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1.

The young against the old: during the nineteenth century, there was a strong temptation to base the justifications for protest movements - or to blame them - on generational differences. At first sight, it was a paradoxical temptation: at the very moment when youth lost the culturally and socially recognized role which it had previously held in the traditional society, it became the subject of revindication and the object of political accusation. On further examination, it was a temptation which was a consequence of the "new regime" which the revolutionary decade and the fifteen years of Napoleonic rule had left to posterity;<sup>1</sup> in the century of the "discovery" of the family<sup>2</sup>, it became even more urgent to define new formulae for the respective roles of youth, middle age and old age; it was no coincidence that the masonic lodges "the Carbonari", sects, the Saint-Simonian doctrinists, the Cabatian Icarians, reformers and revolutionaries, converts and utopians, all busied themselves in the search for a formula to group together the egalitarian aspirations contained in the idea of fraternity with the hierarchic order guaranteed by the recognition of some kind of paternity.<sup>3</sup> In any case in moments of rupture in political affairs, the temptation to praise or blame the influence of youth, was sufficiently persuasive throughout the century to deserve serious consideration by historiographers also.

It might be objected that the nineteenth century idea of youth in perpetual rebellion has been disproven, or at least toned down, by the most informed research in the field. Social historians have shown, for example, that the revolutionaries mounting the barricades in Paris in July 1830 were not in the first flush of youth; and they have emphasized that, in the Paris of June 1848, young people served the cause of order much more than the cause of the revolution. The fact remains, however, that young people were feared in the nineteenth century. Everything conspired to suggest their unreliability: the corporate model of the ancien regime could no longer harness them, while the urbanization process which had accompanied industrial development overturned their spatial coordinates; to say nothing of the new family setting and the social determinant of the crisis of the coming of age and the lengthening of the average period of celibacy. This led to the need to prepare a sort of postponement for young people of the moment of assuming their political and social responsibilities.<sup>4</sup> The electoral laws also contributed to this change, in that they based the distinction

1. See I. Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformation of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s*, publication forthcoming.

2. According to the well-known thesis of Ph. Ariés, *Padri e figli nell'Europa medievale e moderna* [1975], Roma-Bari, 1985; and idem "Generazioni", in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, Turin, 1979, vol. VI, pp. 557-563.

3. See J. R. Gillis, *Youth and History. Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present*, New York, 1974, pp. 76-82.

4. I refer here, naturally, to the by now classical interpretation of E. H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, New York, 1963; and idem, *Identity: youth and crisis*, New York, 1968.

between passive electorate and active electorate on civic status as well as census criteria. The vicissitudes and the effects of this postponement are described in literature in the characters of the *Bildungsroman*, while the *bohemians* incarnated them in real life.<sup>5</sup> But no contemporary found more incisive words to describe their logic than Ludvig Borne, the poet whom German youth chose, in the 1830s, to symbolize their questioning of Philistine values: "Since every man is born a Roman", Borne explained, "the bourgeois society tries to de-Romanize him"; and games of chance and parlour games, novels, Italian operas and elegant gazettes, casinos, salons and lotteries, "the years of the apprenticeship and novitiate", the garrisons, and the changing of the guard parades, the ceremonies, the courtesy visits, the elegance of dress, did nothing but empty young people as much as possible of their strength and desires.<sup>6</sup>

Whether it was expressed in facts or merely in gestures and words, youth protest in the nineteenth century reminded contemporaries and historians of the unavoidable precedent of the revolutionary legacy. Considered as an age-group with its own precise cultural and social function, youth ceased to exist: on the other hand, it became hypertrophic in imagery. I shall therefore be less concerned with the *actual presence* of young people in the various events of European revolutions, than *with their presumed presence*: the protagonists of my paper are not so much – or not only – the young people who belonged to this or that political protest movement, as the rebels and revolutionaries, whatever age they were, who felt, and fought like young people. They are, moreover, the political adversaries of this self-styled youth, according to how much they felt they had to face them as a generation.

The revolutionaries, especially if they were not French, early on, even in the period of the Directory and the so-called sister-republics, recognized the problem of the force of the French revolutionary tradition, founded on a past which was so cumbersome and intrusive that it biased the process and the outcome of the present revolutions. The harsh analysis of Vincenzo Cuoco of the 1799 Neapolitan uprising as a passive revolution is well-known, as is the fierce comment made by Marx about the 18th Brumaire, on the tragedies of history destined to repeat themselves as farces. Nineteenth century revolutionaries, at least the most sensitive of them, felt how much of their own homage to the Parisian precedent was a reverential, or even mechanical, perfunctory one. "You may translate Russian folk tales, Swedish family sagas and English novels about bandits; we shall always look to France concerning everything that is truth, but because it will always be the fashion",<sup>7</sup> wrote Karl Gutzkov in his *Letters from Paris* of 1842. He was by then a disenchanted writer, but had a glorious past as the founder of the literary movement called "Young Germany". Or, again in 1849, "We must receive our revolutions, like our fashions, from Paris".<sup>8</sup>

In a particularly dense page of his research into the Parisian "transactions" in the 19th century, Walter Benjamin puts forward the categories of "fashion" and "growing

5. See F. Moretti, *Il romanzo di formazione*, Milan, 1986; R. Tierdman, "Structures of initiation: On Semiotic Education and its Contradictions in Balzac", *Yale French Studies*, 1982, pp. 198-226; J. Siegel, *Bohemian Paris. Culture, Politics and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930*, New York, 186.

6. L. Borne, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1862.

7. K. Gutzkov, *Briefe aus Paris*, Leipzig, 1942, pp. 227-228.

8. As in F.D. Bassermann, quoted in L.B. Namier, *La rivoluzione degli intellettuali e altri saggi sull'Ottocento europeo*, Turin, 1973, p. 212.

old" as decisive for understanding the general difference between the tradition of the ruling class and the tradition of the oppressed.

According to Benjamin, the proletariat lives more slowly than the middle class, or at least than the middle class once it has become the ruling class. The movements and ideologies of the bourgeoisie, which go to make up something like its tradition, depend strictly on fashion, because they must, one by one, adapt to the situation of social conflict in course, and must at the same time deny the conflictual nature of this situation, they must justify it as harmonious. For Benjamin, the waves of fashion break, on the other hand, on the compact mass of the oppressed, whose militants and leaders do not grow old, or grow old much more slowly than the outstanding figures of the bourgeoisie.<sup>9</sup>

The notion of the ageing of bourgeois tradition, even more than that of fashion, seems relevant to the economy of our thesis. It is, moreover, a debatable notion, if only because many historical leaders of the proletariat in the nineteenth century were of middle class origin; and it was by means of the "bourgeois" media of printed matter - books and pamphlets, journals and *Mémoires* - that so much of the revolutionary tradition was transmitted from one generation to the next, variously interwoven with oral tradition and the processes of literacy. But it is a pertinent notion, at least in the French context: from '93 to the July uprising, from '48 to the Commune, the handing down of every revolutionary experience implied a meeting between the veterans and the new recruits. And this meeting often risked resembling a clash where what was at stake was not simply the political realization of their own ideas, but the social age which they attributed to each other. It will be difficult to fully comprehend the history of the young French revolutionaries in the relationship with those who had gone before before them on the road to revolution. In the young, pride in being new converts went hand in hand with their cult of the *grands ancêtres*; in the old, recognition of their heirs was accompanied by pride in being peacemakers. In the memory of both, stimulating or inconvenient as the case might be, was the example of the 1793 *Declaration of The Rights of Man*, which in article 28 had stated: "One generation may not subject future generations to its own laws". Thus the genealogy of the ascendancies and excommunications, of the masters and monsters, took shape according to complex modules. At times the old came to find themselves more "to the left" than the young.

Roman Jakobson has expressed this magnificently, in his discussion of the generation of Majakovskij: the relationship existing between the biographies of generations and the course of history are strange, and the "generational call-up age, and the length of historical military service" vary: in some generations, history mobilizes "the ardour of youth", in others "the even-temper of maturity or the wisdom of old age".<sup>10</sup> All those wishing to write the political history of French youth in the nineteenth century the way Schultz tells the childhood story of Linus and Charlie Brown, i. e. placing them in a world without adults, would be wrong. The history of young revolutionaries is, also, a history of middle-aged and older men; along the

9. See W. Benjamin, *Parigi capitale del XIX secolo. I "passaggi" di Parigi* [first edition (posthumous) 1982], Turin, p. 186.

10. R. Jakobson, *Una generazione che ha dissipato i suoi poeti. Il caso Majakovskij*, [1930], Turin, 198, p. 41.

road they run and stumble no less than the others. We must avoid any teleological approach to French nineteenth century history, which might tend to recognize in it the progressive, logical achievement, from one revolutionary generation to the next, of the premises laid down in the Great Revolution. It does, however, deserve to start from the French Revolution. According to certain historians it invented the modern concept of generation.<sup>11</sup> The Revolution certainly was the first to weave around the *jeunes gens* a political rhetoric with a fine future ahead of it: that rhetoric showing youth as so generous and exuberant that it constitutes a permanent danger for political and social order.

2.

After the fall of Robespierre, in the new political atmosphere of Thermidor, the bands of the *jeunesse dorée* invaded the theatres and forced the actors to intone counter-revolutionary songs; they destroyed the public busts of Marat until they managed to have his ashes ignominiously removed from the Pantheon, and beat up the Jacobins in the Palais-Royal. They did all this with the benevolent complicity of the Committee of General Security, solidly in the hands of the Thermidorians, who praised, at least at first, the patriotic virtues of these young men.. "Never had anyone become a hero so cheaply", one of the leaders of the *jeunesse dorée* was to comment years later, with praiseworthy sincerity.<sup>12</sup> The "philo-revolutionary" historians, faithful to the Jacobin standpoint, have treated these bands as something like late eighteenth century Fascist squads. But the title of hero, or of monster, ill befitted the *jeunes gens* of Year III; their protest simply illustrated the rebellion of a section of civilian society which the Revolution had scornfully pushed aside, that of unmarried young people (and, not by chance, Thermidor represented also, in some aspects, the revenge of women).<sup>13</sup>

The events of the École de Mars with equal clarity represented the price that Jacobinism finally paid for its own naive, utopian trust in the possibility of moulding youth to the image of the Spartan model that adult revolutionaries had invented. A few weeks after 9th Thermidor, the school of arms was in an uproar. The cadets showed their growing intolerance with the military discipline they were subjected to; these adolescents missed, understandably enough, the comforts of home, and rebelled against their complete isolation from the rest of the world. As for the Thermidorian deputies, they declared their scepticism about the political reliability of an institution which had been founded in the roaring years of Jacobinism. Louis-Stanislas Fréron, the generally acknowledged godfather of the *jeunesse dorée*, had no great trouble in convincing his colleagues in the Convention to send the recruits of the École de Mars home, while he praised the contribution that the *muscadins* were giving to the republican cause.<sup>14</sup> A few months later, when the shock attack of the *jeunesse dorée* had already sufficiently helped to weaken the sans-culotte cause, and the Convention felt the urgent need for pacification, Fréron took upon himself the task of singing a requiem for the bands of youths that he himself had so cleverly manipulated: "We feel a pain inside on noting that like children they undertook the task of maintaining

11. As in D. Milo, *Trahit le temps (histoire)*, Paris, 1991, p.182.

12. Ch. Lacetelle, *Dix années d'épreuves pendant la Révolution*, Paris, 1842, p. 202.

13. See R. Cobb, *Reazioni alla Rivoluzione francese*, [1972], Milan, 1989.

14. See A. Chuquet, *L'Ecole de Mars*, Paris.

order and ensuring the triumph of justice”, Fréron wrote in the *Orateur du Peuple*, in the spring of Year III.<sup>15</sup>

It was, more generally speaking, a requiem for the Jacobin belief in the precocity that properly educated young people were supposed to reveal in taking up their role as republican adults. The Revolution was now preparing to believe in the psychological and social moratorium represented by adolescence and youth as a quite distinct age from childhood and maturity, as a quarantine that their sons were supposed to go through while waiting to take on in time the role of fathers and citizens. It was a question of time, more than anything else. The Jacobins had counted on the taumaturgical effects that the separation of the young people from the corrupt society around them, together with suitable indoctrination, would bring about in the space of a few weeks. The Thermidorians were more realistic; while they encouraged, in every possible way, the cult of old age, and organized an annual Youth Day as an enacted performance of the clear distinction between the ages,<sup>16</sup> they were preparing to arrange a separation of young people.

During the spring of Year III, the Convention debated the new constitution. The Assembly invited the republicans of the whole of France to send their opinions on how to proceed. We are not here concerned with deciding whether the initiative for this popular consultation stemmed from mere demagogical intentions, or from the respect for a consolidated custom (the same had been done in 1791 and 1793), or again, from the sincere desire of the deputies to know the political wishes of the citizenry. From our viewpoint, it is more important to note that, among the hundreds and thousands of citizens who responded with missives of varying commitment to the Convention’s request, many were concerned with also expressing an opinion on the political issue of young people. For these more or less improvised legislators, the best opportunity for stating an opinion on the subject lay in the question of the age the constitution should set as necessary to vote, and to a related but different question on the age the citizens thought appropriate to eligibility to political office. There were those who expressed themselves in favour of maintaining the constitutional terms laid down in the 1793 version (passive and active electorate at twenty-one years), or vice versa for a reformulation of the *décalage* provided for by the 1791 constitution (passive electorate at twenty-one, active at twenty-five), but the Convention’s correspondents in any case were unanimous in linking the problem of the electorate to that of civic status: the citizens were no less convinced than the deputies of the existence of a direct relationship between the age of an individual, his marital status, and his reliability as a citizen.<sup>17</sup>

We are even more interested in the final decision of the Assembly. According to the dictate of the new constitution of Year III, French males, apart from meeting certain census conditions, passive citizens after twenty-one, had to be twenty-five years old before they could have the right of active vote in electoral assemblies; they had to wait until they were thirty to be elected to the Council of the Five Hundred (who were the legislative body), forty to enter the Council of the Elders (who had to approve

15. Quoted by F.Gendron, *La “jeunesse dorée”. Episodes de la Révolution*, Quebec.

16. See J.P. Gutton, *Naissance du vieillard; essai sur l’histoire des rapports entre le vieillards et la société en France*, Paris, 1988; and M.Ouzof, “Symboles et fonction des âges dans les fetes de l’Eruope revolutionnaire”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 1970, pp.569-593, chiefly pp.579 and foll.

17. Paris, Archives Nationale, Assemblées législatives, C226-232.

or reject laws), and members of the latter chamber must be married or widower. A clause in the constitution momentarily modified these measures, providing that, for the first two elections, one only had to be twenty-five years old to be elected to the Council of the Five Hundred: the Revolution did not wish to reject all its sons outright. Setting aside the exception clauses and the brutality of the events, which only allowed the 1795 constitution four years of life, the fact remains that the Thermidorians opened up a period in the political history of young people. The space of time between twenty-five and forty (then thirty) years represents, in the logic that the Thermidorians were to hand down to the nineteenth century, the period of *quarantine* which was considered to be suitable to make any "young" person undergo before recognizing him completely as a citizen.

In the meantime, the die-hard Jacobins, when they were not locked up in Thermidorian prisons, were reduced to writing for increasingly clandestine journals, pointed at and persecuted as terrorists in the Paris section; they also reflected with disenchantment on the role and the destiny of youth in the Revolution. For those who had not fallen in the struggle, for those who did not honour Saint-Just's precept that a good revolutionary never dies in his bed, making the revolution also meant surviving it. That is, somehow surviving themselves, when the new world (or the world they had tried to renew) ended, and when the fire burning in the mind of every revolutionary went out. When they had thrown themselves into the fray as young men, the burnt out period might last a whole lifetime. This was the case of Marc-Antoine Jullien, who will be the protagonist of the following pages: perhaps he is a representative example of the young revolutionaries who survived the French revolution, and certainly a passionate witness.

Jullien was not more than twenty years old in 1795, when he was languishing in a Thermidor prison: but behind him he had a long past as a militant terrorist. He had in fact made his *début* on the revolutionary scene as an exterminating angel. The son of a Convention member, at only eighteen he had become one of Robespierre's trusted men in delicate, bloody missions to the Departments, during Year II. After 9th Thermidor, Jullien underwent, like many others, persecution as a Robespierrist. For the whole Year III, until he was freed in an amnesty granted to ex-terrorists after the monarchist plot of Vendémiaire Year IV, he stayed in prison. And in prison the news of the sacrifice of so many republicans, with political ways and tactics that were not always suitable to the climate prevailing in the new times, reached and horrified him.

We are here less concerned with Jullien's prison papers (the letters, scattered notes, diary pages that have reached us) as a document of the struggle between factions in France in Year III, than as an immediate expression of the state of mind of a young revolutionary who had grown up too fast, and become old before his time. "I was born in a volcano, I have lived at the height of its eruption, I will be buried in its lava", the hyperbolic words of a twenty-year old just out of school, but marked with the regret of one who, literally, realizes his burnt youth. "My life is a dark and terrible story, but moving and instructive for the young without experience", writes Jullien on the same page of his diary where he wonders about identity in the sorely-tried republic of France: Jullien's life is indeed an instructive story, in that youth may learn from it how to beware of revolutionary fever. Free at last, in Vendémiaire of Year IV, Jullien notes, Rousseau-like:

I am going away, I no longer want to see Paris, I want cows, milk... I am twenty-one years old, may no more dark images come to blacken the dawn of my life.<sup>18</sup>

With the coup d'état of 18th Brumaire Year VII (9 November 1799), the saviour genius invoked by Jullien, and many another like him, appeared in the tiny person of Napoleon Bonaparte. Jullien lost no time. A few weeks after the coup, he published anonymously an *Entretien politique sur la France* of clear Bonapartist tone. Instead of what he had promised himself, Jullien spent three years, not in bucolic peace, but in political adventures following the republican armies, between the Cisalpine Republic, the Egypt expedition and the republic of Naples. They were years in which he more or less moved in Bonaparte's entourage, without however sparing him criticism. Apart from the reason of opportunity or opportunism which may have guided Jullien's pen in Frimaire of Year VII, we must note that there is in his *Entretien* insistent reflection on the destiny of the young, and more generally on the destiny of the generations whose lot it was to live through a revolution.

The present generation, according to Jullien, was irredeemably degraded and corrupt. Hence the need for a strong government, sufficiently long-lasting to hold power until a new generation reached maturity. In the meantime, children should be placed from a very young age in national boarding schools, where they would be strictly educated at great length to knowledge, work and war. According to Jullien's vision, they should be placed for ten or twenty years "in something like *lazzaretti*", they had to be "cloistered from society, to protect them from contagion and to form a new generation"<sup>19</sup>. Here we have, in many respects, an up-to-date version of the Spartan dream which had animated so much political thinking and pedagogy in the second half of the 18th century: bathing new born babies in new wine, physical exercise with study and, above all, the removal of children from their families, their entrustment to the demanding care of the State.<sup>20</sup> But unlike 18th century optimism, we seem to perceive in Jullien's text something like a desperate educational fury; we are far, however, from the methodology of the *École de Mars* or the *École Normale*, from the trust in a pedagogy concentrated into a few months. The experience of the revolution had shown the inanity of overly brief pedagogical operations. For the Jacobin Jullien, as for the Thermidorians, young people should be separated from the *cit * for the whole period of their youth.

Luckily for the *enfants du si cle* plans like Jullien's were destined to remain dead letter, at least for the moment. In his famous *Confession*, Alfred de Musset confined himself to touching up the colours in a picture that was faithful to reality;<sup>21</sup> the story of young men under the Empire is a many-coloured tale of lyc ens who were too restless when the adults wanted them austere, of over-passionate sons of officers in the Great Army, of students impatient within the walls of the *Grande polytechnique*: during the Hundred Days, many pupils from this school followed Napoleon's cause on his return from Elba not only because they were seduced by the imperial military

18. Moscow, Archive of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, Jullien dossier.

19. [M.A. Jullien], *Entretien politique [...] sur la France*, Paris, an VIII, pp. 62-65.

20. See L. Guerci, *Libert  degli antichi e libert  dei moderni, Sparta, Atene e i "philosophes" nella Francia del '700*, Naples, 1979.

21. I am of course referring to A. de Musset, *La confession d'un enfant du si cle*, [1836], in *idem, Ouvres compl tes*, Paris, 1866, vol. III.

legend, but because they were moved by the hope for a reconversion of the dictator to the republican values of his youth.<sup>22</sup>

The story of young people during the Empire is also the story of science in rapid evolution, of a society so fluid that the University, in its growing pains, had difficulty in not giving chairs to young professors who were barely thirty; at least until, in 1808, the minister Fontanes undertook a great but discrete recovery aimed at giving back to the new generations the Catholic faith of their fathers, or at least of their grandfathers.<sup>23</sup>

Still, in 1808, Marc-Antoine Jullien returned to the attack, with a *General essay on physical, moral and intellectual education followed by a practical plan of education for childhood, adolescence and youth*.

Jullien's educational method split up the day, according to the age of the pupils, into precise divisions between hours of sleep, study and physical exercise. The young people would also have to keep up the daily writing of a sort of memorandum, modelled on the daily report soldiers sent to their military superior: three note-books in which to record, with the greatest possible introspective care, the tiniest details of their bodily, affective and intellectual life. Unlike what happened in military life, however, this report was not to be communicated to anyone, it had to be a jealously guarded secret. To further prevent discovery, the young scribe was advised to treat himself also "as an outsider", writing about himself in the third person and giving himself fictitious names.<sup>24</sup>

Jullien's pedagogic work did not pass unobserved by his contemporaries. As Alan Corbin, who called historians' attention to his text, has pointed out, it is a significant witness to the evolution which the relationship between public and private were undergoing at the dawn of the new century.<sup>25</sup>

Reading it is even more striking if we consider that the author, as we know, was something more than the "retired soldier" Corbin speaks of. Jullien had been, also, a great admirer of Saint-Just: so much so that during the Directory he had taken pains to publish - though without revealing the author's name - several extracts of Saint-Just's *Fragments* on republican institutions, which had never been published previously.<sup>26</sup> The coupling of the political and moral projects of Saint-Just with the dream of a complete sincerity between individuals in the republic - the total communication between Self and the Other - by *lien* seems in fact to consist in the will to make oneself less known to the Other; the myth of utmost sincerity ends in praise of secrecy.

22. See J.C. Caron, *Generations romantiques. Les étudiants de Paris et le Quartier Latin (1814-1851)*, Paris, 1991, pp. 225 and foll.

23. For a particularly rich and highly sensitive description of student circles in the Empire, see J. Guhier, *La jeunesse d'Auguste Comte et la formation du positivisme*, vol. I, Paris, 1933; also Ch.H. Pouthas, *Guizot pendant la Restauration: préparation de l'homme d'état (1814-1830)*, Paris, 1923, pp. 5-27.

24. M. A. Jullien, *Essai général d'éducation physique, morale, et intellectuelle; suivi d'un plan d'éducation pratique pour l'enfance, l'adolescence et la jeunesse*, Paris, 1808, [but I quote from the 1819 ed.; the author however declares that the work was ready as early as 1805], p.126.

25. A. Corbin, "Dietro le quinte", in Perrot (ed.), *La vita privata, cit.*, pp. 361-2. Fundamental on the whole question, R. Sennet, *Il declino dell'uomo pubblico. La società intimista*, [1976], Milan, 1982.

26. See P. de Vargas, "L'éducation du 'petit Jullien', agent du Comité de salut publique" (in aa.vv., *L'enfant, la famille et la Révolution française*, Paris, 1990, pp. 219-239), which presents a contribution on Jullien as the publisher of Saint-Just in the Directory.



Let us jump a dozen years to 1820, where we follow up an ardent young man, in search of work and teachers, knocking at the door of the editor of a well-known review. In an autobiographic note, Jules Michelet tells how he met Jullien, who was then the head of the *Revue encyclopédique*. Michelet was greatly disappointed to find before him a small sad man, prematurely faded, with his gaze more on the fire in the grate than on his visitor, and his conversation monotonous and didactic.<sup>27</sup> Jullien had in the meantime sent his own children to experience the educative methods of Pestalozzi, in Switzerland: a further sign of the pedagogical scruples which continued to move the old Jacobin. Jullien had a difficult relationship, however, with the youth of the Restoration. When Michelet visited him, a quarter of a century had gone by since, from the depths of his Theridorian cell, the ex-terrorist had bemoaned his destiny as a twenty-year-old burnt to death by the lava of times. In the end Jullien survived the volcano of the Revolution; but his life, like that of others, was marked forever. This is why the young men of the Restoration who happened to meet the survivors of the Revolution often spoke, as Michelet did, of their impression of seeing the living dead.

3.

1820 was an important year in the history of the Restoration. The assassination of the Duke de Berry and the fall of the Decazes government marked the end of the liberal experiment: a decade of political reaction was setting in, urged on all the more after the great Mediterranean flare-up of independist uprisings. The death of the titan of Saint Helena left young French officers, as well as many Polish and Italian emigrants, with a sufficiently bright legend to drive more than one of them into conspiracy. Less riskily, other young Frenchmen, after the fall of the Decazes ministry, followed the advice given them by an intelligent moderate, Royer-Collard: "Write books ...". This was the case of two lawyers in their early twenties from Aix-en-Provence, Thiers and Mignet. When they were not gathering their contemporaries in the warm - and discrete - smith's workshop of Mignet's father to discuss politics and bemoan the excesses of reaction, these lawyers, who had difficulty in finding clients in a by then saturated market, were in fact working on the history of the tremendous years after '89. In their respective *Histoires de la Révolution*, Thiers and Mignet invited their readers to consider the Revolution from the due historical distance, making its mistakes abstract and evaluating even the misdeeds of the Terror as inevitable. Their works marked a turning point in the history of the revolutionary tradition; they were also commercially successful, because the middle classes of the Restoration, who were apathetic in politics, were greedy for historical novels and history books, which gratified their incipient national sensitivity.<sup>28</sup>

Restoring a historical significance to the ill-famed '93 did not, however, mean giving political dignity to those responsible for the Terror. The reaction of the convention members still alive to the success granted by the public to Thier and

27. J.Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, [1847-1853], Paris, 1952.

28. I will merely refer to the unsurpassed essay by L. Mazoyer, "Catégories d'âge et groupes sociaux: les jeunes générations françaises de 1830", *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, 1938, pp. 385-423; to Y. Krubihler, *Naissance des sciences humaines. Mignet et l'histoire philosophique au XIX siècle*, Paris, 1973, and to certain stimulating observations by P. Rosanvallon, *Le moment Guizot*, Paris, 1985, pp. 202 and foll.

Mignet's *Histories*, is instructive on this point: the so-called regicides saw in these books the arrogance of a "rehabilitation".<sup>29</sup> A document revealing the distance separating the young from the old – or the "fathers" from the "sons" – was a pamphlet published by a certain Carrion-Nisas in 1820, and entitled simply *On French Youth*. The author, a twenty-five-year old son of an ex-member of the Tribune, was young, cultured and diligent; he was also sensitive to the intellectual heritage of the eighteenth century, since he was working on the collection of works of the great *idéologue*, Volney. But Carrion-Nisas was mainly concerned with inviting his contemporaries to finally detach themselves from the dispute of their fathers. Those who had been born too late to take part in person did not bear the responsibility for the excesses which their disputes had brought about, while they had the right to benefit from their results:

This new generation, which grows and matures in the shadow of new institutions, owes to its age the precious advantage of being the heirs of the Revolution, but of not having made it.<sup>30</sup>

One might be tempted to compare the situation of the "sons" of the revolutionaries, in the Restoration, with the situation (though very different for a thousand obvious reasons), of the "sons" of the Nazis, in liberated Germany,<sup>31</sup> and to contrast these words of Carrion-Nisas with the unfortunate statement made by the Chancellor Kohl, on the "fortune of being born late".<sup>32</sup> Even in 1820, the reassuring evidence of civic data supported those who wished to transcend a too elementary sense of guilt. But this was not just *escamotage*: Carrion-Nisas had the courage to ask that judgment be suspended on the violent founders of the Republic, in consideration of the extraordinary circumstances with which they had been faced; he had the honesty to write: "None of us may know what we would have done in their place".

The gap between the men of the Republic and the young men of the Restoration was however unbridgeable: they were separated by the difference between those undertaking a revolution and those who find it accomplished.<sup>33</sup> Instead of looking back to rehabilitate the revolutionaries of the 18th century, the young men of the Restoration thought of looking ahead. Few generations in the history of France have felt the responsibility of turning over a new page in the book written by previous generations more strongly than the generation of the 1820s.<sup>34</sup> The demographic evolution in their country could only prove them right: after 1824 the majority of the adult French male population was born after '89.<sup>35</sup> Parliamentary life, on the other hand, did not attract them much. It was hard for young men of strong feelings seeking opportunities for bold actions, to be enthusiastic about the mannered liberalism of the "constitution makers", and to find leaders in its cautious spokesmen.

We may basically understand the docility with which some of the best exponents

29. See S. Luzzatto, *Il Terrore ricordato. Memoria e tradizione dell'esperienza rivoluzionaria*, Genoa, 1988, pp. 55 and foll..

30. A.F. Carrion-Nisas, *De la jeunesse française*, Paris, 1820, p. 7.

31. See P. Sichorsky, *Nati colpevoli. I figli dei nazisti raccontano*, [198?] Milan.

32. For the effects on the involved polemic, in 1989, of the so-called "Jenninger case", see M. Pirani, *Il fascino del nazismo*, Bologna, 1987.

33. Carrion-Nisas, *De la jeunesse...*, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

34. The reference work is now that of A. B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820*, Princeton, 1987.

35. See S. Charléty, *La Restauration*, Paris, 1921, p. 197.

of this generation responded in the second half of the century to the call of the prophets of a new gospel: the good news of the doctrine of Saint-Simon. Saint-Simon had spent the last decades of his life as a fallen noble in the vain attempt to convince scientists and philosophers that politics should be grounded in political economy, and that investment should be made in industry as the regime of the future. After the death of the count, some young men (or not so young, as *Enfantin*, *Bazard*, *Buthez* were old enough to have "done" the Hundred Days as students<sup>36</sup>, undertook to affirm and spread his teaching. After a timid initial phase, the doctrine found fertile ground in which to develop. The failure of the conspiracies of the early 1820s had shown that the regime's sectarian way of change was insufficient, if not totally inadequate: the hour had come for a survey of consensus. Significantly, the followers of this school read, apart from the works of the master, the books of *Ballanche*, the *Lyonnais* philosopher who was striving to ground the theoretic bases of social renewal on a new Christianity.<sup>37</sup> But the doctrines of Saint-Simon attracted not only religious spirits; many young men with fine, impatient hopes joined the movement; those suffering from the overcrowding of the liberal professions and who identified in the battle of the *Producteur*, and then of *the Globe*, to trim down the banking and credit system. Saint-Simon also attracted radicals and democrats, who appreciated the political substantialism. Around 1830, *Filippo Buonarroti*, the Nestor of the Revolutionary historic memory, was to trust momentarily in the possibility of drawing up a strategic alliance with the followers of the doctrine.<sup>38</sup>

The historical significance of Saint-Simon's ideology has remained a subject for debate among scholars. Some have described the Saint-Simonian associationist passwords as important in the development of an embryonic class consciousness among French workers, while others have taken into consideration especially the dourly productivist elements in the propaganda of *Enfantin* and *Bazard*; others again have described them as a "salvation army" of the middle class, or insisted on the importance of Saint-Simonian economics, of the lay trust in the possibility for human emancipation; some contrasting with those highlighting the fideistic and hierarchic aspect; others again contesting those who attempt to make anti-democratic, anti-parliamentarian, anti-egalitarian parts of Saint-Simonian doctrine the cradle of contemporary totalitarianism.<sup>39</sup> This is not the place to take sides in the question of the final significance of the Saint-Simonian experience. From our viewpoint, which is that of the generational dynamic set up around the revolutionary tradition, or, to again take up an expression of Benjamin, of the forms of ageing of this tradition, the question of Saint-Simonians is basically that of the problem of the relationship between

36. A good reconstruction in F. A. Isambert, *De la charbonnerie au saint-simonisme, Etude sur la jeunesse de Buchez*, Paris, 1966.

37. Ballanche was also the author of *Le vieillard et le jeune homme*, [1891], the most original theoretic attempt made during the Restoration to conciliate old and new legitimists with old and new republicans.

38. A. Galante Garrone, *Filippo Buonarroti e i rivoluzionari dell'Ottocento (1828-1837)*, [new ed.], Turin, 1972, pp. 40-47.

39. Let me just indicate, among "sumphatic" historians, the classic S. Charléty, *Histoire du saint-simonisme*, Paris, 1931; among the "detractors", L. Valiani, *Questioni di storia del socialismo*, Turin, 1958, pp. 23-56 and foll.; and above all G. G. Iggers, *The Cult of Authority. The Political Philosophy of the Saint-Simonians: A Chapter in the Intellectual History of Totalitarianism*, The Hague, 1958. For the definition of the Saint-Simonian movement as the salvation army of the bourgeoisie, see Benjamin, *Parigi Capitale...op. cit.*, p. 761.

the young Saint-Simonians and the legacy of the French Revolution. We may therefore mention the main historico-political work that the school produced: the *Réfutation de l'Histoire de France de l'abbé de Montgaillard*, published in 1828 by Uranelt de Leuze (the pseudonym of Laurent de l'Ardèche, one of the leaders of the movement).

The book opens with the homage paid by Laurent to the courageous work, even the moral grandeur, of many deputies in the Convention, Robespierre above all.<sup>40</sup> Historians do not betray the spirit of the work when they identify in the *Réfutation* the most outstanding sign of the opening up of a new ideological age, marked by the will to reconsider the historical significance of the Robespierrist experience.<sup>41</sup> It seems to me, in fact, necessary to distinguish between the historical and the political dimension of the revolutionary legacy; if Laurent asked for the indulgence of his own generation toward the "inflexible democrats" of the Convention, he did so on the basis of the fact that the Revolution itself had pronounced the funeral oration of democracy: "A transitoria system by nature", besmirched for ever by the bloodshed, and in the end buried by the popularity of Bonapartism. The dozen years that passed between Waterloo and the present time were seen by Laurent as evidence of the "identical sterility" of the political alchemists of both sides - legitimists, and "ontologists" who were naive enough to still believe in popular sovereignty. Luckily for France, the Auguste Comte of the *Catechism of the Industrialists* and the men of the *Producteur* had set to work, in the footsteps of Saint-Simon, to brake the overflowing flood of criticism and to close the revolutionary arena "where by now only ghosts were combatting". Laurent urged his readers to join with them in the organic work necessary to truly destroy the traces of the old regime and to make a new bond which would guarantee the unity and harmony of the social framework.<sup>42</sup>

The revolution the young Saint-Simonians were proposing was not violent, nor was it-generally speaking- political. They aspired to things which were far more "important" than freedom and equality: they wanted honour to be paid to the role played by the more enterprising and capable producers - a genuine élite in society - against the feudal privileges of a parasitic nobility and the idle Liberal illusion of the "doctrinaires" and the "constitutionals". It was no coincidence that Enfantin eagerly applauded the financial studies of a Swiss publisher in his early thirties, James Fazy, who had been living for some time in Paris after a lengthy experience as a Carbonari conspirator and follower of Buonarroti. Fazy was fighting more eloquently than others for the French credit system to be brought up to date, so as to guarantee the more efficient entrepreneurs the fortunes that certain British and American capitalists were earning.<sup>43</sup> In Paris in the 1820s, Fazy was just one of the many young men with a good but disorderly literary background, more or less uprooted, who urged financial reforms because they were seeking their own place in the sun. He

40. Uranelt de Lauze, [Laurent de l'Ardèche] *Réfutation de l'"Histoire de France" de l'abbé de Montgaillard*, Paris, 1828, p. 44.

41. See A. Galante Garrone, "I sansimoniani e la storia della Rivoluzione Francese", *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1949, pp. 251-278, and R. Pozzi, "La nascita di un mito: robespierrismo e giacobinismo nella Francia della rivoluzione di luglio", in M. Salvadori and N. Tranfaglia (eds.), *Il modello politico giacobino e le rivoluzioni*, Florence, 1984, pp. 197-222.

42. [Laurent de l'Ardeche], *Réfutation de l'"Histoire de France" ...*, *nop. cit.*, pp. 238, 383, 435-437, 442.

43. According to his son H. Fazy's account: *James Fazy. Sa vie et son oeuvre*, Geneve-Basle, 1887, pp. 40 and foll.

came however from an important family of Geneva, and was preparing to play a leading role in 19th century Genevan history, and he is, in fact, well-known to Swiss historians.<sup>44</sup> But Fazy deserves consideration from all historians interested in the European political culture of the Restoration.<sup>45</sup> All youthful papers that we have - a shapeless mass of notes, of rough sketches of literary and moral works, ambitious editorial projects - appear in fact highly representative of the intellectual background of a young man born into the century: it is a rich but confused background, on whose horizons we see Rousseau and Voltaire, Sismondi and Fourier, Lamennais and Saint-Simon, Buonarroti and Lafayette.<sup>46</sup>

In 1828, Fazy printed a fierce, successful pamphlet with the provocative title *On Gerontocracy*.<sup>47</sup> With this pamphlet, the generation of the 1820s welcomed a brilliant, merciless expression of their unease, their idiosyncracies, their longings. The beginning thundered:

What extraordinary instinct for domination then stirred the turbulent generation of '89! It began with rejecting its own fathers, and ended by disinheriting its own sons.

It was not enough to have witnessed, decimated by death sentences and weakened by the military campaigns, the disappearance of the most intelligent and vigorous men of his age. This generation persisted in taking on the entire charge of government: greedy for power, it had laid down constitutionally that no one could become a deputy unless were at least forty years old, and possessed of a large fortune.

France thus found herself

concentrated and reduced to seven-eight thousand "eligible" individuals, who were asthmatic, gouty, paralytic, arteriosclerotic.

Both young people and adults were escluded from public deliberations; filled with consternation, the true France, the overwhelming majority of the country, was forced to submit to the stupid, vulgar wrangles of its old men, busy in drivelling on about English monarchic legitimacy or freedom, instead of guaranteeing what were really urgent questions: the reform of the public administration, justice, the tax system. And, above all, the reform of the credit system, which would have brought everyone to agreement, since it would have shown the total increase of wealth as undefined, and false the principal according to which an asset is not gained unless it is subtracted from someone else.

Again at the end of the thirties, Fazy maintained contacts with a personality such as Buonarroti, who even helped to finance his publishing enterprises. But a sidereal

44. See F.Ruchon, "Une famille genevoise: les Fazy d'Antoine Fazy, fabricant d'indiennes, a James Fazy, homme d'etat et tribun", *Bullettin de l'Institut national genevois*, 1939, and M. Vuilleumier, "Buonarroti et ses societes secretes a Geneve. Quelques documents inedits (1815-1824)", *Annales historiques de la Revolution Francaise*, 1970, pp. 473-505.

45. As J.H. Billington has emphasized, *Con il fuoco nella mente. Le origini della fede rivoluzionaria*, [1980], Bologna, 1986, pp. 303-310.

46. Geneva, *Bibliothèque Publique et universitaire*, Fondation Fazy, cart.5

47. The term "gerontocracy" (whose autorship Fazy claimed) was immediately taken up by Beranger - i.e. by the national bard, the idol of youth - who made it the title of a poem: J. Touchard, *La gloire de Beranger*, Paris, 198?, vol. I, pp. 525-59.

distance divided them, in terms of mentality and political terminology. In the writing of the Swiss "revolutionary", we find no trace of the fundamental moralism which was behind the ideas and the writings of Babeuf's old companion. As to the magic formula of *On Gerontocracy*, "making a fortune", Buonarroti would have been horrified by it all. On reading Fazy, we have the clear impression of reading the executor of the last will and testament of the revolutionary generation:

you wear yourselves out in your old battles, while the youth of today, from the young prince to the shop assistant, lives in love and harmony; you are still there fearing the "revolution", while youth no longer even use this word over which you are tearing each other apart. The youth of today is rejected by *civilisation* not by *revolution*; what you call "overturning", it calls "progress".<sup>48</sup>

One of Fazy's texts of a few years later was also a hymn to the marvels of credit, in praise of discount bank insurance, of joint-stock companies.<sup>49</sup> And when, not long afterwards, the July revolution took place, Fazy was in the front line, with his journal, the *Révolution de 1830*, fighting so that the Orléanist cause should not be transformed into an organized mockery by the "old and decrepit generation which is on the way out", at the expense of the new generation; so that the change of regime should not merely be limited to the replacement of the ancien régime aristocracy with a financial oligarchy.<sup>50</sup>

In the historical reality of the events, the 1830 revolution did not end with the generous rebellion of the young against the gerontocracy, followed by their apathetic failure; nor did it end in the scenario of a cunning élite, at the expense of the popular movement. On the one hand, to judge from the figures of the victims of the July fighting, it seems that the glory of victory may be attributed to the Empire veterans more than to the twenty and thirty-years-olds of the Restoration. On the other hand, the change in regime created the condition for a new social stratum - we are not concerned whether it was "bourgeoise" or "middle class" - to take the place of the aristocracy as a ruling class. In the years following 1830, there was, it is true, an authoritarian involution of the Orléanist regime, which ended in persecution and trials of the republican activists: the early '30s were also years of extraordinary intellectual and moral fervour, which, among other things, gave a growing working class the means to influence profoundly the reformulation of democratic doctrine.<sup>51</sup>

Nevertheless, what historians are able to reconstruct does not necessarily correspond to the perception of contemporaries, and even less to the preception young rebels or revolutionaries of bourgeois origins could form of the events in question. They were individuals who were, by vocation, alien from the spirit of initiative which a new generation of entrepreneurs, under Louis Philippe, was demonstrating; and alien,

48. J. Fazy, *De la gerontocratie, ou abus de la sagesse des vieillards dans le gouvernement de la France*, Paris, 1828, pp. 5, 23.

49. See J. Fazy, *Principes d'organisation industrielle pour le développement des richesses en France, explication du malaise des classes productives, met des moyens d'y porter remède*, Paris, 1830.

50. *La Révolution de 1830*, 21 décembre 1830.

51. Cf. A. Agulhon, "1830 dans l'histoire du XIXe siècle français" [1980] in *idem*, *Histoire vagabonde*, t. II, *Ideologies et politique dans la France du XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1988, pp. 31-47, and the classical synthesis by D.H. Pinkney, *The French Revolution of 1830*, Princeton, 1972.

because of their social extraction, from the workers' movement which was then still working out a new political strategy on the solid basis of their corporate traditions. It is true that, faced with the evident mediocrity of the new *roi-citoyen* and the moral greyness of the *just milieu*, many real or presumed young people, who had believed in the 1830 revolution, developed the impression of having been fooled and having, in these circumstances, wasted their own youth.<sup>52</sup> One of them, Edgar Quinet, described the bitter fate of his generation as that of people who had grown up in the space of a few months and grown old in the short space of one night.<sup>53</sup> But not all stopped at rhetorical formulae; for the sophisticated *Jeunes-France* whose interpreter was Gautier, or for the more popular *bousingots*, experimentation with eccentric or scandalous life styles was one way to dramatize what was felt as the psychopolitical and social ambivalence of their own identity.<sup>54</sup>

Did Balzac in the *Comédie humaine* write the novel of this French youth, from the Restoration to the July monarchy, or was it reportage? In the early Thirties, Balzac was, almost more than a novelist, an embittered and aggressive journalist, as well as an unsuccessful candidate in the political elections. The leit-motif of his articles in *La Caricature* was the desolating capacity for recovery of the gerontocracy, after the blows it had endured in 1830; the ridiculous spectacle of the "old Harlequins torn from the stages of the Revolution, of the Empire and the Restoration", by now skeletal in their genuflections; the scandal of the "false young" and the "old young" who confiscated power, in scorn of the worthy aspirations which had been cultivated by the new generation. The orleanist regime miscalculated the merits of youth, it scorned them, it oppressed them; youth was not in fashion, Balzac complained in "La Mode".<sup>55</sup> And almost all the works of the author of the *Illusions perdues* were based on an exceptionally lucid reflection on fashion and its effect on the social age of individuals; the new bourgeois system was in fact not content with keeping young people away from political responsibility: in the vision, or rather in the nostalgic denunciation, of Balzac, the acceleration that capitalism imposed on social dynamics equally affected generational dynamics, since young people were also caught up in the vortex of the fashion of consuming, in youth, their whole life.<sup>56</sup>

We do not here need to go into these overly subtle distinctions, to distill, from the European melting-pot of the 1830s, what rightly belongs to the novel, what to journalism, to politics or to myth. In Hapsburgic Venice as in Tzarist Russia, it happened that circles of men and women manage to distribute the roles of the characters in the *Comédie humaine*, striving to make their own life like that of Balzac's heroes!<sup>57</sup> What did not suffice to make up the myth or the fashion of Paris - the "pink gauze" which could blur and embellish even the grimmest tints of Parisian reality, according to an image of Heine<sup>58</sup> - was made up by geographical distance and the

52. For an overview, see A. Esler, "Youth in Revolt: the French Generation of 1830", in R. J. Bezucha (ed.), *Modern European Social History*, Lexington (D. C.), 1972, pp. 310-334.

53. E. Quinet, *Avertissement à la monarchie de 1830*, Paris, 1831.

54. See Seigel, *Bohemian Paris...*, op. cit., pp. 25 and foll.; and P. Béichou, "Jeune-France et bousingot", *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1971.

55. Quoted in B. Guyon, *La pensée politique et sociale de Balzac*, Paris, 1947, pp. 384 and foll.

56. See Moretti, *Il romanzo di formazione*, op. cit., pp. 211 and foll.

57. The anecdote in R. Caillois, "Paris, mythe moderne", *Nouvelle Revue française*, 1937, p. 698.

58. In the *Notti fiorentine*: quoted by S. Kracauer, *Jacques Offenbach e la Parigi del suo tempo*, [1937], Casale M., 1984, p. 12.

difference in political and social settings. Thus, for example, Saint-Simonianism was rapidly waning in France in the early 1830s, after the quarrel between Enfantin and Bazard, but it still fascinated young people abroad, even a thousand miles away. This was the case of a young naval officer from Nice, second in command in the ship on which Emile Barrault and other followers of Enfantin had embarked to search in the Orient for the Woman-Messiah, the redeemer of the western family. The strangeness of the plan did not put the young Giuseppe Garibaldi off the virtual powers of Saint-Simonian humanism.<sup>59</sup> It was the case of two twenty-year-old Russian noblemen, who were convinced of their revolutionary mission (since, as little more than children they had sworn from the Muscovite heights of Sparrow Hill to avenge the sacrifice of the Decabrists): for Alexander Herzen and Nicolai Ogarev, their adherence to Saint-Simonism around 1833 already meant detaching themselves from the French Revolution, criticising democracy and seeking new foundations for the socialist ideal.<sup>60</sup>

It is worth insisting on the ups and down of Saint-Simonism, for the very reason that its influence often brought about a distancing from the tradition of the French Revolution, helping to define expectations in which the principles and values of '89 and '93 had a limited place. The parabola of "Young Germany" was typical of this tendency. Up till 1832 Karl Gutzkov was able to identify with and proclaim the true task of the new generation to be the construction of a German democratic republic modelled on the French republic of Robespierre and Saint-Just. After this date, under the influence of his friend Heinrich Laube and Heine himself, who were imbued with Saint-Simonian spirit, more than as a consequence of government pressures and censorship, Gutzkov proposed a different ideal for "Young Germany": a philosophy of history, religious regeneration instead of the political struggle. In 1835 Gutzkov still had the courage to publish, though with some cuts, that extraordinary document of moral rebellion and political denunciation which is *The Death of Danton* by Georg Büchner. But Gutzkov advised even a young man of Büchner's ability, to dedicate himself to literature rather than to radical attacks on the system.<sup>61</sup>

The encounter with Saint-Simonism was also decisive in the intellectual biography of Giuseppe Mazzini. In 1831, the first year of his exile in Marseilles, The Genoese lawyer -the "young madman" who so alarmed a Hapsburg informer<sup>62</sup> - agreed with Buonarrotti's idea of a class struggle, related to the French political situation, but added an element of generational contrast of his own. A war without quarter should be waged on an old, wealthy France by a young, poor France. But even in 1832, under the strong influence of his reading of *Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, Mazzini preferred to speak of democracy guided from above, of intelligence, of genius; he insisted on taking up the principle of the generation gap as operative in political struggle, as well as instructive for historical analysis: but he now tended to counterpose it to the class struggle. "Let us flee from shedding fraternal blood":<sup>63</sup> for Mazzini, the

59. See R. Treves, *La dottrina sansimoniana nel pensiero italiano del Risorgimento*, Turin, p. 17

60. See F. Venturi, *Il populismo russo*, Turin, 1972, vol. I, *Herzen, Bakunin Cernyceyskij*, p. 19.

61. The most up-to-date contribution on the question is that of L. Calvié, *Le renard et les raisins. La Révolution française et les intellectuels allemands, 1789-1845*, Paris, 1989; but the research of J. Dresch is still useful, *Karl Gutzkov et la Jeune Allemagne*, Paris, 1904, as is that of E.M. Butler, *The Saint-Simonian Religion in Germany: A Study of the Young German Movement*, Cambridge, 1926.

62. Quoted in F. Della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani*, op.cit.



offensive against the fathers was the way to sublimate the elementary perspective of a clash between brothers in a higher form of interclassism.

The political movement created and animated by Mazzini in this period - "Young Italy" and then "young Europe" - set forty as the maximum age for membership. The historian interested in the forms of political representation of youth in the 19th century, of in the myth of youth itself as a revolutionary force, could not ask for sources of more eloquent evidence than this: to accept only "young people" under the age of forty as capable of progressive political service meant in fact rebelling with an almost scholastic precision against the *quarantine* that the Restoration policy had imposed on the new generations. It also meant creating the exact opposite of this quarantine; with the result that it alienated many patriots over forty, who, after decades of political militancy, suddenly felt themselves treated like "dotards of the time of the Argonauts".<sup>64</sup> The rivalry which arose between the Italian followers of Mazzini and those of Buonarroti during the early 1830s was affected by this generational unease.<sup>65</sup>

It would, of course, be inappropriate to exaggerate the implications of the appeal the Genoese exile made to the under-40s, and make of it the pivot of the entire history of Mazzini's movement. The main difficulties encountered by Mazzini's creatures, even the most lively of them ("Young Germany", not to be confused with that of Gutzkov, "Young Poland", "Young Switzerland") were of another nature - above all political - in their definition of a common line of action. There was above all the fear, shared by German, Polish and Swiss agitators alike, that Mazzini wished to replace traditional French leadership with a sort of Italian guidance of the European revolutionary initiatives. In the various vicissitudes of "Young Europe", however, there is one which takes on particular relevance in the development of our theme. Between 1834 and 1835, Mazzini's most prestigious interlocutor, but also his most decided adversary in Switzerland, was James Fazy, the leader of the so-called national party.<sup>66</sup> The Swiss plots of "Young Europe" ended by breaking up against the firm opposition of Fazy himself, who had been the standard-bearer of French youth in the Restoration in its struggle against gerontocracy. For those who wished to see, the limits of a generational approach to the issue of revolution were becoming clear; to more than one European revolutionary, the time seemed ripe for a resolutely class approach.

63. G. Mazzini, "D'alcune cause che impediscono finora lo sviluppo della libertà in Italia", [1832], in *idem, Scritti editi e inediti*.

64. Quoted in F. Della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani, op.cit.*, p. 150.

65. See Galante Garrone, *Buonarroti e i rivoluzionari...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 340 and foll.

66. See Della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani, op. cit.*, pp. 204-217.