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EUROPEAN REPUBLICANS

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RECOLLECTIONS OF  
MAZZINI AND HIS FRIENDS

BY  
W. J. LINTON

The Republican Party is not a political party: it is a party essentially religious.  
*Foi et Avenir.*

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## PREFACE.

MY acquaintance with Mazzini, the chief of the Republican Party in Europe, dates almost from his arrival in England in 1837. I first heard of him from my brother-in-law, Thomas Wade (the poet), then editor of *Bell's New Weekly Messenger*. His friend George Toynbee, a young literary man of considerable talent, who had studied medicine under a brother of Thomas Wade, was one of the very first persons known by Mazzini in England. By George's brother Joseph (the aurist) I was introduced to Mazzini. The opening of his and other exiles' letters at the English Post-office in 1844 brought us more closely together: the active part in calling public attention to the outrage and in bringing it before the House of Commons being intrusted to me. From this time we were intimate friends. It was in days which he spent with me at Woodford, rambling through Hainault Forest with me (and with my artist friend Thomas Sibson, then living with me), that I heard from his own lips the story of the Bandieras. In 1848, a few days after the three days of February, I took to Paris the first English congratulations, from a public meeting chiefly of working-men. Mazzini traveled with me, and we shared rooms together during my fortnight's visit. Up to the hour of his death there was no diminution or shadowing of our friendship.

So much I ask leave to say, not without pride,

in part warrant of my undertaking to be his biographer and interpreter. I have also under my eyes at this writing his special authorization (given to me on my going to America) to explain his views, and to act for the Republican Party. I feel, therefore, that I am at once fulfilling a sacred duty, and carrying out his own wishes in the work<sup>1</sup> to which this is preface.

It may be that my memoir may be deemed partial. But how shall the "impartial" be fairly appreciative? Who shall speak with sufficient authority of a man, unless it be one loving him and loved, so qualified to read his soul, so abled to judge the man and his acts from intimate knowledge of his principles and character. I profess not to be impartial, but in all I would be true: hiding nothing out of fear of belittling my hero, saying however admiringly only what I know, caring most to give a faithful presentment of one indeed dearer to me than a brother, whose superior in all that constitutes an accomplished and heroic manhood I do not find upon the scroll of History. I desire also to present to Englishmen and Americans a clearer idea than I have found elsewhere of the aim and purpose of his life, the Republicanism, as understood and preached by him, which, I believe, has yet to regenerate the world.

I add such brief notices as I have had opportunity to collect (much from personal knowledge) of the men who were nearest to Mazzini in his aims and in his work.

*New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. 1892.*

<sup>1</sup> Written in 1876 for a series of *Brief Biographies* in course of publication at that date. Not willingly have I waited until now, twenty years since my friend's death, for the publishing of my words.

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## APPENDIX.

### A BASIS OF ORGANIZATION.

(*From the Manifesto of the Central European Democratic Committee, London, 1850.*)

WE believe in the progressive development of human faculties, and in the direction of the moral law which has been imposed upon us.

We believe in association as the only regular means which can attain this end.

We believe that the interpretation of the moral law and rule of progress can not be confided to a caste or an individual, but ought to be confided to the people enlightened by national education directed by those among them whom virtue and genius point out to them as their best.

We believe in the sacredness of both the individual and society, which ought not to be effaced nor to combat, but to harmonize together for the amelioration of all by all.

We believe in Liberty, without which all human responsibility vanishes ;

In Equality, without which Liberty is only a deception ;

In Fraternity, without which Liberty and Equality would be only means without end ;

In Association, without which Fraternity would be an unrealizable programme ;

In Family, City, and Country, as so many progressive spheres in which man ought to successively grow in the knowledge and practice of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Association.

We believe in the holiness of Work, in its inviolability, in the Property which proceeds from it as its sign and its fruit ;

In the duty of Society to furnish the element of material work by Credit, of intellectual and moral work by Education ;

In the duty of the individual to make use of it with the utmost concurrence of his faculties for the common amelioration.

We believe, to resume, in a social state having God and His Law at the summit ; the People, the universality of the citizens free and equal, at its base ; progress for rule, association as means, devotion for baptism, genius and virtue for lights upon the way.

And that which we believe to be true for a single people, we believe to be true for all. There is but one sun in heaven for the whole earth; there is but one law of Truth and Justice for all who people it.

Inasmuch as we believe in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Association, for the individuals composing the State, we believe also in the Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Association of Nations. Peoples are the individuals of Humanity. Nationality is the sign of their individuality and the guarantee of their liberty: it is sacred. Indicated at once by tradition, by language, by a determined aptitude, by a special mission to fulfil, it ought to harmonize itself with the whole, and assume its proper functions for the amelioration of all, for the progress of Humanity.

We believe that the map and organization of Europe are to be remade, in accordance with these principles. We believe that a pact, through a congress of the representatives of all nationalities, constituted and recognized, having for mission to serry the holy alliance of Peoples and to formulate the common right and duty, is at the end of all our efforts.

We believe, in a word, in a general organization, having God and His Law at the summit, Humanity, the universality of nations free and equal, at its base, common progress for end, alliance for means, the example of those peoples most loving and most devoted for encouragement on the way.

We have not now to say what this organization should be. It suffices to-day for us to establish its urgency and possibility. We are not giving a programme; we make an appeal.

To all men who share our faith;

To all the Peoples who have a nationality to conquer;

To all those who think that every divorce, even for a time between thought and action is fatal;

To all those who feel stirring within their hearts a holy indignation against the display which is made in Europe in the service of tyranny and falsehood:

We say—come to us! Sacrifice to the one great object your secondary disagreements, and rally yourselves on the ground we are pointing out to you!

For the Central European Democratic Committee.

LEDRU ROLLIN. JOSEPH MAZZINI.

ALBERT DARASZ. ARNOLD RUGE.

THE END.