

done. He hoped that the discussion on the first reading of this bill would now be allowed to proceed.

COLERAINE CHRONICLE, 2 MAY 1846

EXODUS OF THE CELTIC RACES

What has been called the "Exodus of the Celtic races" continues. The return of spring has witnessed once more the flux of the emigrational tide towards the shore of the New World. The quays of Dublin, Cork, and Liverpool are crowded with Irish emigrants, departing to other lands, and carrying with them, in too many instances we are afraid, a feeling of bitter hatred to this country. They blame England for the evils that have befallen them in their own land, instead of blaming, as they ought to do, their own landlords, their own indolence, their own religious and party feuds, and their own listless reliance upon the easily raised but miserable root, the potato. Year after year the efflux continues. Strong men that are the very life-blood of a nation, and that will become so to that great kindred nation of America, which is destined in due time to overshadow the world with its power and glory,

leave our shores in countless multitudes. The greater the numbers who emigrate in any one year, the larger the amount of funds received in Ireland in the next, to enable friends and relatives to follow to the land of plenty and independence. The potato failure is thus working a mighty revolution. It has caused the property of the Irish landlords to change hands; it has converted proprietors into paupers; it has caused England to spend ten millions of money for the relief of the people with as little real benefit as if the sum had been sunk into the sea; it has consigned upwards of one million of human beings—some accounts say upwards of two millions—to a premature death by famine and fever; and it has driven the very flower of the Celtic race across the Atlantic, to subdue and to cultivate the forests and prairies of the almost illimitable regions of the Far West, and thus to open up the long-buried East, and to menace Japan and China with a European invasion. This mighty emigration pays for itself. It seeks no aid from the public purse, but it should be remembered that it establishes itself in regions that owe no fealty to the Crown of England.

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 3 APRIL 1852

Questions

- (1) What reasons does the writer of the article in "The Vindicator" put forward in support of his contention that the Famine was inevitable? To whom does he appear to assign the blame, and by what justification?
- (2) What role did the landlords play?
- (3) What impressions can be derived from the accounts of the Parliamentary debates recorded in the "Coleraine Chronicle"?
- (4) What future consequences does the "Illustrated London News" foresee for Ireland and England? To what extent have these forebodings been fulfilled?

17-3

Giuseppe Mazzini: global rebirth through Risorgimento.

Along with Giuseppe Garibaldi and Count Camillo di Cavour, Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) is counted as one of the major architects of Italian unification. As the founder of Young Italy, Mazzini first attempted to revitalize Italian national pride (a process known as "Risorgimento"), and in so doing establish a precedent that would spawn sister organizations in all other countries. This international movement would then eventually unite the human family in bonds of mutual peace, cooperation, and achievement.

Source: Susan N. Gangulee, ed., *Mazzini* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 46–49, 127–129.

One night I was suddenly awakened by two carabinieri, who desired me to get up immediately and follow them. I imagined this was merely in order to subject me to another examination; but when they told me to take my cloak with me, I perceived I was to leave the barracks.

I then asked whither we were going, but they replied that they were not permitted to tell me. I thought of my mother, knowing well that if she should

hear the next day of my disappearance, she would imagine the worst; and I resolutely declared I would not stir (unless compelled by force) without being allowed to send a letter to my family. After long hesitation, and much consultation with their officer, they consented.

I wrote a few lines to my mother, telling her that I was leaving the barracks, but that there was no cause for alarm, and then followed my new masters. At the

door stood a sedan-chair ready for me, which they closed upon me as soon as I entered it. As soon as we stopped, I heard the sound of horses' feet, indicative of a longer journey, and then the unexpected sound of my father's voice bidding me be of good cheer.

I know not how he had heard of my departure, nor learned the time and place; but I well remember the brutality with which the carabineers sought to drive him away, and their thrusting me out of the sedan-chair and into the carriage, so that I was hardly even able to press his hand, as well as the furious manner in which they rushed up to identify a youth who was standing near smoking, and who nodded to me.

I was taken to the fortress of Savona, on the Western Riviera. There was no cell ready for me. I was left in a dark passage, where I received a visit from the governor (De Marl), an old man of seventy, who, after preaching me a long sermon on the many nights I had wasted in culpable societies and meetings, and the wholesome quiet I should find in the fortress, answered my request for a cigar by saying *that he would write to the governor of Genoa to know if such a thing could be permitted*. This little incident drew from me—after he left me—the first tears I had shed since my imprisonment; tears of rage at feeling myself so utterly in the power of beings I despised.

In about an hour's time I was confined in my cell. It was at the top of the fortress, and looked upon the sea, which was a comfort to me. The sea and the sky—two symbols of the infinite, and except the Alps, the sublimest things in nature—were before me whenever I approached my little grated window. The earth beneath was invisible to me; but when the wind blow in my direction I could hear the voices of the fishermen.

During the first month I had no books, but afterwards, through the courtesy of the new governor, Cavalier Fontana—who, fortunately for me, replaced De Mari—I obtained a Bible, a Tacitus, and a Byron. My prison companion was a lucherino (greenfinch), a little bird very capable of attachment, and full of pretty ways, of which I was excessively fond.

It was during these months of imprisonment in Savona that I conceived the plan of the association of Young Italy (*La Giovane Italia*). I meditated deeply upon the principles upon which to base the organization of the party, the aim and purpose of its labours—which I intended should be publicly declared—the method of its formation, the individuals to be selected to aid me in its creation, and the possibility of linking its operations with those of the existing revolutionary elements in Europe.

We were few in number, young in years, and of limited means and influence; but I believed the whole problem to consist in appealing to the true instincts and tendencies of the Italian heart, mute at that time, but revealed to us both by history and our own prevision of

the future. Our strength must lie in our right appreciation of what those instincts and tendencies really were.

All great national enterprises have ever been originated by men of the people, whose sole strength lay in that power of *faith* and of *will*, which neither counts obstacles nor measures time. Men of means and influence follow after, either to support and carry on the movement created by the first, or, as too often happens, to divert it from its original aim.

I was not influenced by any mere political conception, nor the idea of elevating the condition of the single people whom I saw thus dismembered, degraded, and oppressed; the parent thought of my every design was a presentiment that regenerated Italy was destined to arise the *initiatrice* of a new life, and a new and powerful unity to all the nations of Europe.

I felt that authority—a true righteous and holy authority—the search after which, whether conscious or not, is in fact the secret of our human life, and which is only irrationally denied by those who confound it with its false semblance or shadow, and imagine they have abolished God himself, when they have but abolished an idol;—I felt that authority had vanished, and become extinct in Europe; and that for this reason no power of initiative existed in any of the peoples of Europe.

The labours, studies, and sorrows of my life have not only justified and confirmed this idea, but have transformed it into a faith. At that time even the immature conception inspired me with a mighty hope that flashed before my spirit like a star. I saw regenerate Italy becoming at one bound the missionary of a religion of progress and fraternity, far grander and vaster than that she gave to humanity in the past. The immediate result of these ideas was to convince me that the labour to be undertaken was not merely a political, but above all a moral work; not negative, but religious; nor founded upon any theory of self-interest, or well-being, but upon principles and upon duty.

From studying the ill-fated movements of 1820–21 and 1831, I learned what errors it would be necessary to avoid in future. The greater numbers of Italians—who did not pause to distinguish between the events themselves and the men who attempted to control them—derived from these insurrections only a lesson of profound discouragement.

To me they simply brought the conviction that success was a problem of *direction*, nothing more. Others opined that the blame I bestowed upon the directors of the movements ought to fall upon the whole country. The mere fact that such men rather than others had risen to power was considered very generally to be the result of a vice inherent in the condition of Italy; and as giving an average—so to speak—of the Italian revolutionary power. I merely regarded that choice as a fault of logic, easily remedied.

The error was the error only too prevalent at the

present day—that of entrusting the government of the insurrection to those who had no share in making it.

The people and the youth of Italy have always yielded the reins of direction to the first man claiming the right to hold them with any show of authority. This may be traced to a well-meant but overstrained desire of legality, and an honourable though exaggerated fear of being accused of anarchy or ambition; to a traditionary habit, useful only in a normal state of things, of trusting to men of advanced age, or local influence; and to their absolute inexperience of the nature and development of great revolutions.

The preliminary conspiracy and the revolution have always been represented by two distinct classes of men. The first were thrust aside as soon as all obstacles were overthrown, and the others then entered the arena the day after, to direct the development of an idea not their own, a design they had not matured, the elements and difficulties of which they had never studied, and in the enthusiasm and sacrifices of which they had had no share.

Our young men, trustful and inexperienced, gave way. They forgot the immense difference between the wants of a free and of an enslaved people, and the improbability that the same men who had represented the individual and the municipal interests of the last should be fitted to represent the political and national interests of the first.

From these and other reflections, I at last determined to obey my own instincts; and I founded the Association of Young Italy (*La Giovane Italia*).

Autobiography, Works, vol. I

Great revolutions are the work rather of the principles than of bayonets, and are achieved first in the moral, and afterwards in the material sphere. Bayonets are truly powerful only when they assert or maintain a right; the rights and duties of society spring from a profound moral sense which has taken root in the majority. Blind brute force may create victors, victims, and martyrs; but tyranny results from its triumph, whether it crown the brow of prince or tribune, if achieved in antagonism to the will of the majority.

Principles alone, when diffused and propagated amongst the peoples, manifest their right to liberty, and by creating the desire and need of it, invest mere force with the rigour and justice of law.

Truth is one. The principles of which it is composed are multiple. The human intellect cannot embrace them all at one grasp, nor having comprehended them, can it organize and combine them all in one intelligible, limited, and absolute form.

In Italy, as in every country aspiring towards a new life, there is a clash of opposing elements, of passions assuming every variety of form, and of desires tending in fact towards one sole aim, but through modifications almost infinite.

There are many men in Italy full of lofty and indig-

nant hatred to the foreigner, who shout for liberty simply because it is the foreigner who withholds it.

There are others, having at heart the union of Italy before all things, who would gladly unite her divided children under any strong will, whether of native or foreign tyrant.

Others again, fearful of all violent commotions, and doubtful of the possibility of suddenly subduing the shock of private interests, and the jealousies of different provinces, shrink from the idea of absolute union, and are ready to accept any new partition diminishing the number of sections into which the country is divided.

Few appear to understand that a fatal necessity will impede all true progress in Italy, until every effort at emancipation shall proceed upon the three inseparable bases of unity, liberty, and independence.

But the number of those who do understand it is daily increasing, and this conviction will rapidly absorb every other variety of opinion.

Love of country, abhorrence of Austria, and a burning desire to throw off her yoke, are passions now universally diffused, and the *compromises* inculcated by fear, or a mistaken notion of tactics and diplomacy, will be abandoned, and vanish before the majesty of the national will. In this respect, therefore, the question may be regarded as lying between tyranny driven to its last and most desperate struggle, and those resolved to bravely dare its overthrow.

The question as to the means by which to reach our aim, and convert the insurrection into a lasting and fruitful victory, is by no means so simple.

Italy does know that there is no true war without the masses; that the secret of raising the masses lies in the hands of those who show themselves ready to fight and conquer at their head; that new circumstances call for new men—men untrammelled by old habits and systems, with souls virgin of interest or greed, and in whom the Idea is incarnate; that the secret of power is faith; that true virtue is sacrifice, and true policy to be and to prove oneself strong.

Young Italy knows these things. It feels the greatness of its mission and will fulfil it. We swear it by the thousands of victims that have fallen during the last ten years to prove that persecutions do not crush, but fortify conviction; we swear it by the human soul that aspires to progress.

The ideas and aspirations now scattered and disseminated among our ranks require to be organized and reduced to a system. This new and powerful element of life, which is urging Young Italy towards her regeneration, has need of purification from every servile habit, from every unworthy affection.

And we, with the help of the Italians, will undertake this task, and strive to make ourselves the true interpreters of the various desires, sufferings, and aspirations that constitute the Italy of the nineteenth century.

Manifesto, 1831, Works, vol. I

Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of *Progress* and *Duty*, and are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation—convinced also that she possesses sufficient strength within herself to become one, and that the ill success of her former efforts is to be attributed not to the weakness, but to the misdirection of the revolutionary elements within her—that the secret of force lies in constancy and unity of effort. They join this association in the firm intent of consecrating both thought and action to the great aim of reconstituting Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals.

Young Italy is *Republican* and *Unitarian*.

Republican—because theoretically every nation is destined, by the law of God and humanity, to form a free and equal community of brothers; and the republican is the only form of government that insures this future.

Because all true sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, the sole progressive and continuous

interpreter of the supreme moral law.

Because, whatever be the form of privilege that constitutes the apex of the social edifice, its tendency is to spread among the other classes, and by undermining the equality of the citizens, to endanger the liberty of the country.

Because, when the sovereignty is recognized as existing not in the whole body, but in several distinct powers, the path to usurpation is laid open, and the struggle for supremacy between these powers is inevitable; distrust and organized hostility take the place of harmony, which is society's law of life.

Because the monarchical element being incapable of sustaining itself alone by the side of the popular element, it necessarily involves the existence of the intermediate element of an aristocracy—the source of inequality and corruption to the whole nation.

Because both history and the nature of things teach us that elective monarchy tends to generate anarchy; and hereditary monarchy tends to generate despotism....

Questions

- (1) What were the conditions of Mazzini's imprisonment; under what circumstances and inspirations did he conceive of Young Italy? Explain.
- (2) What did Mazzini blame for the failed insurrections of 1820–21 and 1831? In what specific respects did he see Young Italy as a safeguard against a repeat of those errors and circumstances?
- (3) What aims and goals does Mazzini view as being priorities for Young Italy, and why?

17-4

"Napoleon the Little": a revised agenda for Bonapartism.

For all the destruction he wrought upon Europe (see Document 15-5), the image of Napoleon I as the heir to the ideals of the French Revolution proved an enduring one. By 1840, interest in the late, heroic Emperor and a misguided nostalgia for the "glorious" past led to a movement which successfully pressed for the shipping of his body from St. Helena to its re-interment at the Church of the Invalides in Paris. The major political beneficiary was the Emperor's nephew, Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who sought to capitalize on his uncle's posthumous popularity to elevate himself into power. As he put it: "It is as necessary to bring back the Emperor's ideas as it is to bring back his ashes." In keeping with the changing times, however, Louis Napoleon found it advisable to modify his uncle's ideas along more palatably liberal lines than the late Emperor would have tolerated during his lifetime. Louis Napoleon would ultimately assume the French Imperial throne from 1852–1870 as Napoleon III (or "Napoleon the Little" in the words of his critic, Victor Hugo).

Source: *The Political and Historical Works of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte* (N.Y.: Howard Fertig, 1973), pp. 257–271.

I.

FRANCE has been exhausting itself during the last five-and-twenty years in vain efforts to establish a lasting state of affairs. The causes of disquiet constantly reappear, and society passes by turns from feverish agitation to lethargic apathy.

This instability is always one of the symptoms of transition when those who govern leave to circumstances the change from an old system to a new one, without even

endeavouring to give it a firm and regular direction.

The great Revolution of 1789 had two distinct characteristics—one social, the other political. The social revolution has triumphed in spite of our reverses, while the political one has failed in spite of the victories of the people. That is the cause of all our discomfort now.

When Napoleon appeared at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the aspect of affairs was entirely changed; the waves of popular violence were appeased, the ruins were cleared away, and order and prosperity