**Documents on Italian Unification, 1846-1861**

**Giuseppe Mazzini: “On Nationality” (1852)**

*Giuseppe Mazzini (1805­-1872), the founder (1831) of*Young Italy,*was perhaps the leading figure in liberal nationalism. He saw the creation of a democratic Italian state as crucial to Italy's development.*

Europe no longer possesses unity of faith, of mission, or of aim. Such unity is a necessity in the world. Here, then, is the secret of the crisis. It is the duty of every one to examine and analyze calmly and carefully the probable elements of this new unity. But those who persist in perpetuating, by violence or by Jesuitical compromise, the external observance of the old unity, only perpetuate the crisis, and render its issue more violent.

There are in Europe two great questions; or, rather, the question of the transformation of authority, that is to say, of the Revolution, has assumed two forms; the question which all have agreed to call social, and the question of nationalities. The first is more exclusively agitated in France, the second in the heart of the other peoples of Europe. I say, *which all have agreed*to *call social,*because, generally speaking, every great revolution is so far social, that it cannot be accomplished either in the religious, political, or any other sphere, without affecting social relations, the sources and the distribution of wealth; but that which is only a secondary consequence in political revolutions is now the cause and the banner of the movement in France. The question there is now, above all, to establish better relations between labor and capital, between production and consumption, between the workman and the employer.

It is probable that the European initiative, that which will give a new impulse to intelligence and to events, will spring from the question of nationalities. The social question may, in effect, although with difficulty, be partly resolved by a single people; it is an internal question for each, and the French Republicans of 1848 so understood it, when, determinately abandoning the European initiative, they placed Lamartine's [*Note: A French poet and politician*] manifesto by the side of their aspirations towards the organization of labor. The question of nationality can only be resolved by destroying the treaties of 1815, and changing the map of Europe and its public Law. The question of *Nationalities,*rightly understood, is the Alliance of the Peoples; the balance of powers based upon new foundations; the organization of the work that Europe has to accomplish.

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It was not for a material interest that the people of Vienna fought in 1848; in weakening the empire they could only lose power. It was not for an increase of wealth that the people of Lombardy fought in the same year; the Austrian Government had endeavored in the year preceding to excite the peasants against the landed proprietors, as they had done in Gallicia; but everywhere they had failed. They struggled, they still struggle, as do Poland, Germany, and Hungary, for country and liberty; for a word inscribed upon a banner, proclaiming to the world that they also live, think, love, and labor for the benefit of all. They speak the same language, they bear about them the impress of consanguinity, they kneel beside the same tombs, they glory in the same tradition; and they demand to associate freely, without obstacles, without foreign domination, in order to elaborate and express their idea; to contribute their stone also to the great pyramid of history. It is something moral which they are seeking; and this moral something is in fact, even politically speaking, the most important question in the present state of things. It is the organization of the European task. It is no longer the savage, hostile, quarrelsome nationality of two hundred years ago which is invoked by these peoples. The nationality . . . founded upon the following principle:-*Whichever people, by its superiority of strength, and by*its *geographical position, can do us an injury, is our natural enemy; whichever cannot do us an injury, but can by the amount of its force and by its position injure our enemy, is our natural ally,*-is the princely nationality of aristocracies or royal races. The nationality of the peoples has not these dangers; it can only be founded by a common effort and a common movement; sympathy and alliance will be its result. In principle, as in the ideas formerly laid down by the men influencing every national party, nationality ought only to be to humanity that which the division of labor is in a workshop-the recognized symbol of association; the assertion of the individuality of a human group called by its geographical position, its traditions, and its language, to fulfil a special function in the European work of civilization.

The map of Europe has to be re­made. This is the key to the present movement; herein lies the initiative. Before acting, the instrument for action must be organized; before building, the ground must be one's own. The social idea cannot be realized under any form whatsoever before this reorganization of Europe is effected; before the peoples are free to interrogate themselves; to express their vocation, and to assure its accomplishment by an alliance capable of substituting itself for the absolutist league which now reigns supreme.

Giuseppe Mazzini, "Europe: Its Condition and Prospects," *Essays: Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political and Religious of Joseph Mazzini*, ed. William Clark (London: Walter Scott, 1880), pp. 266, 277­78, 291­92.

**The Program of Count Cavour, 1846:**

The history of every age proves that no people can attain a high degree of intelligence and morality unless its feeling of nationality is strongly developed. This noteworthy fact is an inevitable consequence of the laws that rule human nature. . . .Therefore, if we so ardently desire the emancipation of Italy--if we declare that in the face of this great question all the petty questions that divide us must be silenced--it is not only that we may see our country glorious and powerful but that above all we may elevate her in intelligence and moral development up to the plane of the most civilized nations. . . .This union we preach with such ardor is not so difficult to obtain as one might suppose if one judged only by exterior appearances or if one were preoccupied with our unhappy divisions. Nationalism has become general; it grows daily; and it has already grown strong enough to keep all parts of Italy united despite the differences that distinguish them.

**Count Cavour: Speech to the Piedmont Chamber of Deputies, 1858:**

After the disaster of Novara and the Peace of Milan [1849], two courses were open to us. We could, bowing to adverse fate, renounce all the aspirations which had guided King Carlo Alberto during the last years of his reign, seal ourselves up within our frontiers, think only of the material and moral interests of this country [Piedmont-Sardinia]. . . On the other hand, we could, while accepting all the hardships imposed by accomplished facts, keep alive the faith that inspired the great actions of King Carlo Alberto, and, while declaring our firm intention to respect treaties, maintain in the political sphere the enterprise which was defeated in the military sphere [Italian unification]. . . In recent years, therefore, we have tried to do away with the last hindrances to our country, and we have lost no occasion to act as the spokesman and defender of the other peoples of Italy. This policy found one such occasion in the Crimean War. . . .Our hopes were not disappointed in regard to the credit that Piedmont would acquire. As for the defense of the rights of Italy, that was our task in the course of the Congress of Paris. . . .it was an outstanding fact that the cause of Italy was for the first time supported by an Italian power.

**Report of the meeting of Count Cavour with Emperor Napoleon III of France, 1858:**

The Emperor started by saying that he had decided to support Sardinia with all his forces in a war against Austria, provided that the war was undertaken for a non-revolutionary cause, which could be justified in the eyes of diplomacy and still more of public opinion in France and Europe.

**Speech of Vittorio Emanuele I, King of Italy, 1861:**

Free, and nearly entirely united, the opinion of civilized nations is favorable to us; the just and liberal principles, now prevailing in the councils of Europe, are favorable to us. Italy herself, too, will become a guarantee of order and peace, and will once more be an efficacious instrument of universal civilization. . . .These facts have inspired the nation with great confidence in its own destinies. I take pleasure in manifesting to the first Parliament of Italy the joy I feel in my heart as king and soldier.

From: D. Zanichelli, ed., *The Writings of Count Cavour* (Bologna, 1892), II:4-50; *The Annual Register or a View of the History and Politics of the Year 1858* (London, 1859), pp. 186-188; Count C. Arrivabene, *Italy under Victor Emmanuel* (London, 1862), I:349-353.

**Writing assignment #1**

Instructions:

1. Read the following works by Giuseppe Mazzini. Make notations, highlights, or comments on the pages if they will help you to organize your thoughts, process through and prepare for writing and discussion.
2. Write a 3-page connection and response essay and submit both a hard copy in class *and* upload a file to the TurnItIn.com function in Moodle the morning of the due date. The essay will not be considered as received until these are done.
3. Be prepared to discuss both Mazzini and some of your own thoughts in class.

Some thought questions to ask yourself as you read through and prepare your response:

-Where do you see connections between On Nationality and this work? Where do you see the development of Nationalism?

-What does Mazzini believe are the chief duties of Italian working men? Are these common to people in all countries, or are these unique to Italians?

-Why does Mazzini organize his hierarchy of duties the way in which he does? How is this similar or different from the way in which we think and live today?

-What reforms does Mazzini believe are necessary to achieve his stated aims?

-How does The Duties of Man contribute to the unification of Italy?

## **Giuseppe Mazzini, The Duties of Man (1844-58)**

*Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) was perhaps the single most influential thinker and writer of the Italian Risorgimento during the period of national unification. The Italian patriot and pamphleteer led the cause for democratic government in Italy, and joined the underground revolutionaries (carbonari). In 1831, Mazzini organized the secret revolutionary society, Young Italy, devoted to the unification of Italy under republican government. Upon the outbreak of revolution in 1848, he returned to become a member of the triumvirate in the Republic of Rome (1849), but went into exile when papal control of the city was reestablished. The Duties of Man (1844-1858) is the most influential of his works,*

**Chapter I: To the Italian Working-men**

I want to speak to you of your duties. I want to speak to you, as my heart dictates to me, of the most sacred things which we know - of God, of Humanity, of the Fatherland, of the Family. Listen to me with love, even as I shall speak to you with love. My words are words of conviction matured by long years of sorrow and of observation and of study. The duties which I am going to point out to you I strive and shall strive as long as I live to fulfill, to the utmost of my power. I may make mistakes, but my heart is true. I may deceive myself, but I will not deceive you. Hear me therefore as a brother; judge freely among yourselves, whether it seems to you that I speak the truth; abandon me if you think that I preach what is false; but follow me and do according to my teaching if you find me an apostle of truth. To be mistaken is a misfortune to be pitied; but to know the truth and not to conform one's actions to it is a crime which Heaven and Earth condemn.

          Why do I speak to you of your *duties* before speaking to you of your *rights*? Why in a society in which all, voluntarily or involuntarily, oppress you, in which the exercise of all the rights which belong to man is constantly denied you, in which misery is your lot, and what is called happiness is for other classes of men, why do I speak to you of self-sacrifice and not of conquest; of virtue, moral improvement, education, and not of material *well-being*? This is a question which I must answer before going further, because here precisely lies the difference between our school and many others which are being preached to-day in Europe; because, moreover, it is a question which rises readily in the indignant mind of the suffering working-man.

*We are poor, enslaved, unhappy; speak to us of better material conditions, of liberty, of happiness. Tell us if we are doomed to suffer for ever, or if we too may enjoy in our turn. Preach Duty to our masters, to the classes above us which treat us like machines, and monopolize the blessings which belong to all. To us speak of rights; speak of the means of vindicating them;* *speak of our strength. Wait till we have a* *recognized existence; then you shall speak to us* *of duties and of sacrifice*. This is what many of our working-men say, and follow teachers and associations which respond to their desires. They forget one thing only, and that is, that the doctrine which they invoke has been preached for the last fifty years without producing the slightest material improvement in the condition of the working-people.

          For the last fifty years whatever has been done for the cause of progress and of good against absolute governments and hereditary aristocracies has been done in the name of the Rights of Man; in the name of liberty as the means, and of *well-being* as the object of existence. All the acts of the French Revolution and of the revolutions which followed and imitated it were consequences of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. All the works of the philosophers who prepared it were based upon a theory of liberty, and upon the need of making known to every individual his own rights. All the revolutionary schools preached that man is born for happiness, that he has the right to seek it by all the means in his power, that no one has the right to impede him in this search, and that he has the right of overthrowing all the obstacles which he may encounter on his path. And the obstacles were over-thrown; liberty was conquered. It endured for years in many countries; in some it still endures. Has the condition of the people improved? Have the millions who live by the daily labor of their hands gained the least fraction of the well-being hoped for and promised to them?

          No; the condition of the people has not improved rather it has grown and grows worse in nearly every country, and especially here where I write the price of the necessaries of life has gone on continually rising, the wages of the working-man in many branches of industry falling, and the population multiplying. In nearly every country the lot of workers has become more uncertain, more precarious, and the labor crises which condemn thousands of working-men to idleness for a time have become more frequent. The yearly increase of emigration from one country to another, and from Europe to other parts of the world, and the ever growing number of beneficent institutions, the increase of poor rates and provisions for the destitute, are enough to prove this. The latter prove also that public attention is waking more and more to the ills of the people; but their inability to lessen those ills to any visible extent points to a no less continual increase of poverty among the classes which they endeavor to help.

          And nevertheless, in these last fifty years, the sources of social wealth and the sum of material blessings have steadily increased. Production has doubled. Commerce, amid continual crises, inevitable in the utter absence of organization, has acquired a greater force of activity and a wider sphere for its operations. Communication has almost everywhere been made secure and rapid, and the price of commodities has fallen in consequence of the diminished cost of transport. And, on the other hand, the idea of rights inherent in human nature is to-day generally accepted; accepted in word and, hypo-critically, even by those who seek to evade it in deed. Why, then, has the condition of the people not improved? Why is the consumption of products, instead of being divided equally among all the members of the social body in Europe, concentrated in the hands of a small number of men forming a new aristocracy? Why has the new impulse given to industry and commerce produced, not the well-being of the many, but the luxury of the few?

          The answer is clear to those who will look a little closely into things. Men are creatures of education, and act only according to the principle of education given to them. The men who have promoted revolutions hitherto have based them upon the idea of the rights belonging to the individual; the revolutions conquered liberty individual liberty, liberty of teaching, liberty of belief, liberty of trade, liberty in everything and for everybody. But of what use was the recognition of their rights to those who had no means of exercising them? What did liberty of teaching mean to those who had neither time nor means to profit by it, or liberty of trade to those who had nothing to trade with, neither capital nor credit? In all the countries where these principles were proclaimed society was composed of a small number of individuals who possessed the land, the credit, the capital, and of vast multitudes of men who had nothing but their own hands and were forced to give the labor of them to the former class, on any terms, in order to live, and forced to spend the whole day in material and monotonous toil. For these, constrained to battle with hunger, what was liberty but an illusion and a bitter irony? To make it anything else it would have been necessary for the men of the well-to-do classes to consent to reduce the hours of labor, to increase the remuneration, to institute free and uniform education for the masses, to make the instruments of labor accessible to all, and to provide a bonus fund for the working-man endowed with capacity and good intentions. But why should they do it? Was not *well-being* the supreme object in life? Were not material blessings desirable before all other things? Why should they lessen their own enjoyment for the advantage of others? Let those who could, help themselves. When society has secured to everybody who can use them the free exercise of the rights belonging to human nature it does all that is required of it. If there be any one who is unable from the fatality of his own circumstances to exercise any of these rights, he must resign himself and not blame others.

          It was natural that they should say thus, and thus, in fact, they did say. And this attitude of mind towards the poor in the classes privileged by fortune soon became the attitude of every individual towards every other. Each man looked after his own rights and the improvement of his own condition without seeking to provide for others ; and when his rights clashed with those of others, there was war; not a war of blood, but of gold and of cunning; a war less manly than the other, but equally destructive; cruel war, in which those who had the means and were strong relentlessly crushed the weak or the unskilled. In this continual warfare, men were educated in egoism and in greed for material welfare exclusively. Liberty of belief destroyed all community of faith. Liberty of education produced moral anarchy. Men without a common tie, without unity of religious belief and of aim, and whose sole vocation was enjoyment, sought every one his own road, not heeding if in pursuing it they were trampling upon the heads of their brothers - brothers in name and enemies in fact. To this we are come to-day, thanks to the theory of *rights*.

          Certainly rights exist; but where the rights of an individual come into conflict with those of another, how can we hope to reconcile and harmonize them, without appealing to something superior to all rights? And where the rights of an individual, or of many individuals, clash with the rights of the Country, to what tribunal are we to appeal? If the right to *well-being,* to the greatest possible well-being, belongs to every living person, who will solve the difficulty between the working-man and the manufacturer? If the right to existence is the first and inviolable right of every man, who shall demand the sacrifice of that existence for the benefit of other men? Will you demand it in the name of Country, of Society, of the multitude of your brothers? What is Country, in the opinion of those of whom I speak, but the place in which our individual rights are most secure? What is Society but a collection of men who have agreed to bring the strength of the many in support of the rights of each? And after having taught the individual for fifty years that Society is established for the purpose of *assuring to him the exercise of his* *rights*, would you ask him to sacrifice them all to Society, to submit himself, if need be, to continuous toil, to prison, to exile, for the sake of improving it? After having preached to him everywhere that the object of life is *well-being* would you all at once bid him give up well-being and life itself to free his country from the foreigner, or to procure better conditions for a class which is not his own? After having talked to him for years of *material* interests, how can you maintain that, finding wealth and power in his reach, he ought not to stretch out his hand to grasp them, even to the injury of his brothers?

          Italian Working-men, this is not a chance thought of my mind, without a foundation in fact. It is history, the history of our own times, a history the pages of which drip with blood, the blood of the people. Ask all the men who transformed the revolution of 1830 into a mere substitution of one set of persons for another, and, for example, made the bodies of your French comrades, who were killed fighting in the Three Days, into stepping stones to raise themselves to power; all their doctrines, before 1830, were founded on the old theory of the rights of man, not upon a belief in his duties. You call them to-day traitors and apostates, and yet they were only consistent with their own doctrine. They fought with sincerity against the Government of Charles X. because that Government was directly hostile to the classes from which they sprang, and violated and endeavored to suppress their rights. They fought in the name of the well-being which they did not possess as much of as they thought they ought to have. Some were persecuted for freedom of thought; others, men of powerful mind, saw themselves neglected, shut out from offices occupied by men of capacity inferior to their own. Then the wrongs of the people angered them also. Then they wrote boldly and in good faith about the rights which belong to every man. Afterwards, when their own political and intellectual rights had been secured, when the path to office was opened to them, when they had conquered the *well-being* which they sought, they forgot the people, forgot that the millions, inferior to them in education and in aspirations, were seeking the exercise of other rights and the achievement of *well-being* of another sort, and they set their minds at rest and troubled no longer about anybody but themselves. Why call them traitors? Why not rather call their doctrine treacherous?

          There lived and wrote at that time in France a man whom you ought never to forget, more powerful in mind than all of them put together. He was our opponent then; but he believed in Duty; in the duty of sacrificing the whole existence to the common good, to the pursuit and triumph of Truth. He studied the men and the circumstances of the time deeply, and did not allow himself to be led astray by applause, or to be discouraged by disappointment. When he had tried one way and failed, he tried yet another for the amelioration of the masses. And when the course of events had shown him that there was one power alone capable of achieving it, when the people had proved themselves in the field of action more virtuous and more believing than all those who had pretended to deal with their cause, he, Lamennais, author of the *Words of a Believer*, which you have all read, became the best apostle of the cause in which we are brothers. There you see in him, and in the men of whom I have been speaking, the difference between the men of *rights* and those of *duty*. To the first the acquisition of their individual rights, by withdrawing stimulus, proves a sufficient check to further effort; the work of the second only ceases here on earth with life.

          And among the peoples who are completely enslaved, where the conflict has very different dangers, where every step made towards a better state of things is signed with the blood of a martyr, where the operations against injustice in high places are necessarily secret and lack the consolation of publicity and of praise, what obligation, what stimulus to constancy can maintain upon the path of progress men who degrade the holy social war which we carry on to a mere battle for their *rights*? I speak, be it understood, of the generality and not of the exceptions to be met with in all schools of thought. When the hot blood and the impulse of reaction against tyranny which naturally draw youth into the conflict have calmed down, what can prevent these men, after a few years of effort, after the disappointments inevitable in any such enterprise, from growing weary? Why should they not prefer any sort of repose to an unquiet existence, agitated by continual struggles and danger, and liable to end any day in imprisonment, or the scaffold, or exile? It is the too common story of most of the Italians of to-day, imbued as they are with the old French ideas; a very sad story, but how can it be altered except by changing the principle with which they start as their guide? How and in whose name are they to be convinced that danger and disappointment ought to make them stronger, that they have got to fight not for a few years, but for their whole lives? Who shall say to a man, *Go on struggling for your* *rights*, when to struggle for them costs him dearer than to abandon them?

          And even in a society constituted on a juster basis than our own, who shall convince a believer in the theory of *rights* solely that he has to work for the common purpose and devote himself to the development of the social *idea*? Suppose he should rebel; suppose he should feel himself strong and should say to you *I break the social compact*; *my inclinations, my faculties, call me elsewhere; I* *have a sacred and inviolable right to develop* *them,* *and I choose to be at war with everybody:* what answer can you give him while he keeps to his theory of rights? What right have you, because you are a majority, to compel his obedience to laws which do not accord with his desires and with his individual aspirations? What right have you to punish him if he violates them? Rights belong equally to every individual; the fact of living together in a community does not create a single one. Society has greater strength, not more rights, than the individual. How, then, are you going to prove to the individual that he must merge his will in the will of those who are his brothers, whether in the Country or in the wider fellowship of Humanity? By means of the executioner, of the prison? Societies existing up till now have used such means. But that is war, and we want peace; that is tyrannical repression, and we want education.

          Education, we have said; and this is the great word which sums up our whole doctrine. The vital question agitating our century is a question of education. What we have to do is not to establish a new order of things by violence. An order of things so established is always tyrannical even when it is better than the old. *We have to overthrow by force the brute force* *which opposes itself to-day to every attempt at* *improvement,* and then propose for the approval of the nation, free to express its will, what we believe to be the best order of things and by every possible means educate men to develop it and act in conformity with it. The theory of *rights* enables us to rise and overthrow obstacles, but not to found a strong and lasting accord between all the elements which compose the nation. With the theory of happiness, of *well being,* as the primary aim of existence we shall only form egoistic men, worshippers of the material, who will carry the old passions into the new order of things and corrupt it in a few months. We have therefore to find a principle of education superior to any such theory, which shall guide men to better things, teach them constancy in self-sacrifice and link them with their fellow men without making them dependent on the ideas of a single man or on the strength of all. And this principle is Duty. We must convince men that they, sons of one only God, must obey one only law, here on earth; that each one of them must live, not for himself, but for others; that the object of their life is not to be more or less happy, but to make themselves and others better; that to fight against injustice and error for the benefit of their brothers is not only a *right*, but a *duty*; a duty not to be neglected without sin, - the duty of their whole life.

          Italian Working-men, my Brothers! understand me fully. When I say that the knowledge of their *rights* is not enough to enable men to effect any appreciable or lasting improvement, I do not ask you to renounce these rights; I only say that they cannot exist except as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and that one must begin with the latter in order to arrive at the former. And when I say that by proposing *happiness, well-being*, or *material* interest as the aim of existence, we run the risk of producing egoists, I do not mean that you should never strive after these things. I say that material interests pursued alone, and not as a *means*, but as an end, lead always to this most disastrous result. When under the Emperors, the old Romans asked for nothing but bread and amusements, they became the most abject race conceivable, and after submitting to the stupid and ferocious tyranny of the Emperors they basely fell into slavery to the invading Barbarians. In France and elsewhere the enemies of all social progress have sown corruption and tried to divert men's minds from ideas of change by furthering the development of material activity. And shall we help the enemy with our own hands? Material improvement is essential, and we shall strive to win it for ourselves; but not because the one thing necessary for man is to be well fed and housed, but rather because you cannot have a sense of your own dignity or any moral development while you are engaged, as at the present day, in a continual duel with want. You work ten or twelve hours a day: how can you find time to educate yourselves? Most of you earn hardly enough to keep yourselves and your families: how can you then find means to educate yourselves? The uncertainty of your employment and the frequent interruptions in it cause you to alternate between too much work and periods of idleness: how are you to acquire habits of order, regularity, and assiduity? The scantiness of your earnings does away with any hope of saving enough to be useful some day to your children, or to your own old age: how are you to educate yourselves into habits of economy? Many of you are compelled by poverty to separate your children, we will not say from the careful bringing-up - what sort of bringing-up can the poor wives of working-men give their children? - but from the love and the watchful eye of their mothers, and to send them out, for the sake of a few halfpence, to unwholesome labor in factories: how, in such conditions, can family affection unfold itself and be ennobled? You have not the rights of citizens, nor any participation, by election or by vote, in the laws which regulate your actions and your life: how should you feel the pride of citizenship or have any zeal for the State, or sincere affection for the laws? Justice is not dealt out to you with the same equal hand as to their classes: whence, then, are you to learn respect and love for justice? Society treats you without a shadow of sympathy: whence are you to learn sympathy with society? You need, then, a change in your material conditions to enable you to develop morally; you need to work less so as to have some hours of your day to devote to the improvement of your minds; you need a sufficient remuneration of your labor to put you in a position to accumulate savings, and so set your minds at rest about the future, and to purify yourselves above all of every sentiment of *retaliation*, every impulse of revenge, every thought of injustice towards those who have been unjust to you. You must strive, then, for this change, and you will obtain it, but you must strive for it as a *means*, not as an *end*; strive for it from a sense of *duty*, not only as a *right*; strive for it in order to make yourselves better, not only to make yourselves *materially* happy. If not, what difference would there be between you and your tyrants? They are tyrants precisely because they do not think of anything but *well-being*, pleasure and power.

          To make yourselves better; this must be the aim of your life. You cannot make yourselves permanently less unhappy except by improving yourselves. Tyrants will arise by the thousand among you, if you fight only in the name of material interests, or of a particular organization. A change of social organization makes little difference if you and the other classes keep the passions and the egoism of to-day; organizations are like certain plants which yield poison or remedies according to the way in which they are administered. Good men make bad organizations good, and bad men make good organizations bad. You have got to improve the classes which, voluntarily or involuntarily, oppress you to-day, and convince them of their duties; but you will never succeed in this unless you begin by making yourselves better as far as possible.

          When therefore you hear men who preach the necessity of a social transformation telling you that they can accomplish it by invoking your *rights* only, be grateful to them for their good intentions, but distrustful of the outcome. The ills of the poor man are known, in part at least, to the well-to-do classes; *known* but not *felt*. In the general indifference born of the absence of a common faith; in the egoism, inevitably resulting from the continual preaching through so many years of the doctrine of material *well-being,* those who do not suffer have grown accustomed little by little to consider these ills as a sad necessity of the social order and to leave the trouble of remedying them to the generations to come. The difficulty is not to convince them, but to shake them out of inertia and to induce them, when they are convinced, to *act*, to associate themselves, to unite with you in brotherly fellowship for the purpose of creating such a social organization as shall put an end, as far as the conditions of humanity allow, to your ills and to their own fears. Now, this is a work of faith, of faith in the mission which God has given to the human creature here upon earth; of faith in the responsibility weighing upon all those who do not fulfill that mission, and in the duty which bids every one work continually, and with self-sacrifice, for the cause of Truth. All possible theories of rights and of material *well-being* can only lead you to attempts which, so long as they remain isolated and dependent on your strength only, will not succeed, but can only bring about the worst of social crimes, a civil war between class and class.

          Italian Working-men, my Brothers! When Christ came and changed the face of the world, He did not speak of rights to the rich, who had no need to conquer them; nor to the poor, who would perhaps have abused them, in imitation of the rich. He did not speak of utility or of self-interest to a people whom utility and self-interest had corrupted. He spoke of Duty, He spoke of Love, of Sacrifice, of Faith: He said that *they only should be first among all who had* *done good to all by their work*. And these thoughts, breathed into the ear of a society which had no longer any spark of life, reanimated it, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to progress a degree. Italian Working-men! we live in an epoch like Christ's. We live in the midst of a society rotten as that of the Roman Empire, and feel in our souls the need of reviving and transforming it, of associating all its members and its workers in one single faith, under one single law, and for one purpose; the free and progressive development of all the faculties which God has planted in His creatures. We seek the reign of God upon earth as in heaven, or better, that the earth shall be a preparation for heaven, and society an endeavor towards a progressive approach to the Divine Idea.

          But every act of Christ's represented the faith which He preached, and round Him there were apostles who embodied in their acts the faith which they had accepted. Be such as they, and you will conquer. Preach Duty to the men of the classes above you, and fulfill, as far as possible, your own duties; preach virtue, sacrifice, love; and be yourselves virtuous and prompt to self-sacrifice and love. Declare with courage your needs and your ideas; but without wrath, without vindictiveness, without threats. The most powerful threat, if there are any who need threats, is firm, not angry, speech. While you propagate among your companions the conception of their future destinies, the conception of a nation which will give them a name, education, work, and fair wages, together with the self-respect and vocation of men, while you kindle their spirit for the inevitable struggle for which they must prepare themselves, so that they may conquer all this in spite of all the forces of our evil government and of the foreigner, strive to instruct yourselves, to grow better, and to educate yourselves to the full knowledge and to the practice of your duties. This is an impossible task for the masses in a great part of Italy; no plan of popular education could be realized among us without a change in the material condition of the people, and without a political revolution; they who deceive themselves into hoping for it, and preach it as an indispensable preparation for any attempt at emancipation, preach a gospel of inertia, nothing else. But the few among you whose circumstances are somewhat better, and to whom a sojourn in foreign lands has afforded more liberal means of education, can do it, and therefore ought to do it. And these few, once imbued with the true principles upon which the education of a people depends, will be enough to spread them among the thousands as a guide for their path and a protection from the fallacies and the false doctrines which will come to waylay them.

**Chapter V: Duties to Country**

Your first Duties - first, at least, in importance - are, as I have told you, to Humanity. You are men before you are *citizens* or *fathers*. If you do not embrace the whole human family in your love, if you do not confess your faith in its unity - consequent on the unity of God - and in the brotherhood of the Peoples who are appointed to reduce that unity to fact - if wherever one of your fellow-men groans, wherever the dignity of human nature is violated by falsehood or tyranny, you are not prompt, being able, to succor that wretched one, or do not feel yourself called, being able, to fight for the purpose of relieving the deceived or oppressed-you disobey your law of life, or do not comprehend the religion which will bless the future.

          But what can *each* of you, with his isolated powers, *do* for the moral improvement, for the progress of Humanity? You can, from time to time, give sterile expression to your belief; you may, on some rare occasion, perform an act of *charity* to a brother not belonging to your own land, no more. Now, *charity* is not the watchword of the future faith. The watch-word of the future faith is *association*, fraternal cooperation towards a common aim, and this is as much superior to *charity* as the work of many uniting to raise with one accord a building for the habitation of all together would be superior to that which you would accomplish by raising a separate hut each for himself, and only helping one another by exchanging stones and bricks and mortar. But divided as you are in language tendencies, habits, and capacities, you cannot attempt this common work. The *individual* is too weak, and Humanity too vast. *My God*, prays the Breton mariner as he puts out to sea, *protect me*, *my ship* *is so little, and Thy ocean so great*! And this prayer sums up the condition of each of you, if no means is found of multiplying your forces and your powers of action indefinitely. But God gave you this means when he gave you a Country, when, like a wise overseer of labor, who distributes the different parts of the work according to the capacity of the workmen, he divided Humanity into distinct groups upon the face of our globe, and thus planted the seeds of nations. Bad governments have disfigured the design of God, which you may see clearly marked out, as far, at least, as regards Europe, by the courses of the great rivers, by the lines of the lofty mountains, and by other geographical conditions; they have disfigured it by conquest, by greed, by jealousy of the just sovereignty of others; disfigured it so much that to-day there is perhaps no nation except England and France whose confines correspond to this design. They did not, and they do not, recognize any country except their own families and dynasties, the egoism of caste. But the divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. Natural divisions, the innate spontaneous tendencies of the peoples will replace the arbitrary divisions sanctioned by bad governments. The map of Europe will be remade. The Countries of the People will rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the Countries of Kings and privileged castes. Between these Countries there will be harmony and brotherhood. And then the work of Humanity for the general amelioration, for the discovery and application of the real law of life, carried on in association and distributed according to local capacities, will be accomplished by peaceful and progressive development; then each of you, strong in the affections and in the aid of many millions of men speaking the same language, endowed with the same tendencies, and educated by the same historic tradition, may hope by your personal effort to benefit the whole of Humanity.

          To you, who have been born in Italy, God has allotted, as if favoring you specially, the best-defined country in Europe. In other lands, marked by more uncertain or more interrupted limits, questions may arise which the pacific vote of all will one day solve, but which have cost, and will yet perhaps cost, tears and blood; in yours, no. God has stretched round you sublime and indisputable boundaries; on one side the highest mountains of Europe, the Alps; on the other the sea, the immeasurable sea. Take a map of Europe and place one point of a pair of compasses in the north of Italy on Parma; point the other to the mouth of the Var, and describe a semicircle with it in the direction of the Alps; this point, which will fall, when the semicircle is completed, upon the mouth of the Isonzo, will have marked the frontier which God has given you. As far as this frontier your language is spoken and understood; beyond this you have no rights. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the smaller islands between them and the mainland of Italy belong undeniably to you. Brute force may for a little while contest these frontiers with you, but they have been recognized from of old by the tacit general consent of the peoples; and the day when, rising with one accord for the final trial, you plant your tricolored flag upon that frontier, the whole of Europe will acclaim re-risen Italy, and receive her into the community of the nations. To this final trial all your efforts must be directed.

          Without Country You have neither name, token, voice, nor rights, no admission as brothers into the fellowship of the Peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity. Soldiers without a banner, Israelites among the nations, you will find neither faith nor protection; none will be sureties for you. Do not beguile yourselves with the hope of emancipation from unjust social conditions if you do not first conquer a Country for yourselves; where there is no Country there is no common agreement to which you can appeal; the egoism of self-interest rules alone, and he who has the upper hand keeps it, since there is no common safeguard for the interests of all. Do not be led away by the idea of improving your material conditions without first solving the national question. You cannot do it. Your industrial associations and mutual help societies are useful as a means of educating and disciplining yourselves; as an economic fact they will remain barren until you have an Italy. The economic problem demands, first and foremost, an increase of capital and production; and while your Country is dismembered into separate fragments - while shut off by the barrier of customs and artificial difficulties of every sort, you have only restricted markets open to you-you cannot hope for this increase. Today - do not delude yourselves - you are not the working-class of Italy; you are only fractions of that class; powerless, unequal to the great task which you propose to yourselves. Your emancipation can have no practical beginning until a National Government, understanding the signs of the times, shall, seated in Rome, formulate a Declaration of Principles to be the guide for Italian progress, and shall insert into it these words, *Labor is sacred, and is the source of the* *wealth of Italy*.

          Do not be led astray, then, by hopes of material progress which in your present conditions can only be illusions. Your Country alone, the vast and rich Italian Country, which stretches from the Alps to the farthest limit of Sicily, can fulfill these hopes. You cannot obtain your *rights* except by obeying the commands of *Duty*. Be worthy of them, and you will have them. O my Brothers! Love your Country. Our Country is our home, the home which God has given us, placing therein a numerous family which we love and are loved by, and with which we have a more intimate and quicker communion of feeling and thought than with others; a family which by its concentration upon a given spot, and by the homogeneous nature of its elements, is destined for a special kind of activity. Our Country is our field of labor; the products of our activity must go forth from it for the benefit of the whole earth; but the instruments of labor which we can use best and most effectively exist in it, and we may not reject them without being unfaithful to God's purpose and diminishing our own strength. In laboring according to true principles for our Country we are laboring for Humanity; our Country is the fulcrum of the lever which we have to wield for the common good. If we give up this fulcrum we run the risk of becoming useless to our Country and to Humanity. Before *associating* ourselves with the Nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a Nation. There can be no association except among equals; and you have no recognized collective existence.

          Humanity is a great army moving to the conquest of unknown lands, against powerful and wary enemies. The Peoples are the different corps and divisions of that army. Each has a post entrusted to it; each a special operation to perform; and the common victory depends on the exactness with which the different operations are carried out. Do not disturb the order of the battle. Do not abandon the banner which God has given you. Wherever you may be, into the midst of whatever people circumstances may have driven you, fight for the liberty of that people if the moment calls for it; but fight as Italians, so that the blood which you shed may win honor and love, not for you only, but for your Country. And may the constant thought of your soul be for Italy, may all the acts of your life be worthy of her, and may the standard beneath which you range yourselves to work for Humanity be Italy's. Do not say *I*; say *we*. Be every one of you an incarnation of your Country, and feel himself and make himself responsible for his fellow-countrymen; let each one of you learn to act in such a way that in him men shall respect and love his Country.

          Your Country is one and indivisible. As the members of a family cannot rejoice at the common table if one of their number is far away, snatched from the affection of his brothers, so you should have no joy or repose as long as a portion of the territory upon which your language is spoken is separated from the Nation.

          Your Country is the token of the mission which God has given you to fulfill in Humanity. The faculties, the strength of *all* its sons should be united for the accomplishment of this mission. A certain number of common duties and rights belong to every man who answers to the *Who are* *you*? of the other peoples, *I am an Italian*. Those duties and those rights cannot be represented except by one *single* authority resulting from your votes. A Country must have, then, a single government. The politicians who call themselves federalists, and who would make Italy into a brotherhood of different states, would dismember the Country, not understanding the idea of Unity. The States into which Italy is divided to-day are not the creation of our own people; they are the result of the ambitions and calculations of princes or of foreign conquerors, and serve no purpose but to flatter the vanity of local aristocracies for which a narrower sphere than a great Country is necessary. What you, the people, have created, beautified, and consecrated with your affections, with your joys, with your sorrows, and with your blood, is the City and the Commune, not the Province or the State. In the City, in the Commune, where your fathers sleep and where your children will live, where you exercise your faculties and your personal rights, you live out your lives as *individuals*. It is of your City that each of you can say what the Venetians say of theirs : *Venezia la xe nostra .l'avemo fatta nu.* In your City you have need of *liberty* as in your Country you have need of *association*. The Liberty of the Commune and the Unity of the Country - let that, then, be your faith. Do not say Rome and Tuscany, Rome and Lombardy, Rome and Sicily; say Rome and Florence, Rome and Siena, Rome and Leghorn, and so through all the Communes of Italy. Rome for all that represents Italian life; your Commune for whatever represents the *individual* life. All the other divisions are artificial, and are not confirmed by your national tradition.

          A Country is a fellowship of free and equal men bound together in a brotherly concord of labor towards a single end. You must make it and maintain it such. A Country is not an aggregation, it is an *association*. There is no true Country without a uniform right. There is no true Country where the uniformity of that right is violated by the existence of caste, privilege, and inequality - where the powers and faculties of a large number of individuals are suppressed or dormant - where there is no common principle accepted, recognized, and developed by all. In such a state of things there can be no Nation, no People, but only a multitude, a fortuitous agglomeration of men whom circumstances have brought together and different circumstances will separate. In the name of your love for your Country you must combat without truce the existence of every privilege, every inequality, upon the soil which has given you birth. One privilege only is lawful - the privilege of Genius when Genius reveals itself in brotherhood with Virtue; but it is a privilege conceded by God and not by men, and when you acknowledge it and follow its inspirations, you acknowledge it freely by the exercise of your own reason and your own choice. Whatever privilege claims your submission in virtue of force or heredity, or any right which is not a common right, is a usurpation and a tyranny, and you ought to combat it and annihilate it. Your Country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a People of equals at the base. Do not accept any other formula, any other moral law, if you do not want to dishonor your Country and yourselves. Let the secondary laws for the gradual regulation of your existence be the progressive application of this supreme law.

          And in order that they should be so, it, is necessary that *all* should contribute to the making of them. The laws made by one fraction of the citizens only can never by the nature of things and men do otherwise than reflect the thoughts and aspirations and desires of that fraction; they represent, not the whole country, but a third, a fourth part, a class, a zone of the country. The law must express the general aspiration, promote the good of all, respond to a beat of the nation's heart. The whole nation therefore should be, directly or indirectly, the legislator. By yielding this mission to a few men, you put the egoism of one class in the place of the Country, which is the union of *all* the classes.

          A Country is not a mere territory; the particular territory is only its foundation. The Country is the idea which rises upon that foundation; it is the sentiment of love, the sense of fellowship which binds together all the sons of that territory. So long as a single one of your brothers is not represented by his own vote in the development of the national life - so long as a single one vegetates uneducated among the educated - so long as a single one able and willing to work languishes in poverty for want of work - you have not got a Country such as it ought to be, the Country of all and for all. *Votes, education*, *work* are the three main pillars of the nation; do not rest until your hands have solidly erected them.

          And when they have been erected - when you have secured for every one of you food for both body and soul-when freely united, entwining your right hands like brothers round a beloved mother, you advance in beautiful and holy concord towards the development of your faculties and the fulfillment of the Italian mission - remember that that mission is the moral unity of Europe; remember the immense duties which it imposes upon you. Italy is the only land that has twice uttered the great word of unification to the disjoined nations. Twice Rome has been the metropolis, the temple, of the European world; the first time when our conquering eagles traversed the known world from end to end and prepared it for union by introducing civilized institutions ; the second time when, after the Northern conquerors had themselves been subdued by the potency of Nature, of great memories and of religious inspiration, the genius of Italy incarnated itself in the Papacy and undertook the solemn mission - abandoned four centuries ago - of preaching the union of souls to the peoples of the Christian world. To-day a third mission is dawning for our Italy; as much vaster than those of old as the Italian People, the free and united Country which you are going to found, will be greater and more powerful than Caesars or Popes. The presentiment of this mission agitates Europe and keeps the eye and the thought of the nations chained to Italy.

          Your duties to your Country are proportioned to the loftiness of this mission. You have to keep it pure from egoism, uncontaminated by falsehood and by the arts of that political Jesuitism which they call diplomacy.

          The government of the country will be based through your labors upon the worship of principles, not upon the idolatrous worship of interests and of opportunity. There are countries in Europe where Liberty is sacred within, but is systematically violated without; peoples who say, *Truth is one thing, utility another: theory is one* *thing, practice another*. Those countries will have inevitably to expiate their guilt in long isolation, oppression, and anarchy. But you know the mission of our Country, and will pursue another path. Through you Italy will have, with one only God in the heavens, one only truth, one only faith, one only rule of political life upon earth. Upon the edifice, sublimer than Capitol or Vatican, which the people of Italy will raise, you will plant the banner of Liberty and of Association, so that it shines in the sight of all the nations, nor will you lower it ever for terror of despots or lust for the gains of a day. You will have boldness as you have faith. You will speak out aloud to the world, and to those who call themselves the lords of the world, the thought which thrills in the heart of Italy. You will never deny the sister nations. The life of the Country shall grow through you in beauty and in strength, free from servile fears and the hesitations of doubt, keeping as its *foundation* the people, as its *rule* the consequences of its principles logically deduced and energetically applied, as its *strength* the strength of all, as its *outcome* the amelioration of all, as its *end* the fulfillment of the mission which God has given it. And because you will be ready to die for Humanity, the life of your Country will be immortal.

**Chapter VII: Duties to Yourself**

I have said to you: *You have life; therefore you* *have a law of life*. *To develop yourselves, to* *act, to live according to the law of life, is* *your first, nay, your only Duty*. I have told you that God has given you two means of knowing what is your law of life: your own conscience and the conscience of Humanity, the general conviction of your fellow-men. I have told you that whenever you interrogate your conscience, and find its voice in harmony with the great voice of the human race which history has transmitted to you, you are certain of having the eternal, the immutable truth in your grasp.

          At the present day it is only with difficulty that you can properly interrogate the great voice with which Humanity speaks to you through history; you lack really good popular books, and you have no time. But the men who by their ability and conscientiousness best represent historical study and the science of Humanity in the last half-century have deduced from this voice some of the characters of our law of life. They have found out that human nature is essentially social and capable of education; that as there is and can be but one God, there can be but one Law for the *individual* man and for *collective* Humanity; and that the fundamental and universal character of this Law is PROGRESS. From this truth, incontestable to-day because all the branches of human knowledge confirm it, are derived all your duties to yourself, and also all your *rights,* which are summed up in one: *the right to be* *absolutely unfettered and to be aided, within* *certain limits, in the fulfillment of your duties.*

          You are and you feel yourselves *free*. All the sophisms of a wretched philosophy which would substitute a doctrine of I know not what fatalism for the cry of the human conscience, cannot avail to silence two invincible witnesses in favor of liberty; remorse and martyrdom. From Socrates to Jesus, from Jesus down to the men who die from time to time for their Country, the Martyrs of Faith raise their voices against that slavish doctrine, crying out to you: "We too loved life; we loved the beings who made it dear to us and who implored us to yield; every impulse of our hearts cried to us *live!* but for the salvation of future generations we *chose* to die." From Cain down to the vulgar spy of our day, all those who betray their brothers, all the men who have set forth on the path of evil, feel in the depths of their soul self-condemnation, restlessness, a reproachful voice saying to each of them, *Why do you abandon* *the paths of good?*

          You are *free*, and therefore *responsible*. From this moral liberty is derived your right to political liberty, your duty to conquer it for yourselves and to keep it inviolate, and the duty of others not to limit it.

          You are *capable of education*. In each of you exists a certain sum of faculties, of intellectual capacities and moral tendencies, to which education alone can give life and activity, and which otherwise would remain sterile and inert, or only reveal themselves by flashes without regular development.

          Education is the bread of the soul. just as physical and organic life cannot grow and unfold without nourishment, so the moral and intellectual life needs external influences for its full development and manifestation, and must assimilate a part, at least, of the ideas, affections, and aspirations of others. The life of the individual springs up like the plant, each variety endowed with its own existence and with special characters, upon a common soil, and is nourished with the elements common to the life of all. The individual is a shoot of Humanity, and nourishes and renews its own strength in the strength of Humanity. This work of nourishment and renewal is accomplished by education, which transmits to the individual directly or indirectly the results of the progress of the whole human race. It is therefore not only because it is a *necessity* of your life, but because it is a kind of holy communion with all your fellow-men, and with all the generations which have lived, that is to say, thought and acted, before yours, that you must win education for yourselves as far as possible; a moral and intellectual education, which shall embrace and cultivate all the faculties which God has given you as seed to bring to fruit, and shall form and maintain a bond between your individual life and that of collective Humanity.

          And in order that this work of education should be the more rapidly accomplished, and that your individual life should be linked more surely and intimately with the collective life of all, with the life of Humanity, God has made you essentially social beings. Every kind of lower being can live by itself, without other communion than with nature, with the elements of the physical world; you cannot. At every step you have need of your brothers; and you could not satisfy the simplest needs of life without aiding yourselves by their work. Though superior to every other being by virtue of association with your fellows, you are when isolated inferior in strength to many animals, and weak and incapable of development and of a complete existence. All the noblest aspirations of your heart, such as love of country, and also those less virtuous, such as desire of glory and of others' praise, indicate your inborn tendency to unite your life with the life of the millions who surround you. You are, then, created for *association*. It multiplies your strength a hundredfold; makes the ideas of others yours, and the progress of others yours; and raises, improves, and sanctifies your nature through the affections and the growing sentiment of the unity of the human family. The wider, the more intimate and comprehensive your association with your brothers, the further will you advance on the path of individual progress.

          The law of life cannot be *wholly* accomplished except by the united work of *all*. And for every great advance, for every discovery of a portion of that law, history shows a corresponding extension of human association, a wider contact between peoples and peoples. When the first Christians came to proclaim the unity of human nature, in opposition to the pagan philosophy which admitted two human natures, that of masters and that of slaves, the Roman people had borne its eagles into the midst of all the known peoples of Europe. Before the Papacy - baleful to-day, but beneficial in the first centuries of its institution - came to announce: *the spiritual power is higher than the* *temporal*, the invaders, whom we call the Barbarians, had brought the Germanic and the Latin worlds into violent contact. Before the idea of liberty as applying to the peoples had started the conception of nationality which now agitates Europe and is destined to triumph, the wars of the French Revolution and of the Empire had roused and called into action an element separate till then from the rest of Europe, the Slav element.

          Lastly, you are *progressive* beings.

          This word PROGRESS, unknown to antiquity, will be from henceforth a sacred word for Humanity. It comprehends a whole social, political, and religious transformation.

          Antiquity, the men of the old Oriental and Pagan religions, believed in Fate, in Chance, in a mysterious incomprehensible Power, the arbitrary disposer of human things, creating and destroying alternately, without men being able to understand, promote, or accelerate its action. They believed that man was powerless to found anything enduring and permanent upon our earth. They believed that the peoples were condemned to move for ever in the circle described by individuals here below; that they rose, mounted upwards to power, then descended to old age, and fatally, irrevocably perished. With the narrowest horizon of ideas and of facts before them, and without any knowledge of history beyond that of their own nation, and often of their own city, they regarded the human race solely as an aggregate of men, without any life or law of its own, and derived their ideas of it from contemplation of the individual only. The consequence of such doctrines was a disposition to accept existing *facts* without troubling or hoping to change them. Where circumstances had founded a republican form of government, the men of those times were republicans where despotism reigned, they were submissive slaves, indifferent to progress. But since they found the human family everywhere, under a republican government and under tyranny alike, divided either into four castes, as in the East, or into two, free citizens and slaves, as in Greece, they accepted the division of castes, or the belief in two different kinds of men; even Plato and Aristotle, the most powerful intellects of the Greek world, accepted it. The emancipation of your class would have been an impossibility among men like these.

          The men who founded upon the words of Jesus a religion superior to all the beliefs of the ancient East and of Paganism, dimly foresaw, but did not grasp the holy idea contained in this word, *Progress*. They understood the unity of the human race, the unity of the law, and the perfectibility of man; but they did not understand the power of accomplishing it which God has given to man, nor the way in which it must be accomplished. They limited themselves also to deducing the rule of life from the contemplation of the *individual*. Humanity as a collective body remained unknown to them. They recognized a Providence and substituted it for the blind Fatality of the ancients; but they recognized it as the protector of the *individual*, not as the law of Humanity. Their mental position between the immensity of the ideal of perfectibility which they had conceived, and the sense of the brief miserable life of the individual, created a need for an intermediary term between the two, between God and man; and not having grasped the idea of a collective humanity, they had recourse to that of a divine incarnation; they declared that faith in this incarnation was the only source of salvation, of strength, of *grace* for men.

          Not suspecting the continuous revelation which descends from God upon man through Humanity, they believed in an *immediate* and *single* revelation given at one fixed moment, and by the *special* favor *of God*. They perceived the link which binds men together in God, but they did not perceive that which binds them together here upon earth in Humanity. The succession of the generations was of little importance to those who did not feel how one generation acts upon another; they accustomed themselves therefore to disregard them, and strove to detach man from the world and from the things which concern Humanity as a whole, and they finished by calling the earth, which they abandoned to the existing powers, a mere abode of expiation, putting it in antagonism to heaven, whither man might climb by means of grace and faith, but from which without those means he was eternally exiled. Revelation being in their opinion immediate and vouchsafed once only at a given period, they concluded that nothing could be added to it, and that the depositaries of this revelation were infallible. They forgot that in a solemn moment, and with a sublime intuition of the future, Jesus had said: *I have many things to say* *unto you, but ye cannot hear them now*. *Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth ;for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear that* *shall he speak*. These words contain a forecast of the idea of progress and of the continuous revelation of the truth through the medium of Humanity; in them is found the justification of the formula which reawakened Rome will offer to Italy in the words "God and the People" inscribed on the front of its republican decrees. But the men who held the beliefs of the middle ages could not understand it. The times were not yet ripe.

          The whole edifice of the creeds which succeeded to Paganism rests upon the foundations just indicated. It is clear that your emancipation here on earth cannot be based upon these.

          Thirteen hundred years after the words of Jesus which I have quoted were spoken, a man, an Italian, the greatest of all Italians, wrote the following truths: "God is one, the Universe is God's thought; the Universe therefore is also one. All things come from God. All partake more or less of the divine nature, according to the end for which they are created. Man is the noblest of all created things. God has poured into him more of His own nature than into the others. Everything which comes from God tends towards the perfection of which it is capable. The capacity of perfection in man is unlimited. Humanity is one. God has made nothing useless; and because there is one Humanity only, there must be a single aim for *all* men, a work to be accomplished by the labor of all together. The human race must therefore work in union so that all the intellectual powers diffused in it may obtain the highest possible development in the sphere of thought and of action. There exists, then, a universal Religion for the human race.

          The man who gave utterance to these thoughts was named Dante. Every city of Italy, when Italy is free and united, ought to raise a statue to him, since these thoughts contain the germ of the Religion of the Future. He wrote them in Latin and Italian books entitled *De Monarchia* and *Il* *Convito*, difficult to understand, and neglected in the present day even by those who call themselves scholars. But these ideas, once sown in the world of intellect, can never die. Others reap them even when they forget their origin. Men admire the oak, but who remembers the acorn from which it sprang?

          The seed which Dante cast abroad has borne fruit. Tended and fertilized from time to time by some powerful intellect, it developed towards the end of the eighteenth century. The idea of Progress as the law of life, accepted and developed, verified by history, and confirmed by science, became the banner of the future. To-day there is no serious thinker who does not regard it as the pivot of his work.

          We know to-day that the law of life is PROGRESS. Progress for the *individual*, progress for Humanity. Humanity fulfils that law on earth; the Individual on earth and elsewhere. One only God; one only Law. From the first moment of its existence Humanity has been gradually but inevitably fulfilling that Law. Truth has never manifested itself wholly or all at once. A continuous revelation manifests a fragment of the truth, a *word* of the Law, from age to age. Each of these *words* profoundly modifies human life upon the path towards perfection, and constitutes a belief, a Faith. The development of the religious Idea is, then, indefinitely progressive; and the successive *beliefs*, unfolding and purifying this Idea ever more and more, will one day, like columns of a temple, build up the Pantheon of Humanity, the one great religion of our earth. The men blessed by God with genius and with more than common virtue are its apostles; the People, the *collective* sense of Humanity, is its interpreter, and accepts this revelation of Truth, transmits it from generation to generation, and reduces it to practice by applying it to the different branches and manifestations of human life.

          Humanity is like a man who lives for an indefinite period and is always learning. There is not, therefore, and there cannot be, infallibility in men, or in Powers; there is not, and cannot be, a privileged *class* of depositaries and interpreters of the Law; there is not, and cannot be, a need of any *intermediary* between God and man save Humanity alone. God, by preordaining a providential design of progressive education for Humanity, and planting the instinct of progress in the heart of every man, has also put into human nature the faculties and powers necessary to fulfill it. Individual man, a free and responsible creature, is able to use or abuse them according to whether he keeps to the path of Duty, or yields to the blind seductions of Egoism; he can delay or hasten his own progress; but the providential design cannot be annulled by any human power. The education of Humanity *must* complete itself; thus we see out of the barbaric invasions which seemed to extinguish all civilized life a new civilization arise superior to the old, and diffused over a wider zone of the earth; out of a tyranny exercised by individuals we see a more rapid development of liberty immediately issue.

          The Law of Progress must be accomplished here upon earth as elsewhere. There is no antagonism between *earth* and *heaven*: and it is a blasphemy to suppose that we can, without incurring guilt, despise the work of God, the house which He has given us, and abandon it to the Powers that be, whatever their nature, to the influences of Evil, of Egoism, and of Tyranny. The earth is not a place of *expiation*; it is the place for working to realize the *ideal* of truth and justice which each of us bears implanted in his soul; it is a ladder towards that Perfection which we can only reach by glorifying God in Humanity with our works and by consecrating ourselves to translating into *fact* as much as we can of His design. The judgment which will be pronounced upon each one of us, either decreeing our upward progress upon the ladder of Perfection, or condemning us to drag ourselves once again along the course which we have already trodden with barren results or in actual sin, will be founded on the good which we have done to our brothers, upon the degree of progress which we have helped others to attain. A more and more intimate and extended association with our fellow-men is the means by which our strength will be multiplied, the field on which our duties must be accomplished, the way to realize progress in action. We must aim at making the whole of Humanity one Family, each member of which shall represent in himself the moral law for the benefit of the others. And as the perfecting of Humanity is accomplished from age to age, from generation to generation, so the perfecting of the individual is accomplished from existence to existence, more or less rapidly according to our own efforts. These are *some* of the truths contained in that word Progress from which shall come forth the Religion of the Future. In that word alone can your emancipation be achieved.