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# The Camelot Series.

EDITED BY ERNEST RHYS.

MAZZINI'S ESSAYS.

ESSAYS: SELECTED FROM  
THE WRITINGS, LITERARY,  
POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS, OF  
JOSEPH MAZZINI.

REPUBLISHED BY THE SPECIAL PERMISSION  
OF MADAME E. A. VENTURI, AND EDITED, WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION, BY WILLIAM CLARKE.

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## MAZZINI.

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WITH the political resurrection of modern Italy four names are associated. The unity of the Italian people was achieved under the kingship of Victor Emmanuel, by the aid of the skilful diplomacy of Cavour, and by means of the sword of the heroic Garibaldi. These men, differing from one another in various ways, had this in common—that they were essentially men of action. But the fourth name is that of one who combined action with thought in his own great and noble personality ; of one who suffered imprisonment and exile, and who lived to become the prophet and spiritual hero of his nation. But Mazzini is not the prophet of modern Italy alone, but also of the whole modern world. While an ardent patriot and advocate of struggling nationalities, no writer or thinker of our century has felt more deeply than he the solidarity of mankind ; and hence he becomes for us a true moral teacher, whose fervent words are as much needed in England, the country of his exile, as in Italy, the land of his birth. In this country there are not a few who owe to the intercourse they enjoyed with Mazzini their insight into the needs of modern life, their faith in progress, and their regard for the people. And it may with safety be affirmed that, apart from the approval or disapproval of specific opinions advocated by Mazzini, no one can be brought into close contact with his mind without being thereby roused to new endeavour or awakened to higher conceptions of human good than he had previously known. Few men could have been more at variance in opinion than Mazzini and Carlyle ; but the tribute rendered

spontaneously by the force-worshipping sage of Chelsea to the Italian democratic enthusiast is one of the most pleasing episodes in Carlyle's life. And the impressive scene in Genoa at the unveiling of the Mazzini statue in that city in 1882, when the vast concourse gazed in absolute silence on the features of their great citizen, and then burst forth into transports of enthusiastic joy, proved—if proof were needed—that the new Italy has not forgotten her prophet and liberator.

Born in Genoa in 1805, Joseph Mazzini was brought up not only in love of country, but also in the "worship of equality" through the democratic principles of his parents, "whose bearing towards high or low was ever the same." He tells us that while walking one Sunday in April 1821 with his mother and a friend of the family in the streets of Genoa, they were addressed by "a tall black-bearded man, with a severe and energetic countenance, and a fiery glance that I have never since forgotten. He held out a white handkerchief towards us, merely saying, 'For the refugees of Italy.' My mother and friend dropped some money into the handkerchief, and he turned from us to put the same request to others." The man was one Rini, a captain in the national guard instituted by the Piedmontese in their insurrection against Austria in March 1821. The insurrection was crushed, and many of the revolutionists had flocked to Genoa, there to await another opportunity. From this incident dates the spiritual new birth of Mazzini; the fruitful idea of struggle for the right, for Italy, for mankind, falling on fertile soil and bearing during the following half century the rich harvest of a sorrowful but inexpressibly precious life. That was the first day that a confused idea presented itself to his mind that "we Italians *could* and therefore *ought* to struggle for the liberty of our country." This idea continued to take ever stronger possession of his nature. Among the young students of the Genoa University he sat silent and absorbed; and even childishly determined to dress always in black as in mourning for his country. Gradually a little circle of friends, foremost among whom were the young Ruffinis, gathered around Mazzini; to them he communicated his thoughts, and to

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## MAZZINI.

them he was bound by ties of the strongest affection. Indeed, the subtle blending of keen intellectual enthusiasm with deep human love is perceptible all through the career of this great Italian, whereby he is proclaimed a true compatriot of Dante.

It was by the study of this great poet, whom he regarded as the prophet of his nation, that Mazzini's national sentiment was deepened into religious enthusiasm; and it was from the artistic side that Mazzini's patriotic feeling was first kindled. Art is the expression in forms of beauty of a nation's life; and Mazzini found himself in a land without any art but that of the past, because it had no life but in the past. "It was necessary to interrogate the slumbering, latent, and unconscious life of our people; to lay the hand upon the half-frozen heart of the nation; to count its rare pulsations, and reverently learn therefrom the purpose and duty of Italian genius." But Italy had been scornfully described as a "geographical expression;" while to produce art there must be liberty of development for Italy's own rich life. Mazzini therefore turned resolutely to the political problem—how to gain freedom and unity for Italy—and forthwith joined the secret society of the Carbonari. He was sent by the leaders of this body to Tuscany to plant the order there. Entrapped by an *agent provocateur*, Mazzini was arrested, the governor of Genoa informing his father that "he was a young man of talent, very fond of solitary walks at night, and habitually silent as to the subject of his meditations, and that the government was not fond of young men of talent, the subject of whose musings was unknown to it." Brutally separated from his father by the military, Mazzini was sent to the fortress of Savona, overlooking the sea on the Western Riviera. Here he remained for some time, the Bible, Tacitus, and Byron being the companions of his solitude. He was acquitted by a committee of senators at Turin; but not before he had conceived in his solitary cell the design of a new association of Young Italy—a society of young men bound together by a common faith and zeal—for the emancipation of the country. A journey to Switzerland and France followed; and at Marseilles, whither great numbers of Italian exiles had

flocked, Mazzini sketched out the design and rules of the new society. About this very time (April 1831) Charles Albert, who had been numbered in the ranks of the Carbonari, ascended the Sardinian throne, and many believed that he would achieve the liberty and unity of Italy. Mazzini did not share these views. He did, indeed, in a memorable letter, urge the Sardinian King to put himself at the head of the movement for Italian independence, telling him that he had the choice of being judged by posterity as the greatest of men or the last of Italian tyrants. But no man ever believed so firmly in the divine right of the Republic as did Mazzini. The salvation of Italy, he held, could never be achieved by any monarch, but only through the republican association of the Italian people. Even in 1861 he writes: "All that the Piedmontese monarchy can give us—even if it can give so much—will be an Italy shorn of provinces which ever were, are, and will be, Italian, though yielded up to foreign domination in payment of the services rendered; an Italy, the abject slave of French policy, dishonoured by her alliance with despotism; weak, corrupted, and disinherited of all moral mission, and bearing within her the germs of provincial autonomy and civil war." Italian provinces are indeed held by France and by Austria to-day, nor is Italy yet free from tendencies to separatism; while her present statesmen appear to be more concerned in the making of guns and ironclads and the acquisition of territory in Africa than in carrying out any "moral mission." But it must be admitted that, so far as appears (and this is the judgment of so competent an observer as M. de Laveleye), there is no very marked feeling for the Republic beloved by Mazzini; while in Italy, as in every other country, the social question at present eclipses the purely political.

Mazzini's republican ideal was, however, no mere political mechanism, but an organic union, the life of which was a religious faith. Mazzini found Italy utilitarian and materialist, permeated by French ideas, and weakened by her reliance on French initiative. He was filled with hope that Italy might not only achieve her own unity, but might once more accomplish, as she had in the Rome of the Cæsars and the Rome of the Church,

the unity of the Western world. "On my side I believed," he says, "that the great problem of the day was a religious problem, to which all other questions were but secondary." The Italians were to be convinced that their "sole path to victory was through sacrifice—constancy in sacrifice." Instead, therefore, of the old wire-pulling mechanism of Carbonarism, we have, as the exponent of these ideas, the association of Young Italy, filled with the breath of the new life. In the general instructions for the members of Young Italy Mazzini gives the reasons for his republican creed. "Young Italy is republican, he says, because every nation should form a free and equal community of brothers; because all true sovereignty resides in the nation; because privilege tends to undermine the equality of the citizens, and therefore to endanger the liberty of the country; because the Republic closes the path, otherwise open, to usurpation; because monarchy involves the intermediate element of an aristocracy, which is a source of inequality and corruption; because monarchy, which cannot now be based on the extinct belief of divine right, has become too weak a bond of unity and authority; because there are no monarchical elements in Italy; because Italian tradition is essentially republican; because monarchy would drag Italy into concessions to foreign courts, trust in and respect for diplomacy, and repression of the popular element; because the recent Italian movements had all been in essence republican; and because the idea of the Republic, dominating every European revolutionary manifestation, appealed to the sympathy and imagination of the Italian people.

Never existed greater devotion to a cause than was displayed by the leading members of Young Italy. "I never saw," said Mazzini, "any nucleus of young men so devoted, capable of such strong mutual affection, such pure enthusiasm, and such readiness in daily, hourly toil, as were those who then laboured with me. We were, Lamberti, Usiglio, Lustrini, G. B. Ruffini, and five or six others, almost all Modenese; alone, without any office, without subalterns, immersed in labour the whole of the day, and the greater part of the night; writing articles and

letters, seeing travellers, affiliating the Italian sailors, folding our printed articles, tying up bundles, alternating between intellectual labour and the routine of working men." Thus was the faith of the new Italian apostolate exemplified in its works. In the journal *Young Italy* appeared at the end of 1831 the manifesto of the new party, written by Mazzini himself. It was an eloquent appeal, written under the influence of the nascent romanticism of the time, fervid and passionate; too florid indeed for the taste of our colder and more critical period. Through it the regeneration of Italy was presented to the young Italian mind as an object of religious enthusiasm, to help forward which young Italy "has need of purification from every servile habit, from every unworthy affection." In order to differentiate the new movement from Carbonarism, which had been individualistic, founded on calculations of material interest, and given to compromise, it was now shown that Association was the new watchword. "Revolutions must be made by the people and for the people. This is our Word; it sums up our whole doctrine; it is our science, our religion, our heart's affection." No longer can any great human movement be based on a theory of individualism; the epoch of collective action has arrived, and the national organism must be penetrated with a conscious sense of its mission. This manifesto was followed by other writings from Mazzini, including "Thoughts Addressed to the Poets of the 19th Century," "On the Brotherhood of the Peoples," "The Alliance of the French and German Peoples," and "Young Italy to the People of Germany and the Liberals of France." In August 1832 Mazzini was decreed exiled from France. But it was easier to publish the decree than to enforce it. The spies who served a French prefect were willing to serve the outlaw also; and thus it came to pass that he sent to Geneva a friend who bore a close personal resemblance to himself, whilst he "walked quietly through the whole row of police-officers, dressed in the uniform of a national guard," and was able to remain a whole year in Marseilles, writing, correcting proofs, corresponding, and holding secret interviews. Thus was developed in Mazzini, under the educating

compulsion of threatened despotism, that "cat-like footfall," as a writer has called it, which "never betrayed him to Europe, while he passed untouched through her highways and byways as often as he listed, like the very wraith and spirit of Republicanism that he was."

The Association of Young Italy was soon to experience the fate reserved for those who raise the standard of insurrection against organised wrong. Mazzini himself had conceived the idea of a national revolution through the insurrection of the Sardinian States; Genoa and Alessandria being the two centres of the movement. But owing to the accident of a quarrel between two artillerymen the government was enabled to trace the secret of the conspiracy, and very soon wholesale arrests took place. Ferocious terrorism and artful designs were resorted to by the government. Some of the prisoners were made to believe, by forged signatures, that their own friends had denounced them. In other cases a pretended conspirator was placed in the same cell with a prisoner to worm his secret from him. An infusion was mixed with the drinking water of some prisoners to weaken the intellectual faculties. Beneath the window of a prisoner's cell the public crier would announce the execution of his friend. Mazzini's dearest friend, Jacopo Ruffini, whom he describes as "a youth of the sweetest nature, the purest and most constant affections I have ever known," tore one night a nail from the door of his prison, and opened a vein in his neck. "With this last protest against tyranny, he took refuge in the bosom of his Creator." Ultimately several were executed, others imprisoned for a term of years, while some managed to escape. Mazzini himself was among those condemned to death. Thus ended the first attempt of Young Italy.

But action was the motto of the insurgents, and a new attempt was shortly after determined on. Mazzini proceeded to Geneva, where he helped to set on foot a new journal, called *L' Europe Centrale*, and where he determined to operate on Savoy. Into the history of the abortive expedition there it is impossible, for reasons of space, to enter. Suffice it to say that, contrary to

Mazzini's advice, the expedition was placed under the direction of General Ramorino, who had been sent to Warsaw during the Polish insurrection by the Parisian Committee of the Friends of Poland. Delay ensued, want of confidence, exhaustion of funds, and finally betrayal by Ramorino. "The first period of Young Italy was concluded, and concluded with a defeat." The Italian exiles were dealt severely with by the governments under whose jurisdiction they were; others escaped, many going to Switzerland. Mazzini and three of his friends lay concealed for some time in Lausanne, but ultimately took up their abode in Berne, sad, poverty-stricken, exiled from friends and home, but devoted to a great ideal. "They were the infants of a new world, the children of a new faith. . . . They saw nations regenerated, and races long divided advancing together in brotherhood, confidence, and joy, while the Angel of Liberty, Equality, and Humanity spread his white wings above them." On the 15th April 1834, eighteen of the Berne exiles, Poles, Italians, and Germans, constituted a pact of fraternity, and founded the association of Young Europe, the mission of which was declared to be the constitution of mankind in such a manner "as to enable it through a continuous progress to discover and apply the law of God by which it should be governed, as speedily as possible." No true association, it is declared, is possible save among free men and equals; therefore the union of republican nationalities is the thing to be striven for. "All privilege is a violation of equality. All arbitrary rule is a violation of liberty. Every act of egotism is a violation of fraternity." Towards the end of the same year Mazzini founded the association of Young Switzerland, and in June 1835 a journal for extending its ideas, entitled *La Jeune Suisse*. But the European governments were keeping close watch over the exiles in Switzerland, and in July 1836 one Auguste Conseil was despatched by the French government to Berne to obtain their confidence, discover their secrets, and then of course betray them. The Swiss government was weak and timid; and when, in September 1836, France suspended diplomatic relations with Switzerland, the Swiss authorities yielded, and Mazzini was condemned to

perpetual exile from the Swiss Republic. He shrugged his shoulders, he says, and remained till December, searched for in vain on every side ; but then, owing to the state of health of the two friends who shared his trials, he left, and in January 1837 came to London. The "hell of exile" was never so dreary to Mazzini as during his first few months in the English capital. He was in a condition of the deepest poverty. "I struggled on," he says, "in silence. I pledged, without the possibility of redeeming them, the few dear souvenirs, either of my mother or others, which I possessed ; then things of less value ; until one Saturday I found myself obliged to carry an old coat and a pair of boots to one of the pawnbroker's shops, crowded on Saturday evenings by the poor and fallen, in order to obtain food for the Sunday. After this some of my fellow-countrymen became security for me, and I dragged myself from one to another of those loan societies which drain the poor man of the last drop of blood, and often rob him of the last remnant of shame and dignity, by exacting from him forty or fifty per cent. upon a few pounds, which he is compelled to pay back in weekly payments, at certain fixed hours, in offices held in public houses, or gin and beer shops, among crowds of the drunken and dissolute." But besides this terrible physical distress, Mazzini's soul was haunted at this time by the spectre of an awful doubt. Had he done right in leading others to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives for an Idea? "I felt myself a criminal—conscious of guilt, yet incapable of expiation. The forms of those shot at Alesandria and Chambery rose up before me like the phantoms of a crime and its unavailing remorse. I could not recall them to life. How many mothers I had caused to weep ! How many more must learn to weep, should I persist in the attempt to arouse the youth of Italy to noble action, to awaken in them the yearning for a common country ! And if that country were indeed an illusion !" Had this terrible state of mind lasted much longer, Mazzini tells us he must either have gone mad or died the death of a suicide. But he examined himself, and assured his mind of the purity of its purpose. He examined his cause, and satisfied himself that it was just. And so he

recovered his mental balance and serenity of soul. "Life," he proclaims, "is a mission. Every other definition of life is false, and leads all who accept it astray." When we clearly perceive that our action is in accord with the highest commands, and is dedicated to universal aims, the inevitable strife—the "bridal dawn of thunder-peals wherever thought hath wedded fact"—does not disturb our inward calm. We are the soldiers of an Idea, and that is the warrant of our action. "Think ye I am come to bring peace on the earth? I am not come to bring peace, but a sword." Mazzini, therefore, perceiving the purpose of our life, and conscious of the grandeur and unselfishness of his aims, found peace, and the black clouds of doubt fled away.

Supporting himself by his pen, and devoting no small part of his time and energies to the help and education of his poor and unhappy fellow-countrymen in London, Mazzini toiled on, noting every European movement, and with his mind fixed permanently on the Italian problem. It was during this time that several of his most important essays were produced—those on Lamennais and on Byron and Goethe in 1839, the two on Carlyle in 1843, and that on the minor works of Dante in 1844. The two essays on Carlyle—one on the "Genius and Tendency of the Writings of Thomas Carlyle," and the other on Carlyle's "French Revolution"—are of especial value, and contain criticism marked by deep insight as well as strong sympathy. All that Carlyle combats, says Mazzini, "is indeed really false, and has never been combated more energetically; that which he teaches is not always true. His aspirations belong to the future—the temper and habits of his intelligence attach him to the past. My sympathies may claim the one-half of the man,—the other half escapes me." The chief source of Carlyle's weakness is discerned in his individualism. With Carlyle the single soul bows prostrate before the Supreme Power, with whom it can enter into no relations and in whose sight it is nothing. The collective life of mankind is ignored, and the majority of men are despised. Hence arise hero-worships, strong rulers, and "saviours of society." Carlyle is a veritable John the Baptist, calling from the wilderness of modern life on the individual to



repent, and to do "the task that lies nearest to him." That is a great and needful mission, as Mazzini admitted; and how nobly Carlyle discharged that mission we all know. But it is not the highest mission for our age. We cannot relate ourselves to the Divine, says Mazzini, but through collective humanity. It is not by isolated duty (which indeed the conditions of modern life render more and more impossible), nor by contemplation of mere Power as displayed in the material world, that we can develop our nature. It is rather by mingling with the universal life, and by carrying on the evolution of the never-ending work. "Annihilate the connecting-link between all human lives; efface the infallibility involved in the idea of progression, of collective mankind, and what is martyrdom but a suicide without an object? . . . Sadness, unending sadness, discouragement between the will and the power, disenchantment, discouragement,—such is human life, when looked at only from the individual point of view." "Mr. Carlyle comprehends only the *individual*; the true sense of the unity of the human race escapes him. He sympathises with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life." Thus it is that Carlyle, spite of his great powers, his noble genius, and his fruitful thoughts, cannot be, in any high sense, the prophet of democracy; for no man, however great, can be the inspirer of an epoch whose ruling idea he does not comprehend.

This powerful criticism dealt with the work of one who was no stranger to Mazzini. The two men had met, and, spite of differences, had learned to know each other's worth. When the English government stooped to act the part of spy and informer for Austria by opening Mazzini's letters, and by traducing, through the mouth of one of its leading men, Mazzini's character, Carlyle testified in a letter to the *Times* (June 15, 1844) his regard for the persecuted Italian exile—"I have had the honour to know M. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if ever I have seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind, one of those

rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who, in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that." The falsehoods of Lord Aberdeen and the calumnies (afterwards apologised for) of Sir James Graham did not increase Mazzini's respect for the English government, which he regarded as "founded on the absurd privilege of hereditary power, and maintained by such empty formulæ as, The head of the state reigns, but does not govern." Such fictions he regarded as bearing a "radical vice of artificiality or immorality," and as leading to a constant state of antagonism between "a small and privileged fraction of society" and the great body of the people. But while disliking the government, Mazzini had a great regard for the English people, among whom he found many dear friends and co-workers in the great cause he had so deeply at heart.

Meanwhile the Italian movement was passing into the hands of parties and sects with which Mazzini had no sympathy. Compromise, materialism, and an almost superstitious belief in the French initiative—all three particularly abhorrent to Mazzini—had produced a great party of so-called Moderates, who put their faith in diplomacy, and some of whom trusted in Pius IX.—a confidence which was soon to be rudely shaken, though it may well be believed that that pontiff started with a fair stock of good intentions. But the year of revolutions—1848—arrived; and with it arrived insurrection in Italy. The sword was unsheathed by the people in Sicily and in Venetian-Lombardy, and a war committee sat at Milan. Mazzini's idea was that an insurrectional government should be established, which should unite the Venetian and Lombard elements, and thus form the nucleus of a United Italy. With this hope he hastened to his native land, speaking first at Brescia, and then proceeding to Milan. Manin held Venice, and Mazzini advised that Italy should rally round the Venetian flag. But again failure ensued, and the republican movement in Lombardy collapsed; no work was left there for Mazzini, who went by way of France to Tuscany. In the meantime the Pope

had fled from Rome, which had thus become a free city. Mazzini determined to proceed thither, and in "the city of the soul" to establish the Republic, which was duly proclaimed on the 9th of February 1849. A provisional government had been appointed, which for two months had conducted the administration. This body appealed to universal suffrage to elect a Constituent Assembly of one hundred and fifty members, which, on the date mentioned, declared the secular Papacy abolished and the Republic established. "Rome," says Mazzini, "was the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice, the religion of my soul; and I entered the city one evening, early in March, with a deep sense of awe, almost of worship. Rome was to me, as in spite of her present degradation she still is, the temple of Humanity." On the 18th of March a committee of war was chosen by the Assembly, on the proposition of Mazzini; an army of 45,000 was planned, and it was determined to send 10,000 men to aid Piedmont. But after the battle of Novara, by which the Piedmontese monarchy consented to what Mazzini designated her "sin and shame," a triumvirate was formed in Rome; Mazzini, Aurelio Saffi, and Armellini being the triumvirs. The brief history of the glorious Roman Republic and its cruel destruction at the hands of a sister republic are well known. On the 25th of April the French troops landed at Civita Vecchia, and the citizens decided to defend their cause, and, if needful, to die for it. The invasion of Rome was, as Mazzini says, the design of Louis Napoleon, who was meditating his tyranny at home, was desirous of gaining the support of the Church, and of accustoming the soldiery to fire on the republican flag. On May 7th the French Assembly desired the French government to empower M. Lesseps, their envoy, to come to terms with the Roman Republic. A treaty was made towards the end of May, by which an alliance was established between the Republic and France, by which the French army was to defend Rome in case of invasion. But this treaty the French general Oudinot refused to recognise, the French made themselves masters

of the heights round the city, and the siege began which ended with the overthrow of the Republic and the entry of the French troops into the city. Mazzini was the life and soul of the defence: surrounded by the wounded and the dying, his one fixed idea was the preservation of an unstained flag, the Roman banner on which was inscribed "God and the People," which might become the flag of a regenerated and united country under the lead of Rome. But he came forth from the siege an old and broken man so far as his bodily powers were concerned. Margaret Fuller, whose noble efforts for the wounded during the siege gained for her Mazzini's affectionate regard, thus describes him as he then appeared:—"Mazzini had suffered millions more than I could; he had borne his fearful responsibility; he had let his dearest friends perish; he had passed all these nights without sleep; in two short months he had grown old; all the vital juices seemed exhausted; his eyes were all bloodshot; his skin orange; flesh he had none; his hair was mixed with white; his hand was painful to the touch; but he had never flinched, never quailed; had protested in the last hour against surrender: sweet and calm, but full of a more fiery purpose than ever; in him I revered the hero, and owned myself not of that mould."

The Republic had fallen, the Vicar of Christ returned to Rome under the protection of French bayonets, and Mazzini went to Switzerland, and afterwards to England. The more active part of his life was over, though he personally assisted in the abortive insurrection of 1857, and strongly opposed the alliance of the Sardinians with the French Emperor in 1859. This was the work of the diplomatic Cavour, and Mazzini did not believe in the salvation of Italy through diplomacy. We know, as a matter of fact, that Italy paid, as the price of this alliance, Savoy and Nice. United Italy, as Mazzini understood it, does not yet exist; in its place there is a truncated Italy of monarchy and diplomacy, the creation of Victor Emmanuel, Louis Napoleon, and Cavour. Still, that is better than the "geographical expression" of Metternich; for the Italian has now a country, he has dignity and substantial political freedom.

But he has also, alas, at the same time, huge armaments and terrible poverty. The unity of Italy under a king of the house of Savoy was largely aided by Garibaldi. He had, assisted by Mazzini, carried to a successful issue the insurrection in Sicily, and had become dictator of Central Italy. While Mazzini was urging an advance on Rome, and a movement against Austria in Venice, Garibaldi, on the other hand, transferred his conquests to Victor Emmanuel, whose monarchy was thus consolidated. The union of Rome with Italy was delayed until the fall of the French Empire. On the 20th September 1870 the Italian troops entered the city, and the temporal power of the Papacy ended.

During this period Mazzini watched carefully all the political and social phenomena, and produced some of his most important writings. An essay on "Europe : its Condition and Prospects," appeared in the *Westminster Review* in 1852, and the greater part of "The Duties of Man" in 1858. The "Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe" had appeared in 1847 in the *People's Journal*. Since two cheap and convenient editions of these latter essays have been given to the public within the last few years, they are not included in the present volume, although they contain perhaps the most important and characteristic utterances of Mazzini's thought. In all these essays Mazzini gives to his readers his root ideas. Society conceived as a whole, the thought of collective mankind, composed of free nationalities, life conceived as a mission, duty regarded as the fulfilment of a divine law and as being precedent to individual rights, the union of thought and action, faith shown through works, conscience and tradition the *criteria* of truth—these are the main ideas herein taught.

No portion of Mazzini's teaching is more important than his criticism of the ideas summed up in the French Revolution. Mazzini regarded that event as the close, not the opening, of an epoch—the epoch of individual rights, which, after a period of chaos, was to be succeeded by the epoch of association, of collective life. The Revolution finally conquered for man those rights of the individual contended for by the Protestant

Reformation, but it necessarily ends, according to Mazzini, in despotism. "When Napoleon, the most powerful *individual* of that period, arose, and, relying upon force, said *Yield*—the revolution gave way before him, and with the exception of a very few, all these men who had sworn to die, or live free, held their tongues, and giving in, sat upon the benches of the conservative senate, or upon the benches of the Institute." Has, then, this individualism done no good work? Yes; it is powerful to destroy, and it has burnt up shams and lies not a few. But Mazzini contends that it cannot create; the new birth can only proceed from the collective life. With Association goes Duty. The individual has hitherto struggled for his rights; he will now co-operate with his nation in the fulfilment of its mission, with the world in its development of the eternal law of progress. This law is regarded as the unfolding of the Divine will in which, as Mazzini's countryman Dante said, is man's peace. "The absence of a highest form of *Duty*, universally accepted, to which every one can appeal, little by little and imperceptibly accustoms people's minds to submission to accomplished *facts*: success becomes the sign of right, and *what is done* takes the place, in men's worship, of Truth." From this it may be seen that Mazzini is wholly opposed to the doctrine that man acts from mere considerations of self-interest. This doctrine, assumed by most economists and politicians as self-evident, but which is visibly losing its hold under the influence of moral teachers like Ruskin, is condemned by Mazzini as resulting in the despotism of authority when starting from the *collective* point of view, and "in the anarchy of animal propensities" when adopted from the *individual* point of view. In no case can it afford a foundation for any true society. "No, certainly," he writes, "it was not to attain the ignoble and immoral *every one for himself* that so many great men, holy martyrs of thought, have shed, from epoch to epoch, from century to century, the tears of the soul, the sweat and blood of the body. Beings of devotedness and love, they laboured and suffered for something higher than the individual; for that Humanity which ought to be the object of all our efforts, and to which we are all

responsible. Before a generation which scorned or persecuted them, they calmly uttered their prophetic thoughts, with an eye fixed on the horizon of future times ; speaking to that *collective* being which ever lives, which ever learns, and in which the divine idea is progressively realised ; for that city of the human race, which alone, by the association of all intellects, of all loves, and of all forces, can accomplish the providential design that presided over our creation here below."

Mazzini's lofty idealism, his religious spirit, and his constant insistence on duty rather than on rights, frequently brought him into antagonism with many of the revolutionists of Europe, who, while they applauded his struggle for Italy, were by no means animated by the same motives which controlled him. Foremost among these was the famous Russian anarchist, Bakounine who, from an atheistic standpoint, criticised severely the theological politics of Mazzini. Yet Bakounine, while opposing the thinker, admired the man. "If there is a man," he says in his pamphlet (written in 1871) "*La Théologie politique de Mazzini et l'Internationale*," "universally respected in Europe, and who, during forty years of activity, uniquely devoted to the service of a great cause, has really merited this respect, it is Mazzini. He is incontestably one of the noblest and purest individualities of our age." Bakounine, like Mazzini, believed in association, but his conception of solidarity was very different from that of Mazzini. "The human species," says this Russian thinker, "like all other animal species, has inherent principles which are peculiarly its own, and all these principles sum themselves up, or reduce themselves, to a single principle which we call solidarity." This is a frank statement of the naturalistic view of man, who is thus regarded as one term of a series of phenomena, and whose desire for union is nothing more than a superior form of the gregarious instinct. This is very different from Mazzini's spiritual union, "his city of the human race," outside time and space.

Equally decisive was Mazzini's opposition to the older French Communism as preached by Proudhon, Fourier, and *Enfantin*. These doctrines were based, according to Mazzini, on the old

and false notions of the rights and the personal gratification of the desires of the Ego ; and if carried into practice, would lead either to despotism or anarchy. His attitude towards our current socialism would probably be somewhat different, for that is historical, and is connected with those democratic forms which he thought essential, and which were ignored by the older French Communists. Many Socialists appear to regard Mazzini as mainly interested in the mere political as distinguished from the social question. But this is hardly borne out by his writings, which contain a powerful diagnosis of the present social conditions. Thus he writes—"And as it is impossible to dream of the moral and intellectual progress of the people without providing for its physical amelioration—as it is absurd to say '*Instruct yourself*,' to a man who is working for his daily bread from fourteen to sixteen hours a-day, or to tell him to *love* who sees nothing around him but the cold calculations of the speculator and the tyranny of the capitalist legislator—the social question was found inevitably grafted upon the question of political progress. Henceforward they could only be separated by destroying both." And again in the "Duties of Man"—"At the present day—and this is the curse of our actual social economy—capital is the tyrant of labour." His economical ideal is thus defined—"Association—but to be administered with a truly republican fraternity by your own delegates, and from which you should be free to withdraw at your own discretion." There is no fundamental divergence between this teaching and that of the present day advocates of Socialism. But it may be admitted that Mazzini was not a great economist ; and that his revolt against the present conditions of labour was rather of the heart than of the head, and that he did not fully perceive how those very conditions force on a class struggle even in republican communities like the United States. But if he did not fully grasp the economical problem, at least Mazzini did not pretend, like so many, that that problem is to be solved by the preaching of morality. No doubt the problem of society is fundamentally a moral one ; but then morality is not a metaphysical entity existing outside the real world. It is the



expression of a harmonious condition of the individual and society in the actual world. And the charge brought against present economic arrangements is two-fold :—First, that they violate justice by depriving a portion of society of the full result of its labour ; and second, that the physical and social conditions under which that portion lives prevent its members from properly developing their faculties, *i.e.*, prevent them from living a truly moral life. If these charges can be sustained, it is evident that the economic problem cannot possibly be separated from the moral problem. And this was undoubtedly Mazzini's view. His objection to a good deal of the Socialist teaching was, that it regarded the social problem as a *merely* economical question ; whereas it is truly a human problem of which the economical question is only one factor, however important that factor may be. He thus states the problem in his essay on "The War and the Commune"—"The immediate aim of humanity is the harmonious development of all its faculties and forces towards the discovery and fulfilment of the moral law." The fulfilment of that law obviously involves justice in the economic relations of society ; and just as obviously does it involve conditions favourable to the growth of every man's moral nature. For men cannot develop their characters in the air, but only in the real world of family life, of property, and of institutions.

The latter years of Mazzini's life were spent in London, where he had now many friends. His health was broken and his body weak. "Physically," says Mr. Garrison the American Abolitionist, who visited him in 1867, "he was greatly attenuated, stricken in countenance, broken in health, and evidently near the close of his earthly pilgrimage." But his mind was active as ever, his spirit resolute and strong. "In private society," says Professor Masson, "Mazzini's habits were simple, kindly, affectionate, and sometimes even playful. He had a good deal of humour, and could tell a story or hit off a character very shrewdly and graphically, not omitting the grotesque points." He was ready to talk under favourable circumstances, and his talk "on such occasions was good, utterly unpedantic, about

this or that, as it happened, and often with whim and laughter." But if some topic was started on which he had a serious opinion, "he would fight for it, insist upon it, make a little uproar about it, abuse you with mock earnestness for believing the contrary. That would not last long; a laugh would end it; we knew Mazzini's way." His last two London residences were in the Fulham Road, and at 2 Onslow Terrace, Brompton, the latter being nearly opposite the spot where Ledru-Rollin lived during his exile in London. His rooms were filled with books and papers, and the birds he always loved to have with him flew about the room as he talked.

Respecting the Franco-German war and the events of the Commune Mazzini gave his opinions in an article contributed to the *Contemporary Review* in 1871. He could not join in the condemnation of Germany, nor did he believe with Garibaldi that the proclamation of the Republic in Paris made any essential difference in the state of affairs, though he was glad to witness the downfall of the Empire. The French Republic, he truly says, "was not the issue of the spontaneous, deliberate vote of a people arising, in the name of eternal duty, to assert their freedom. . . . It was a mere *de facto* consequence of the state of things—of Louis Napoleon's cowardly abdication of his leadership, and of the absence of all other government." Soon after this Mazzini left for Italy, and went to Pisa, where he lived under the name of Giorgio Rosselli Brown. The mild climate of that city might, he thought, restore his shattered health. But in February of the following year he was taken with terrible spasms of the throat, which lasted five days. Then came a brief interlude of relief from pain, but on the 6th March he felt an oppression in his chest, and it was found next day that his right lung was congested. On the 9th his voice left him; and on the 10th March 1872, while endeavouring to speak to his physician, he fell back dead in his bed. The funeral honours paid to him were national, a vast procession of eighty thousand mourners following him to the grave. His mortal remains repose in a massive granite vault on one of the highest terraces in the Campo Santo of Genoa, the city of his birth.

Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and Garibaldi have been designated, along with Mazzini, as the founders of modern Italy. But a broad line of demarcation divides Mazzini from the others. Neither the end aimed at nor the means adopted by such a wily diplomatist as Cavour could approve themselves to the pure soul of Mazzini. With no monarch of the house of Savoy could Mazzini hold any terms; and even Garibaldi he regarded as one who had played false to the Republican ideal. There has been much disputation as to the questions at issue between the Mazzinians and the supporters of the Italian *status quo*; a good deal of it unprofitable. For the most part it ultimately resolves itself into the everlasting conflict between the idealist and the man of the world. The former stands by the intellect and the conscience; the latter by the limitations of actual fact and the practical difficulties of the case. Men like Cavour are merely politicians—bold, skilful, subtle, ingenious, ready to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the moment, and to use any instrument for effecting their object. But to the mind of Mazzini this Machiavellian adroitness and utilitarian compromise was odious; for Mazzini was above all things a religious man who held that the political question could not be separated from the religious. "The Republican party," he tells us, "is not a political party; it is essentially a religious party." What common ground is there between this religious idealist on the one hand and the mere soldier or the mere diplomatist on the other? The latter have founded an Italian state of monarchy, of diplomacy, of armaments: Mazzini aimed at founding a religious commonwealth. The aims being so essentially different, argument as to methods seems useless. Mazzini's work was of a wholly different kind from that of the king, the statesman, and the soldier. They were intent on the outer framework; he on the inner life. They were willing to bend before established fact; he refused to do so. They have endowed the erewhile "geographical expression" with an outward form, as to the permanence of which few would care to prophesy. It was pre-eminently Mazzini who gave to Italy the breath of a new life, who taught her people constancy in

devotion to an ideal good. Prophets are rarely successful in their own day, and so it has been with the prophet of modern Italy. The making of Italy has not proceeded in the way he hoped it would ; for the Italians, who are an eminently subtle and diplomatic people, have apparently thought it best to bend to the hard facts by which they have been surrounded. But if, as Emerson teaches, facts are "fluid to thought," we may believe that the ideas of Mazzini will yet prevail in the nation of his birth, and that he may yet be regarded as the spiritual father of the future Italian commonwealth. For of him, if of any modern man, we may say that he

"Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,  
And did not dream it was a dream ;

But heard, by secret transport led,  
Ev'n in the charnels of the dead,  
The murmur of the fountain-head."

WILLIAM CLARKE.

## THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN MAZZINI'S LIFE.

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- 1805. Date of his birth (June 22).
- 1826. His first essay (on Dante) published.
- 1827. Joins the Carbonari.
- 1830. Arrested for Conspiracy.
- 1831. Acquitted by Turin Senate ; founded Young Italy
- 1832. Deceed exiled from France.
- 1833. Projected Rising in Piedmont suppressed.
- 1834. Abortive Expedition from Switzerland. Young Europe.
- 1836. Exiled from Switzerland.
- 1837. Mazzini arrives in London.
- 1844. Mazzini's Correspondence violated by British Government.
- 1848. Insurrection. Mazzini in Italy.
- 1849. Siege of Rome. Mazzini returns to London.
- 1853. Insurrection in Milan.
- 1857. Mazzini in Genoa.
- 1859. Editor of *Pensiero ed Azione*. Italian Kingdom founded.
- 1865. Elected Deputy by Messina, but refused to take oath of allegiance.
- 1869. Expelled from Switzerland.
- 1870. Italian troops enter Rome.
- 1871. Mazzini in Italy.
- 1872. Death at Pisa (March 10).

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WRITINGS OF  
MAZZINI, ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF  
THEIR PUBLICATION.

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1829. Of an European Literature.  
1830. On the Historical Drama.  
1830. On Fatality considered as an Element of the Dramatic  
Art.  
1833. The Philosophy of Music.  
1835. Faith and the Future.  
1837. On Italian Literature since 1830.  
1838. On Paul Sarpi.  
1838. On the Poems of Victor Hugo.  
1839. Lamennais.  
1839. George Sand.  
1839. Byron and Goethe.  
1839. The Poems of Lamartine.  
1843. On the Genius and Tendency of the Writings of Carlyle.  
1843. On Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*.  
1844. On the Minor Works of Dante.  
1844. Italy, Austria, and the Pope (Letter to Sir J. Graham).  
1844. Duties of Man (first part).  
1847. Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe.  
1849. The Holy Alliance of the Peoples.  
1850. From the Pope to the Council.  
1850. On the Encyclica of Pius IX.  
1850. Royalty and Republicanism in Italy.  
1852. Europe : Its Condition and Prospects.  
1855. Two Letters on the Crimean War.  
1856. On the Theory of the Dagger.  
1858. Duties of Man (second part).  
1858. Letter to Louis Napoleon.  
1861. The Italian Question and the Republicans.  
1865. Address to Pius IX. on his Encyclical.  
1871. The War and the Commune.  
1872. The Italian School of Republicanism.  
1874. M. Renan and France.

# ESSAYS.

## FAITH AND THE FUTURE.

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THE following little work, written in 1835, was a portion of that European Republican Apostolate I endeavoured to substitute for the French Apostolate, which was impeded and almost crushed beneath the repressive laws of the monarchy of July. Its object was to insist upon the necessity of investing that European Republican Apostolate with a religious character.

It was published by our printing establishment at Bienne, and was sequestrated at the French frontier. Its circulation was therefore limited to Switzerland, and it remained unknown in Italy except to very few. It was reprinted at Paris in 1850 in French, in which language it was originally written, and at the request of the publisher I then added to it the following Preface.



## PREFACE.

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LONDON, *August* 1850.

THE pages now republished were written as far back as 1835, and on re-reading them I observe, with profound sorrow, that I might re-write them even now.

Issued but a few days after the promulgation of the law of the 9th of September, against the republican press, this work had scarcely any publicity. Fifteen years have passed since then, and yet it does not contain a single page which is not applicable to the present state of things.

Europe has been shaken to its foundations, agitated by twenty revolutions. France has proclaimed the falsehood of the ultimate formula of monarchy—*la monarchie bourgeoise*. Germany—calm philosophic Germany—has had ten centres of revolution upon her soil. The roar of the popular lion has been heard at Vienna: the emperor has fled; the pope has fled. The revolutionary lava has poured along, from Milan to Pesth, from Venice to Berlin, from Rome to Posen. The banner inscribed with the device *Liberty, Independence, Right*, has floated over two-thirds of Europe. All is at an end. The blood of our heroes and the tears of our mothers have but watered the cross of the martyr. Victory has forsaken our camp, and our war-cry

now is, of a fatal necessity, the war-cry of fifteen years since. We are condemned to repeat the cry of 1835. There must be some deep-seated cause for this; a cause inherent in the very constitution of our party.

We are superior to our adversaries in courage, in devotion, and in knowledge of the wants of the people. Where-soever we have found ourselves one to one—one people against one government—we have been victorious. And we have not abused our victory. At our first uprising we overthrew the scaffold. Our hands are pure. We carried nothing into exile save our unstained conscience, and our faith.

Why, then, has *reaction* triumphed?

Yes; the cause is in ourselves; in our want of organisation, in the dismemberment occasioned in our ranks by *systems*, some absurd and dangerous, all imperfect and immature, and yet defended in a spirit of fierce and exclusive intolerance; in our ceaseless distrust, in our miserable little vanities, in our absolute want of that spirit of discipline and order which alone can achieve great results; in the scattering and dispersing of our forces in a multitude of small centres and sects, powerful to dissolve, impotent to found.

The cause is in the gradual substitution of the worship of material interests, for the adoration of holy ideas; for the grand problem of education, which alone can legitimatise our efforts; for the true conceptions of *life* and its mission. It is in our having forgotten God; forgotten his law of love, of sacrifice, and of moral progress, and the solemn

tradition of humanity, for a theory of *well being*, the catechism of Volney, the egotistical principle of Bentham ; it is in our indifference to truths of an order superior to this world, which alone are able to transform it. It is in the narrow spirit of *Nationalism* substituted for the spirit of Nationality ; in the stupid presumption on the part of each people that they are capable of solving the political, social, and economical problem alone ; in their forgetfulness of the great truths that the cause of the peoples is one ; that the cause of the Fatherland must lean upon Humanity ; that revolutions, when they are not avowedly a form of the worship of sacrifice for the sake of those who struggle and suffer, are doomed to consume themselves in a circle, and fail ; and that the aim of our warfare, the sole force that can prevail over the league of these powers, the issue of privilege and interest, is the Holy Alliance of the Nations. The manifesto of Lamartine destroyed the French Revolution of 1848, as the language of narrow nationalism held at Frankfort destroyed the German Revolution ; as the fatal idea of the aggrandisement of the House of Savoy destroyed the Italian Revolution.

It is now more than ever urgent to combat these tendencies—such is the purpose of the following pages. The evil is in ourselves. We must overcome it, or perish. It is necessary that the truth should be made manifest, even where it tells against ourselves. Those who would lead us astray may be irritated by it, but the good sense of the people will profit by it.

As to our enemies, their fate depends upon the success of

our labours. We are journeying beneath the storm-cloud, but the sun of God is beyond, bright and eternal. They may veil it from our eyes for a time—cancel it from the heavens they cannot. Europe—God be thanked—is emancipated since Marathon. On that day the *stationary* principle of the East was vanquished for ever: our soil received the baptism of liberty: Europe moved onward. She advances still; nor will a few paltry shreds of princely or diplomatic paper suffice to arrest her on her way.