimenticherò.

Saluti a tutti i Vostri Carabinieri, al Prete ed al Sindaco

LORD STANEGATE
Vice Presidente A.C.G.

3043

COURSE OF STUDIES

File

16 June 1944

Owing to new arrangements for lunch in Roof Garden,
today's plans are recast as follows:

1215 Lunch in Roof Garden.

1245 Lecture in Conference Room.

We must be in Lecture Room 1245 to end on time.

3042

R.W. Buckley, Capt.,
for Lt. Col. T.V. Smith.

785016

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

18 May 1944

NOTICE OF MEETING

Attached, a notice of the Meeting on Tuesday May 23, 1944, at 12:30

It is suggested that a small committee, say of four, should be appointed to direct this scheme.

If you approve this suggestion would you kindly mark four names accordingly.

✓	✓	✓	Lt. Col R.R. Cripps	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Maj. G.G. Hannaford	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Lt Col G.R.S. Harris	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Brig. G.S. Parkinson	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Lt. Col T.V. Smith	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Lt. Col R.G.B. Spicer	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Air Comdr Lord Stansgate	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Col. R.G. Upjohn	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Lt. Col R.H. Wilmer	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Col. A.E. Young	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Mr. Campbell	1000	✓	
✓	✓	✓	Capt. D.H. Hall	1000	✓	

30.1

R.W. Buckley
Capt.,
Acting Secretary.

+ 1000
- 1000
1000
1000
1000
1000

785016

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394

Phil Young
File

9 June 1944

Meeting: Conference Room.

Today: 12:15 (Lunch)

Speaker: ~~SE Colonel~~ Prof. Cortese of Naples University

Subject: ~~"The Risorgimento"~~ to The Kingdom of Italy 1870-1915
R. W. Buckley, Capt.

30 10

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No.

785016

STUDY GROUP

file
9 June 1944

Meeting: Conference Room.
Today : 12:15 (Lunch)
Speaker: Prof. Cortese, Of Naples University
Subject: The Kingdom of Italy, 1870 - 1915

R.W. Buckley, Capt.

785016

Salerno 4 Giugno 1944

Caro Professore,

sono molto contento che possiate dare il 13 corr. la quinta conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il Vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sarà possibile portare con Voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Signor Professor Pugliese ha preso tutti i provvedimenti preliminari e vorrete mettervi d'accordo con lui per il Vostro viaggio.

Distinti saluti

H.W. BECKLEY
CAPITANO
Pel Air Comdr. LORD STAMMATE

Egr. Signor
PROF. FEORLANO DEL SECOLO
Direzione del "Risorgimento"
Angiprto Galleria
NAPOLI

3039

785016

Salerno 4 Giugno 1944

Caro Professore,

sono molto contento che possiate dare il 20 e 23 corrente la settima e l'ottava conferenza della nostra serie.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sarà possibile portare con Voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Professor Pugliese ha preso tutti i provvedimenti preliminari e pertanto vorrete metterVi d'accordo con lui per il Vostro viaggio.

Distinti saluti

R.W. BUCKLEY
Capitano
Pel Air Comdr. LORD STANSBATE

Egregio signor
PROF. FRANCESCO FLORA
Direzione del Risorgimento
NAPOLI

3038

785016

Salerno 2 Giugno 1944

Garo Professore,

sono molto contento che possiate dare il 2 corr. la quarta conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sarà possibile portare con Voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Signor Professor Pugliese ha preso tutti i provvedimenti polizieschi e potrete quindi mettervi d'accordo con lui per il Vostro viaggio.

Distinti saluti

R.W. BUCKLEY
Capitano
Pel Air Comdr. LORD STANSBATE

Egr. Signor
PROF. NINO CONTESE
Via Vincenzo Guasco 1
NAPOLI

3037

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

Cara Professore Angela Valente

Sono molto contento che possiate dare la seconda conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sara' possibile portare con voi dei libri appropriati da dargli in prestito.

Il Signor Professore Pugliese ha preso tutti i Provvedimenti preliminari e rimane soltanto la vostra venuta. ~~///~~

Io, ^{all'entrata dell'Università,} verro' Corso Umberto, Napoli, alle dieci e un quarto, Martedi' prossimo, ^{il giorno} di mattina, ^{di mattina} la 30 Maggio.

Quindi, andremo a Salerno e pranziamo con gli altri Ufficiali prima della vostra arringa. Io includo uno schema del programma della serie. Perche' ne siate informato, se non avete interzione di rimanere a Salerno la notte, possiamo provvedere perche' possiate essere di ritorno a Napoli prima della sei e mezza dopo pranzo.

Saluti

R. W. Buckley, Capt.

R. W. Buckley

Capitano

24 Maggio

Pel Air Comdr., Lord Stansgate

Non possibile prossima settimana.

NEAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
Administrative Section

24 Maggio 1944

Gentile Professoressa
ANGELA VALENTE

Sono molto contento che possiate dare la seconda conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sarà possibile portare con Voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Signor Professore Pugliese ha preso tutti i provvedimenti preliminari e rimane soltanto la Vostra venuta.

Io verrò martedì prossimo 7 Giugno alle dieci e un quarto di mattina all'entrata dell'Università - Corso Umberto - Napoli, quindi andremo a Salerno e pranderemo con gli altri Ufficiali prima della Vostra arrivala.

V'inaludo uno schema del programma della serie, perché ne siate informata.

Se non avete intenzione di rimanere a Salerno la notte, possiamo provvedere perché possiate essere di ritorno a Napoli prima delle sei e mezzo dopo pranzo.

Distinti saluti

R.W. Buckley
Capitano
Pel Air Comdr. Lord Stansgate

P.S.
Non è possibile nella prossima settimana.

3035

785016



3 giugno 1944

MINISTERO DELLA EDUCAZIONE NAZIONALE

To Capt. R.W. Buckley
Allied Control Commission,
Economic and Administration Section
SALERNO

Care Capitano,

Ho trovata oggi qui la Sua lettera .
Mi dispiace di non averla vista lunedì scorso e di non aver saputo in tempo del differimento della conferenza della Signorina Valente.

Le confermo che S.E. Omedeo terrà martedì prossimo, 6 giugno, la sua conferenza. Avvertirò gli altri professori delle nuove date fissate per le loro conferenze.

Ci vedremo dunque martedì. Procurerò di farLe aver in precedenza il sommario.

Con i migliori saluti .

G. Pugliese Canale

3034

785016

~~Trans~~ N.

~~Lieut. Gerardo~~

Alms Ant. Com.

26 Aprile 1944

Caro Professor Pugliesi,

A causa di molti impegni soprav-
venuti sarà impossibile per noi assistere alla progettata con-
ferenza del Prof..... che dovrà aver luogo il prossimo
Martedì. Potreste fare in modo che essa abbia luogo ~~xx~~ il Mar-
tedì seguente e precisamente il 6 Giugno ?

Nella fretta di partire Martedì
scorso dimenticai di dare al Professor Pontieri il suo ono-
rario. Accludo quindi a questa mia la somma di Lire 1.500
che Vi prego di volergli consegnare assieme all' accluso
biglietto. Spero di vederVi la prossima settimana.

Vostro

Rich. Buckley
Capitano
Aiutante di Campo di
Lord Stangate

3022

785016

~~At [unclear]~~
Capt Buckley

Dear Prof. Pugliese,

Owing to various other
meetings it will be impossible to hold the
proposed lecture by Prof. [unclear] last Tuesday.
Will you please arrange for this to be held the
following Tuesday, 6 June?

In our haste of departure last Tuesday, I
forgot to give Prof. Pontecchi his fee.
I herewith enclose 1500 L which I hope you will
be kind enough to forward to him, with the
covering note. I hope to see you early next week.

Yours

R. Buckley

Capt

Adm. and Staffgate

26 May 74

3032

BUCKLEY

26 maggio 1944

Caro Professor Pontieri,

Lord Stangate mi incarica,
anche a nome degli altri membri del Circolo, di ringra-
ziarVi per la brillante conferenza tenuta Martedì scorso.

Nella fretta di partire, mi
dimenticai di consegnarVi il Vostro onorario nella somma
delle accluse 1.500 lire. Spero che mi ~~xxxxx~~ vorrete
scusare questa mia dimenticanza

Ancora molte grazie.

W.
Rich. Buckley Capitano

Aiutante di Campo di
Lord Stangate

one copy sent.

1003

Dear Prof. Portier,

On behalf of all
the members of the Circle, Lord Stangor
over me to thank you for your brilliant
lecture last Tuesday.

In our haste of departure, I forgot
to give you the fee and letter to include
1500 Lire - I hope you will excuse the
oversight on my part.

Again many thanks

Yours

R. W. Barclay, Esq.

26 May 44

Ats. Lord Stangor

EU-6

785016

Dear Prof. Pontieri
Attn: Secretary

Caro Professore Pontieri,

Sono molto contento che possiate dare la prima conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver promesso il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sara' possibile portare con voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Signor Professore Pugliese ha preso tutti i provvedimenti preliminari e rimane soltanto la vostra venuta.

Io, vi verro' incontro nella mia macchina all'entrata dell'Universita', Corso Umberto, Napoli, alle dieci e un quarto, Martedi' prossimo, di mattina. *La 30 Maggio*

quindi, andremo a Salerno e pranziamo con gli altri Ufficiali prima della vostra arringa. Io includo uno schema del programma della serie. Perche' ne siate informato, se non avete intenzione di rimanere a Salerno la notte, possiamo provvedere perche' possiate essere di ritorno a Napoli prima delle ~~quattro~~ *tre* e mezza dopo pranzo.

Saluti

R. S. Buckley

Capitano S. G. O.

pel Air Comdr., Lord Stanagate

24 Maggio
20.5

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

Cara Professore Angela Valente

Sono molto contento che possiate dare la seconda conferenza della nostra serie, e noi tutti aspettiamo con molto piacere il vostro arrivo.

Vi ringrazio di aver preparato il sommario della conferenza e una bibliografia, e spero che vi sara' possibile portare con voi dei libri appropriati da darci in prestito.

Il Signor Professore Pugliese ha preso tutti i Provvedimenti preliminari e rimane soltanto la vostra venuta.

Io, vi verro' Corso Umberto, Napoli, alle dieci e un quarto, Martedi' prossimo, di mattina, la 30 Maggio.

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Saluti

R. W. Buckley

Capitano

24 Maggio

Pel Air Comdr., Lort Stansgate

785016

D R A F T

Dear Professor

Thank you for your letter. I am most gratified with the progress you have made in our scheme, and Lord Stansgate also congratulates you on your arrangements.

We shall expect Professor Pontiere on Tuesday (not Wednesday as you said) 23rd of May, to give the first lecture and when I see you we can fix up the details of his coming here.

There are just one or two points outstanding:

- (1) We should like a summary of the lecture (10 - 20 lines) about three days before each lecture. *c. 6 lines*
- (2) I would be glad if you could give me some definite idea of a suitable fee for the lectures.
- (3) I hope it would be possible for each lecturer to lend us for a short while some text books and definitive works relating to the period.
- (4) If the initial lectures are to succeed which we *expect* it may be possible later to arrange for two in each week.

But these and other details I will discuss with you when next we meet. I am sorry I was not here when you called on Sunday but I did not get back to the office until Sunday afternoon.

Sincerely

3027

Committee

x	Cripps								1
x	Hammond	✓	✓		✓			✓	4
x	Harris	✓		✓			✓	✓	4
x	Parkinson								
	Smith	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
	Spencer			✓		✓			2
x	Stansfeld	✓			✓	✓	✓		4
x	Wright			✓		✓			3
x	Wilson	✓		✓			✓	✓	4
x	Young			✓					2

Lt. Col. Smith = 7

Harris = 4

~~Hammond~~ = 4~~Stansfeld~~ = 4

Wilson

3026

12,500

12,500

785016

~~Alphabetical~~

1. ~~Alphabetical~~ & Index of the meeting
on TUESDAY. MAY 28. 12:30pm

It is suggested that a Small Committee,
say of four, should be appointed to
direct the Session.

If you approve this suggestion would

You kindly mark form here accordingly.

~~Alphabetical~~

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No.

785016

Direct to Sec.

If you approve this suggestion would
you kindly mark form accordingly.

~~action~~
alphabetical

R. W. Buckler
Acting Secretary

785016

13 maggio 1944



MINISTERO DELLA EDUCAZIONE NAZIONALE

To Capt. ^{Bruni} ~~Harber~~,
Allied Control Commission.

Caro Capitano,

Sono venuto oggi due volte al Suo ufficio, senza trovarla. Ho parlato con S.E. Omodeo e con altri professori circa il corso di conferenze storiche sull' Italia moderna, e posso intanto comunicarle che il prof. Ernesto Pontieri, ordinario di Storia moderna nell' Università di Napoli, ha accettato di tener la prima conferenza (Lineamenti di Storia italiana fino alla Rivoluzione francese) mercoledì 23 maggio, come Lei aveva proposto.

La seconda conferenza (Dal periodo napoleonico al 1847) sarà preparata per il 30 corrente dalla Signorina Angela Valente, prof. incaricata nell' Università di Napoli. S.E. Omodeo ha accettato di fare la terza (dal 1848 al 1870) e la sesta (sulla Chiesa); il prof. Francesco Flora, redattore della "Critica", la rivista di B. Croce, ha accettato di fare le due conferenze sul Pensiero politico italiano. Non ho potuto ancora parlare (me spero di parlare nei prossimi giorni) col prof. Nino Cortese, ordinario di Storia del Risorgimento nell' Università di Napoli, per la quarta conferenza (dal 1871 al 1914). Per la quinta conferenza (dal 1915 ad oggi), infine, S.E. Omodeo propone il prof. Floriano del Secolo, direttore del "Risorgimento"; e con questo parlerò domani.

Tornerò presto da Lei, per portarle la risposta del prof. Cortese e del prof. Del Secolo, e per fissare definitivamente tutto.

Con i migliori saluti.

3024

Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli.

I, the undersigned, fully understand that I travel in a
(Io, il sotto scritto, capisco definitivamente che viaggiare in)
vehicle of the Allied Control Commission or Allied Military Government
(macchina di trasporto della Commissione Controllo Alleata o del Governo)
vehicle at my own risk and in the event of an accident, I may not make
(Militare Alleata e' al mio rischio, cioè nel caso di incidente non mi e')
any claim against the Allied Control Commission or the Allied Forces.
(permesso reclamare contro la Commissione Controllo Alleata o contro
le Forze Alleate).

Date _____

(signature)

I, the undersigned, fully understand that I travel in a
(Io, il sotto scritto, capisco definitivamente che viaggiare in)
vehicle of the Allied Control Commission or Allied Military Government
(macchina di trasporto della Commissione Controllo Alleata o del Governo)
vehicle at my own risk and in the event of an accident, I may not make
(Militare Alleata e' al mio rischio, cioè nel caso di incidente non mi e')
any claim against the Allied Control Commission or the Allied Forces.
(permesso reclamare contro la Commissione Controllo Alleata o contro
le Forze Alleate).

785016

NEAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

18 May 1944

NOTICE OF MEETING

Attached, a notice of the Meeting on Tuesday May 23, 1944, at 12:30 P.M.

It is suggested that a small committee, say of four, should be appointed to direct this scheme.

If you approve this suggestion would you kindly mark four names accordingly.

Lt. Col. R.R. Cripps
Maj. G.G. Hannaford
Lt. Col. C.R.S. Harris
Brig. G.S. Parkinson
Lt. Col. T.V. Smith
Lt. Col. R.O.B. Spicer
Air Comdr Lord Stanegate
Col. R.G. Upjohn
Lt. Col. R.H. Wilmer
Col. A.E. Young

R.W. Buckley,
Capt.,
Acting Secretary

3022

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

18 May 1944

LUNCH 12:30 LECTURE 1:00 PM

13 May

- 1 Short survey of Italian History up to French Revolution.
Lecturer, Prof. Pontieri of Naples University.

OTHER LECTURES ARRANGED ARE

- 2 Beginnings of the Risorgimento.
Napoleonic Period to 1846
Lecturer, Prof. Signora Valente of Naples University.
- 3 The Risorgimento, 1846-70.
Lecturer, Prof S.E. Omodeo.
- 4 The Kingdom of Italy, 1870-1915.
Lecturer, Prof Cortese of Naples University.
- 5 War and Fascism, 1915 onwards.
Lecturer, Prof. Floriano del Secolo
editor of Risorgimento.
- 6 The Church and Italian History.
Lecturer, Prof. S.E. Omodeo.
- 7 Italian Political Thought from Machiavelli-1790.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora,
editor of Croce's Review Critica.
- 8 Italian Political Thought from the French Revolution
to to-day.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora.

3021

Notes.

A Summary of each lecture will be distributed a day or two before the meeting. An Intrepreter will be at each conference. A bibliography will be compiled for each lecture covering the reference books of the period. It is hoped that a small lending library can be opened.

Declassified E.O. 12356 Section 3.3/NND No.

785016

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

26 May 1944

CONFERENCES - ITALIAN HISTORY - POLITICS

TO: All Members. ✓

The lecture arranged for next Tuesday, 30 May has had to be postponed. It is hoped to hold it on Tuesday 6 June.

R. W. Buckley, Capt.
Secretary.

785016

File

STUDY GROUP

30 May 1944

The course of lectures will be resumed on Friday next, 2 June with a talk on the Period 1790-1848 by Professoressa Valente.

It is hoped to have a light lunch at 1215 in the Conference Room and to begin the lecture at 1245, including the translation, the lecture will be finished by 1400 hrs.

The Committee thinks that this is the best course to adopt.

Subsequently there will be two lectures each week on Tuesday and Friday at the same place and the same time. Subject according to the previous circular.

/s/ R.W. Buckley, Capt.
Sec. to the Committee.

DISTRIBUTION:

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Lt. Shanks
Prof. Pugliesi
Madam Alfieri
Lt. Gerardo
Major Campbell
File

Capt. Dillard

785016



R. UNIVERSITÀ
DI NAPOLI

Napoli, 12-6-44

IL RETTORE

Caro Capitano,

sono stato infermo, nei giorni scorsi, e non son
più venuto a Salerno; anche ora mi è difficile ve-
nire. Ho perciò pregato il tenente Vella di portar-
le questa lettera, a cui accludo le mille cinquecen-
to lire da Lei inviate come onorario per il prof.
Pontieri: come le dissi, il prof. Pontieri desidera
che la sua conferenza resti come un atto di cor-
diale amicizia verso gli ufficiali suoi ascol-
tatori.

Il prof. Del Secolo, che avrebbe dovuto tenere la
sua conferenza domani, mi ha detto che le sue oc-
cupazioni come direttore del giornale 'Ridorgimen-
to', in un periodo così ricco di nuovi avvenimenti,
- ciò che comporta un più intenso lavoro di reda-
zione - gli impediscono assolutamente di tenere la
promessa conferenza domani. Si dichiara dolente di
questo contrattempo, e proporrebbe di rinviare la
conferenza di una quindicina di giorni. Intanto

30126

venerdì prossimo il prof. Omodeo potrebbe tenere la sua conferenza sulla Chiesa: occorrerebbe che Lei provvedesse al mezzo di trasporto per il viaggio a Salerno e per il ritorno a Napoli.

La prego inoltre di dire al Lord Stanegate, al quale vorrà presentare i miei saluti, che gli farò aver presto le indicazioni per i libri inglesi che desideriamo avere per la biblioteca della nostra Facoltà.

Spero di rivederla e le invio i miei migliori saluti.

Giovanni Pugliese Cantabbi

P. S. Il prof. Flora conferma che egli potrà tenere le sue conferenze sul 'Pensiero politico italiano' nei giorni 20 e 23 del corrente mese.



MINISTERO
DELLA EDUCAZIONE NAZIONALE

GABINETTO

Prot. N.

Risposte al foglio N.

del

OGGETTO

✓ PROP. ERNESTO PONTIERI

Parco Margherita, 14 - Napoli.

✓ Prof. ANGELA VALENTE

Via Luigia Sanfelice 25 - Napoli

✓ Prof. NINO CORTESE

Via Vincenzo Cuoco 1 - Napoli

✓ PROP. FLORIANO DEL SECOLO

Direzione del "Risorgimento" -
Angiporto Galleria - Napoli

✓ PROP. FRANCESCO FLORA

Direzione del "Risorgimento" - Napoli

STUDY GROUP

13 June 1944

Meeting: Conference Room.
Today : 12:15 (Lunch)
Speaker: Prof. Del Secolo
Subject: "The Great War & Fascism"

R.W. Buckley, Capt.

AccountsReceipts. 10,000.Payments

26 Aug.	L 1500	t Pay Portinari. via Ruffini. held by Ref.
2 Jan.	1500	t Paya. Valente.
14 Jan.	850	t Henry.

STUDY GROUP

Lunch, Lecture, Discussion in Conference Room every Tuesday, 1230.

The Course of Studies as arranged is as follows:-

- Tues. 23 May. Short survey of Italian History up to French Revolution.
Lecturer, Prof. Pontieri of Naples University.
- 30 May. Beginnings of the Risorgimento.
Napoleonic Period to 1846
Lecturer, Prof. Signora Valente of Naples University.
- ✓ 6 Jun. The Risorgimento, 1846-70.
Lecturer, Prof. S. E. Omodeo.
- 9 13 Jun. The Kingdom of Italy, 1870-1915.
Lecturer, Prof. Cortese of Naples University.
- 13 20 Jun. War and Fascism, 1915 onwards.
Lecturer, Prof. Floriano del Sacco, editor of Risorgimento.
- 16 The Church and Italian History.
Lecturer, Prof. S. E. Omodeo.
- 20 27 Jun. Italian Political Thought from Machiavelli-1790.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora, editor of Croce's Review Critica.
- Italian Political thought from the French Revolution to to-day.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora.

Notes. A Summary of each lecture will be distributed a day or two before the meeting. An Interpreter will be at each conference. A bibliography will be compiled for each lecture covering the reference books of the period. It is hoped that a small lending library can be opened.

The fee for the course of studies will be 1000 Lire.

Distributors

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Italy from the French Revolution to the First War of Independence.

There is some question in recent years as to the importance of the French Revolution in so far as it effected the Risorgimento. It certainly had a great propagandist effect on the liberal and democratic ideas, and accelerated the historic evolution of the Risorgimento.

Italian patriots unfulfilled hopes in the ~~contribution to the~~ Revolution. The year 1799 in Naples. *(Naples, 1799, the year of the French Republic in Italy)*

The Napoleon Empire and Italy. Increase of contacts. Unification of laws and brotherhood of arms. Against French absolutism, National liberal groups and pro-austrian societies are formed. The rise of the Carbonaria. *(The Carbonaria, the secret society of the Carbonari)*

The fall of Napoleon. Italian secret societies again forced ^{into} opposition against Austria and the re-established Governments. By the fall of their hopes and of the promises made by foreign Governments.

The Romantic movement ~~is~~ at the basis of the patriotic sentiment.

The Revolutions of the Carbonari in 1820 and 1831. The trials of Lombardy. The Revolutions of 1831 and teachings that ~~are~~ drawn from the failure of the Carbonari Movements. *(Lessons from the failure of the Carbonari Movements)*

The program of "Young Italy" - Giuseppe Mazzini teacher of a whole generation of patriots. *(Giuseppe Mazzini, the teacher of a whole generation of patriots)*

The failure of the Mazzini's movements determines the rise of moderate programs. Under the leadership of Vincenzo Gioberti. "Italian Hopes" of Balbo. *(Vincenzo Gioberti, the leader of the moderate programs)*

Liberal hopes on the accession of Pio IX. *(Pio IX, the accession of the Pope)*

ITALY FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE
FIRST WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

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Italian patriots unfulfilled hopes in the Revolution. The year 1799 in Naples.

The Napoleonic Empire and Italy. / Increase of contacts. Unification of laws and brotherhood of arms. Against French absolutism, national liberal groups and pro-austrian societies are formed. The rise of the "Carboneria".

The fall of Napoleon. Italian secret societies are again forced into opposition against Austria and the re-established Governments, by the fall of their hopes and of the promises made by foreign Governments.

The Romantic movement at the basis of the patriotic sentiment. The Revolutions of the Carbonari in 1821. The trials of Lombardy. The Revolutions of 1831 and lessons drawn from the failure of the Carbonari Movements.

The program of "Young Italy" - Giuseppe Mazzini, teacher of a whole generation of patriots.

The failure of the Mazzini's movements determines the rise of moderate programs: Under the leadership of Vincenzo Gioberti, "Italian Hopes" of Balbo.

Liberal hopes on the accession of Pio IX.

BEST COPY POSSIBLE

L'Italia nella rivoluzione francese alla prima guerra
d'indipendenza

Discussioni sorte in questo ultimo anni circa l'importanza
della rivoluzione francese per Risorgimento d'Italia.
Essa ebbe sicuramente grande forza di propaganda della
idee liberali e democratiche, ed accelerò il processo storico
del Risorgimento. Il patriottismo italiano e la lotta italiana in
alimentate dalla rivoluzione.

Il 1799 napoletano.

L'impero napoleonico e l'Italia. Patriottismo di massa.
Più contro l'Unità di leggi e fraternità di armi. Contro
l'assolutismo francese si sono formati gruppi liberali
nazionali e austriaci. Il sorgere della Carbonara.

La società segreta italiana.
Il ruolo napoleonico - La società segreta italiana
risorse all'offensiva contro l'Austria e i governi
italiani, dal veder cadere la speranza di libertà e la
promessa loro fatta dallo straniero.

Il movimento romantico - alimentatore di
virtù patriottiche - Il movimento romantico. Del 1820-21 ad
processi di Lombardia - Le rivoluzioni. Del 1831 e gli insurrezioni
che portarono trionfo. Dato l'elemento dei moti carbonari.

idee liberali e democratiche, ed accelerò il processo storico
del Risorgimento. I patrioti italiani e le istituzioni si basò
alimentate dalla rivoluzione - Il 1799 napoletano.

L'impero napoleonico e l'Italia. Patriottismo di un'epoca.
Si esortò. Uniti di Boggi e fraternità di armi. Contro
l'assolutismo francese si sono formano gruppi d'azione.
nazionali e austriaci. Il sogno della Carbonara.

Il crollo napoleonico - Le società segrete italiane
risposte all'offensiva contro l'Austria e i governi non
fatti, dal veder cadere la speranza alimentare e le
promesse loro fatte dallo straniero.

Il movimento romantico alimentare di
vita patriottica - I moti carbonari. Del 1820-21 e
processi di Lombardia - Le rivoluzioni. Del 1831 e gli insurrezioni
canti che poterono trarsi. Dal fallimento dei moti carbonari.

Il programma della "Giovane Italia" - Giuseppe
Maffei educatore di tutta una generazione di patrioti.
3015

General outline of Italian history from Roman times to the
First Revolution —

At the beginning of the ~~5th~~ 5th Century A.D. ^{the Latin poet} ~~the Roman writer~~ Rutilius Namatianus, wrote: "Rome has ^{united} ~~made~~ many cities into one." He intended to convey with this phrase that Rome had unified the whole of the ~~entire~~ world and had brought ^{it} civilization, ~~where it did not exist.~~

Besides, this sentence gives us an idea of what the Roman tradition had really been, ~~and of what it had really been in later centuries.~~ ~~This~~ tradition did not only include the political organization of the Roman ~~Ex~~ Empire, but also the legacy of culture, of laws, and of social relationship, which has lasted up to our days.

Before the barbaric invasions ~~started~~, the Roman Empire was still intact. However it began to disintegrate with the influx of many people of different culture and from different countries - mostly of German origin - who gradually took the political and military control.

These people had such low cultural standards, ^{that} they were able to overtake the Empire only from a purely military standpoint, while, on the other hand, they were overtaken by Roman culture and law.

~~Instead of~~ ^{Rome} ~~Roman~~ becoming barbaric, the barbarians became civilized and incorporated within the ^{Roman Civilization} ~~state~~ as such, and the Roman element still held the leadership in ^{the realms of} ~~administration, education,~~ and jurisprudence. ^{The} ~~first~~ invasions took place in 409, 450 A.D. In 476 the Roman Empire of the West, which included Italy, ^{fell.} ~~Consequently~~ Italy ~~became a separate state,~~ under the nominal jurisdiction of the Eastern Roman Empire, but ~~was~~ actually independent.

The fusion of roman and barbaric cultures had been accomplished about the middle of the sixth century A.D., when a new invasion took place. The Longobards - a barbaric race of German stock - invaded the peninsula in 568 and ^{overthrew} ~~the existing~~ political bodies. This was really a military conquest made by men who did not feel the superiority of ^{existing Roman} ~~culture and tradition~~ and were determined to create a state of their own founded on the basis of their own ^{tradition.} ~~civilization.~~ The Longobard State existed until the eighth century A.D. and was the predominant political organization in Italy ^{at} ~~until~~ that time.

The decline of the Roman Empire occurred simultaneously with the development and growth of Christianity as a social and political movement ^{as well as religious} ~~besides a religious one.~~ The Christian ^{principle} ~~principle~~ joined the Roman tradition ~~and~~ ^{and} became part of it. Moreover it

governed its current. During the V, the VI and the VII centuries the Bishop of Rome grew stronger and assumed control over the other bishops. This was the foundation of the Roman Catholic Church; ~~it was~~ during ~~this~~ period Leo the Great and Gregorius the Great were two of its prominent figures.

The Catholic Church, introducing the concept of ~~the~~ equality of all men before God, ~~introduced a new principle~~ ^{brought a new element} ~~engraved a new principle~~ into the social life of the later centuries. This ~~new~~ principle was ~~expressed~~ ^{realized} ~~put into execution~~ through the various ~~order~~ ^{ic} Monastic Orders, and especially through the Benedictine one, founded by Saint Benedict at the end of the fifth century, ~~which~~ had as its motto ~~the~~ : "Work and Pray 2".

The members of this order were not simply ordinary monks, having purely religious tasks, but were the principle figures in carrying out social welfare and ~~maintaining~~ ^{the} cultural life ~~as far as possible~~.

(The new life in Italy) ^{the} emerging after a long period of darkness and decadence, ~~as the Middle Ages~~ ^{was a combination of} ~~will be~~ based on the catholic principle and the roman tradition, ~~combined into one new culture~~.

The power exercised by the Pope was not only religious, but also political after the creation of a Papal State, which included the city of Rome and surrounding provinces. The Papal State emerged as a necessity because, according to medieval juridical concepts, no power - including a moral and religious one, could exist without a territorial expression.

On the other hand, the existence of an independent state, ^{comparing} ~~including~~ the greater part of Central Italy, kept ~~Italy~~ the country divided and

before God, ~~established~~ ^{realized} a new principle into the social life of the later centuries. This ~~new~~ principle was ~~established~~ ^{realized} put into execution through the various ~~ancient~~ ^{order} Monastic Orders, and especially through the Benedictine one, founded by Saint Benedict at the end of the fifth century, which had as its motto ~~the~~ : "Work and Pray".

The members of this order were not simply ordinary monks, having purely religious tasks, but were the principle figures in carrying out social welfare and ~~maintaining~~ ^{maintaining} the cultural life ~~as~~ ^{as far as possible}.

(The new life in Italy, emerging after ~~a~~ ^{the} long period of darkness and decadence, ~~such as~~ ^{was} the Middle Ages ~~was~~ ^{a combination of}, will be based on the catholic ~~patristic~~ ^{religion} and the roman tradition, combined into one new culture.

The power exercised by the Pope was not only religious, but also political after the creation of a Papal State, which included the city of Rome ~~the~~ and surrounding provinces. The Papal State emerged as a necessity because, according to medieval juridical concepts, no power - including a moral and religious one, could exist without a territorial expression.

On the other hand, the existence of an independent state, ~~including~~ ^{comprising} the greater part of Central Italy, kept ~~established~~ the country divided and retarded its unification.

The ~~existence~~ ^{the} of the Roman tradition ~~of~~ ^{and} the Catholic principle worked on the ~~imagination~~ ^{the mind} of the barbarians so that they felt the necessity of forming a new political organization based on these two principles.

This new political body was ~~established~~ ^{was ordered} the Holy Roman Empire founded by Charlemagne and which obtained ~~its~~ ^{his} coronation at Rome by the Pope.

The Empire of Charlemagne included also the North of Italy down to the Papal State. It was based on ^{of} feudal system of government and was divided ^{into} among many small states, the sovereigns of which were responsible to the Emperor. ^{This} ~~These~~ ^(was based on) ~~these~~ ^{the} ~~constitution~~ ^{the} ~~reson~~ ^{tradition} ~~the christian principle~~ and the barbarian individualism.

Southern Italy was, on the contrary, under the direct influence of the Saracens, ^{who} ~~who~~ following their offensive thrust, ^{where} ~~which~~ had started after Mahomed, had reached Sicily and Spain.

The Italian civilization thus developed ⁱⁿ ~~according~~ to two completely opposite directions. In the north it was influenced by the Empire of Charlemagne and was chiefly of ^{French} ~~French~~-German nature. In the south it was instead of saracene origin.

The great influence of the German element in the Charlemagne Empire ~~caused the breaking up~~ ^{its} ~~The~~ feudal system contained the germ of ~~the~~ ^{its} ~~disintegration~~ ^{its} ~~in the breaking decentralization of power~~. After the death of Charlemagne his successors did not possess his courage and wisdom. Each feudal lord became a practically autonomous sovereign, even though dependent in theory from the Emperor.

^{states} ~~Many~~ ^{prose} ~~small kingdoms~~ ^{these} ~~in Northern Italy~~ ^{often fighting among} ~~themselves~~ and unable to view the problems of the peninsula under a national outlook.

This period of Italian history (IX-XI centuries) ^{was a} ~~was~~ very dark. Our Culture ~~fell~~ ^{led} to a very low level and life ^{was} ~~was~~ mostly in the country and in the castles. Only in the ~~few~~ ^{few cities existing at the time} ~~people~~ ^{people} keep the flame of culture.

Charlemagne and was chiefly of French-German nature. In the south it was instead of saracenic origin.

The great influence of the German element in the Charlemagne Empire caused the breaking up. The feudal system contained the germ of its disintegration in the breaking decentralization of power. After the death of Charlemagne his successors did not possess his courage and wisdom. Each feudal lord became a practically autonomous sovereign, even though dependent in theory from the Emperor.

Many small kingdoms thus arose in Northern Italy, often fighting among themselves and unable to view the problems of the peninsula under a national outlook.

This period of Italian history (IX-XI centuries) was very dark. Culture fell to a very low level and life led mostly in the country and in the castles. Only in the cities do people keep the flame of culture.

After the year 1000 a new activity slowly gradually arose in the cities which brought with it an economic and political rebirth. This was the origin of the Italian Commune, that is, of the form of government depending on local autonomy, administered by a democratic system.

Thus the whole of Northern Italy became at this time the centre of independent local governments, which waged war against the feudal lords, and later against the Emperor, who did not care to recognise such new political formations which undermined his authority. But he was obliged to recognise the Communes after the battle of Legnano (1186), in which the army of Frederick Barbarossa was defeated by the troops of the confeder-

derated cities of the North.

In Southern Italy there was no formation of Communes, but an unitarian monarchy created by Norman princes, who reached Italy almost at the same time as other Normans reached the British Isles. Thus the kingdom of Southern Italy was formed. It lasted ^{unbroken} until 1860. ~~without interruptions.~~

At the end of the XIII century Italy was divided into the following political formations: The Northern States, which ~~have~~ became practically independent from ~~the~~ Empire; a Papal State in the centre; a monarchy in the South; ^{and} besides the maritime republics. Among these the republics of Venice and Genoa were the most ~~in~~ economically and politically important. They formed intimate relations with the countries of the East and especially of the Mediterranean.

Florence and Milan also became rich and prosperous states. ~~The~~ ^{the} democratic system of government. If on one hand increased and favoured internal wars, on the other ~~had~~ ^{it} facilitated economic and artistic activities. A general fervor for study moved the people at this time. They searched for ancient, roman and greek ~~texts~~; they tried to ~~have~~ beautify their cities in order to depart from the obscurity of feudal times and turn to art and culture for new forms of life. This was ~~mark~~ the epoch of ~~the~~ Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio and Giotto. ~~Historical~~ Historical and geographical studies were ~~intensified~~ intensified; in the field of law the roman juridical tradition was again followed. All this went together with the desire ~~to perfect their character~~ of the people to perfect their character through religion. For this reason Saint Francis of Assisi - the founder of the Franciscan order - became the ~~example~~ ^{example} of this ~~12010~~ ³⁰¹⁰ the

and Germany were the most important. These were the republics of Venice and Genoa. They were the most important and politically important. They formed the whole of Italy with the exception of the West and especially of the Mediterranean.

Rome and Milan also became rich and prosperous states. The democratic system of government, if on one hand increased and favoured internal peace, on the other hand it facilitated economic and artistic activities. A general fever for study moved the people at this time. They searched for scientific, Roman and Greek literature. They tried to beautify their cities in order to depart from the obscurity of feudal times and turn to art and culture for new forms of life. This was exactly the epoch of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and Giotto. Historical and geographical studies were intensified in the field of law the Roman juridical tradition was again followed. All this went together with the desire for perfection of the people to perfect their character through religion. For this reason Saint Francis of Assisi - the founder of the Franciscan order - became the example of this life to come.

In the XVth and XVIth centuries such fervour for art, scientific research, and creation crystallized into the Renaissance, historical studies known as the Humanism. All branches of human activity were developed in this epoch. Famous names were made famous by the Renaissance. Botticelli, Titian, Raphael, sculpture by Michelangelo and Bramante Cellini, architecture by Bramante and Michelangelo, scientific studies by Leonardo da Vinci, poetry by Ariosto and Tasso, political studies by Machiavelli, geographical discoveries by Columbus and Caboto.

Political systems changed from republics to hereditary monarchies (Signorie). Each Comune soon handed over all its public power to one of its most important families, such as the Medici in Florence, the Visconti in Milan, and Della Scala in Verona. Only Venice continued to have a republican administration.

Unfortunately, none of these states had sufficient strength ^{conquer} to ~~conquer~~ the others and give unity to the peninsula. On the contrary, they ~~even~~ ^{even} fought each other and turned to foreigners for help. This is no doubt the reason why foreign states began to interfere in the internal matters of Italy and gradually increased their influence. Since the year the King of France, Charles VIII, descended into Italy (1494) and during ^{the} following centuries the peninsula became a battlefield for foreign armies. Large regions of its territory were annexed by ^{European} ~~foreign~~ powers. Thus, for example, Spain at the end of the XVth. century ruled over Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, the duchy of Milan and other towns in Tuscany.

The XVI - XVII and XVIII centuries represented a very dark political period. It seemed almost as if Italy, exhausted by the stronger efforts during the Renaissance was not able to go ahead. The Pope's influence added to the political decadence. The Catholic Church, which intended preventing the Reform and the Protestant Churches taking root, relied for its power on a strict dogmatic system of religious persecution which was bound to have its effects on the vitality of the spirit. There was also a general economic crisis due to the discovery of America and the consequent fall of trade in the Mediterranean Sea.

However a few single personalities succeeded in emerging: such as

Italy and gradually increased their influence. Since the year the King of France, Charles VIII, descended into Italy (1494) and during the following centuries the peninsula became a battlefield for foreign armies. Large regions of its territory were annexed by ^{European} foreign powers. Thus, for example, Spain at the end of the XVth. century ruled over Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, the duchy of Milan and other towns in Tuscany.

The XVI - XVII and XVIII centuries represented a very dark political period. It seemed almost as if Italy, exhausted by the stronger efforts during the Renaissance was not able to go ahead. The Pope's influence added to the political decadence. The Catholic Church, which intended preventing the Reform and the Protestant Churches taking root, relied for its power on a strict dogmatic system of religious persecution which was bound to have its effects on the vitality of the spirit. There was also a general economic crisis due to the discovery of America and the consequent fall of trade in the Mediterranean Sea.

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However a few single personalities succeeded in emerging: such as Galileo Galilei in the scientific, Tommaso Campanella in the philosophical and Emanuele Filiberto in the Military field.

Emanuele Filiberto leader of the ^{Imperial} Spanish Troops in the battle of S. Quintino (1558) in which the French were beaten, founded the power of the Savoy family. During the general crisis of the XVIIth. and XVIIIth. centuries and the political decadence ^{of this epoch}, only this family, reigning over a part of ^{Piedmont} ~~the Kingdom of~~ Sardinia kept in mind the destinies of Italy and the necessity of unification.

Italian life during these centuries became an appendix of European politics. Many battles were fought in her territory, especially during the great wars which so upset Europe, such as those of the Spanish (1701-1714), the Polish (1733-1735) and the Austrian (1740-1745) Succession.

Only towards the middle of the XVIIIth century, ^{did} a new fervor of life arise in Italy. Something new was in the air. In the philosophical movement which preceded the French revolution, Italy brought its contribution in the works of Muratori and Vico. And when the great crisis broke out in 1789, Italy was ready to assume all her historical responsibilities.

785016

REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 894
ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION

18 May 1944

LUNCH 12:30 LECTURE 1:00 PM

17 May

- 1 Short survey of Italian History up to French Revolution.
Lecturer, Prof. Pontieri of Naples University.

OTHER LECTURES ARRANGED ARE:

- 2 Beginnings of the Risorgimento.
Napoleonic Period to 1848
Lecturer, Prof. Signore Valente of Naples University.
- 3 The Risorgimento, 1848-70.
Lecturer, Prof S.E. Onodero.
- 4 The Kingdom of Italy, 1870-1915.
Lecturer, Prof Cortese of Naples University.
- 5 War and Fascism, 1915 onwards.
Lecturer, Prof. Floriano del Socolo
editor of Risorgimento.
- 6 The Church and Italian History.
Lecturer, Prof. S.E. Onodero.
- 7 Italian Political Thought from Machiavelli-1790.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora,
editor of Croce's Review Critica.
- 8 Italian Political Thought from the French Revolution.
to to-day.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora.

Notes.

A summary of each lecture will be distributed a day or two before the meeting. An Interpreter will be at each conference. A bibliography will be compiled for each lecture covering the reference books of the period. It is hoped that a small lending library can be opened.

3051

STUDY GROUP

~~Lunch, Lecture, Discussion in Conference Room every Tuesday, 1230.~~

The Course of Studies as arranged is as follows:-

Tues. 23 May. Short survey of Italian History up to French Revolution.
Lecturer, Prof. Pontieri of Naples University.

30 May. Beginnings of the Risorgimento.
Napoleonic Period to 1848
Lecturer, Prof. Signora Valente of Naples University.

6 Jun. The Risorgimento, 1848-70.
Lecturer, Prof. S.E. Omodeo.

13 Jun. The Kingdom of Italy, 1870-1918.
Lecturer, Prof. Cortese of Naples University.

20 Jun. War and Fascism, 1918 onwards.
Lecturer, Prof. Floriano del Secolo, editor of Risorgimento.

The Church and Italian History.
Lecturer, Prof. S.E. Omodeo.

Italian Political Thought from Machiavelli-1790.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora, editor of Croce's Review Critica.

Italian Political thought from the French Revolution to to-day.
Lecturer, Dr. F. Flora.

Notes. A Summary of each lecture will be distributed a day or two before the meeting. An Interpreter will be at each conference. A bibliography will be compiled for each lecture covering the reference books of the period. It is hoped that a small lending library can be opened.

~~The fee for the course of studies will be 1000 Lire.~~

785016

STUDY GROUP

22 May 44

Lunch, Lecture, Discussion in Conference Room every Tuesday, 1230.

Lunch 12-30 Lecture 1-00

~~The Course of Studies as arranged is as follows:-~~

✓ ~~Tues. 23 May.~~ Short survey of Italian History up to French Revolution.

Lecturer, Prof. Pontieri of Naples University.

Other lecture arranged are

~~30 May.~~ Beginnings of the Risorgimento.

napoleonic Period to 1846

Lecturer, Prof. Signora Valente of Naples University.

~~6 Jun.~~ The Risorgimento, 1846-70.

Lecturer, Prof. S.E. Omodeo.

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Italy from the French Revolution to the
First War of Independence.

There is some question in recent years as to the importance of the French Revolution in so far as it effect the Risorgimento. It certainly had a great propaganda effect on the liberal and democratic ideas, and accelerated the historic Revolution of the Risorgimento.

Italian patriots unfulfilled hopes in the contribution to the Revolution. The year 1799 in Naples.

The Napoleon Empire and Italy. Increase of contacts. Unification of laws and brotherhood of arms. Against French absolutism. National liberal groups and pro-austrian societies are formed. The rise of the Carboneria.

The fall of Napoleon. Italian secret societies again forced ^{into} towards opposition against Austria and the re-established Governments, by the fall of thier hopes and of the promises made by foreign Governments.

The Romantic movement is at the basis of the patriotic sentiment. The Revolutions of the Carbonari in 1820 and 1821. The trials of Lombardy. The Revolutions of 1831 and teachings that could be drawn from the failure of the Carbonari Movements.

The program of "Young Italy" - Giuseppe Mazzini teaches of a whole generation of patriots.

The failure of the ~~Sarha~~ Mazzini's movements determines the rise of moderate programs: Under the leadership of Vincenzo Gioberti. "Italian Hopes" of Balbo.

Liberal hopes on the succession of Pio IX.

Italy during the first Great War and under the Fascist Regime
(1915-1940)

(Lieut. Gerardo)

The ~~great~~ ^{increasing population} demographic development of Germany, its needs for commercial and industrial outlets, and the traditional racial pride caused the breaking out of the first World ~~war~~ ^{conflict}. This war found its immediate ~~and~~ ^{causal} cause in the precarious political and ethnic situation of the Balkans after the Peace of Bucharest, in 1913; however, its real and fundamental causes were in the economic antagonism between the great ~~demographic~~ powers of Europe.

After the assassination of ~~the~~ Archduke Ferdinand (28 June, 1914) which took place in Sarajevo by Serbian citizens, the chain of European alliances and the conflict of national interests brought Russia, [Germany], France and Great Britain to war, ^{against} ~~together with, naturally,~~ Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Italy, at the outbreak of the war, decided to keep ^{out} of the conflict, as ~~it~~ ^{she} did not consider herself bound by the Alliance of the Central Powers which was essentially a defensive ~~alliance~~ ^{one}. Moreover she did not feel obliged to enter the war which had been declared without her being consulted, as it was stipulated by the terms of the alliance itself. The country began to be torn by two opposing sides, ~~the one~~ ^{one} represented by those elements who wanted intervention (D'Annunzio, Mussolini, Battiati) in order to ^(Treutius and Venezia Julia) redeem from Austria that Italian territory still under her domination; ~~compelled by Trentino and Venezia Julia~~; and the ^{other} side, headed by Giolitti ~~who was Prime Minister at the time~~, wanted to maintain a strict neutrality.

The interventionists, as well known, won ~~and~~ and Italy entered the conflict on the side of the Allies who had been very persistently ^{ed} exerting pressure on the nation. Before the declaration of war ~~and~~

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against Austria-Hungary (24 May, 1915) a memorandum was signed in London between the British, the French and the Italian Governments, according to which Italy would ~~have~~ receive the above-mentioned territory plus Dalmatia and ample colonial compensations.

Italy ~~was~~ ^{ed} entering the war when ~~the war~~ ^{it} was going badly for the Allies. The Germans, in fact, were occupying Belgium and several French provinces, while on the Eastern Front they had resumed their advance against Russia (~~Battle of Verdun~~). For Italy the war showed itself to be a hard and bloody one due to the well-organized Austrian defense and difficulties presented ^{by} the Alpine terrain.

In 1916 two great offensives were launched by the Central Powers on the Western front and both were broken. The German attack against France lasted six months and ended at Verdun, while the Austrian offensive ~~was~~ in Trentino was victoriously stopped by the Italian troops which in the ^{month} of August of that year ~~they~~ entered Gorizia.

The year 1917 was the most critical ^{One} ~~year~~ for the Allies. This was due to the new weapons employed (airplanes, gas, submarines etc.) and to the withdrawal of Russia from the war.

The Russian Revolution freed the Austrians and the Germans from the weight of the Eastern Front and gave them the possibility of bringing greater reinforcements to the French and Italian fronts.

The consequences were ~~not~~ felt by Italy who, although having achieved ~~great~~ victories in August 1917 on the Isonzo River and in the Bainsizza Mountains suffered a violent attack ^{by} the Austrian and German forces which culminated in the great ^{retreat} ~~defeat~~ at Caporetto. The whole Italian right flank was forced to withdraw to the Piave river and to Mount Grappa. On the new line the Italians resisted stubbornly and succeeded in stopping the ~~same~~ enemy.

Meanwhile, the entrance into the war ^{of} the United States and Greece

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compensated for the withdrawal of Russia, ~~and re-established equilibrium between the two sides.~~

In 1918 two new offensives were undertaken by the Central Powers. In France the Germans, ~~in what was called the Kaiser's battle,~~ reached the Marne, while in Italy the Austrians launched an attack on the Piave. Both these offensives failed and brought about the beginning of the end. Between September and October of 1918 Bulgaria and Turkey asked for peace, while the Italians started the last great battle ~~xxx xxxxxx~~ on 24th October. At the same time the Allies were pressing on Germany in the West. The Central Powers, having been defeated on the battle-front and being threatened with internal revolution, asked for an armistice.

When the hostilities ended the ^{task} ~~necessity presented itself~~ of reorganizing Europe, ^{began} ~~and of solving many problems.~~ Italy based ~~its~~ her territorial claims on the Treaty of London signed before she declared war, and on the results of the San Giovanni ^{di} Moriana meeting (¹⁹⁻²¹ ~~19-21~~ of April 1917) in which agreements had been reached for the partition of the Asiatic territory of Turkey. In such a partition Italy had been promised the ~~xxx~~ whole of Smyrna.

In the Paris Conference, which started immediately after the end of the conflict, Italy was represented by President of the Council, Orlando, and the foreign Minister, Sonnino. Their activities were paralyzed by the attitude of the Serbians, the Croats and of the Slovenes, who after the fall of the ^Habsburgs, had formed a Yugoslav Union which claimed Dalmatia, ~~in~~ the Istrian peninsula and the region of the Isonzo river. Their delegation could count on many sympathies and much support ³⁰⁰¹ ~~in~~ Paris.

At the time of the Armistice Italy had occupied the territories which had been assigned to her by the London Treaty. But it had permitted ~~that~~ an inter-Allied Commission ^{to} ~~should~~ occupy Fiume, although the city's inhabitants had voted, on 30th October, 1918 in favor of annexation.

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to Italy. This occupation was the cause of many incidents.

The critical moment of the Conference took place in April 1919, when Wilson sent a message to the Italian nation, in which he (criticized) severely the behavior of the Italian delegates. This act, unprecedented in diplomatic history of all nations, provoked the departure of the Italian mission from the Conference, just at the time when ^{terms} ~~in which~~ the ~~conditions~~ to be imposed on Germany were under discussion.

As a result of the Treaty of St. Germain, Italy obtained the Trentino up to the ^e Brenner Pass, the Isonzo valley, with Gorizia and Gradisca, and Trieste and Istria. Thus the geographical and ethnic borders of Italy were ^{defined} ~~reached~~, while the question of Rome still hung unsettled.

Gabriele D'Annunzio took the final steps in occupying ^{it} ~~the city~~. After many incidents ~~had taken place~~ between the inhabitants and the Allied troops and ^{when} ~~at the time that~~ the city seemed ^{certain} ~~surely~~ to be declared an international city. The Carnaro Regency was created ^{it} ~~which~~ and from ~~which arose~~ ^{became} ~~the situation that made~~ annexation to Italy ~~in~~ a logical step.

As regards the internal problems, the period immediately following the war was for Italy one of serious crisis and of moral and political disturbance. The symptoms of this state of affairs had already manifested themselves during the Peace Conference, when the Orlando Cabinet ~~found~~ ^{was} ~~at face~~ with the problem of consolidating the victory which had cost Italy 600,000 dead and 1,500,000 wounded. This turmoil brought many internal ^{crises} in which the ~~leftist~~ ^{leftist} parties got the upper hand. In the years 1919-1921 the threat to the disorganization of the State ~~was becoming~~ ³⁰ ~~was becoming~~ ^{longer} increasingly serious; the government and parliament were ~~not~~ ^{no longer} able ~~any more~~ to cope with this threat.

The policy of the Nitti and Giolitti governments revealed itself in the Rapallo Treaty (November, 1920) in which Italy renounced ~~to~~ that part of Dalmatia, which had been assigned to her by the London Treaty, keeping only

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Zara and the islands of Lagosta and Pelagosa. Riume was declared ~~as~~ a free State with its border reaching Mount Nevoso.

Meanwhile the fascist movement was rising as a reaction against forces of the left. ^{Starting} ~~Springing~~ as an ^{indefinite} ~~simple~~ heterogeneous political trend, it crystallized into a political party with definite reactionary, nationalist and antidemocratic features. It had no definite program and accepted in its ranks the most varied elements which gathered around Mussolini. As late as November 10, 1921 it became a political party. Its activities consisted mainly in the formation of gangs (so called " squadre d' azione ") whose task was to fight with violence the local leftist parties. Many veterans of the war joined its rank and file. During 1922 the movement grew in number and in power, particularly as a result of the weakness and corruption of the State. Many counterrevolutionary actions were undertaken by it in the month of August of that year, ~~the~~ such as the occupation by force of Milan's town hall and the events of Trento and Bolzano. This ~~tr~~moil reached its peak with the " March on Rome " (28 October 1922) in which the " squadre d'azione " entered the Capital and occupied it. Mussolini was called by the King to form a new Cabinet.

From then until its downfall, (25 June 1943) Fascism directed the domestic and foreign policy of Italy. The first cabinet, presided ^{over} by Mussolini included elements from other parties. These however were gradually eliminated as the government assumed its totalitarian character. Thus the fascist bodies began to be formed and assume functions that belonged to constitutional bodies. The ~~xxxxx~~ ^{and} Grand Fascist Council and the Militia were formed. In 1925, after a period of very serious crisis which followed the murder of the socialist deputy Matteotti by ~~fascist elements~~ and the formation of a parliamentary opposition called Aventino, all the other parties were dissolved and a special Tribunal was created to punish antifascist crimes.

The domestic policy was expressed in the famous statement of Mussolini:

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^{All} ~~Everything~~ for the State, ^{none} ~~nothing~~ outside ^{the State, none} ~~the State~~ or against the State " which meant limitation of all ~~human~~ liberties, control of every civil activity from the educational to the economic, and from the religious to the political ~~sphere~~." ^{sphere}.

In the social field attempts were made to regulate the relations between capital and labour with compulsory arbitration. Strikes were prohibited and Fascist Syndicates controlled by the State were formed, while the old Syndical organizations were dissolved. In the economic field, attempts were made to give new impetus to the national life through the creation of the Corporations, that is of Statal Organs^{isations}, whose task was to control and direct a definite activity.

With the dissolution of the parties and the abolition of the constitutional elections of representatives, Italy was transformed into a single national electorate. The Deputies were chosen by the Grand Council in a single list which was to be simply approved or rejected. Later on - in 1938 - the Chamber of Deputies was substituted by the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations, whose ^{members} were appointed by the Duce without the approval of the electors.

In the religious field Italy was benefited by the end of the ^{disunion} ~~disunion~~ with the Pope, a conflict which went as far back as 1870. On February 11, 1929 the Concordat^{us} between the Italian Government and the Vatican was signed. ~~By virtue of this fact~~ The Pope ~~was to~~ ^{of his} ~~abandon~~ ^{claims} ~~his~~ ^{of his} ~~vindication~~, ^{and} ~~recognizing~~ ^{ed} the Italian kingdom, while the later in turn, recognized the creation of the State of Vatican City. Religious teachings were resumed in schools and the ^{legal} ~~validity~~ ^{Church} ~~of the religious~~ ^{marriage} ~~matrimony~~ was recognized. ²⁹⁹⁸

This Conciliation, which put an end to a question which had lasted more than half a century, was a considerable political success of the fascist Government.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ The Fascist Foreign Policy was one of national expansion.

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The problem of Trieste was solved in 1924 through the Rome Treaty with the annexation of the city to the Italian State. Treaties were signed with Rumania (1926) Hungary and Bulgaria (1927) Greece and Turkey (1928). In ~~respect to~~ greater continental relations, Italy signed the Locarno Treaty adhering to the policy of collaboration ^{and balance} which had been formed by Briand and Stresemann. Together with Great Britain, Italy was one of the great powers which guaranteed the demilitarization of Rhineland. In 1933 Mussolini took the initiative in originating the "Four Power Pact" between Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany, which could have brought a period of peace in Europe if Fascism had not intensified its imperialistic and totalitarian policy. To this intensification the coming into power of Hitler was no doubt a great contribution. This imperialism revealed itself in the Ethiopian campaign, which was undertaken ~~with~~ ^{under} the pretext of ending border disputes.

The war brought the rapid conquest of the Ethiopian Empire. The members of the League of Nations, led by Great Britain, decreed economic sanctions against Italy and in favour of Ethiopia, a nation which, although very backward, had been invited to belong to the League. This was a moment of great crisis, and a European conflict was avoided only by a miracle. The quick end of the campaign brought about the termination of the dissension with the League of Nations.

However the conquest of Ethiopia did not seem to have satisfied the desire for expansion of Fascism, which, following further ~~still~~ ^{the} expansionist ^ulaw, characteristic of the totalitarian States, led Italy to participate in the war against ~~the~~ ^{loyalist} ~~the~~ ²⁹⁹⁷ The pretext this time was that European civilization and Christianity had to be protected against Bolshevism. In 1939 the occupation of Albania followed.

After a period of "non belligerency" the alliance with Germany (the

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~~so~~ ^{demanded} called "Steel Pact") ~~brought as a natural consequence to~~ Italy's participation ^{by} ~~in~~ the present conflict. The ^events of this war ^eare well known.

On the 10th June, 1940, the fascist government declared war on France and Great Britain. ^{has} (this war) . Although ~~bringing to~~ ^{has} brought Italy face to face with economic, political and moral disaster, ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~has~~ ^{has} also freed the Country of Fascism, which for ^{so many years} almost a quarter of a century had ~~negated~~ ^{and} ~~not only~~ the ideas, ~~but also~~ the events which had made of Italy a unified and democratic Nation.

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Only from 1870 to 1915
(Lecture by Professor Cortese of the (Naples) University)

~~Translated by Lieut. Gerardo~~

9 June 1944

The period we are ~~examining~~^{examining}, commences in 1870 when Rome was occupied by Italian troops and ~~reaches~~^{ends in} 1915 when Italy entered the first Great War. Italy's ~~position~~^{attitude} during this period has been much criticised by some historians. It was said that ~~this country~~^{this country}, having begun so well at the time of the "Risorgimento", did not succeed in achieving all

~~the hopes of~~^{the hopes of} the patriots, who had fought for her independence. ~~This was mainly due to the change which took place~~ In 1876 ~~in~~ the Italian Parliament, when the Government passed over from the Parties of the Right to those of the Left, ~~but~~^{not all the fault lay with the Government.}

But ~~this opinion is not exact~~, ~~as it~~^{as it} has been clearly pointed out by Benedetto Croce in his famous book on Italian History from 1870 to 1915. ~~Of course there is some truth in this statement.~~^{it.} Italy did not achieve very spectacular successes, especially in the years from 1870 to 1900. ~~During~~^{During} the first Ethiopian campaign ended with the Adowa defeat, of 1896, while inside the country many disorders took place, which ended in 1900 with the assassination of King Humbert I.

But, notwithstanding all this, ~~many things were done in Italy and~~^{many} results were achieved in many fields. The political change from Right to Left ~~in~~ⁱⁿ did not bring with it ~~radical~~^{radical} changes. The men of the Right were generally patriots, of great culture and of a high moral standard, who had dedicated the whole of their life to Italy's independence. But this was also true for the men of the Left, who, although less culturally prepared, had also devoted their life activities to their country.

The Right Party was a conservative one, while the left ~~2995~~²⁹⁹⁵ formed by the so-called "Action Party". The only real difference between the two parties was not their program, but the political method they followed.

~~The~~^{conservative} ~~maintained~~^{aimed at} regulating all Italian and European affairs according to circumstances. The ~~Action Party~~^{Action Party}, on the contrary, ~~intended~~^{intended}

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speeding up even ^{in order to} solve ~~the~~ the many Italian problems ^{as quickly as} ~~possible~~. But, apart from the ~~method~~ differences, the basic program was the same and when the Left Party ^{came to} ~~gained~~ power, it followed very much the same policy ^{as the Right}, ~~also because~~ many ^{had been} ~~had been~~ ^{changed from one to} this movement passed to the other, ~~one~~. This parliamentary change did not therefore bring ~~any~~ substantial changes in the general policy of the Government.

The Italian situation in 1870, when our unity was completed, was not at all a brilliant ~~one~~. The country's budget presented a very serious deficit, which was the consequence of the many wars fought ^{during} the last years.

Italy's foreign policy was very ^{similar to that} ~~much like~~ followed during the wars of 1859 -60-66 -70. It was inspired by ideological principles and its basis was still the one which had brought Piedmont to fight for the country's unity. Italy had ~~many~~ many difficulties to ^{overcome} ~~surmount~~: in fact France considered Italy ungrateful, ^{having given her no help} ~~because it did not respect~~ in 1870 in the war against Prussia. On the other hand the Pope, not having renounced ~~to~~ the independence of the Roman state, still hoped ^{to be restored} ~~to be restored~~ in his previous, temporal power.

Italy was divided by regionalistic antagonism, for many provinces having had in the past complete independence, claimed their right to administrative autonomy. If this had been granted, the unity of the country would soon have been lost. Many difficulties had to be surmounted in the organization of the Army, ~~of~~ the Navy and in the fight against brigands in the South of the peninsula.

All these elements effected ^{Italy's} ~~Italian~~ policy in internal and foreign affairs. But there was more to it. Until 1870 the wars ~~had been~~ fought in Europe, had a national basis and had generally been connected with the revolutionary independence movement of European countries.

After 1870 the basis of European conflicts was to be found in

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the desire of the great powers ^{to} ~~of~~ achieving continental ^{supremacy}. The Italian politicians ~~therefore~~, who had ^{been schooled} ~~formed themselves~~ in the struggle for independence, were not ^{adequately} prepared to deal with this new ~~trend in~~ ~~the~~ European politics. Italy ~~was~~ consequently took a very small part in the solution of the Eastern question which was ~~dealt~~ with in the Congress of Berlin of 1878.

Italy's position was very clear. On one side there was the union of Germany and Austria; on the other side France, which Bismark had succeeded in isolating. As a consequence ^{of the} ~~the~~ independence ^{was}, Italy, especially after the parliamentary change of 1878, felt a certain ^{friendly inclination} ~~antipathy~~ towards France, but a Franco-Italian agreement was made impossible by the French occupation of Tunis, which had been mainly colonized by the Italians and was generally considered a potential Italian colony.

Italy's friendship for England also prevented an agreement with ^{the French Republic} ~~France~~, because at that time Great Britain and France were extremely divided on colonial affairs. This antagonism, which soon brought ~~to~~ to the Fashoda incident, made Italy prefer a close union with the United Kingdom.

It so happened that when in 1882 Italy agreed to the Austro-German alliance, which was ^{later} ~~after~~ known as the ^{Triple Power} ~~Three Power~~ Alliance, it wanted ^{to be included} ~~included~~ a clause, according to which the alliance had a continental extension and excluded the Mediterranean ~~Sea~~. Later Italy ^{supplemented} ~~completed~~ the

^{"Triple Alliance"} ~~Three-power~~ agreement with a Mediterranean treaty which included also Great Britain, Austria and Spain. It therefore occupied a mediating position between the ^{Central Powers} ~~Central~~ ~~group~~ and the Mediterranean Powers.

Italy was faithful to this policy ~~also~~ when the conflict ~~between~~ ^{between} England and France ~~got to an end~~ and also when Germany started disapproving ~~rather~~ ~~evidently~~ of her foreign policy of general friendship towards Mediterranean countries.

It so happened that, After the beginning of the new century, when Italy

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signed ^{other} ~~a~~ ^{agreements} with France and Great Britain, the ^{Trope Alliance} ~~three power's~~ ~~agreement with the central Empires~~, became ^{practically} ~~practically~~ ineffective and a simply, ^a ~~theoretical~~ ^{agreement} ~~alliance~~. It ~~so~~ happened that Italy, although at the first moment compelled ^{to} follow a policy of ^{friendship} ~~approachment~~ ^{with} Germany and Austria, which ~~was~~ against all ^{its} traditions of the Risorgimento, succeeded later in gradually modifying this alliance and in basing its procedure on a liberal principle.

It was therefore easy for ^{her} ~~to~~ ^{discharge from} ~~her~~ ^{to} separate the responsibilities from Austria and Germany when ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~first~~ ^{war} broke out.

Also in internal affairs the policy of all cabinets, with exception ^{of} ~~with~~ the Crispien ~~era~~, followed a liberal ^{line} ~~direction~~. The left party which ^{assumed} ~~took~~ power in 1876, was an extreme ^{of} ~~democratic~~ one; one that naturally wanted to abandon the political direction of the Right, a direction which tended to reduce greatly the class that had been ~~called~~ ^{to} govern Italy. The left, on the other hand, wanted ^{and} ~~to~~ call a greater number of the citizens to participate in the government; it wanted to extend suffrage; expand the election law; it wanted to come to the aid of the working class ~~xxxxxxx~~ which, together with the farmers, were in very bad conditions.

Now the liberal ^{guidance} ~~leaning~~ was maintained despite the alliance with reactionary ~~powers, such as Germany and Austria.~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~Many~~ were the problems which had to be solved. Italy lacked a railway network of any importance. It lacked communication lines and roads and was in a very poor financial condition. Illiteracy was ^{almost} ~~altogether~~ ^{universal} ~~high~~, and agriculture was backward. These ^{problems} ~~became~~ ^{and} ~~worse~~ ^{after} the break with France because it caused the suspension of commercial relations and put an end to the export ^{to France} of farm products, which are the greatest ^{well} ~~wealth~~ of Italy. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The great agricultural crisis spurred thousands and thousands of

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farmers to emigrate and seek work in America, ~~as it was lacking in their own country.~~

The Italian government built a very vast railway network, it built roads, it ~~ba~~ balanced the budget by imposing ~~x~~ heavy taxes, which the population paid ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ stoically. It gave impetus to industry by building factories.

On the other hand emigration really helped Italy in the end, because the workers who had emigrated sent a good part of their savings to their native country, ~~so~~ that almost half a billion of lire in gold came to Italy. ^{yearly} At the same time the Army was reorganized: its nucleus was the Piedmontese Army. Conscription was instituted throughout the peninsula, and the draftees were purposely sent to other regions for their training. Thus the conscriptive ^{ion} system helped to forge the unity of the country.

Vast fortifications were built along the Alps. At the same time the Navy was ~~expanded~~ and ^{involvement} impetus was also given to the construction of merchant ships. Italian vessels were for some time the most powerful ones in the Mediterranean. And as regards the Merchant fleet, Italy for several years held the third place in ^{fleet} tonnage.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Italy joined the other nations in the European rush for colonies and with the approval of England occupied the bay of Assab and Massawa. The basis was ^{laid} ~~laid down~~ for the formation of the Eritrean colony. Italy's aspirations were also directed towards Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, which were still free from European influence.

The good results of Italy's policy ~~of expansion~~ were seen in the years between 1900 and 1915.

The first war against Ethiopia had turned out to be a real disaster, ^{and} which had shown the complete lack of ^{diplomatic} preparation. Instead the conquest of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, which took place in 1911 showed ~~the~~ perfect agreement with England and Russia. It was ⁱⁿ the interest of these

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two countries to prevent Germany from getting a foothold in the Mediterranean. The ~~military~~ ^{also} course of this African campaign showed ~~on the other side~~ that Italy had ~~completed and~~ improved ^{its military} its preparations.

From 1870 to 1900 there was a great literary development. ~~As usual~~ and Carducci was the most noteworthy poet; ~~at first a republican, he~~ ^{turned to the Monarchy, and was very faithful to his democratic ideals.} The movement of Benedetto Croce which in 1903 started the publication of the "Critica", had ^{spread} a wide diffusion throughout ^{the country} Italy and influenced the rest of Europe. It directed ^{Italy} ~~this country~~ toward a fertile liberalism and put Italian culture on an ^{European} ~~basis~~ ^{plane}.

Parallel to this movement, socialism acquired a special and particular character. Up to 1915 it was not a revolutionary socialism. If revolutionary crises did break out now and then, this was a consequence of the very difficult economic conditions of the peasants and ^{of} the development of industry, which made the social problem more and more acute. The socialist leaders were in favour of a constitutional policy. The ~~movement~~ ^{movement} was essentially of the Right wing and ~~the~~ the exponents scholarly ~~theoricians~~ ^{theoricians}, who tended to act within the framework of the Monarchy.

^{by} Amongst these it is enough to record Filippo TURATI, who was ^{opposed} ~~contrary~~ to any movements that might undermine Italian unity. The socialists ^{were not without} ~~currents~~ had a great influence in the cultural ^{development} ~~field~~ as they served to counterbalance the ~~idealism~~ ^{idealism} of Croce. They kept ^{the} ~~the~~ people close to reality and to ^{the} immediate problems of their existence.

Italy's intervention in the World War was a manifestation of the wisdom of its foreign policy, ~~which~~ and of the results achieved in all activities. It was an accepted fact in the diplomatic

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world that Italy was the determining element in the balance of power. In fact her participation ^{in the Triple Alliance} to the "Three Power Alliance" on one hand and ⁱⁿ the Mediterranean policy on the other, gave her a mediating role.

Although not fully prepared for the war, Italy nevertheless emerged ^{from} out of the conflict victorious and showed that the country had been willing to make further sacrifices to realize the goal of its "Risorgimento". Italian unity, having been finally and conclusively achieved, the internal social struggle sprang to the foreground. Having won an international war, Italy was immediately faced with a serious internal crisis.

ITALY DURING THE FIRST GREAT WAR AND UNDER FASCIST REGIME
(1915 - 1940) by. Lic. Gerardo

The increasing population of Germany, its needs for commercial and industrial outlets, and the traditional racial pride caused the breaking out of the First World Conflict. This war found its immediate cause in the precarious political and ethnic situation of the Balkans after the Peace of Bucharest, in 1913; however, its real and fundamental causes were in the economic antagonism between the great powers of Europe.

After the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand (28 June, 1914) which took place in Sarajevo by Serbian citizens the chain of European alliances and conflict of national interests brought Russia, France, and Great Britain to war against Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Italy, at the outbreak of the war, decided to keep out of the conflict, as she did not consider herself bound by the Alliance of the Central Powers which was essentially a defensive one. Moreover she did not feel obliged to enter the war which had been declared without her being consulted, as it was stipulated by the terms of the alliance itself. The country began to be torn by two opposing sides, one represented by those elements who wanted intervention (D'Annunzio, Mussolini, Battisti) in order to redeem from Austria that Italian territory (Trentino and Venezia, Julia) still under her domination and the other side, headed by Giolitti wanted to maintain a strict neutrality.

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The interventionists, as well known, won and Italy entered the conflict on the side of the Allies who had persistently exerted pressure on the nation. Before the declaration of war against Austria-Hungary (24 May, 1915), a memorandum was signed in London between the British French and the Italian Governments, according to which Italy would receive the above-mentioned territory plus Dalmatia and ample colonial compensations.

Italy entered the war when it was going badly for the Allies. The Germans, in fact were occupying Belgium and several French provinces, while on the Eastern Front they had resumed their advance against Russia. For Italy the war showed itself to be a hard and bloody one due to the well-organized Austrian defense and difficulties

presented by Alpine terrain.

In 1916 two great offensives were launched by the Central Powers on the Western front and both were broken. The German attack against France lasted six months and ended at Verdun, while the Austrian offensive in Trentino was victoriously stopped by the Italian troops which in the month of August of that year entered Gorizia.

The year 1917 was most critical one for the Allies. This was due to the new weapons employed (airplanes, gas, submarines etc.) and to the withdrawal of Russia from the war.

The Russian Revolution freed the Austrians and the Germans from the weight of the Eastern front and gave them the possibility of bringing greater reinforcements to the French and Italian fronts.

The consequences were felt by Italy who, although having achieved victories in August 1917 on the Isonzo River and the Belisizza Mountains suffered a violent attack by the Austrian and German forces which culminated in the great retreat at Caporetto. The whole Italian right flank was forced to withdraw to the Piave river and to Mount Grappa. On the new line the Italians resisted stubbornly and succeeded in stopping the enemy.

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When the hostilities ended the task of reorganizing Europe began. Italy based her territorial claims on the Treaty of London signed before she declared war, and on the results of the San Giovanni di Moriana meeting (19 - 21 of April 1917) in which agreements had been reached for the partition of the Asiatic territory of Turkey. In such a partition Italy had been promised the whole of Syria.

In the Paris Conference, which started immediately after the end of the conflict, Italy was represented by President of the Council Orlando, and the foreign Minister, Sonnino. Their activities were paralyzed by the attitude of the Serbians, the Croats and of the Slovenes, who after the fall of the Habsburgs, had formed a Yugoslav Union which claimed Dalmatia, Istrian peninsula and the region of the Isonzo river. Their delegation could count on many sympathies and much support in Paris.

At the time of the Armistice Italy had occupied the territories which had been assigned to her by the London Treaty. But it had permitted an inter-Allied Commission to occupy Fiume, although the city's inhabitants had voted, on 30th October, 1918 in favor of annexation to Italy. This occupation was the cause of many incidents.

The critical moment of the Conference took place on April 1919, when Wilson sent a message to the Italian nation, in which he severely criticized the behavior of the Italian delegates. This act, unprecedented in diplomatic history of all nations, provoked the departure of the Italian mission from the Conference, just at the time when the terms to be imposed on Germany were under discussion.

As a result of the Treaty of St. Germain, Italy obtained the Trentino up to the Brenner Pass, the Isonzo valley, with Gorizia and Gradisca, and Istria. Thus the geographical and ethnic borders of Italy were defined, while the question of Fiume still hung unsettled.

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As regards the internal problems, the period immediately following the war was for Italy one of serious crisis and of moral and political disturbance. The symptoms of this state of affairs had already manifested themselves during the Peace Conference, when the Orlando Cabinet was faced with the problem of consolidating the victory which had cost Italy 600,000 dead and 1,500,000 wounded. This turmoil brought many internal crises in which the leftist parties got the upper hand. In the years 1918-1921 the threat to the disorganization of the State was becoming increasingly serious; the Government and Parliament were

no longer able to cope with this threat.

The policy of the Miti and Violitti governments revealed itself in the Rapallo Treaty (November, 1920) in which Italy renounced that part of Dalmatia, which had been assigned to her by the London Treaty, keeping only Zara and the islands of Lagosta and Pelagosa. Finis was declared a free State with its border reaching Mount Nevoso.

Meanwhile the fascist movement was rising as a reaction against forces of the left. Starting as an indefinite heterogeneous political trend, it crystallized into a political party with definite reactionary, nationalist and antidemocratic features. It had no definite program and accepted in its ranks the most varied elements which gathered around Mussolini. As late as November 10, 1921 it became a political party. Its activities consisted mainly in the formation of gangs (so called squadre d'azione) whose task was to fight with violence the local leftist parties. Many veterans of the war joined its rank and file. During 1922 the movement grew in number and in power, particularly as a result of the weakness and corruption of the State. Many counter revolutionary actions were undertaken by it in the month of August of that year, such as the occupation by force of Milan's town hall and the events of Trento and Bolzano. This turmoil reached its peak with the "March on Rome" (28 October 1922) in which the "squadre d'azione" entered the Capital and occupied it. Mussolini was called by the King to form a new cabinet.

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From then until its downfall, (28 June 1943) Fascism directed the domestic and foreign policy of Italy. The first cabinet, headed over by Mussolini included behind elements from other parties. These however were gradually eliminated as the government assumed its totalitarian character. Thus the Fascist bodies began to be formed and assume functions that belonged to constitutional bodies. The Grand Fascist Council and the Militia were formed. In 1925, after a period of very serious crisis which followed the murder of the socialist deputy Matteotti and the formation of a parliamentary opposition called Aventino, all the other parties were dissolved and a special tribunal was created to punish anti-Fascist crimes.

The domestic policy was expressed in the famous statement of Mussolini: "All for the State, None outside of the State, None against the State" which meant limitation of all liberties, control of every civil activity from the educational to the economic, and from the religious to the political.

In the social field attempts were made to regulate the relations between capital and labour with compulsory arbitration. Strikes were prohibited and Fascist syndicates controlled by the State were formed, while the old syndical organizations were dissolved. In the economic field, attempts were made to give new impetus to the national life through the creation of the Corporations, that is the State Organizations, whose task was to control and direct a definite activity.

With the dissolution of the parties and the abolition of the constitutional elections of representatives, Italy was transformed into a single national electorate. The deputies were chosen by the Grand Council in a single list which was to be simply approved or rejected. Later on - in 1938 - the Chamber of Deputies was substituted by the Chamber of Fascist and Corporations, whose members were appointed by the State without the approval of the electors.

In the religious field Italy was benefited by the end of the disagreement with the Pope, a conflict which went as far back as 1870. On February 11, 1929, the Concordat between the Italian Government and the Vatican was signed. The Pope abandoned his claims and recognized the Italian Kingdom, while the latter in turn, recognized the creation of the State of Vatican City. Religious teachings were resumed in schools and the legal validity of the church marriage was

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The Fascist Foreign Policy was one of national expansion. The problem of Fiume was solved in 1924 through the Rome Treaty with the annexation of the city to the Italian State. Treaties were signed with Rumania (1923) Hungary and Bulgaria (1927) Greece and Turkey (1928). In greater continental relations, Italy signed the Locarno Treaty adhering to the policy of collaboration and balance which had formed by Briand and Stresemann. Together with Great Britain, Italy,

was one of the great powers which guaranteed the demilitarization of Rhineland. In 1933 Mussolini took the initiative in originating the "Four Power Pact" between Italy, France, Great Britain, and Germany which could have brought a period of peace in Europe if Fascism had not intensified its imperialistic and totalitarian policy. To this intensification, the imperialism revealed itself in the Ethiopian campaign, which was undertaken under the pretext of ending border disputes.

The war brought the rapid conquest of the Ethiopian Empire. The members of the League of Nations, led by Great Britain, declared economic sanctions against Italy and in favour of Ethiopia, a nation which, although very backward, had been invited to belong to the League. This was a moment of great crisis, and a European conflict was avoided only by a miracle. The quick end of the campaign brought about the termination of the dissension with the League of Nations.

However the conquest of Ethiopia did not seem to have satisfied the desire for expansion of Fascism, which following further still the expansionist law, characteristic of the totalitarian States, let Italy to participate in the war against loyalist Spain. The pretext this time was that European civilization and Christianity had to be protected against Bolshevism. In 1939 the occupation of Albania followed.

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On the 10th June 1940, the fascist government declared war on France and Great Britain. Although this war has brought Italy face to face with economic, political and moral disaster, also freed the Country of Fascism, which for so many years had negated the ideals and the events which had made Italy a unified and Democratic Nation.

ITALY FROM 1870 TO 1915

(Lecture by Professor Corlese of the University of Naples)

The period we are examining, commences 1870 when Rome was occupied by Italian troops and ends in 1915 when Italy entered the first Great War. Italy's attitude during this period has been much criticised by some historians. It was said that this country, having begun so well at the time of the "Risorgimento", did not, succeed in achieving all the hopes of the patriots, who had fought for her independence. In 1870 the Italian Government passed over from the Parties of the Right to those of the Left. (As has been clearly pointed out by Benedetto Croce in his famous book on Italian History from 1870 to 1915) not all the fault lay with the Government. Italy did not achieve very spectacular successes, especially in the years from 1870 to 1900. The first Ethiopian campaign ended with the Adowa defeat, of 1896 while inside the country many disorders took place, which ended in 1900 with the assassination of King Humbert I.

But, notwithstanding all this, results were achieved in many fields. The political change from Right to Left did not bring with it radical changes. The men of the Right were generally patriots, of great culture and of a high moral standard, who had dedicated the whole of their life to Italy's independence. But this was also true for the men of the Left, who, although less culturally prepared had also devoted their life activities to their country.

The Right Party was a conservative one, while the Left Party was mainly formed by the so-called "Action Party". The only real differ-

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The Right Party was a conservative one, while the left ²⁸² mainly formed by the so-called "Action Party". The only real difference between the two parties was not their program, but the political method then followed.

The conservative attitude was to regulate all Italian and European affairs according to circumstances. The "Action Party", on the contrary, tried speeding up events in order to solve the many Italian problems as quickly as possible, but apart from the differences of method ^{the} basic program was the same and when the Left Party came to power, especially since many positions changed from one party to the other. This parliamentary change did not bring substantial changes in the general policy of the Government.

The Italian situation in 1870, when a unity was complete, was not at all brilliant. The country's budget presented a very serious deficit, which was the consequence of the many wars fought during the last years.

Italy's foreign policy was very similar to that followed during the wars of 1859-60-66-70. It was inspired by ideological principles and its basis was still the one which had brought Piedmont to fight for the country's unity. Italy had many difficulties to overcome in fact France considered Italy ungrateful, having given her help in 1870 in the war against Russia. On the other hand the Pope, not having renounced the independence of the Roman States, still hoped to be reinstated in his previous, temporal power.

Italy was divided by regionalistic antagonisms, for many provinces having had in the past complete independence, claimed their right to administrative autonomy. If this had been granted, the unity of the country would soon have been lost. Many difficulties had to be surmounted in the organization of the Army, the Navy and in the fight against brigands in the South of the Peninsula.

All these elements effected Italy's internal and foreign affairs. But there was more to it. Until 1870 the wars fought in Europe, had a national basis and had generally been connected with the revolutionary independence movement of European countries.

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After 1870 the basis of European conflicts was to be found in the desire of the great powers to achieve continental supremacy. The Italian politicians who had been schooled in the struggle for independence, were not adequately prepared to deal with this new trend in European politics. Italy consequently took a very small part in the solution of the Eastern question which was dealt with in the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

On Italy's position was very clear. / One side there was the union of Germany and Austria; on the side France, which Bismarck had succeeded in isolating. As a consequence of the war of independence, Italy especially after the parliamentary change of 1873, felt certain friendly inclination towards France, but a Franco-Italian Agreement was made impossible by the French occupation of Tunis, which had been mainly colonized by the Italians and was

generally considered a potential Italian ally.

Italy's friendship for England also prevented an agreement with the French Republic because at that time Great Britain and France were extremely divided on colonial affairs. This antagonism, which soon brought to the Fashoda incident, made Italy prefer a close union with the United Kingdom.

It so happened that when in 1882 Italy agreed to the Austro-German alliance, which was later known as the "Triple Power Alliance" it wanted a clause to be included according to which the alliance had a continental extension and excluded the Mediterranean. Later Italy supplemented the "Triple Alliance" with a Mediterranean treaty which included also Great Britain, Austria and Spain. It therefore occupied a mediating position between the Central Powers and the Mediterranean Powers.

Italy was faithful to this policy when the misunderstanding between England and France ended and also when Germany disapproved of her foreign policy of general friendship towards Mediterranean countries.

After the beginning of the new century, when Italy signed other agreements with France and Great Britain, the "Triple Alliance", became practically ineffective and simply a theoretical agreement. Italy at first compelled to follow a policy of friendship with Germany and Austria, against all the traditions of the Risorgimento, succeeded later in gradually modifying this alliance and in basing its procedure on a liberal principle.

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It was therefore easy for her to disengage from her responsibilities to Austria and Germany when the Great War broke out.

Also in internal affairs the policy of all cabinets, with exception of Crispien, followed a liberal line. The left party which assumed power in 1876, was an extremely democratic one; one that naturally wanted to abandon the political direction of the Right, direction which tended to reduce greatly the class that had governed Italy, and call on a greater number of the citizens to participate in the government; it wanted to extend suffrage; expand the election law; it wanted to come to the aid of the working class which, together with the farmers, were in very bad conditions.

Now the liberal tendency was maintained despite the alliance with reactionary Austria.

Many problems which had to be solved. Italy lacked a railway network of any importance. It lacked communication lines and roads and was in a very poor financial condition. Illiteracy was almost universal, and agriculture was backward. These problems became worse after the break with France because it caused the suspension of commercial relations and put an end to the export to France of farm products, which are the greatest wealth of Italy.

The great agricultural crisis spurred thousands and thousands of farmers to emigrate and seek work in America.

The Italian government built a very vast railway network, it built roads, it balanced the budget by imposing a heavy tax, which the population paid stoically. It gave impetus to industry by building factories.

On the other hand emigration really helped Italy in the end, because the workers who had emigrated sent a good part of their savings to their native country, so that almost half a billion of lire in gold came to Italy yearly. At the same time, the Army was reorganized; its nucleus was the Piedmontese Army. Conscription was instituted throughout the peninsula, and the drafts were purposefully sent to other regions for their training. Thus conscription helped to forge the unity of the country.

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Italy joined the other nations in the European rush for colonies and with the approval of England occupied the Bay of Assab and Massawa. The basis was laid for the formation of the Eritrean colony. Italy's aspirations were also directed towards Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, which were still free from European influence. The good results of Italy's policy were seen in the years between 1900 and 1915.

The first war against Ethiopia had turned out to be a real disaster, and had shown the complete lack of diplomatic preparation. Instead the conquest of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, which took place in 1911 showed perfect agreement with England and Russia. It was

in the interest of these two countries to prevent Germany from getting a foothold in the Mediterranean. The course of this African campaign showed also that Italy had improved its preparations.

From 1870 to 1900 there was a great literary development. Carducci was the most noteworthy poet; the movement of Benedetto Croce which in 1903 started the publication of the "Critica" spread throughout the country and influenced the rest of Europe. It directed Italy towards a fertile liberalism and put Italian culture, on European level.

Parallel to this movement, socialism acquired a special and particular character. Up to 1913 it was not a revolutionary socialism. If revolutionary crises did break out now and then, this was a consequence of the very difficult economic conditions of the peasants and of the development of industry, which made the social problem more and more acute. The socialist leaders were in favour of a constitutional policy. Their movement was essentially of the Right wing and the exponents scholarly theoreticians, who tended to act within the framework of the Monarchy.

Amongst these it is enough to record Filippo TURATI, who was against any movements that might undermine Italian unity. The socialists were not without influence in cultural development as they served to counterbalance the idealism of Croce. They kept the people close to reality and to the immediate problems of their existence.

Italy's intervention in the World War was a manifestation of the wisdom of its foreign policy, and of the results achieved in all activities. It was an accepted fact in the diplomatic world that Italy was the determining element in the balance of power. In fact her participation in the "Triple Alliance" on the one hand and

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Amongst these it is enough to record Filippo TIMATI, who was against any movements that might undermine Italian unity. The socialists were not without influence in cultural development as they served to counterbalance the idealism of Croce. They kept the people close to reality and to the immediate problems of their existence.

Italy's intervention in the World War was a manifestation of the wisdom of its foreign policy, and of the results achieved in all activities. It was an accepted fact in the diplomatic world that Italy was the determining element in the balance of power. In fact her participation in the "Triple Alliance" on the one hand ²⁸⁷⁰ the Mediterranean policy on the other, gave her a mediating role.

Although not fully prepared for the war, Italy nevertheless emerged from the conflict victorious and showed that the country had been willing to make further sacrifices to realize the goal of its "Risorgimento". Italian unity, having been finally and conclusively achieved, the internal social struggle sprang to the foreground. Having won an international war, Italy was immediately faced with a serious internal crisis.

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REAR HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION
APO 394

Appt Doddard

6 June 1944

Meeting: Conference Room.
Today: 12:15 (Lunch)
Speaker: SE Omodeo
Subject: "The Risorgimento"

R.W. Buckley, Capt.

- 2977

Principal Dates of Italian History

401 The Goths invade Italy

450 The Huns, led by Attila, invade Italy

476 Fall of the Western Roman Empire

568 The Longobards invade Italy

596-604 Reign of the Pope Gregorius the Great

774 End of the Reign of the Longobards

800 Creation of the Holy Roman Empire (Coronation in Rome of Charlemagne)

814 Death of Charlemagne

827 The Arabs land in Sicily

888 The breaking up of Charlemagne's empire.

X Century North Italy becomes the feudal vassal of the German Empire.

Controversies between Popes and Emperors for the right of investiture of Bishops and feudal Lords.

Worms agreement, in which the conflict for investitures comes to an end.

1122 - Birth of the Italian Communes and beginning of the fight between them and the Empire.

XI and XII Centuries Unification of Southern Italy under the Norman Dynasty.

1127 The Italian Communes gain a victory at Legnano

1176 Over the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and obtain the recognition of their independence. (1183)

- 814 Death of Charlemagne
- 827 The Arabs land in Sicily
- 888 The breaking up of Charlemagne's empire.
- X Century North Italy becomes the feudal vassal of the German Empire.
- 11th Century -*
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- XI and XII Birth of the Italian Communes and beginning of the Centuries fight between them and the Empire.
- 1127 Unification of Southern Italy under the Norman Dynasty.
- 1176 The Italian Communes gain a victory at Legnano
over from the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and obtain the recognition of their independence. (1183)
- XIII Century Gradual unification of Communes into regions ^{of 976} states.
- 1271-1295 Rebirth of love for art, literature and culture.
 Reign of Frederick II in southern Italy.
- 1321 Marco Polo's journey to China
- 1305-1377 Death of Dante Alighieri.
- The Roman Catholic Church moves its seat from Rome to Avignon.
- 1378 A certain number of schismatic Cardinals break the unity of the Church (Western Schism).
- 1449 End of the Western Schism.

- 2 -

XIV and XV Century	As a result of a process which began in the previous centuries the Italian states turn to a monarchic form of government (Birth of the "Signorie"). Medici family in Florence, Visconti in Milan, Della Scala in Verona. Birth and development of Humanism. The study of Roman and Greek history and culture influences the whole Italian life.
XV Century	The regional states fight ^{among} themselves in order to achieve a national balance. Moulding importance of the States of Milan and Florence.
1492	Discovery of America.
1494	French Troops under King Charles VIII, invade Italy.
1525	The French King Francis I is vanquished at Pavlo by imperial troops.
1527	The sack of Rome is carried out by Imperial troops serving under Charles V.
1557	Spanish and imperial troops led by Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy, conquer the French at S. Quintino
1559	The peace of Cateau Cambresis enforces Spanish rule on many Italian territories.
1545-1563	In the Council of Trento the ^{Roman Catholic Church} tries to stop the Protestant Reformation.

2975

- 1492 The regional states fight themselves in order to achieve a national balance. Moulding importance of the States of Milan and Florence.
- 1494 Discovery of America.
- 1525 French Troops under King Charles VIII, invade Italy. The French King Francis I is vanquished at Pavia by imperial troops.
- 1527 The sack of Rome is carried out by Imperial troops serving under Charles V.
- 1557 Spanish and imperial troops led by Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy, conquer the French at S. Quintino
- 1559 The peace of Cateau Cambresis enforces Spanish rule on many Italian territories.
- 1545-1563 In the Council of Trento the Roman Catholic Church tries to stop the Protestant Reformation. 2973
- XVII Century During the wars fought in Europe (30 year Revolution, the countries of League of Augsburg) Italy becomes the political satellite of Europe. The greater states
- 1701-1714 War of Spanish Succession.
- 1720 Victor Amadeo II is made King of Sardinia.
- 1730-1735 War of Polish Succession.
- 1740-1748 War of Austrian Succession.
- Italian States take active part in the Wars of Succession.
- XVIII Century Rebirth of philosophical and historical studies.

Dr. Alfieri type

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Cap. 7.11.1.1.

LECTURE BY HIS EXCELLENCY OMDEO

ON

"ITALIAN HISTORY FROM 1848 TO 1870"

From 1831 to 1843 Italy's political life was led by Giuseppe Mazzini, who, firmly believing in democratic movements and in the European Revolution of 19th Century, had become the philosopher of the Italian Risorgimento. He intended uniting the whole of the Italian peninsula and formulated a program, according to which the people had to unite in one common simple faith to defeat hegemony. The methods followed by this great patriot were highly revolutionary and were considered absurd by many of his contemporaries.

Mazzini's movement was joined by many young people belonging to the higher society of Italian classes. Workmen and peasants were very seldom represented.

The worker in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist. This is the reason why the revolution could not have that wide support it would have had if an industrial population had existed. Mazzini's theory became real religion as wide and penetrating as the Catholic one. It had had its martyrs and heroes in the members of the "Giovane Italia" who had been killed by the various policies or who had been kept languishing for many years in jail.

Towards 1840 it seemed that Mazzini's theory and practice were slowly declining. It seemed as if the times had changed in favour of a more moderate program. This was the epoch in which a Turin priest, Vincenzo Gioberti, who previously had been a follower

the methods followed by this great patriot were highly revolutionary and were considered absurd by many of his contemporaries.

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Towards 1840 it seemed that Mazzini's theory and practice were slowly declining. It seemed as if the times had changed in favour of a more moderate program. This was the epoch in which a Turin priest, Vincenzo Gioberti, who previously had been a follower of Mazzini, launched his program in favour of an Italian Federation. Having been sent in exile by King Carlo Alberto, Gioberti had changed his ideas and from being an extremist he became a moderate.

He thought that Italy's unity would be achieved through a fusion of the patriotic and religious element. He thought that the answer to Italy's problems was the formation of a federal state in which every existing Italian State would have taken part under the control and direction of the pope. The States then existing in Italy were gradually losing their vitality especially because of the increasing influence of Austria. This is the reason why this federal program seemed to be possible and practical. A smaller program, even if not

federal but simply Catholic was being followed by many other European countries, such as Ireland, Belgium and especially France, where Catholic political doctrine had its two greatest philosophers in the persons of Lacordaire and Lemennais. This also was Gioberti's program in Italy. He intended creating a Catholic movement which should be inspired by Italy's tradition and should facilitate the union of the Italian Dynasties against Austria's autocracy. He wanted the Pope to be the emblem of Italy's independence and the chief of the peninsula's federation.

Gioberti's greatest work was the "Principato civile e morale degli Italiani", a book, in which he followed the same philosophical principle of many thinkers of the XIX century, that is that every country has its own mission in this world and that Italy's is to carry out a universal program, a thing which has always been done by the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Religion has always fought against all imperialism and tried to regain that world supremacy which it had before the 100 years war, and which was completely broken up by the discovery of America and by the formation of national units.

Gioberti's program came as a message to Italy's people and especially to Catholics. It got many followers among the Italian clergy, who hoped that the ideas and the principles of "Neoguelfismo" (this was the name of Gioberti's movement) would have given new strength to the Roman Religion. The conservative classes hoped that through this newly formed party too violent revolutions would have been avoided. Also the ruling families of the many Italian states

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One great merit of Gioberetti's program was that the word "Italy" became something with a meaning to it and with a political background. Everybody started speaking of Italy and public opinion awoke and thought that the "Neoguelfi's" program would at last give freedom to Italy. And when in 1846 - after the death of Pope Gregorius XVI - a liberal cardinal was elected, who chose the name of Pius IX, everybody thought that the movement had really come to realize the catholic federal program. Behind all this enthusiasm there was not a real

political force, and there was not the slightest backing to expel Austria from the peninsula. - Another Italian writer - Cesare Balbo understood this necessity and in his book "Le Speranze d'Italia" he said that, in order to make Italy independent the Federation's direction should be led by a military power, namely, by the House of Savoy. And to compensate Austria for the loss of its Italian provinces, he suggested that she should expend to the Balkans.

But Gioberti's moderate program could not stand up to revolutionary violence. This was quite evident after the crisis at Palermo, the insurrection of the 12th. January 1848. Desceorany was then appearing to the eyes of all Europeans as the principle, which would give liberty and independence from foreign and internal servitude to all European countries.

Therefore, when in 1848 Revolution broke out in the whole of Europe, the "Neoguelfo" movement was overtaken by events. Italian princes granted constitutions which were generally copied from the French one of 1830.

The "Neoguelfo" movement suffered a crisis also because the Catholics feared that it might tend to become too socialist, while the priests were against it as a result of Gioberti's attacks on Jesuits.

At the same time other revolutions broke out in Italy - In five days of fighting (18-22 March 1848) the Austrians were expelled from Milan, Mazzini's program was being substantiated: Italy had to get its liberty, not through foreign help, but through its own means.

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The Piedmontese Army started assuming a paramount importance. Carlo Alberto, the King, thought that he could turn Italian events in favour of his family, and that he could increase his power in his state. He was forced at the last moment - 4th March 1848 - to grant a Constitution. When he entered Lombardy to help the Milanese insurrectionists, these saw in him only a new authoritarian master, who was going to take Austria's place. He, therefore, lacked the necessary support on the side of the cities of Lombardy and Venice, whose inhabitants wanted the problem of future Italian constitution to be solved after the war.

Carlo Alberto fought the war against Austria in a very alien and inefficient way and he wore his forces out trying to fight the imperial army around the four cities of Mantova, Peschiera, Legnago and Verona. This failure made the political situation more serious and difficult and killed Cavour's federal program. In fact the other Italian states were frightened by the increasing power of the Savoy family, which they feared would become too great.

The Pope feared to find himself isolated; he therefore, declared his neutrality in the war between Italians and Austrians.

Carlo Alberto was defeated in July 1848 in the battle of Custoza and was compelled to abandon Venice and Lombardy and go back to Piedmont. Milan was again occupied by the Austrians who repressed themselves very violently on the civil population for the five days rebellion. On the 16th of May the King of Naples Ferdinand II carried out a reactionary "coup d'etat", abolished the Constitution. The prisons of Southern Italy were filled with Italian liberals and patriots.

Only Mazzini's Party saved Italy's honour. It had taken a very strong stand against Carlo Alberto. It fought very brilliantly at Rome, where the Roman Republic was formed under Mazzini's leadership. This democratic government expelled the Pope and resisted until it was overthrown by French troops sent by the Louis Napoleon, who, in order to get Catholic support, intended handing Rome to the Pope.

Mazzini's Party fought also at Venice, where it resisted an Austrian siege for many months.

Carlo Alberto tried to start another war against Austria in the year 1849, but also this campaign was completely unsuccessful and his

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The year 1849 was therefore, the year of complete defeat ²⁸⁶⁸ the Italian cause and especially for the "Mezzogiorno" program. Nobody had any more faith in the Pope after he had abandoned the liberal cause and had given the government of his States to reactionary Jesuits. But ~~but~~ these years of battles and revolutions were not useless. Italy and its patriots had shown how they could fight and how uncertain Italy's position and political division were.

After 1848 Austria was compelled to declare a permanent Martial Law until 1861. The Kingdom of Naples was governed under a police regime, the Pope's States were occupied by Austrian troops, and Tuscany's

Grand Duke was compelled to ask for Austrian aid to reenter his States, from which he had been expelled by liberals.

The Italian States were passing through an extremely serious crisis. Only Piedmont was still vital and strong; this was due to liberal institutions which had transformed all political bodies and institutions, making them adequate to new times and ideas. Piedmont, especially after Reaction had broken out in all Italy, became the refuge and hope of all Italian liberals.

This was the result of the work of Count Camillo of Cavour.

The Austrian Army was restrained from occupying territory after its victory at Novara by the Western Powers, Great Britain and France.

On the other side, Piedmont's position was made difficult by Louis Napoleon, president of the French Republic, who firmly believed in the moral and social mission of the Bonaparte family.

The Great Napoleon had not really understood the French Revolution's mission in connection with the principle of Nationality. His nephew intended correcting his mistake by making himself the protector of European Nationalities, and by helping them in their fight against despotic and reactionary governments. In this attempt he found himself on the same side ^{as} Count Camillo of Cavour, though his programs might have interfered with those of the Italian Premier.

The defeated Royal Family tried to perform a reactionary "coup d'etat", but it was frustrated by liberal Italian forces.

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The best elements of Italy had gathered in Piedmont, comprising 50,000 exiles, whom Piedmont had been obliged to shelter, despite the protest of many conservatives.

At this time a miniature Italy was formed at Turin. Men of Neapolitan culture were there, patriots of Romagna and citizens of Tuscany, who could not tolerate the government of Leopoldo II. All these men had come to Piedmont and ~~and~~ it with the moral and intellectual power of all Italy, a power that brought a fulness of life lacking in the other States. These exiles looked upon Piedmont as their country. Those who lay prostrate under the Austrian domination in Milan and Venice, under the Pope's power in Rome and under the Bourbon yoke in Naples looked upon Piedmont as the territory, where liberty became a reality. Thus Piedmont exercised a magnetic power upon the rest of Italy.

This was largely due to Cavour, who although detested by Victor Emmanuel II, succeeded in getting himself appointed Premier. In a rapid succession of laws he established a regime based on freedom. He introduced free exchange following the principles of the "Manchester School", he transformed the Constitution into the English type, he gave impetus to economic life, ordering a construction of railway networks, which multiplied the wealth of the country, created Banks and, when Austria massacred the crews of the patriots of Venice and Lombardy, he attempted to break diplomatic relations with her reducing his Embassy to a simple "Charge d'affaires". When France tried to abolish freedom of the press, Cavour undertook its defense, and refused to make any concessions to the French demands.

The idea of unification appeared ^{at first} to Cavour a folly pure and simple, however, he was gradually attracted to it by the fact that the Piedmontese spirit was slowly assimilating a national character.

In carrying out his liberal program Cavour was faced with many ^{to} ~~serious~~ ^{serious} ~~difficulties~~. The Catholicism had gone over ^{to} the opposition, and also some extreme liberals who demanded immediate intervention against Austria with or without the aid of France.

Cavour had understood the program and the intentions of the French Emperor, too well and knew that he could play upon his ambitions audaciously. The greatest achievement of Cavour was in the diplomatic field, especially in 1854, when the Crimean war broke out.

England was particularly concerned about Russian expansion while France placed herself on the side of England also to avenge disasters of Napoleon - I - in 1812. The attack by the Eastern Powers upon Russia was a very difficult operation indeed. At first it seemed that it was necessary to obtain Austria's aid. The French policy tried at the

defense, and refused to make any concessions to the French Emperor. The idea of unification appeared to Cavour a folly pure and simple, however, he was gradually attracted to it by the fact that the Piedmontese spirit was slowly assimilating a national character.

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When Austria seemed to adhere to the Alliance of the Eastern Powers through the agreement of 2nd. December 1854, Piedmont found itself in a very precarious situation. Since Piedmont was the centre of the liberal agitation against Austria, the Western Powers and especially Great Britain did not want it to maintain its neutrality any more and forced it to join the war. It was one of these pressures which Great Powers usually exert on small nations. Cavour at first hoped to participate in the war against Russia for ideological purposes.

However, he later saw the change in the policy of the Western Powers and shut himself within a shell of neutrality, particularly because at that time he found himself engaged in a violent fight against the Clergy.

Nevertheless the Western Powers exerted pressure on him. In this regard the Duke of Genoa showed himself particularly energetic and arrogant. Therefore, Cavour was faced to enter the Western block. The danger was that he would find himself an ally of Austria. Therefore, Cavour found himself fettered to an alliance which was against his whole policy.

Austria had declared to the Western Powers that she could not join them, as she was threatened on the back by Piedmont. She looked upon the Alliance between Piedmont and the Western Powers with a sinister eye and Cavour widened the gap between them by having the newspapers stress the ideological aspects of the war.

He succeeded completely in these manoeuvres. Austria did not enter the war and Piedmont found itself an ally of England and France in a war which seemed to be the fight between the democratic Powers and Autocracy.

Cavour, who had studied England and English habits, had an ardent admiration for this country so much so that the Piedmontesi called him "Milord Casillo". He hoped to be the builder of a liberal reform throughout Europe by means of an agreement between the French and the English policies. However, his project could not be realized for Napoleon III did not intend abandoning his independent position towards England, nor ^{did} England intend being mixed up in continental

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Russia having been defeated and Austria beaten, a free Germany and a free Italy would have sprung, supported by the Western Powers.

This was Cavour's dream. The participation in the Crimean war was really of no extraordinary importance, although the Sardinian Army of 15,000 men, which was sent, lost at least two thousand of its effectives only by cholera. Nevertheless the participation in the Battle of Germany contributed to the development of the Piedmontese Army, which was still suffering from the demoralizing defeat of Novara.

When the peace treaties were on the way, Piedmont obtained the prerogative of sitting at the peace table with the Great Powers. In the Paris Congress it also increased its prestige before other Nations. In the Paris Conference Austria found herself almost isolated: Russia in particular showed herself Austriaphobe, because it felt she had been betrayed by the Nation which in 1848 the Czar Nicholas II had helped in suppressing the Hungarian Revolution.

England was not satisfied by this Congress because she did not obtain any substantial gains. She had destroyed the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, but had not obtained the guarantee against that danger which Russia could bring to her land to Europe. She saw danger in Russia's exerting pressure on the Turkish Empire and securing an outlet in the Mediterranean.

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LECTURE BY PROFESSOR GAVOUR (1845-70) Part. 2

England was not very pleased with the terms of the Congress of Paris. The war had not succeeded in frustrating the Russian threat to the Turkish Empire; far from that, it had brought about a rapprochement between Russia and France.

Austria had deceived Russia, refusing her support, and had also deceived the English Government by not faithfully fulfilling the parts of the 2nd of December 1854. When Lord Clarendon became British representative, Gavour thought he had found a substitute for Napoleon III in helping Italian policy he attempted to induce England to become the sponsor of a liberal system of European states, collaborating with Piedmont, and eventually the French emperor, to attack Austria and create in Europe a system of liberal nationalities, which would have included Russia and left England and France as leaders of a new civilization.

England would not have been taking a great risk, for on the one hand she was difficult to attack, and on the other hand could easily bombard Trieste and the Dalmatian coast. Gavour thought he could persuade English politicians to take direct responsibility in this new order of Europe, as the only means of preventing a Russian hegemony. It seemed for a moment as though Lord Clarendon was being persuaded by Gavour; not only did he allow Gavour the satisfaction of taking the Italian question as one interesting to all the powers, and not only Austria at the Congress in 1854 - the height of Gavour's prestige in Italy - but to some extent he appeared to be compromised in the daring plans of the state of Italy.

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Russia. In London, Count Cavour had a rude awakening: political circles were satisfied by Austria's concessions and public opinion was glad to accept peace. Lord Clarendon back in Paris returned to the traditional British policy of considering the Treaty of Vienna the essential element in European peace and also the best thing for British prestige, not interfering in continental disputes. Cavour returning to Piedmont, accepted this new situation and dealt resolutely with it. Since he could not get British help he decided to make use of Napoleon III and the continuous agitations in Italy brought about by Mazzini. He presented his own moderate liberal policy as the only means for saving Napoleon's Empire from a democratic offensive in Europe which might arise from Mazzini's agitations in Italy.

This union of the liberal principles of the Sardinian state to the authoritarian politics of the SECOND EMPIRE was the culminating point of Cavour's diplomatic efforts. In spite of the repeated confessions and frequent bitterness, Cavour succeeded in dominating Napoleon III; he was in fact "The Minister of Secret Thought" of the Emperor, the redemption of nationality to save the Bonaparte dynasty.

Count Cavour put down an attempted insurrection by Mazzinians in Genoa, which was meant to help Carlo Pisacane's attempted revolution in the kingdom of Naples and a republican rising throughout all Italy; in 1857 he overcame a crisis in the general election, when the country tired of continuous preparations for war and growing taxes sent a strong clerical minority to Parliament; he also accepted separation from his best collaborator, Rattazzi, (when he fell into di-

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revolution. Thus finally in July of 1858, Cavour was able to force the first secret agreements with the Emperor, who undertook to assist Piedmont if Austria provoked war, and to permit the building up of a big state in northern Italy, demanding as a recompense, on account of the marriage of Prince Napoleon with Maria Clotilde, the King's daughter, the cession of Nice and Savoy. It thus seemed that Cavour was satisfied to create one great state of northern Italy. Cavour's collaborators, mostly exiles from other regions, were striving resolutely towards unity with Victor Emmanuel II, the constitutional king. Mazzini's opposition to this direction of monarchical constitutional liberalism grew weaker, although Maninian opposition was as necessary to Cavour as the resistance of air to a bird flying.

From July 1858 to April 1859, Cavour's politics were one desperate struggle against British diplomatic action which aimed at keeping the status quo in Europe, for during the whole course of the Risorgimento British politics in relation to Italy were characterized by continued opposition between the cabinet of St. James and public opinion, which sympathized with Mazzini and Cavour without however wishing to collaborate with arms.

All the British attempts in diplomacy to prevent the war especially from January 1859 onwards, were evaded by Cavour; all the Emperor's vacillations kept in hand, although the Emperor was almost forced to react to the reluctance of French opinion to wage a war unnecessary to France's interests. Austria was implacably goaded by Cavour into war so that fearing to compromise his own prestige in Italy, he arrived at an ultimatum, in spite of British warnings.

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There followed the military victories of the war of 1859, the battles of Montebello, Palestro, Magenta and Solferino. In addition to these Franco-Piedmontese victories, there was the decadence of most of the Italian states, whose vitality had been weakened by Cavour's liberal politics. Tuscany threw out its Grand Duke, Romagna and the Duchies of the Po basin, free from the Austrian yoke, rebelled. Florence sailed on Cavour.

Napoleon III found himself confronted by a double danger: to have to make a war, the results of which would have gone far beyond his Plombieres agreements and at the same time faced in Europe with a possible diplomatic mediation or an extension of the war to Germany:

He realized now what was resulting from his direction of French national politics. With the help of Victor Emmanuel II, who had no great love for his minister, the Emperor succeeded in extricating himself from Cavour's intrigues and avoiding every form of diplomatic mediation, signed the Armistice of Villafranca with the Emperor Franz Josef, on the 11th of July 1859.

Instead of getting Italy freed right up to the Adriatic, only Lombardy was assigned to the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Emperor gave up his claims to Savoy and Nice. In the Duchies of Padua, in Romagna and Tuscany there remained an air of uncertainty, the peoples, under their own local governments tended towards unification but remained under the control of diplomacy. Cavour had no choice but to resign.

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Cavour was succeeded by the ministry of La Marmora-Rattazzi, who were unable to solve the pressing problem of annexing the central provinces. For one thing they did not have the requisite authority for ceding Nice and Savoy to the Emperor. So that with the tacit consent of Napoleon III, in January 1860, Cavour was carried back to power on a wave of popular opinion. He immediately proceeded to annex the central provinces as a result of a plebiscite; but now Nice and Savoy whisked away from him almost by violence. This was a great blow to his prestige and caused much resentment in England.

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At this moment a new political force in opposition to Cavour began to make itself felt. This was the Party of Action, formed by former Mazzinians. They had given up Mazzini's doctrines and believed that Italy should be reconquered by the Italians and not be the gift of diplomacy; they loathed the marks of servitude which Napoleon was carving on the face of the rising young nation. The leader of this party was Giuseppe Garibaldi who in the defense of Rome in '49 and in the war of '59 had become the idol of Italian youth and was looked upon as the savior of oppressed peoples.

After Villafranca Cavour had realized that he could not depend on French help in driving the Austrians right out of Italian territory.

He must therefore unify the whole peninsula so that the decisive battle could be fought with all the forces of Italy united. He did not hide his desire to see the fall of the Kingdom of Naples where the Bourbon dynasty was hated as a result of decades of savage repression of the peoples rights. But the initiative in this matter was seized by Garibaldi, assisted by Victor Emmanuel. Garibaldi landed in Sicily with a thousand men and put himself at the head of the revolution of the peoples of the south. Cavour had to support him without being able to control him. From the 5 May to 7 September Giuseppe Garibaldi, with the rallying cry of "Italy and Victor Emmanuel" freed Sicily and the Southern Provinces and entered Naples. The prestige of the "Liberator of the People" put Cavour in the position of having to submit to the law dictated to him by Naples and to seem to compromise the methods of organized liberty as taught by himself and practiced for a whole decade. Cavour regained the initiative forcing the French Emperor to agree to the occupation of the central provinces of Umbria and Marche which were policed by the papal militia. He had to take the risk of a new war with Austria. And in fact Austria could have fallen on the flank of the army moving on Rome and set up as the Guardian of the Pope. But the Royal army was allowed to march down to the south of Italy, where Garibaldi, having repulsed in the first days of October the attacks of the remnants of the Bourbon Army, shut himself up, for lack of artillery, in the citadel of Gaeta. Garibaldi had to retire faced by the King assisted by Cavour's politics. Cavour got Parliament's agreement for his constitutional methods and obtained British recognition of the unified

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From that statement until 1935 there was an unspoken mutual understanding between Italy and England.

The bitter struggle waged by the Church all over the world against resurgent Italy was met by Cavour with the enunciation of the famous principle of "A free church in a free state", that is liberty of conscience recognized for every individual, a precept

unacceptable to the Pope, who insisted on a liberty of the organized Church against the liberty of the single individual.

In the awakening of liberal ideas in 1860 this way of complete religious liberty seemed to Cavour the ideal method of solving the question of Rome and he hoped to induce the Pope to give up the rest of his temporal possessions. He did not succeed and some months later (8 June '61) exhausted by overwork he died.

There followed ten years of hard life for the united realm of Italy, which Cavour had left in skeleton form and which still lacked body. The Southern provinces underwent a blind reaction for some years: there was brigandage demanding armed suppression. In politics the Garibaldi party nourished a deep resentment for the Cavour party who had robbed them of the fruits of their victory. Italy's finding its place among the other European countries evoked diffidence and in some cases hostility, which was only to be expected, though, of course the Italians had not thought of that when they saw world opinion so sympathetic to their national dreams.

Napoleon III now inclined towards the clerical party and did not dare to attempt a radical solution of the Papal question, while Rome as capital was the only way to stop the rebirth of regionalism which would interfere with unity. King Victor Emmanuel II followed a personal policy not always properly checked which had been achieved by Cavour's genius. Non-the-less, the initiators of Cavour, the so-called men of the "right" completed a fine work taken all in all. - they unified the public debt, the laws, built streets and railways throughout the land, warded off the clerical offensive, put down

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The new war for the liberation of Venice, in alliance with Prussia, in attacking Austria showed the weaknesses of military organization

in the second battle of Custoza and in the naval defeat of Lissa, both events deeply mortifying to the Italian spirit.

In any case the work achieved during the Risorgimento was sound and not merely the improvised efforts of a few men. When in 1870 the Franco-Prussian war broke out, Italy, which had been deeply mortified by the Church policy of the last phase of the Second Empire, abstained from taking sides, thanks to shackles of French politics, was able to occupy its own capital.

Rare men of highest gifts, Mazzini, Gioberti, Gabour Garibaldi had participated in the movements of the Risorgimento, but their contribution melted in the whole organism which went beyond their individual aims and theories. It was the constitution of a new Italian nation.

Distinguishing itself from Prussia, which in the unification of Germany remained the predominant state, Piedmont, birthplace, sponsor and nurse of the Risorgimento gave up its leadership in the interests of national unity.

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