

Volunteers' Employment and Counterinsurgency in Italy: The Case the Hungarian Legion (1861-1862)

Andrea Carteny, Ph.D.

Assistant professor, Sapienza University of Rome

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Abstract In South-Italy the brigandage is a complex phenomenon, deeply popular and culturally reactionary: a "great brigandage" emerged in dangerous and structural forms after the fall of the last Bourbon king and the Italian unification under the Savoy dynasty, in 1861. From the "Mille" expedition and the conquest of redshirts led by Garibaldi, the Southern Army and the Italian Army fought against the brigandage as a real insurgency movement supported by Bourbons' loyalists and Catholic environments. In the campaign of banditism's repression a particular case was the employment of volunteers, as the former Garibaldi's Hungarian Legion. From the General Staff Army's Historical Archive the documents show both Command's strategy and local tactics in the Hungarian practices. The concentration of the legionaries in Nocera (March 1861) and the growing number of effectives in few months (less than 1 thousand) gave the opportunity of their employment for more than 1 year in a large area of Southern regions. The Hungarian legionaries' mutiny, in July 1862, rised at the same time of the Garibaldi's expedition from South to Rome, blocked in August at the Aspromonte. After the disarm of the soldiers, the calling back to Torino meant the risk of his dissolution. Only a complete reorganization, in 1863, allowed to employ back a new Legion until 1867.

Keywords: Risorgimento, Brigandage, Hungarian Legion,

1. Introduction

Through the 19th century, the historical synthony and synchrony of national struggle for independence and freedom (in Italian *Risorgimento*, in Hungarian *Szabadságharc*) in Italy and Hungary means to build a common culture of both nations. It happens a consolidation not only of a kind of "hagiographical" history but also of historiographical branches, interesting for the bilateral and international relations, for the history of politics and culture, for the national (mainly Italian and Hungarian) and European independence movements, with original ideas and perspectives developed within the concept of political freedoms and modern nation.

From the late 19th century, memoirs and essays are edited by actors and scholars. Through the 20th century historiographical schools are only partly ideological or cultural oriented, or characterized by the review of the national achieved goals.¹ Concerning the Italian *Risorgimento* and Hungarian *Szabadságharc*, within a wide historiography it must to be mentioned some branches and research fields: about general studies on the history of Hungary and on the Hungarian revolution and his actors;² about researches on the Hungarian emigration after the 1848-49 and on the Italian-

¹ See the recent volume, about the historiography on Eastern Europe, of Giovanna Motta (ed.): *Studi sull'Europa orientale*, Passigli, Firenze 2012, and, about Hungary inside this volume, A. Carteny: "L'Ungheria tra età di mezzo e Ottocento. Un Risorgimento mancato", pages 125-131.

² See the writings of: Antonello Biagini (*Storia dell'Ungheria contemporanea*, Bompiani, Milano 2006), Péter Hanák (*Egy ezredév: Magyarország rövid története*, Gondolat, Budapest 1986, in Italian *Storia dell'Ungheria*, Franco Angeli, Milano 1996), István Deák (*The lawful revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848-1849*, Columbia University Press, New York 1979, later Phoenix, London 2001, in Hungarian *A törvényes forradalom: Kossuth Lajos és a magyarok 1848-49-ben*, Gondolat, Budapest 1994), Róbert Hermann (*Negyvennyolcas történetünk mai állása*, Fokusz Egyesület, Budapest 2011; *Az 1848-1849-es szabadságharc nagy csatái*, Zrínyi, Budapest 2004; *Kossuth Lajos élete és kora*, Panonica, Budapest 2002; *Az 1848-1849-es magyar szabadságharc története*, 2. cd, Arcanum, Budapest 2002; 1848–1849. A szabadságharc hadtörténete, Korona Kiadó, Budapest 2001; *Kossuth Lajos és Görgei Artúr levelezése, 1848-1849*, Osiris, Budapest 2001), Gábor Pajkossy ("*Nemzeti újjászületés*": válogatás Kossuth Lajos írásából és beszédeiből, Új Mandátum, Budapest 2002; *Kossuth Lajos, Új Mandátum*, Budapest 1999), György Szabad (*Kossuth irányadása*, Válasz, Budapest 2002; *Kossuth Lajos üzenetei*, Ikva, Budapest 1994; *Kossuth politikai pályája: Ismert és ismeretlen megnyilatkozásai tükrében*, Kossuth, Budapest 1977; *Forradalom és kiegyezés válaszüttján: 1860-61*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1967, in English *Hungarian political trends between the revolution and the compromise: 1849-1867*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977).

Hungarian relationships.³ In 2011, within the historiographical framework, 150 years after the Italian Unification was the occasion to investigate better, freely and fairly, the historical events of the Italian *Risorgimento*, from the '48 European revolution until the Italian Unity in 1861, through the exile and the European anti-Habsburgs movement led by Giuseppe Mazzini and Luigi Kossuth.⁴ The turning point of the Italian "revolution" for the national unification was the 2nd Independence war launched against Austrians by the Franco-Sardinians (1859) and the expedition of the "Thousand", the *Mille* red shirts, led by Giuseppe Garibaldi (1860). As consequence, in 1861 the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy means the birth of a new power in Europe, but also the beginning of the "Southern question" in the unified Italy and the refusal approach of the Savoy regime by a relevant part of the Centre and South-Italy people. Mainly in some Southern regions, particularly tied to the former Bourbon dynasty, the phenomenon of "brigands" was taking the dimension of a real *guerrilla*, employing regular weapons and army's tactics, called "Brigandage".⁵ Criminals, even "terrorists" called by the official and institutional point of view, the insurgent brigands were the heroes of the "counter" revolution's movement against the Italian "unitary revolution" and Savoy dynasty, for the restoration of the Bourbons' and the Pope's authority. The repression of the Piedmont's government was done for several years by the Italian Army,⁶ with the help of the national Guards and special Legions of volunteers, employed specifically against the brigands.⁷

2. The Big Brigandage

As a complex phenomenon, deeply popular and culturally reactionary, the "big Brigandage" emerged in dangerous and structural forms in the 60s of 19th century. During 1860 this insurgency movement was initiated in the regions of the former Pontifical State (as Marche and Umbria) by Pope's officials and followed in Southern Italy with the support of Bourbons' loyalists and catholic environments. Punctually, the "first wave of reactions" (Autumn 1860 until Winter 1861)

³ See the volumes of: Pasquale Fornaro (István Türr: una biografia politica, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2004; *Risorgimento italiano e questione ungherese: 1849-1867*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 1995), László Csorba (Teleki László, Új Mandátum, Budapest 1998; *A Kossuth-emigráció fényképkönyve*, Kossuth, Budapest 1994; *Garibaldi élete és kora*, Kossuth, Budapest 1988), László Pete (Olaszország magyar katonája: Türr István élete és tevékenysége 1825-1908, Argumentum, Budapest 2011; *Monti ezredes és az olasz légió a magyar szabadságharcban*, Multiplex Media-Debrecen UP, Debrecen 1999, in Italian *Il colonnello Monti e la legione italiana nella lotta per la libertà ungherese*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2003), Lajos Lukács (Magyar politikai emigráció, 1849-1867, Kossuth Kiadó, Budapest 1984, in English *Chapters on the hungarian political emigration: 1849-1867*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1995; *A olaszországi magyar légió története és anyakönyvei, 1860-1867*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1986; *A magyar garibaldisták útja: Marsalától a Porta Piaig (1860-1870)*, Kossuth Kiadó, Budapest 1971; *Garibaldi a szabadságért: Dunyov István élete és működése 1816-1889*, Gondolat, Budapest 1968; *Garibaldi e l'emigrazione ungherese, 1860-1862*, Mucchi, Modena 1965; *Garibaldi magyar önkéntesei és Kossuth 1860-61-ben*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1962; *Magyar függetlenségi és alkotmányos mozgalmak 1849-1867*, MTA Történettudományi Intézete-Művelt Nép, Budapest 1955), JónKoltay -Kasztnér (A Kossuth-emigráció Olaszországban, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1960; *Studi e documenti italo-ungheresi della R. Accademia d'Ungheria di Roma*, Tipografia Russo, Roma 1937-1942; *Il contributo ungherese nella guerra del 1859. Storia e documenti*, Le Monnier, Firenze 1934), Endre Kovács (A Kossuth-emigráció és az európai szabadságmozgalmak, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1967), Magda Jászay (Incontri e scontri nella storia dei rapporti italo-ungheresi, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2003; *Il Risorgimento vissuto dagli ungheresi*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2000; *L'Italia e la rivoluzione ungherese. 1848-1849*, Athenaeum, Budapest 1948), Éva Nyulásziné-Straub (A Kossuth-emigráció olaszországi kapcsolatai, 1849-1866, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest 1998, in Italian *Le relazioni italiane dell'emigrazione di Kossuth: 1849-1866*, Archivio Nazionale Ungherese, Budapest 2003), Beatrix Cs. Lengyel (Olaszthoni emlék: az itáliai magyar emigráció fényképeinek katalógusa – Ricordo dall'Italia : catalogo delle fotografie degli emigranti ungheresi in Italia, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest 2007), Györgyi Kalavszky (Emigrációban a szabadságért: az olaszországi és poroszországi magyar légiók tisztjeinek fényképkatalógusa, 1849-1867 – In *Emigration der Freiheit willen...: Photokatalog der Offiziere der ungarischen Legionen in Italien und Preussen, 1849-1867 – Lottare per la libertà in emigrazione: catalogo delle fotografie degli ufficiali delle legioni ungheresi in Italia ed in Prussia, 1849-1867*, Hadimúzeum Alapítvány, Budapest 2003).

⁴ See Antonello Biagini, Andrea Carteny: "Il Risorgimento, dalla rivoluzione all'esilio 'europeo': Mazzini e Kossuth dopo il 1849", in F. Di Giannatale (ed.): *Escludere per governare. L'esilio politico fra Medioevo e Risorgimento*, Le Monnier Università, Firenze 2011.

⁵ See in general, about brigandage as social European phenomenon, Eric J. Hobsbawm: *Bandits*, Nicolson, London-Weidenfeld 1969. About the debate soldiers' vs volunteers' employment in the Italian Risorgimento, see Piero Del Negro: "I militari nel Risorgimento: regolari e irregolari", in B. Alfonzetti, F. Cantù, M. Formica, S. Tatti (eds): *L'Italia verso l'Unità. Letterati, eroi, patrioti*, Ediz. di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 2011. In general, on the Italian military history, see Piero Pieri: *Storia militare del Risorgimento: guerre e insurrezioni*, Einaudi, Torino 1962.

⁶ See Cesare Cesari: *Il brigantaggio e l'opera dell'esercito italiano dal 1860 al 1870*, Ausonia, Roma 1920.

⁷ This contribution is based on the paper (A. Carteny: "Banditism and repression in post unity Italy") presented on 30th August 2010 in Amsterdam at the XXXVI Congress of International Military History (entitled: *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: Irregular Warfare from 1800 to the Present*), quoted by Herman Amersfoort: "At the End of the Day. Reflections on Insurgency and Counterinsurgency. Irregular Warfare from 1800 to the Present", in T. Brocades, J. Hoffenaar, A. Lemmers (eds): *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency: Irregular Warfare from 1800 to the Present*, Netherlands Institute of Military History, Den Haag 2011, pages 673-674.

emerged the overlap of the Bourbons' plans on the spontaneous peasants counter-revolution.⁸ The Bourbons basic strategy was, already during the Summer 1860 facing to the Garibaldi advance, the support of the peasants' movement against the "liberal insurrections" and the provisional governments created by liberals in several localities of South, in which they used the National Guards recently reconstituted by Bourbons. This strategy was successful, by the end of September until half of October: in this context, Bourbons official documents (called "blank papers") were authorizing "brigandage" and violence against properties and liberals, leaving on the "civil war" field a lot of victims, as reported by witnesses.⁹ After the Volturno's battle (2nd October) and the arriving of the Savoy's Army, the soldiers of the Bourbon king Francis 2nd remained only to the Gaeta's last defense, without the hope for the old regime's restore.¹⁰ In October 1860, the Garibaldi's dictatorship and the new provincial governors were opposed to the last Bourbons military threats and peasant uprising, particularly by the annexation's plebiscite day (21st October). The Cavour government priority was to dissolve the Garibaldi's Southern Army (more than 50 thousand unities) and to end the dictatorship power, substituted by a Royal Lieutenant; only as second step was the repression of peasant and loyalist brigandage insurrections.¹¹ A part of historiography shows that as a partially error and premise to the anti Savoy enduring resistance of brigandage.¹² In 1861-62, meanwhile the Garibaldi's worries about the Red Shirts' unemployment (April 1861) and to contrast the great peasant revolt (growing in Spring-Summer 1861), Ricasoli and Rattazzi governments called back in the Royal Army some former volunteers and officers.

3. The Hungarian Legion

In this difficult context, all force available and accountable was employed: among them, the Hungarian Legion.¹³ In line with historical friendship anti-Habsburgs and the constitution of legionaries' corps, respectively in Hungary and Italy – as the Italian Legion (1100 unities under the command of Alessandro Monti) in Hungary in 1849,¹⁴ the Hungarian Legion (60 unities under the command of Lajos Winkler) in Venice in 1849¹⁵ and in Piedmont in 1849 (110 unities under the command of István Türr)¹⁶ and in 1859 (3200 unities under the command of György Klapka)¹⁷ – the origin of the present formation was held in the *Mille* expedition of Garibaldi.¹⁸

After the departure of 1089 volunteers by Quarto (5th May 1860), Giuseppe Garibaldi counted on 4 Hungarians (Col István Türr, Maj Lajos Tüköry, Sgt Antal Goldberg and the soldier Vencel Lajoski): among them, he sincerely appreciated Türr, the former Colonel of the '59s Hungarian legion, and appointed him *Aide-de-camp*. After the heroism of Maj Lajos Tüköry, dead on 6th July because of a wound received during the Red Shirts assault of Porta Termini during the battle of Palermo (27th-30th May), in consequence of the arriving of more Hungarian soldiers among the troops of Gen Giacomo Medici, Türr pointed out to Garibaldi that presence of several number of Hungarian volunteers. On 12th July Garibaldi formally reviewed them: on 16th July his dictatorial decree authorized the constitution of a Hungarian Legion, formed by infantry and chivalry. Initially composed by 48 troop unities and 3 officers, under the command of the Maj Adolf Mogyoródy, the Legion was growing in number of officers and troops and forming a Hussar squadron, reaching the 89 unities at the departure from Palermo (6th August). Hungarians were assigned to the 2nd Brigade led by the Hungarian Gen Nándor Éber, within the 15th Division under the command of Gen Türr:¹⁹ at the time of the march in

⁸ Franco Molfese: *Storia del brigantaggio dopo l'Unità*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1964, pages 9-67 (Chapter 1: "Le 'reazioni' dell'autunno 1860 – inverno 1861").

⁹ See Alberto Mario: *La Camicia Rossa*, Sonzogno, Milano 1865 and later 2010 (English edition: *The Red Shirt. Episodes*, Smith, Elder and Co., London 1865).

¹⁰ See Cesare Cesari: *La campagna di Garibaldi nell'Italia meridionale (1860)*, Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1928.

¹¹ See Denis Mack Smith: *Cavour e Garibaldi nel 1860*, Einaudi, Torino 1958, later Rizzoli, Milano 1999 (1st English edition: *Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860. A study in political conflict*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1954 and later 1985).

¹² Molfese: *Storia del brigantaggio*, pages 28-29.

¹³ See Attilio Vigevano: *La Legione Ungherese in Italia (1859-1867)*, Libreria Dello Stato, Roma 1924.

¹⁴ See László Pete: *Il colonnello Monti e la legione italiana nella lotta per la libertà ungherese*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2003 (in Hungarian: *Monti ezredes és az olasz légió a magyar szabadságharcban*, Multiplex Media-Debrecen UP, Debrecen 1999).

¹⁵ See Eszter Lénárt: "Ungheresi per la Repubblica di Venezia del 1848-1849", in *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Iranistica, Uralo-altaistica e Caucasologia*, Università degli studi di venezia, n. 20, 1984.

¹⁶ See László Pete: "La Legione ungherese in Piemonte (1849)", in *Italianistica Debreceniensis*, X, Debrecen 2003. See also László Pete, *Olaszország magyar katonája: Türr István élete és tevékenysége 1825-1908*, Argumentum, Budapest 2011.

¹⁷ See Jenő Koltay-Kasztner: *Il contributo ungherese nella guerra del 1859. Storia e documenti*, Le Monnier, Firenze 1934.

¹⁸ See László Pete: "Gli Ungheresi nei Mille", in *RSU. Rivista di Studi Ungheresi*, 10-2011, Sapienza Università di Roma – anno XXV.

¹⁹ Carlo Pecorini Manzoni: *Storia della 15° divisione Türr nella campagna del 1860 in Sicilia e Napoli*, Tipografia della Gazzetta d'Italia, Firenze 1876. See also the quoted book of Lukács, e.g. in the Italian edition: *Garibaldi e l'emigrazione ungherese (1860-1862)* (Mucchi, Modena 1965), and the military diary of the Brigade Eber in appendix.

continental Italy (on 26th August) they counted on 118 infantry unities and 66 hussars (still without horses) under the command of Maj Fülöp Figyelmesy. On 2nd September, at the stop in Catanzaro, the number is reloaded to 194 unities (119 infantrymen, 14 officers, 75 hussars), the infantry including 25 no Hungarians too (Italians from Lombardy, Veneto, Piedmont, from Bohemia and Moravia, from Switzerland, 1 from Tyrol and 1 French). On 16th September, the Hussar squadron reached in Caserta the Legion: the hussars, now under the command of Maj György Scheiter, were full equipped by horses. On 28th September, the Hungarian legion force counted on 215 unities:²⁰ 106 infantrymen (19 officers, among them 12 lieutenants, and 87 troops) and 109 hussars (21 officers including 13 lieutenants, and 88 soldiers). The day after 16 soldiers enlisted in the Legion, ready for the great battle of the river Volturno against Bourbon Army. On 1st October the Legion (with the Brigade. Éber) was commanded to reach Santa Maria Capua Vetere, meanwhile a hussar squad was separated by Gen Türr towards Maddaloni, giving a link until the division Bixio. In this field the Hungarians were showing military values, suffering more than 1/3 of the effectives as victims:²¹ on a real presents number of 122, 13 dead (3 officers and 10 troop) and 28 wounded (1 officer and 27 troop). On 31st October in Naples, Garibaldi celebrated the flags giving to the Hungarians, sided by Gen Türr, Col Sándor Teleky, LtCol Kiss and Maj Mihály Gusdafy.

On 4th November the Legion, with the Brigade Eber, left to the Caserta royal residence, for the expected – but not achieved – review of the Southern Army by King Victor Emmanuel 2nd, auspicated by Garibaldi on 6th November. In that week emerged discontent and complaints among the troops: all the corps were separated and dislocated in the province. The Hungarian legion arrived in Nola on 15th November: with all 15th Division they passed under the command of the Savoy authority, which deliberated the dismissing of the Southern Army and so discharged quite all the brigade Eber troops. The Cavour government decided the dissolution of the Southern Army but the maintaining of the Hungarian legion, prepared to be the hardcore of a new Hungarian national army in a new revolutionary action against Habsburg – in agreement with the Hungarian emigration led by Lajos Kossuth, but also with Serbs and Romanians – planned for the April 1861. The difficulties and the delay of the Klapka mission in Danube principdoms, followed by the death of Cavour (6th June 1861), stopped finally this project. The surviving of the Legion was warranted, even if with a not clear status: in fact, the Legion was a rest of the Southern Army by the dependence of the General Secretary of the War Ministry cabinet. The Ministerial letter of 25th February 1861 confirmed that the Legion depended by the War General Director of Naples, with the name of “Auxiliary Hungarian Legion” (the special status continued on 12th December with the appointment of Gen Vetter as General Inspector of the Legion). On 21st January 1861 by a detailed verify of the Legion emerged that it was constituted by an inspectorate and a brigade command (in Naples) an infantry battalion, a hunters battalion, a hussar cavalry regiment and a mountain battery (in Nola): in total 56 officers, 448 troop unities, 146 horses, 7 pieces (in plus concerned the Legion four deposits: in Milan, Acqui, Genoa and Naples). Evident were the inefficiencies:²² too high the officers number, too small the troops units, without uniform and too much different nationalities among the troops (Italians, Swiss people, Germans, Slaves, Frenchmen, Greeks). On 25th February 1861, with a letter by the War Ministry cabinet there were some changes: the inspectorate and the deposits (except Naples) were suppressed, the battery was composed only of 6 pieces, the hunters battalion was renamed *bersaglieri* (marksmen) division, and that the nationalities admitted were only Hungarian, Poles, Germans. Some tensions were emerging among officers and troops, basically because the frustration of the Hungarian expectations for a new attack against Habsburgs. At the end of March was decided the transfer of the Legion to Nocera, in contrast of the growing brigandage in that region. The discontent grew up against the “Italian” government and the presence of Austrian agents among the troops was supposed. Gen Türr was called to review the legionaries in May and put order among the officers, calling ones to Turin, discharging and arresting the second ones. He wrote to Kossuth about all of these orders, with the hope of their validity: really, that was not enough.²³

The quantity of the troops was growing: on 15th July, the force was formed by 69 officers, 813 troops, 44 horses for officers and 208 quadrupeds for troops; on 23rd August, 61 officers, 910 troops, 246 quadrupeds.²⁴ In the second half of 1861, because of the high number, the *honvéd* infantry was placed in San Marzano, Salerno, San Gregorio, Eboli, Solofra; the marksmen division in Salerno and Siano; the hussars in Salerno, Nocera De’ Pagani, Eboli, San Gregorio, Solofra, San Marzano, the artillery in Salerno and Nocera De’ Pagani. In 1862 the placement was enlarged to the Puglie, and Amalfi and Potenza regions (in Potenza city and later in Lavello there was the hussar regiment command). In this

²⁰ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, page 79.

²¹ Ibidem, pages 85-86.

²² Ibidem, page 104.

²³ Ibidem, page 120.

²⁴ Ibidem, page 105.

condition, the Legion was finalized to the repression against the bands raids and brigands insurgency in the period April 1861 – August 1862.²⁵

4. Fights and battles in the Army's Archival sources (1861-1862)

The General Staff Army's Historical Archive (AUSSME) files show an interesting documentation about the real employment of the Auxiliary Hungarian Legion in this period within the rich and ordered archival fund Brigandage "G11".²⁶ In the fragmented job of the Legion, there are some main episodes in which it's possible to see the methods and practices of legionaries.²⁷

In June 1861 the Avellino district was in tension, and at the beginning of July the revolts exploded in the localities of Montemiletto, Montefusco and mainly Montefalcione. Required by the Naples command on 8th July, from the Legion command of Nocera De' Pagani Col Juhász sent Maj Girczy with 3 honvéd companies and 120 hussars to Avellino. Meanwhile, in Montefalcione the intervention of the Avellino governor De Luca, with an infantry company (100 unities of Aosta brigade, 6th regiment) and a national guards battalion (350 unities), was forced by a 2 thousand brigands band to take a refuge in a monastery. On 9th July the legionaries intervention was divided in 3, a company to all the towns: 1st company with Cpt Pinczés to Montefusco and 2nd with Cpt Biró to Montemiletto, each of these supported lately by a hussar platoon. At the morning of 10th July, these companies from the North were converging to Montefalcione, where from South attacked the 3rd company with the rest of hussars (60 unities) to liberate the besieged forces in the monastery. After 1 hour of fight, at 8 o'clock the brigands were pushed back to the town: with the command of the Italian infantrymen and a part of national guards, Maj Girczy at 11 o'clock assaulted the town disbanding brigands to the mountains. The arriving of the reinforcements of the Maj Reinfeld legionaries (2 companies and 2 mountain battery sections with 4 artillery pieces) permitted to all the forces to move in pursuit of brigands. Until 14th July, Girczy and Reinfeld forces were completing the resetting action of the order. In consequence of these actions, several officers and troops were mentioned for military honors: Maj Girczy was mentioned for the knight cross of the Savoy military order and the bronze medal for valor, 4 officer and 16 troops for the silver medal, finally 32 troops for the honor mention.²⁸

After the Montefalcione episode, the Legion was at the availability of the 16th division command of Ltg Della Chiesa, for intervention in other districts (as in Salerno, Potenza and Basilicata districts). One unit (by the 1st company) under the command of Cpt Halas was detached to Ruvo Di Puglia against a 40 brigands band active in this locality.²⁹ In January and first half of February 1862 they employed heavy methods and all the measures to destroy the network and environment of this band:³⁰ frequent frisks and controls, burning haystacks and walling up all the doors and windows at the manor farms, questioning and interrogation to all the suspects (without permission for moving) and realizing several arrests. The result was: 3 shot, 15 arrested, the band dispersed.³¹

In Amalfi hinterland there was an attack of 150 brigands against a patrol reconnaissance (7th infantry regiment) on the Monte Fosse Della Neve, on 13th June 1862. The Hungarian battalion was commanded to outflank this mountain, on 16th June: organized in two military columns, they were attacked by brigands but the right column (under the orders of Lt Serban) resisted until the intervention the national guards from Ravello.³²

At the same time, at Venosa was detached 1st hussar squad with Cpt Dollesz. Because the signal of the presence of brigands in this area, on 16th June 1862 a 30 hussars platoon, led by Lt Viberak, was attacked by 28 brigands near a manor farm in the Montemilone town.³³ Legionaries launched themselves in pursuit of the band: in the following scum 19 brigands were killed and 2 wounded. Among Hungarians there were only 2 wounded, meanwhile Lt Viberak, Sgt Bemysafy, Sgt Zedló and Cpl Werszenberger were mentioned for bravery.

On 19th June the 4th infantry company of legionaries arrived in the village named Laviano, because the people was pro-brigands. On 25th June the band burned a manor farm and extorted money and weapons from the archpriest: so on

²⁵ It must be mentioned the book of János György Szilágyi: In search of Pelasgian Ancestors, Atlantisz, Budapest 2004 (English edition), about the archaeological excavations organized in the Apennines' region by Hungarian officials in 1861.

²⁶ See Piero Crociani: Guida al Fondo "Brigantaggio", Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito-Ufficio Storico, Roma 2004. The documents are in the following dossiers: AUSSME-G11, 1861: Busta XII, pages 999-1181; AUSSME-G11, 1862: Busta XXXIV, fasc. 7/3; further quotations about the legionaries in the dossiers of honor mentions are in AUSSME-G11 1962: Busta XXVIII (XXXX), fasc. 5, page 3.

²⁷ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, pages 108-114.

²⁸ Ibidem, pages 108-110.

²⁹ Molfese: Storia del brigantaggio, page 181.

³⁰ The "exceptional measures" were diffusely employed in the Capitanata region by Spring 1862. Ibidem, 180.

³¹ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, page 110.

³² Ibidem, page 111.

³³ Ibidem, pages 111-112. See even Molfese: Storia del brigantaggio, page 179.

26th June legionaries intercepted the brigands and wounded the leader Vincenzo Robertiello.³⁴ Dispersed the band, on 2nd July Robertiello was arrested and the day after executed.³⁵

In the Amalfi region on summer 1862 was employed a lot of forces against the rage of bandits.³⁶ On 30th June the brigands occupied the village of Praiano: a legionaries company led by Lt Secolic engaged a fight, with the result of 11 brigands captives.³⁷

In Amalfi too, on 22nd July, entered a brigands band, contrasted only by legionaries under the order of Maj Reinfeld. The result was 9 brigands killed, 20 wounded: Maj Reinfeld was appointed of honor citizen and patrician of Amalfi, with a medal for saving the city.³⁸

5. The legionaries' mutiny

The efficiency of repression's Hungarian tactics (and also their cruelty) was famous within the people. But within the legionaries the discontent grew up because the lack of news about the Hungarian national question. The frustrated expectations of a new action against Habsburgs by Garibaldi (real leader and hero of the Hungarian legionaries) and the lack of unity (because their dispersion in different regions) were at the basis of the tensions between Hungarians and commands. In April 1862 a reform projected a rationalization for the Legion, with the reunification of all the troops in one seat (e.g. in Capua), with one own flag, verbal commands in Hungarian, appointment of the officer etc. On 27th May Gen Türr, passing by Naples, one more time was called to give newly order to the troops: on 29th arrived the order of reorganization, by discharging of several unities and fixing the period of service in 1 year (upon oath to the command). In advance to these new orders, at the half of June 350 legionaries applied for their discharge: without the acceptance of foreign countries to receive them, the former soldiers were remaining in Italy, living by the government subsistence. The notice of arriving hundreds of aspirant legionaries from Balkans, pushed the best elements also to apply for discharge (at the end of June 64 soldiers demanded to leave). In fact, probably inspired by the some Hungarian officers, charges to legionary officers emerged in the press – as in the newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* – on 19th July. So these same days first the legionaries of Nocera (on 18th July), in number of a hundred troops, refused to remain in service and to take arms. The Legion commander Col Juhász (appreciated officer but weak with the troops) was replaced with Col Telkessy. First Gen Klapka, then Gen Türr was commanded to reorganize the Legion. The concentration of all the others legionaries in Nocera and the transfer to Turin (as the 2nd August order) was not achieved, because arrived the notice of the Garibaldi landing in Sicily (on 7th July) for a new expedition until Rome. As Garibaldi joined volunteers during his march, the legionaries were organizing themselves to reach their leader and to reinitializing the war for Hungarian freedom. So on 3rd August the hussars left Lavello towards Nocera, and the squad of Venosa and Melfi decided to do the same: consequently, all the *honvéd* troops prepared themselves to do that.³⁹ Planned for leaving by the ship "Conte di Cavour" on 13th August, the legionaries were disarmed with some resistance. At the moment of boarding from Salerno, 150 unities scattered towards the mountains, with the aim to join Garibaldi. Arriving to Genoa on 16th August, the ship disembarked 748 unities (41 effective officers, 58 added officers, 649 troops) and 16 horses. The last force remained in Laviano, the 4th infantry company, left by the ship "Ville de Lyon" on 28th August. All the troops were sent to Alessandria, where remained disarmed and under a strict control.⁴⁰

On 28th August Col Pallavicini stopped the glorious expedition of Garibaldi in Aspromonte: the "hero of the two worlds" was wounded and arrested without the possibility to be joined by Hungarians. A glorious period of the Hungarian participation in the Italian Unification, from the Mille expedition until the Aspromonte, ended, marked by the Garibaldi leading figure and by the employment of the Legionaries against the Brigands.⁴¹

6. Conclusion

These events were the end of an emotional period for Hungarian troops and hussars in the Italian Royal Army. Emerged the question about the property of weapons, quadrupeds etc of the Legion: the Hungarian committee and Gen Türr proved that it was a gift by Garibaldi and kept weapons, and the Italian government and Army took the rest. Türr was the

³⁴ Ibidem, pages 182-183.

³⁵ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, pages 112-113.

³⁶ See Molfese: Storia del brigantaggio, page 183.

³⁷ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, page 113.

³⁸ Ibidem, page 114.

³⁹ Molfese: Storia del brigantaggio, page 196.

⁴⁰ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, pages 131-133.

⁴¹ About this period and perspective, see in general Lukács: Garibaldi e l'emigrazione ungherese (1860-1862).

main author of the reorganization of the Legion, with which prepared by the Spring 1863 for a new period of the Legion's employment in Marche and Abruzzi regions. But the changes within the Legion constitution and, particularly, the new context given by the exceptional laws and application of Pica's law (August 1863), suspending the civil rights in the regions under the brigands' threat, signed an extraordinary period in the repression of brigandage and the employment of corps as legions.⁴²

In all the cases, the first years of the repression against the brigandage are important for the emerging of the phenomenon and for the organizing the repression instruments. Particular part of this system was the employment of former volunteers of the Southern Army, enlisted by Garibaldi but in big part discharged after the unification by the government. The efficiency in the employment of these troops (which were really cruel in the repression systems) on the field is parallel with the unaccountability in a regular Army life system (often in peace).⁴³ Hungarians, in that historical and political framework, showed themselves as troops with military bravery but not unconditionally devoted to the Italian (and, for them, foreign) government.

In the present Italian public debate, over the *pro* and *contra* positions,⁴⁴ the focal point about the Italian unification is "how" was achieved the national Unity: in this perspective, the most important element emerged is the Italian Risorgimento as the "model" and sample of national resurgences in the wider European Risorgimento.⁴⁵

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⁴² See Molfese: Storia del brigantaggio (Part II: "Attacco e liquidazione del brigantaggio").

⁴³ Vigevano: La Legione Ungherese, page 222.

⁴⁴ See, as samples of the press and public debate, books like: P. Aprile: Terroni. Tutto quello che è stato fatto perché gli italiani del Sud diventassero meridionali, Piemme, Milano 2010; L. Del Boca: Maledetti Savoia, Piemme, Casale Monferrato 1998 and following editions, until 2011; G. Di Fiore: I vinti del Risorgimento. Storia e storie di chi combatté per i Borbone di Napoli, Utet, Torino 2004, and ControStoria dell'Unità d'Italia. Fatti e misfatti del Risorgimento, Rizzoli, Milano 2007. Must be mentioned here some political and academic positions of the political/historiographical and scientific/academic debate about the Risorgimento: firstly, from the contemporary historical debate launched by Alfredo Oriani in *La lotta politica in Italia. Origini della lotta attuale (476-1887)* (Rome 1892), about the meaning of the Italian unification as "conquest" by the Savoys or as "revolution" not achieved. Scholars and politicians engaged, during the liberal period, edited essays and speeches about the "Southern" question and the Brigandage (as Giuseppe Zanardelli: *Sulle condizioni del Mezzogiorno*, 1901; Sidney Sonnino: *La questione meridionale*, 1902; Francesco Saverio Nitti: *Briganti, 1899, Napoli e la questione meridionale*, 1903; Gaetano Salvemini: *Suffragio universale, questione meridionale e riformismo*, 1909; Leopoldo Franchetti: *Mezzo secolo di Unità nelle province meridionali*, 1911) and began the "meridionalism" in Italy (Giustino Fortunato, Napoleone Colajanni, Nitti, Salvemini etc.). Along the XX century too, during the interbellic period (Giacchino Volpe, Mario Missiroli, Benedetto Croce, Piero Gobetti, Antonio Gramsci, Luigi Sturzo) and after the WWII, some "meridionalists" presented the criticisms: in a marxist perspective; about the institutions of economy and society in the South (e.g. in Rosario Romeo); among different political and ideological environments (Catholic, Liberal, Socialist and Communist ones: e.g. Vincenzo Scotti, Francesco Compagna, Massimo Salvadori, Egidio Sterpa). Essays recently published about the Southern question, written by scholars, are: Giuseppe Galasso (*Il Mezzogiorno: da questione a problema aperto*, Lacaia, Manduria 2005) and Luigi De Rosa (*La provincia subordinata: saggio sulla questione meridionale*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2004).

⁴⁵ See Giovanna Motta (ed.): *Ripensare il Risorgimento*, Passigli, Firenze 2012; see also Antonello Biagini, Andrea Carteny: "Introduzione", in Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: *Contro l'Unità d'Italia. Articoli scelti*, Miraggi, Torino 2010, pages 5-19.

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