The Kingdom of Italy: Unity or Disparity, 1860-1945

Part IIIb: The First Years of the Kingdom Governments of the Historic Left 1876-1900
Decline of the Right/Rise of the Left

• Biggest issue dividing them had been Rome—now resolved
• Emerging issues
  • Taxation, especially the *macinato*
  • Neglect of social issues
  • Free trade policies that hurt the South disproportionately
  • Limited suffrage
  • Piedmontization
  • Treatment of Garibaldi volunteers
  • Use of police against demonstrations
The North-South divide

- emerging issues more important to South
- Many of Left leaders from South

Elections of 1874

- Slim majority for Right

Fall of Minghetti, March 1876

Appointment of a Left Prime Minister and the elections of November 1876
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>Dates in office</th>
<th>Party/Parliament</th>
<th>Key actions or events</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agostino Depretis</td>
<td>25 March 1876</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Coppino Law</td>
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<td></td>
<td>25 December 1877</td>
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<td>Sonnino and Iacini inquiry into the problems of the South</td>
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<td>Railway construction continues with state aid</td>
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<td>26 December 1877</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Anarchist insurrection in Matese</td>
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<td>24 March 1878</td>
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<td>Benedetto Cairoli</td>
<td>24 March 1878</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Attempted anarchist assassination of king</td>
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<td>19 December 1878</td>
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<td>Depretis</td>
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<td>14 July 1879</td>
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<td>Cairoli</td>
<td>14 July 1879</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Costa founds Revolutionary Socialist Party of Romagna</td>
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<td>25 November 1879</td>
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<td></td>
<td>29 May 1881</td>
<td>Left</td>
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<td>Depretis</td>
<td>29 May 1881</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Widened suffrage; first socialist elected</td>
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<td>25 May 1883</td>
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<td>Italy joins Austria-Hungary and Germany to create Triplice</td>
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<td>25 May 1883</td>
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<td>Use of trasformismo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>30 March 1884</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Final abolition of grist tax macinato</td>
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<td>30 March 1884</td>
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<td>29 June 1885</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>First colonial venture into Assab and Massawa on Red Sea coast</td>
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<td>4 April 1887</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Battle of Dogali debacle</td>
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<td>4 April 1887</td>
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<td>Died in office</td>
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<td>29 July 1887</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francesco Crispi</td>
<td>29 July 1887</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>10-year tariff war with France begun</td>
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<td>Sicily</td>
<td>6 February 1891</td>
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<td>Zanardelli penal code enacted; local govt. reform</td>
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<td>15 May 1892</td>
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<td>Issues with France over Tunisia</td>
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<td>Antonio Starabba, Marchese</td>
<td>6 February 1891</td>
<td>Right (Left-Right)</td>
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<td>di Rudini</td>
<td>15 May 1892</td>
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<td>Giovanni Giolitti</td>
<td>15 May 1892</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Banca Romana scandal</td>
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<td>Piemont</td>
<td>15 December 1893</td>
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<td>Turati founds Partito di Lavoratori Italiani which becomes PSI</td>
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<td>Crispi</td>
<td>15 December 1893</td>
<td>Left</td>
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<td>14 June 1894</td>
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<td>Strikes and land occupation by Fasci Siciliani; army sent to quell Anarchist insurrection is Lunigiana</td>
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<td>14 June 1894</td>
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<td>10 March 1896</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>PSI dissolved; Rule without parliament</td>
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<td>Radicals denounce scandal, tariffs and imperialism</td>
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<td>Defeat at Adowa ends colonial efforts in Abyssinia</td>
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<td>Di Rudini</td>
<td>10 March 1896 - 11 July 1896</td>
<td>Right (with Left’s external support)</td>
<td>Dissolves opposition associations and unions</td>
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<td>11 July 1896 - 14 December 1897</td>
<td>Right (with Left’s external support)</td>
<td>Riots over lost civil liberties and high bread prices in Sicily</td>
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<td>14 December 1897 - 1 June 1898</td>
<td>Right-Left</td>
<td>Restriction of civil liberties by royal decree</td>
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<td>1 June 1898 - 29 June 1898</td>
<td>Right-Left</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Luigi Pelloux</td>
<td>29 June 1898 - 14 May 1899</td>
<td>Military Left (with Right’s external support)</td>
<td>Continued restriction of civil liberties by royal decree</td>
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<td>Piedmont</td>
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<td>Repression unites socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, even traditional</td>
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<td>Right works extraconstitutionally</td>
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<td>Assassination of King Umberto I by anarchist</td>
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<td>PSI revived and wins 32 seats</td>
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Trasformismo
transformism
Simplified 19th century political spectrum

- Anarchism
- Destro storico
- Sinistro storico
- Reaction
Camaleonte
ALESSANDRO BIANCHI

IL FUNAMBULO DEL TRASFOMISMO

Agostino Depretis, una misurata biografia

Primula Editore
Parliamentary Dictatorship
MINISTERO DEPRETIS
(XV del Regno d'Italia; XXVII dal 1848), nominato il 25 marzo 1876.
Bravo! Ti credevo un imbécille, ma mi accorgo che... mi hai superato, paginone centrale de “l’Asino,” 3 luglio 1898.
IL GENERALE LUIGI PELLOUX
Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri
Estrema sinistra storico

Felice Cavallotti
Ultras or Estrema Destro Storico
Da " il Secolo Illustrato " del 28 gennaio 1894
ASSASSINAT DU ROI D'ITALIE HUMBERT I'
Reforms of the Sinistro Storico
MINISTERO DEPRETIS
(XV del Regno d'Italia; XXVII dal 1848), nominato il 25 marzo 1876.
Coppino Law 1877

- Three years free, compulsory, secular, primary education
- Parents could request religious education in addition
Despite poor funding and negligent enforcement...

• 1871-1881 illiteracy dropped from 72.9% to 67.3%
• by 1882 illiteracy had dropped by 27% in cities; but only 20% in countryside
• In 1901 illiteracy rate in Lombardy and Piedmont was below 25%; in South and parts of Center the rate remained above 50%
Also in 1877 arrest for debt was abolished
Widening the suffrage 1882

• Male
• Over 21 (had been 25)
• Literate
• Paying at least 19 lire in taxes per annum (had been 40)

• Raised the number of eligible voters from 600,000 to 2 million
• From 2.18% of population to 6.96%
• Gradual elimination of *macinato* (grist mill tax) from 1879 on
• Fully abolished 1884

• New taxes enacted to make up the revenue shortfall
• No effort to simplify, make more fair or efficient tax assessment or collection
Reform of penal code proposed by Giuseppe Zanardelli in 1879 but not passed until 1890

- Abolished the death penalty
- Reduced punishment for crimes against property
- Tacitly allowed strikes by not explicitly prohibiting them
- Provided sanctions against priests who attacked the state
Also in 1890

- New procedures for awarding government contracts
- Local government reform
- Public health
- Voluntary state accident insurance
- Secularization and modernization of charitable organizations
On the other hand......

- Police still had to be notified in advance of any public meetings
- A great deal of latitude still available to police in enforcement of laws
- No real restrictions on use of *domicilio coatto*
- Prime minister’s office strengthened
Areas of divisiveness and failure

Foreign and colonial policy

Industrialization and economic reform
Foreign and colonial policy goals

- To be taken seriously as one of Europe’s Great Powers
- To end diplomatic isolation
- To be successful in the European imperialist competition
Foreign Policy 1861-1885

Visconti-Venosta (Right)
“Italy should be unadventurous”

Depretis (Left)
diplomacy is a “bore”

Cairolı
Italy should be “free from ties and commitments”

Nach dem Gemälde von Anton von Werner im Berliner Rathaus.

Mit Genehmigung der Photographischen Gesellschaft, Berlin.
L'Alleanza tripla è la Pace.
Lustige Blätter

Dreifarb — Entzweifarb.
Potz Döberitz und Dynamit.
Das ist der Tripel-Sockel;
Der kleine schreit, "Ich will nicht mit —
Ich spiele mit dem Geckel!"
RENOUVELLEMENT DE LA TRIPLICE
Un cautère sur une jambe de bois
ASAB BAY, STRAITS OF BAB-EL-MANDEB—THE FIRST ITALIAN SETTLEMENT IN AFRICA
LE PAIN COMPLET
Guns or butter?
Key destabilizers of the Italian economy

- increasingly lopsided industrialization only in the Northwest

- a European-wide agrarian crisis brought on in part by cheap imports of cereals and rice from the Americas and Asia

- the Tariff of 1887

- A 10-year tariff war with France

- a European-wide “great depression” from 1873 and 1896
Consequences of economic instability
• Widening of the economic gap between North and South

• Between rich and poor

• And between Italy and the other Great Powers
Bank failures and subsequent political scandals

Parliament was prorogued in order to check the Premier's tactics, and the endeavour of the Committee to involve Signor Crispi in the Banca Romana scandal. It is expected that a dissolution will take place in the spring.

Replying to the charges of complicity in the Banca Romana scandal, Signor Crispi declares that Signor Gioielli, the Premier, forged the documents which were under consideration by the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Signor Gioielli has suddenly left Italy.

The police have been shadowing Signor Gioielli, the ex-Premier, since he left Italy.

December 18.

The prorogation of Parliament has been very ill received in Italy, and Signor Crispi's action is condemned. His conduct is viewed in the same light in Vienna.
• Beginning of mass emigration

Émigrés per year

• 1876 approximately 100,000

• 1901 approximately 500,000

• 1913 872,000

1914 5-6 million Italians abroad; 35 million in Italy
• Growth of labor co-ops, unions, and socialist organizations
I CASI DI SICILIA — GLI INCENDI DI PIETRAPERZA.