

The Nineteenth-Century Italian Political Migration to the Lusophone

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Abstract. *Italy has been a country both of emigration and immigration. In a past historical period, the nineteenth century Risorgimento, which brought about the Italian Unification, our country experienced a varied migration flood towards Europe and Americas. Apart from the Great Migration Wave at the end of the century, throughout the previous decades there were a remarkable number of Italian people who left the country for political reasons. That mass departure was often concealed by the home-leaving rhetoric. That migration was also bound for the Lusophone world, on the Continent and overseas, namely Portugal and Brazil. The former was the destination of liberal exiles in the first half of the century, escaping from the repression by the Restoration governments; the latter became a refuge for republicans, anarchists and socialists persecuted by the new Italian monarchy in the last quarter of the century. That migration was not a passive one, but, on the contrary, it gave an active contribution to the political debate in the host countries, accompanying them into Modern Times. This essay tries to enhance both different and common features of those flows, which were, however, characterized by a certain causal link.*

Keywords: *Portugal, Liberalism, Volunteerism, Constitution, Brazil, Labour Movement, Industrialization, Deportation*

1. Introduction

The political emigration in the 19th century has marked the history of the Italian people along the process of the National unification, known as “Risorgimento”.

Then, if we want to consider the Risorgimento and the relevant phenomena in a long-time perspective, going beyond the established conventional dating (such as the date of 1861), we will realize how much the political migration, which was accompanied and even facilitated by socio-economic features, went on throughout the 19th century and over, favouring the development of significant historical events (which marked the progress of the nation).

Among the several destinations of that mass departure, the Lusophone area, i.e. Portugal and Brazil, proved to be particularly remarkable, even though with decisive differences. The development of political events in those countries attracted the attention of Italian emigrants, in search of ‘favourable’ places for their exile, as well as new opportunities of social liberation.

The case of Portugal mostly covered the years of the second and third decade of the 19th century. The Portugal of the liberal revolution in 1820 and the anti-absolutism struggle leading to the civil war in 1832-34, becomes a favourite destination for a large number of them. In any case, the two migration phases eventually take different characters, producing different effects, reaching different objectives and getting different achievements. Through an accurate analysis of the two phenomena, we can distinguish the reasons of their substantial difference: the only common feature being a tireless political and military volunteering in defence of the liberal principles and in the name of a European civil solidarity. Instead, as regards the general migration towards Brazil, it seems necessary to define it as a structural element of Italian social history. In fact, the Italian community undoubtedly plays a prominent role in moulding the national identity and the character of the new Brazilian society, which immediately appears to be, even in its narration, as a mixture of peoples and cultures.

2. The Case of Portugal

In Portugal, the phenomenon of immigration takes a remarkable prominence in the mid-19th century years, owing to the

large number of Italian patriots in the country during the Thirties. But the presence in Portugal of exiles from the Risorgimento 'diasporas' can be already traced back in the second decade of the century, even though in a smaller number than in the 'invasion' taking place during the 1832-34 civil war between liberals and absolutists. While in the Twenties, individual experiences stand out, in the Thirties, similar experiences turn into a coral participation.

The context of the first flow is the one of 1820 Iberian revolts, which give rise to the following two-year rebellion in the Mediterranean area, in the name of the rule making principles of liberal inspiration, established by the so-called 'Constitution of Cadiz' (the Spanish Constitution of 1812, restored in Spain and a reference model for all the revolutionary experiences of the time). The constitutional experiments, both Spanish and Portuguese, though substantially independent from each other, hold out until the spring-summer of 1823 (unlike the Italian ones, already failed in the summer of 1821). The revolutions in the Italian states (namely, Turin and Naples), inspired and led by intellectuals belonging either to the Carbonarist movement or to the upper degrees of the army (often to both) pave the way to the peculiar (though not original¹) European 'mobility' of their protagonists. That is the evidence of the awareness of an international action giving help to the oppressed nations as being parts of the 'common European civilization' (Romano & Vivanti, 1973, p. 281), though it is also motivated by reasons of personal security (the flight to safe places in order to escape from repression). So, we can take as a general paradigm Gregoire Bron's analysis (2010) in an interesting recently issued article, which the author reserves to the only migration flow in the Thirties: "Military volunteerism was a key expression of the new diplomacy: the volunteers were delegates of the nation, which is to say, of the people, who defended [...] the constitutional political principles that were to be considered the fruit of modern civilization against the medieval institutions of absolutism" (pp. 431-432).

The difference between the first and the second migration flow lies just in the adjective 'military': the exiles of the second decade of the 19th century, massively bound for the Iberian Peninsula, are not militarily organized (at least not organically and not in Portugal, while some exceptions are to be found in Spain²); but they are, at the same time, to be fully ascribed to the ideal and intentional category of political volunteerism, urged by the solidarity to the host country as well as by a prospect for their home country: it is an immediate evident purpose of the 1820-21 exiles to reconstruct outside the Italian Peninsula the opposition to the absolute governments ruling there, as a specific example of "quel più consapevole movimento di opposizione internazionale che s'identificava con la causa del progresso europeo³" (Romano & Vivanti, 1973, p. 281); an opposition not only political and diplomatic but also a military one, through the organization of expeditions to the Italian Peninsula, supported by the Iberian governments.

Those two theses are definitely confirmed by the experience of Guglielmo Pepe, a general of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies⁴. After the failure of the Neapolitan revolts in 1820-21, he takes refuge in the Iberian Peninsula, though making England his own operating base. Pepe's personal vicissitudes deserve a short mention.

He is the protagonist of an unfruitful, even unlucky⁵ expedition to the Iberian land, urged by the clear 'European conscience' that we have mentioned above. Pepe reaches Lisbon, with the purpose of setting up a secret society, called *Fratelli Costituzionali Europei*⁶, a sort of coordination of the Italian exiles and liberals acting on the political stage all over Western Europe. But his stay in the Portuguese Capital is not continuous and his many missions to Lisbon lead to

¹ An evidence is the case of Filippo Buonarroti (1761-1837), wandering in the name of the revolutionary ideal. For a thorough reading of the subject, instead, see Rao, A. (1992). *Esuli. L'emigrazione politica italiana in Francia (1792-1802)*. Naples: Guida.

² "[...] one of the first propositions made by a distinguished and gallant military officer in this country, was the organization of a cosmopolite corps [...]. A number of proscribed Italian patriots, who sought refuge in Spain and Portugal after the termination of their efforts in Naples and Piedmont, constituted an excellent ground-work for the formation of this corps. But instead of catching at this proposal as it behoved the Peninsular governments, a few hundred Piedmontese were merely allowed to form themselves under the banners of Mina, in Catalonia [...] Regretting, as we all must, that the above plan should still remain a dead letter, it were needless to dwell here on the advantages which its immediate realization would ensure to the general cause" (Blaquiere, 1823, pp. XXI-XXII).

³ Trad. : "that most aware international movement indentifying itself with the European progress cause".

⁴ Pepe, born of a Calabrian-origin family, who will give more patriots to the liberal cause (such as his brother Florestano), takes part in the main events affecting the history of the Kingdom of Naples, after the crisis of the old regime. Still very young, he is in the front line during the unlucky defence of the Parthenopean Republic (1799), which he pays with his imprisonment. His anti-Bourbon spirit has been evident since the early years of the XIX century, when he supports the French occupation and administration in South Italy, during the reigns of Giuseppe Bonaparte and Gioacchino Murat.

⁵ Pepe (with his adjutant, Colonel Vincenzo Pisa), on the way from Andalucía to Lisbon, as he enters Portugal, is the victim of a gang of thieves (July, 1821). On this subject, see *Diário das Cortes Geraes e Extraordinárias da Nação Portuguesa*, 132 (1821-07-20), pp.1602,1604.

⁶ See Pepe, 1847, II, pp. 146-147; Carrano, 1857, p. 141; Venosta, 1864, p. 127; Moscati, 1938, I, p. CIV; Michel, 1940, p. 444.

nothing, though favourably welcome⁷ for his excellent 'references'⁸. On reading the literature produced about his case, we can infer that the Neapolitan general is admired and respected by the Portuguese liberals on account of his exiled old veteran status, but his proposals are not going to be highly regarded and consequently fall on deaf ears. The support and assent to the *Fratelli Costituzionali Europei* society appears to be just a formal kindness, more than a strategic choice. Also because, as a matter of fact, the *Cortes Gerais e Extraordinárias da Nação Potuguesa* (the Constituent Assembly) actually prefer a self-relying plan, keeping independent from the Spanish guidance. Pepe, who sees the initial reflection of the Spanish revolution over the Portuguese experience, is constantly worried about the absence of a mutual assistance and defence (a feature which will deeply affect the political and military withdrawal in 1823). He repeatedly denounces that attitude as being dangerous, and often talks the matter with his collaborators, the other exiles and the authorities of the two countries with tireless insistence. The following proposal in 1823 to the Portuguese War Minister, Manuel Gonçalves de Miranda⁹ to set up an expedition to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in order to lighten the French army's pressure on Spain, is eluded by the Portuguese minister with vague promises (Pepe, 1847, II, p. 181).

The action of the first political emigration stream, in the Twenties, definitely takes place on an ideological level of conscience-awakening in search of consent, though the military option in support of the local liberal front (mainly after the resolution of the Congress of Verona) cannot be excluded; it is, however, an unsuccessful option owing to, among the other reasons, the indifference of the Iberian governments. The setting of the second flow of the Risorgimento political exiles to Portugal is the civil war in 1832-34, between the absolutist front and the liberal one, respectively headed by two brothers of the House of Bragança: Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro¹⁰. The latter, after the breaking of the dynastic deal by his brother (see note N° 19), leaves Brazil (where he abdicates in favour of his son, Dom Pedro II) and moves to England where, along with his collaborators, he sets up the expedition of a liberation army (*Exército Libertador*) through the recruitment of Portuguese as well as foreign volunteers.

After those preliminary remarks, it is necessary to point out the differences between the first migration flow and the second, both for their causes and effects. First of all, the first period exiles come directly from Italy, escaping the repressions in Turin and Naples. Spain is the first and only destination for most of them. The second period exiles testify different stories: they include both 1821 exiles (many of whom concentrated in England) and recent fugitives, coming from Italian areas after the 1831 revolts. At the moment of their recruitment in the Portuguese Liberation Army, they are in countries either of a well-established constitutional tradition (England) or of a recent/renewed acquisition (Belgium, France). The militarily organized intervention of the second flow turns out to be more effective in terms of an active solidarity to the constitutional cause; it is higher in number than the first flow, even though not a homogenous one. Indeed, Italian exiles arrive in Portugal in different phases, according to their recruitment in the liberation army¹¹. Once they have reached the Portuguese territory, they get organized in one national company, the so-called *Companhia Italiana*, made up of about thirty units (A. H. M., 1937, p.163). Instead, Bron (2009, p.428) mentions a number of about one hundred Italians taking part in the Portuguese civil war.

In conclusion, while the first flows of immigrants arrive in search of help, the second flow's purpose is to offer help, without any open request, in return, for a political as well as military help to the Italian movement.

The 'ideological' element is central once more: as pointed out, the Italians arriving in Portugal in 1832 summer mostly come from Belgium and France, stopping places for a 'favourable' exile, where they can share the respective political

⁷ Pepe is warmly welcome by the local institutions, such as the Cortes with their president, Francisco António Almeida Moraes Peçanha (Michel, 1940, p. 447).

⁸ Letter of Marquis de La Fayette to Guglielmo Pepe of May 3rd, 1822, (published in Pepe, 1847, II, p. 163). In addition, see Romano, 1933: pp. 585-614.

⁹ Pepe mentions him as a member of his secret society. "Uno dei soci è già Ministro" (Moscati, 1938, p. 276).

¹⁰ Dom Pedro IV has been King of Portugal and Emperor of Brazil. A promoter of the Empire of Brazil and its separation from the Portuguese Crown (1822), after the death of his father, João VI, King of Portugal (1826), is appointed the heir to the throne by his sister Isabel Maria, the regent of the reign. At the same time, he grants the Constitution, the second in Portugal after the 1822 constitution, though a more moderate one. Since he wants to keep the two crowns separated and the title of Emperor of Brazil for himself, he abdicates in favour of his firstborn Maria, still a minor, establishing her marriage to his brother, Dom Miguel, appointed the new regent of the kingdom. Dom Miguel's dynastic claims, in an underlying climate of civil war in the country, lead him to 'usurp' the throne in 1828. Supported by his mother, Carlota Joaquina, he succeeds in being proclaimed king, restoring the absolutist regime, with the subsequent abolition of the Constitutional charter.

¹¹ See A.H.M., (1946). Oferecimentos de estrangeiros para o exército liberal. *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, 16, pp. 139-161. Vila Nova de Famalicão: Minerva.

courses¹². Therefore, they reach (or maybe reinforce), in such a context, an idea of the necessary construction, diffusion and defence of a 'European' constitutionalism, starting from the above cases. But, though "the choice to fight in Portugal was the evidence of a genuine political understanding of this marginal country" (Bron, 2010, p. 428), political ideal and self-interest coexist when the intentions of those who long for the improvement of their material condition show themselves (a demand to be set in the very long unstable condition of exiles), as is testified by the attempt to get a stable position through the request (often persistent) for a permanent official recruitment in the Portuguese Army.

It is impossible here to give an account of the private lives of Italian volunteers in the Portuguese Civil War. However, it is necessary to mention the participation of the two most significant figures of the Italian Risorgimento, the brothers Giacomo and Giovanni Durando. These two leaders of the defence of Porto against the siege of the absolutist Dom Miguel's troops, were permanently enrolled in the regular army at the end of the Portuguese War (Lima, 1936, pp. 118-119). In 1835, during the battle of Spain the Durando brothers joined forces with numerous Italian volunteers, who were already in Portugal, for another liberal cause (the First Carlist War).

Despite the tragedy of war, James Durando's *Memories* unveil a benevolent empathy with places and people (Losano, 2011, pp. 49-56).

During the First Italian War of Independence (1848-49), the Durando brothers played a leading role in the military, as did their comrades from Portugal. In light of their role as aides-de-camp of King Carlo Alberto, it is important to consider the hypothesis that both Durando brothers had a certain influence on the sovereign's unpredictable choice of a self-imposed exile in the city of Porto.

3. Brazil: 'Eldorado' or a penal settlement?

Since 1500, the year when Pedro Álvares Cabral sailed along the coast of the land that, in that time, was called *Terra di Santa Cruz*, Brazil has witnessed a steady presence (though a small one until the 19th century), of Italians during the early centuries of its colonization¹³. In the 18th century, the Italian presence is even smaller, although there stands out the name of a Jesuit from Lucca, Giovanni Antonio Andreoni, the Rector of the Bahia College. In 1711, he writes, under the pseudonym of João André Antonil, the 'ufanista' (i.e. celebrating) essay *Cultura e Opulência do Brasil por sua Drogas e Minas*, still famous in the Brazilian literature for briefly explaining the paternalistic cruel nature of a slavery-based economy with the three Ps system: '*pau, pão e pano*' (Antonil 2007), which he suggests in order to manage the slaves effectively. The work is immediately confiscated by the Portuguese crown, which disliked over-publicity to the riches of its colony (Stegagno Picchio, 1997, p.41).

On the contrary, in the 19th century the Italian emigration to Brazil seems to be immediately as a much more outstanding phenomenon. In the century that is going to witness the largest 'diasporas' in the history of the Italian migration process, with Brazil among the favourite countries, the early big flows are just the political exiles' ones (Trento, 1984, p.19). As regards these early political emigrations, we must refer to the liberal uprisings in the Kingdom of Naples and in Piedmont-Sardinia in 1820-21 and those in Romagna in 1831. In consequence of the failure of those 'revolutionary' attempts and the ensuing reaction of the restoring governments, many among liberals and Mazzini's followers find their own political and living destiny in their exile (forced or spontaneous) to Brazil (Candido, 1993). As far as the forced emigration is concerned, there are two large groups of exiles reaching Brazil. The first one is made up of 'dangerous' liberals whom the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, in agreement with the Portuguese Court, moved to Brazil, sends there to be employed in colonization projects (Scarano, 1956, pp. 307-330; 1958, pp.231-262; 1959, pp.353-373). The second one, smaller in number, is made up of the Papal States' political convicts, closed up in the *Civita Castellana* fortress, who are deported on February 2nd, 1837, to the Bahia region, along with their families, to be employed in a

¹² Respectively: the process of the Belgian independence from the reign of the Netherlands (1830-31) and the revolution of July 1830 in Paris, which brought Luis-Philippe d'Orléans to power. The Italians taking part in the Belgian independence revolts from Holland (1830-31) were recruited in the Foreign Legion. Some Italian exiles take part in the Polish 'Cadet Revolution' (1830-31), too.

¹³ See Galvani L. (1948). *Brasile moderno. "Terra incantata"*. Milano: Cavallotti.

colonization project which, what is more, will miserably fail¹⁴. Many of these political exiles will take part in the separatist Bahia revolution (*Sabinada*), giving rise to the short-lived *República Baiense*¹⁵.

The Italian participation is still more numerous in the other important secessionist attempt in Brazil, the Rio Grande republican revolution, well-known as *Guerra dos Farrapos* (the beggars' war), broken out in 1835 in the Rio Grande do Sul province, owing to issues concerning the local administration, which had caused conflicts between liberals and conservatives. The Italian political refugees take part in the conflict, on the rebels' side, of course, even with prominent executive roles. There had come to Brazil (1836), in fact, many famous names among the members of the Carbonist movement and Mazzini's followers, who had spontaneously left Italy, bound for South America between 1820 and 1848 (Trento, 1984), sailing mostly from Marseille and Le Havre harbours to get to Brazil straightforwardly or after staying in other countries of the South Cone. Among those names, we can find Livio Zambecari, a Carbonist from Bologna. His wide culture, intelligence and rapidly-acquired command of the language give rise to his fast success among the prominent figures of the revolt in Rio Grande. While being an editor of journals such as *O Republicano*, he is appointed in the revolutionaries' staff (Cenni, 2003, p. 99-100). Also the group of Mazzini's followers gives an important contribution to the *Guerra dos Farrapos*. Their early years of political activity in Brazil have been characterized, to be true, by a poor interest in the Brazilian affairs, concentrating their attention, though far away, to the struggles for the Italian independence, as we can infer from the journal they have founded in Rio de Janeiro in April, 1836: *La Giovine Italia*. While the revolt in Rio Grande do Sul is going on, there is a change of political strategy, as it is shown not only by the new attention but mostly through the contribution given to the revolt by the Mazzinian exiles. Among them the two most prominent names are those of Luigi Rossetti (like other fellow countrymen, he will meet his death in a battle), who had directed the revolutionaries' unofficial journal *O Povo*, whose management he hands over to the other important Mazzinian, G.B. Cuneo¹⁶. We cannot disregard, among the Italians who take part in the events of the short-lived Rio Grande Republic, Giuseppe Garibaldi; although his contribution is certainly smaller, compared with the already mentioned names, yet he takes part in the expedition against the neighbouring province of Santa Caterina¹⁷.

The energy of the exiles' group arrived in 1836 is also shown by their giving birth to the Italian colony, creating the first Mutual Aid Society, 'Italia Unita' (Pettinati, 1939, p.92): many of them, besides the political activity, devote themselves to professional or trade activities: Garibaldi himself opens a butcher's shop in Rio de Janeiro.

Before that group, the other well-known name, among the Italian liberals in Brazil is Libero Badarò, a physician. After arriving in Rio in 1826, he moves to São Paulo in 1828, where he launches the liberal paper *O Observador Constitucional*. He is murdered in 1830 during the fights between liberals and conservatives upsetting the political life in Brazil (Cenni, 2003, pp. 36-43).

Yet, the political emigration of Italians to Brazil greatly increases only after the national unification of Italy. The most evident reason is that, at the beginning of the great mass departure wave, dated in 1887, the numbers of arriving foreigners, mostly Italians, are not comparable to those in the previous decades, in spite of the fact that, before that date, the Italian emigration to Americas was almost exclusively bound for the southern regions of Brazil.

This new political emigration is different from the previous one, not only in point of quantity, but also for its political origin, as well as for the quality of its political contribution.

The political persecutions were being aimed at the new anarchist and Marxist opposition, which had started taking root in our country and in its early labour movement. Anarchists and socialists are the new exiles arriving in Brazil inside the great migration drain in the end of the 19th century. In fact, if in the early years of the century, the political refugees had made up the core of Italian emigration, in this case, they represent just a minority part of the Italian 'diasporas'.

¹⁴ As regards that question and the social status as well as the personal data of the convicts, see Lodolini E. (1978). *L'esilio in Brasile dei detenuti politici romani (1837)*. *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, LXV (II) pp.131-174. Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano.

¹⁵ Scarano (1957, pp.42-43) reports how that participation was an obstacle to an agreement between the Bourbon government and the Brazilian authorities for a similar deportation project regarding both ordinary and political convicts.

¹⁶ About the Mazzinian intervention in Brazil, see Candido S. (1975). *La Rivoluzione Riograndense nel carteggio inedito di due giornalisti mazziniani: Luigi Rossetti e G.B.Cuneo*. Firenze: CNR. By the same author: (1968). *L'azione mazziniana in Brasile ed il Giornale "La Giovine Italia" di Rio de Janeiro (1836) attraverso documenti inediti e poco noti*. *Bollettino della Domus Mazziniana*, XIV (2), pp. 3-66. Pisa: Domus Mazziniana.

¹⁷ As regards Garibaldi's travelling to Portugal and Brazil, see as well: Di Giuseppe, F. (2006). *Garibaldi a Tangeri in una lettera inedita a Carlo Notari*. *Rassegna Storica de Risorgimento*, XCIII (IV), pp. 597-601. Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano.

Nevertheless, the contribution of the Italians to the Brazilian workers' movement, as we said, is prominent. Unlike the liberals and the republicans who, once arrived in Brazil, join the revolutionary movements acting there, as well as the local *élite* already imbued with the principles of the French and American revolutions, anarchists and socialists will give a decisive contribution to the rise of the labour movement, just like their fellow countrymen, along with Portuguese and Spanish people and, in a smaller part, with Germans, will make up the base of an early working class.

In Brazil, the industrialization process is, indeed, quite late, strictly linked to the development of an export economy depending on coffee production (Fausto, 1977, pp.13-17). That favours, with the development of a new facilities and transport system, the beginning of a national industry. Then, the abolition of slavery had accelerated the necessity of replacing the slave labour, which had, little by little, become less and less profitable, with paid workers and the solution chosen by the *fazendeiros* is to turn to the immigration from Europe. The São Paulo province sets up the *Sociedade Promotora de Imigração* in 1866, to finance the arrival of European workers (treated to the voyage charges), who are bond for the *fazendas*. The very bad living and working condition and a non-stop migration flood which gives no sign of decrease, favour a large turn-over, with many workers leaving the farms to move to urban areas filled, consequently, with a large supply of industrial labour (Trento, 1984, pp. 30-35, pp.161-172, p.322).

It is in that setting that the early labour organizations are born, where the foreigners are the majority of the management. Indeed, there had been attempts, by national politicians, to found labour parties, but they were experiences totally outside the class struggle, with collaborationist positions and very few followers among the working class (Fausto, 1977, pp.41-46).

The Italians are mostly present in São Paulo where, in the Nineties, they found the *Lega Democratica*, with the participation of republicans, anarchists, and socialists. While the former are not very dynamic, the weight of the other two currents is very different: they control the Brazilian labour movement until the Twenties of the twentieth century. The anarchists, mainly in their anarcho-syndicalist trend, have more hold than the socialists over the working class, probably owing to their advantage of producing a leadership of workers, not of intellectuals. Nevertheless, the arrival of 300 Roman socialists has been reported ever since 1820 (Trento, 1984, p.328)¹⁸.

The Italian government, worried about the anarchist danger, takes a leaning to issue passports, though bound to certain destinations, mostly America. (1980, Ostuni, p.120). The 'penal settlement' solution seems to be quite welcome by the Italian authorities, as we can see from the letter sent by the consul in São Paulo, Compans de Brichentau, to the Foreign Minister, who, suggesting to denounce the Italian anarchists, asked whether it was better to deport them to "Pará and Amazon where the climate itself would pass an unappealable verdict" or to deliver them to justice in their home country. The minister's opinion was that he wouldn't oppose the deportation to Pará (Trento, 1984, 331). On the other side, the Brazilian government, urged by the propaganda of the entrepreneurial class and their newspapers, which though devoid of any racist attitude, insist on the theory of the 'exotic plant', to explain the birth of class-war ideologies in a 'mild' and 'full of opportunities' country as Brazil is, soon starts practicing exclusions (1894), which will be then formalized by the Gordo Law in 1907¹⁹.

Actually, in the late 19th century, the class struggle is essentially limited to propaganda activities: the pamphlet, newspaper and magazine issuing is the main instrument of the labour movement. Strikes are practically absent and, as regards the socialists, all the attempts in those years to set up a Socialist Party were not successful. The only point of strength of Brazilian socialism is made up by the group gathering around the paper *l'Avanti!*, born of the experience of the Lega Democratica (Bandeira, Melo & Andrade, 1980, p.146).

Among the socialists, the Italians' prominence is perhaps still more evident than among the anarchists. Anyway, it is through a survey of the labour press that we can estimate the importance of the Italian contribution to the birth of the Brazilian labour movement. Among the newspapers appeared since 1875, many are the ones issued in the Italian language, not to mention the Italian sections in Brazilian papers in Portuguese (Ferreira, 1978). That production mostly concerns anarchists (*L'Avvenire*, *la Giustizia*), but also the socialist papers are soon issued, besides *L'Avanti!* (above mentioned), *Il Messaggero* (1891) and *Gli Schiavi Bianchi* (1892) (Pinheiro & Hall, 1979, p.37).

¹⁸ The first important intervention of the anarchists in Brazil can be considered their attempt of founding an anarchist settlement in the State of Paraná by the Pisan agronomist Giovanni Rossi. His Colonia Cecilia is going to last a short time, criticized even by famous exponents of anarchism, such as Malatesta, as a useless attempt of socialism. On the subject, see Zecca, R. (2011). Giovanni Rossi e la colonia Cecilia: il successo di un presunto fallimento. *Secretum on line*, 20. Milan: Melquíades (<http://www.secretum-online.it/default.php?idnodo=848> / ISSN: 1970-7754). Stadler de Souza, N. (1970). *O Anarquismo da Colônia Cecilia*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

¹⁹ ASMAE, Interpol, Consolato di San Paolo, b. 47 (published in Trento, 1984).

Finally we must mention the Italian leaders who played such an important role in the early years of the labour movement in Brazil. Although many of the major leaders will arrive in the early years of the following century, there is reported, at the end of the 19th century, the arrival of two among the most prominent figures: Alceste de Ambris, a socialist landed there in 1898 and Gigi Damiani, an anarchist arrived in the following year. The former is the editor in chief of *L'Avanti!* for two years. He will leave the paper because of his radicalism, which will lead him to join revolutionary socialism. The latter is immediately arrested on arriving at São Paulo under a slanderous accusation, but he succeeds in proving his innocence and goes to Paraná, where he launches the paper *O Direito*. He will write for many anarchist papers, such as *La Barricata* and *La Battaglia*.

4. Discussion

The theme in question can be possibly analyzed more thoroughly than in the limited number of these pages. Moreover, the studies and the researches urged by the occurrence of the 150th anniversary of the Unification of Italy, have been partly but outstandingly focused on the theme of the political emigration, as a reflection of the Risorgimento culture outside the national context. On that subject, several important publications issued during the two-year Risorgimento celebration, could be mentioned. Among all of them, the works by Maurizio Isabella (*Risorgimento in Exile. Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009) and Agostino Bistarelli (*Gli esuli del Risorgimento*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011) deserve a special attention. Those studies, along with others such as the ones appeared in the above cited *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*²⁰ (2009, 14, 4) cannot be omitted for a correct historical/political study of the Risorgimento emigration and then, also of the one towards the Lusophone areas which, as can be inferred from this short survey, has been prominent in the construction of the national identity.

The cases worth mentioning are numerous, and, as regards the Portuguese context, we can notice how it was more affected by the Italian Romantic culture than by the 'model stories' which are still retained in the people's collective imagination, with an almost romanticized historical value: it is the case of the 'famous exile' of Carlo Alberto, King of Piedmont- Sardinia, the protagonist, in the last three months of his life (April-July 1849), of his migration to the city of Porto: a city still keeping a very vivid memory, historical and toponymic, of that voluntary retirement.

Between the first and the second half of the 19th century, a change in quality and quantity of the migration flow to the Lusophone areas is evident, never drained of the political ideological ingredient based on the common concept of Liberty, as an essential element of Romantic culture, though to be interpreted in a broad sense.

The 19th century Italian emigration to Americas, takes, mostly in the last three decades, the character of a heavy flood which would create large Italian communities in the new places. Most of that migration flow will find asylum in Brazil, a country characterized by an economy resting on the export of slavery-based farm produce. It is just the lot of the slave system, its growth, evolution and abolition that will pave the way to the immigration from Europe, above all for political reasons, which mostly consisted of people coming from Italy.

While Italy 'is not made' yet, they contribute to its construction far away from home; after the political unification in the Peninsula, they won't stop making the small and large homelands of emigration and exile.

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²⁰ In addition to above cited Bron's article, also see *The international armed volunteers: pilgrims of a transnational Risorgimento*, pp. 413-426.

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