

Giuseppe Mazzini, *An Essay On the Duties of Man Addressed to Workingmen* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1898).

*Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) was one of the leaders of the Italian national movement in the 19th century. In 1831 he created a secret political organization called La giovine Italia (Young Italy), with which he hoped to launch revolution that would overthrow the governments of the many principalities and kingdoms of Italian peninsula, creating in their wake a unified Italian republic. Mazzini played a leading role in a long series of failed uprisings in the 1830s, 40s, 50s, and 60s. Italy was eventually united, but as a kingdom rather than as a democratic republic, and Mazzini considered his life's ambitions unfulfilled. He exemplifies the tendency of mid 19th century nationalists to mix patriotism with a radical democratic agenda, and to infuse nationalist ideology with lofty humanitarian ideals.*

*The following essay by Mazzini first appeared in Italian in 1844. This version is based on the edition prepared by the Hanover Historical Texts Project (<http://history.hanover.edu/project.html>)*

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## **Chapter 1 - Introduction (pp. 5-20)**

I intend to speak to you of your duties. I intend to speak to you, according to the dictates of my heart, of the holiest things we know; to speak to you of God, of Humanity, of the Fatherland, and the Family.

Listen to me in love, as I shall speak to you in love. My words are words of conviction, matured by long years of study, of experience, and of sorrow. The duties which I point out to you I have striven, and shall strive while I live, to fulfill so far as I have the power. I may err, but my error is not of the heart. I may deceive myself, but I will not deceive you. Listen to me, then, fraternally; judge freely among yourselves whether I speak truth or error. If it seems to you I speak error, leave me; but follow me and act according to my teachings, if you believe me the apostle of truth. To err is misfortune, and deserving of commiseration; but to know the truth and fail to regulate our actions according to its teachings is a crime condemned alike by Heaven and earth.

Wherefore do I speak to you of your *duties* before speaking to you of your *rights*? Wherefore, in a Society wherein all, voluntarily or involuntarily, tend to oppress you; wherein the exercise of so many of the rights that belong to man is continually denied to you; wherein your portion is suffering, and all that which men call happiness is for other classes - do I speak to you of *self-sacrifice* rather than of *conquest*? of virtue, of moral improvement, and of education, rather than of material well-being?

This is a question which I am bound to answer clearly before I go any further, because this is precisely the point which constitutes the difference between the school to which I

belong and many others now existing in Europe; and also because this is a question that naturally arises in the vexed mind of the suffering workingman.

*"We are the slaves of labor - poor and unhappy; speak to us of material improvement, of liberty, of happiness. Tell us if we are doomed to suffer forever; if we are never to enjoy in our turn. Preach duty to our employers; to the classes above us, who treat us like machines, and monopolize the sources of well-being, which, in justice, belong to all men. Speak to us of our rights; tell us how to gain them. Speak to us of our strength; let us first obtain a recognized social and political existence; then indeed you may talk to us of our duties."*

So say too many workingmen, and they follow doctrines and join associations corresponding to such thoughts and desires; forgetful, however, of one thing, and that is, that these very doctrines to which they still appeal have been preached during the last fifty years, without resulting in any, the slightest, material improvement in the condition of the workingman.

All that has been achieved or attempted in the cause of progress and improvement in Europe during the last fifty years, whether against absolute governments or the aristocracy of birth, has been attempted in the name of the *Rights of Man* and of *Liberty*, as the means of that well-being which has been regarded as the end and aim of life. All the acts of the great French Revolution, and of all of those revolutions which succeeded and imitated it, were a consequence of the "*Declaration of the Rights of Man*." All the works of those philosophers, whose writings prepared the way for that Revolution, were founded upon a theory of Liberty, and of making known to every individual his Rights. The doctrines of all the Revolutionary schools preached that man was born for *happiness*; that he had a right to seek happiness by every means in his power; and that no one had a right to impede him in that search; while he had a right to overthrow whatever obstacles he met in his path towards it.

And all those obstacles were overthrown; liberty was achieved. In many countries it lasted for years; in some it exists even yet.

Has the condition of the people improved? Have the millions who live by the daily labor of their hands acquired any, the smallest amount, of the promised and desired well-being? No; the condition of the people is not improved. On the contrary, in most countries it has even deteriorated; and here, especially, where I write, the price of the necessities of life has continually augmented, the wages of workingmen in many branches of industry have progressively diminished, while the population has increased. In almost all countries the condition of the workingman has become more uncertain, more precarious, while those crises which condemn thousands of workingmen to a certain period of inertia have become more frequent.

The annual increase of emigration from country to country, and from Europe to other parts of the world, and the ever-increasing number of benevolent institutions, of poor's rates, and other precautions against mendacity, suffice to prove this. They indicate that

public attention is continually being attracted to the sufferings of the people; but their inefficiency visibly to diminish those sufferings demonstrates an equally progressive augmentation of the misery of the classes in whose behalf they endeavor to provide.

And nevertheless in these last fifty years the sources of social wealth and the mass of material means of happiness have been continually on the increase. Commerce, surmounting those frequent crises which are inevitable in the absolute absence of all organization, has achieved an increase of power and activity, and a wider sphere of operation. Communication has almost everywhere been rendered rapid and secure, and hence the price of produce has decreased in proportion to the diminished cost of transport. On the other hand, the idea that there are rights inherent to human nature is now generally admitted and accepted - hypocritically and in words at least - even by those who seek to withhold those rights. Why, then, has not the condition of the people improved? Why has the consumption of produce, instead of being equally distributed among all the Members of European Society, become concentrated in the hands of a few, of a class forming a new aristocracy? Why has the fresh impulse given to industry and commerce resulted, not in the well-being of the many, but in the luxury of a few?

The answer is clear to those who look closely into things. Men are the creatures of education, and their actions are but the consequence of the principle of education given to them. The promoters of revolutions and political transformations have hitherto founded them all on one idea, the idea of the *rights* pertaining to the individual. Those revolutions achieved *Liberty* - individual liberty, liberty of education, liberty of belief, liberty of commerce, liberty in all things and for all men.

But of what use were rights when acquired by men who had not the means of exercising them? Of what use was mere liberty of education to men who had neither time nor means to profit by it? Of what use was mere liberty of commerce to those who possessed neither merchandise, capital, nor credit?

In all the countries wherein these principles were proclaimed, Society was composed of the small number of individuals who were possessors of the land, of capital, and of credit, and of the vast multitude who possessed nothing but the labor of their hands, and were compelled to sell that labor to the first class on any terms, in order to live. For such men, compelled to spend the whole day in material and monotonous exertion, and condemned to a continual struggle against hunger and want, what was liberty but an illusion, a bitter irony?

The only way to prevent this state of things would have been for the upper classes voluntarily to consent to reduce the hours of labor, while they increased its remuneration; to bestow an uniform and gratuitous education upon the multitude; to render the instruments of labor accessible to all, and create a credit for workmen of good capacity and of good intentions.

Now, why should they have done this? Was not well-being the end and aim of life? Was not prosperity the one thing desired by all? Why should they diminish their own

enjoyments in favor of others? "Let those help themselves who can. When Society has secured to each individual the free exercise of those rights which are inherent in human nature, it has done all it is bound to do. If there be any one who, from some fatality of his own position, is unable to exercise any of these rights, let him resign himself to his fate, and not blame others."

It was natural they should speak thus, and thus in fact they spoke. And this mode of regarding the poor by the privileged classes soon became the mode in which individuals regarded one another. Each man occupied himself with his own rights and the amelioration of his own position, without seeking to provide for others; and when those rights clashed with the rights of others, the result was a state of war - a war, not of blood, but of gold and craft; less manly than the other, but equally fatal; a relentless war in which those who possessed means inexorably crushed the weak and inexperienced.

In this state of continual warfare, men were educated in selfishness and the exclusive greed of material well-being. Mere liberty of belief had destroyed all community of faith; mere liberty of education generated moral anarchy. Mankind, without any common bond, without unity of religious belief or aim, bent upon enjoyment and naught beyond, sought each and all to tread in their own path, little heeding if, in pursuing it, they trampled upon the bodies of their brothers - brothers in name, but enemies in fact. This is the state of things we have reached at the present day, thanks to the theory of rights.

Rights no doubt exist; but when the rights of one individual happen to clash with those of another, how can we hope to reconcile and harmonize them, if we do not refer to something which is above all rights? And when the rights of an individual, or of many individuals, clash with the rights of the country, to what tribunal shall we appeal?

If the right to the greatest possible amount of happiness exist in *all* human beings, how are we to solve the question between the workingman and the manufacturer? If the right to existence is the first 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 the country, of Society, of the multitude, your brothers?

What is their country to those who hold the theory I describe, if it be not the spot wherein their individual rights are most secure? What is Society but an assemblage of men who have agreed to bring the power of the many in support of the rights of each?

And you, who for fifty years have been preaching to the individual that *Society is constituted for the purpose of securing to him the exercise of his rights*, how can you ask him to sacrifice them all in favor of that Society, and submit, if need be, to ceaseless effort, to imprisonment or exile, for the sake of improving it? After having taught him by every means in your power that the end and aim of life is happiness, how can you expect him to sacrifice both happiness and life itself to free his country from foreign oppression, or to produce some amelioration in the condition of a class to which he does not belong? After you have preached to him for years in the name of material *interest*, can you

pretend that he shall see wealth and power within his own reach and not stretch forth his hand to grasp them, even though to the injury of his fellow-men?

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Who shall persuade the man, believing solely in the theory of rights, that he is bound to strive for the common good, and occupy himself in the development of the social idea? Suppose he should rebel; suppose he should feel himself strong enough to say to you: "I break the social bond; my tendencies and my faculties invite me elsewhere; I have a sacred, an inviolable right to develop those tendencies and faculties, and I choose to be at war with the rest;" what answer can you make him within the limits of the Doctrine of Rights? What right have you, merely as a majority, to compel his obedience to laws which do not accord with his individual desires and aspirations? What right have you to punish him should he violate those laws?

The Rights of each individual are equal; the mere fact of living together in Society does not create a single one. Society has greater power, not greater rights, than the individual. How, then, will you prove to the individual that he is bound to confound his will in the will of his brothers, whether of country or of humanity?

By means of the prison or the executioner?

Every Society that has existed hitherto has employed these means.

But this is a state of war, and we need peace; this is tyrannical repression, and we need Education.

EDUCATION, I have said, and my whole doctrine is included and summed up in this grand word. The vital question in agitation at the present day is a question of Education. We do not seek to establish a new order of things through violence. Any order of things established through violence, even though itself superior to the old, is still a tyranny. What we have to do is to propose, for the approval of the nation, an order of things which we believe to be superior to that now existing, and to *educate* men by every possible means to develop it and act in accordance with it.

The theory of Rights may suffice to arouse men to overthrow the obstacles placed in their path by tyranny, but it is impotent where the object in view is to create a noble and powerful harmony between the various elements of which the nation is composed. With the theory of happiness as the primary aim of existence, we shall only produce egoists who will carry the old passions and desires into the new order of things, and introduce corruption into it a few months after. We have, therefore, to seek a Principle of Education superior to any such theory, and capable of guiding mankind onwards toward their own improvement, of teaching them constancy and self-sacrifice, and of uniting them with their fellow-men, without making them dependent either on the *idea* of a single man or the *force* of the majority.

This principle is DUTY. We must convince men that they are all sons of one sole God, and bound to fulfill and execute one sole law here on earth; that each of them is bound to live, not for himself, but for others; that the aim of existence is not to be more or less happy, but to make ourselves and others more virtuous; that to struggle against injustice and error (wherever they exist), in the name and for the benefit of their brothers, is not only a *right* but a Duty; a duty which may not be neglected without sin; the duty of their whole life.

Workingmen! Brothers! Understand me well. When I say that the consciousness of your rights will never suffice to produce an important and durable progress, I do not ask you to renounce those rights. I merely say that such rights can only exist as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and that we must begin with fulfilling the last in order to achieve the first. And when I say that in proposing happiness, well-being, or material interests, as the aim of existence, we run the risk of producing egoists, I do not say that you ought never to occupy yourselves with these; but I do say that the exclusive endeavor after material interests, sought for, not as a *means*, but as an *end*, always leads to disastrous and deplorable results.

When the ancient Romans, under the emperors, contented themselves with *bread and amusements*, they had become as abject a race as can be conceived; and after submitting to the stupid and ferocious rule of their emperors, they vilely succumbed to and were enslaved by their barbarian invaders. In France and elsewhere it has ever been the plan of the opponents of social progress to spread corruption by endeavoring to lead men's minds away from thoughts of change and improvement through furthering the development of mere material activity. And shall we help our adversaries with our own hands?

Material ameliorations are essential and we will strive to obtain them; not, however, because the one thing necessary to man is that he should be well housed and nourished, but because you can neither acquire a true consciousness of your own dignity, nor achieve your own moral development, so long as you are engaged, as at the present day, in a continual struggle with poverty and want.

You labor for ten or twelve hours of the day: how can you find *time* to educate yourselves? The greater number of you scarcely earn enough to maintain yourselves and your families: how can you find *means* to educate yourselves? The frequent interruption and uncertain duration of your work causes you to alternate excessive labor with periods of idleness: how are you to acquire habits of order, regularity, and assiduity? The scantiness of your earnings prevents all hope of saving a sum sufficient to be one day useful to your children, or to provide for the support of your own old age: how can you acquire habits of economy? Many among you are compelled by poverty to withdraw your children - I will not say from the instruction, for what educational instruction can the poor wife of a workingman bestow upon her children? - but from the mother's watchfulness and love, in order that they may gain a few pence in the unwholesome and injurious labor of manufactories: how can children so circumstanced be developed under the softening influence of family affection?

You have no rights of citizenship, no participation either of election or vote, in those laws which are to direct your actions and govern your life: how can you feel the sentiment of citizenship, zeal for the welfare of the State, or sincere affection for its laws?

Your poverty frequently involves the impossibility of your obtaining justice like the other classes: how are you to learn to love and respect justice? Society treats you without a shadow of sympathy: how are you to learn sympathy with Society?

It is therefore needful that your material condition should be improved, in order that you may morally progress. It is necessary that you should labor less, so that you may consecrate some hours every day to your soul's improvement. It is needful that you should receive such remuneration for your labor as may enable you to accumulate a sufficient saving to tranquillize your minds as to your future. And, above all, it is necessary to purify your souls from all reaction, from all sentiment of vengeance, from every thought of injustice, even towards those who have been unjust towards you. You are bound, therefore, to strive for all these ameliorations in your condition, and you will obtain them; but you must seek them as a means, not as an end; seek them from a sense of duty, and not merely as a right; seek them in order that you may become more virtuous, not in order that you may be materially happy.

If not so, where would be the difference between you and those by whom you have been oppressed? They oppressed you precisely because they only sought happiness, enjoyment, and power.

Improve yourselves! Let this be the aim of your life. It is only by improving yourselves, by becoming more virtuous, that you can render your position lastingly less unhappy. Petty tyrants would arise among yourselves by thousands, so long as you should merely strive to advance in the name of material interests or a special social organization. A change of social organization is of little moment while you yourselves remain with your present passions and selfishness. Social organizations are like certain plants which yield either poison or medicine according to the mode in which they are administered. Good men can work good even out of an evil organization, and evil men can work evil out of good organizations.

No doubt it is also necessary to improve the classes who now oppress you, but you will never succeed in doing this unless you begin by improving yourselves.

When, therefore, you hear those who preach the necessity of a social transformation, declare that they can accomplish it solely by invoking your rights, be grateful to them for their good intentions, but be distrustful of their success. The sufferings of the poor are partially known to the wealthier classes; *known* but not *felt*. In the general indifference resulting from the absence of a common faith; in the selfishness which is the inevitable result of so many years spent preaching material happiness, those who do not suffer themselves have, little by little, become accustomed to regard the sufferings of others as a sorrowful necessity of social organization, or to leave the remedy to generations to come. The difficulty lies, not so much in convincing them, as in rousing them from their inertia,

and inducing them, when once convinced, to *act*; to associate together, and to fraternize with you, in order to create such a social organization as shall put an end - as far as human possibilities allow - to your sufferings and their own fears.

Now, to do this is the work of Faith; of faith in the mission which God has given to his human creature here on earth; in the responsibility which weighs upon all those who fail to fulfill that mission; and in the Duty imposed upon all, of continual endeavor and sacrifice in the cause of truth.

Any conceivable doctrine of Right and material happiness can only lead you to attempts which, so long as you remain isolated and rely solely on your own strength, can never succeed; and which can but result in that worst of crimes, a civil war between class and class.

Workingmen! Brothers! When Christ came, and changed the face of the world, he spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them in imitation of the rich; he spoke not of utility nor of interest to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted; he spoke of Duty, he spoke of Love, of Sacrifice, and of Faith; and he said that *they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labor to the good of all*.

And the words of Christ, breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress.

Workingmen! We live in an epoch similar to that of Christ. We live in the midst of a society as corrupt as that of the Roman Empire, feeling in our inmost soul the need of reanimating and transforming it, and of uniting all its various members in one sole faith, beneath one sole law, in one sole aim - the free and progressive development of all the faculties of which God has given the germ to his creatures. We seek the Kingdom of God *on earth as it is in Heaven*, or rather, that earth may become a preparation for Heaven, and society an endeavor after the progressive realization of the Divine Idea.

But Christ's every act was the visible representation of the Faith he preached; and around him stood apostles who incarnated in their actions the faith they had accepted. Be you such, and you will conquer. Preach duty to the classes above you, and fulfill, as far as in you lies, your own. Preach virtue, sacrifice and love; and be yourselves virtuous, loving, and ready for self-sacrifice. Speak your thoughts boldly, and make known your wants courageously; but without anger, without reaction, and without threats. The strongest menace, if indeed there be those for whom threats are necessary, will be the firmness, not the irritation, of your speech.

While you propagate amongst your brothers the idea of a better future, which will secure to them education, work, its fitting remuneration, and the conscience and mission of Men, strive also to instruct and improve yourselves, and to educate yourselves to the full knowledge and practice of your duties.



At present this is a labor rendered impossible to the masses in many parts of England. No plan of popular education can be realized alone; a change both in the political and material condition of the people is also needed; and they who imagine that an educational transformation may be accomplished alone, deceive themselves.

A few among you, once imbued with the true principles on which the moral, social, and political education of a people depend, will suffice to spread them among the millions, as a guide on their way, to protect them from the sophistries and false doctrines by which it will be sought to lead them astray.

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## Chapter V - Duties Towards Your Country (pp. 57-63).

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Your first duties - first as regards importance - are, as I have already told you, towards Humanity. You are *men* before you are either citizens or fathers. If you do not embrace the whole human family in your affection; if you do not bear witness to your belief in the Unity of that family, consequent upon the Unity of God, and in that fraternity among the peoples which is destined to reduce that Unity to action; if, wheresoever a fellow-creature suffers, or the dignity of human nature is violated by falsehood or tyranny - you are not ready, if able, to aid the unhappy, and do not feel called upon to combat, if able, for the redemption of the betrayed and oppressed - you violate your law of life, you comprehend not that Religion which will be the guide and blessing of the future.

But what can each of you, singly, *do* for the moral improvement and progress of Humanity? You can from time to time give sterile utterance to your belief; you may, on some rare occasions, perform some act of *charity* towards a brother-man not belonging to your own land - no more. But charity is not the watchword of the Faith of the Future. The watchword of the faith of the future is *Association* and fraternal cooperation towards a common aim; and this is far superior to all charity, as the edifice which all of you should unite to raise would be superior to the humble hut each one of you might build alone, or with the mere assistance of lending and borrowing stone, mortar, and tools.

But, you tell me, you cannot attempt united action, distinct and divided as you are in language, customs, tendencies, and capacity. The individual is too insignificant, and Humanity too vast. The mariner of Brittany prays to God as he puts to sea; "*Help me, my God! my boat is so small and Thy ocean so wide!*" And this prayer is the true expression of the condition of each one of you, until you find the means of infinitely multiplying your forces and powers of action.

This means was provided for you by God when He gave you a country; when, even as a wise overseer of labor distributes the various branches of employment according to the different capacities of the workmen, he divided Humanity into distinct groups or nuclei upon the face of the earth, thus creating the germ of nationalities. Evil governments have

disfigured the Divine design. Nevertheless you may still trace it, distinctly marked out - at least as far as Europe is concerned - by the course of the great rivers, the direction of the higher mountains, and other geographical conditions. They have disfigured it by their conquests, their greed, and their jealousy even of the righteous power of others; disfigured it so far that, if we except England and France, there is not perhaps a single country whose present boundaries correspond to that design.

These governments did not, and do not, recognize any country save their own families or dynasty, the egoism of caste. But the Divine design will infallibly be realized; natural divisions and the spontaneous, innate tendencies of the peoples will take the place of the arbitrary divisions, sanctioned by evil governments. The map of Europe will be redrawn. The countries of the peoples, defined by the vote of free men, will arise upon the ruins of the countries of kings and privileged castes, and between these countries harmony and fraternity will exist. And the common work of Humanity, of general amelioration, and the gradual discovery and application of its Law of life, being distributed according to local and general capacities, will be wrought out in peaceful and progressive development and advance. Then may each one of you, fortified by the power and affection of many millions, all speaking the same language, gifted with the same tendencies, and educated by the same historical tradition, hope even by your own single efforts to be able to benefit all Humanity.

O, my brothers, love your Country! Our country is our Home, a house God has given us, placing therein a numerous family that loves us, and whom we love; a family with whom we sympathize more readily and whom we understand more quickly than we do others; and which, from its being centered round a given spot, and from the homogeneous nature of its elements, is adapted to a special branch of activity. Our Country is our common workshop, whence the products of our activity are sent forth for the benefit of the whole world; wherein the tools and implements of labor we can most usefully employ are gathered together; nor may we reject them without disobeying the plan of the Almighty, and diminishing our own strength.

In laboring for our own country on the right principle, we labor for Humanity. Our country is the fulcrum of the lever we have to wield for the common good. If we abandon the fulcrum, we run the risk of rendering ourselves useless not only to Humanity but to our country itself. Before men can *associate* with the nations of which Humanity is composed, they must have a national existence. There is no true association except among equals. It is only through our country that we can have a recognized *collective* existence. Humanity is a vast army advancing to the conquest of lands unknown, against enemies both powerful and astute. The peoples are the different corps, the divisions of that army. Each of them has its post assigned to it, and its special operation to execute; and the common victory depends upon the exactitude with which those distinct operations are fulfilled. Disturb not the order of battle. Forsake not the banner given to you by God. Wheresoever you may be, in the centre of whatsoever people circumstances may have placed you, be ever ready to combat for the liberty of that people, should it be necessary, but combat in such wise that the blood you shed may reflect glory, not on yourself alone, but on your country. Say not *I*, but *We*. Let each man among you strive to

incarnate his country in himself. Let each man among you regard himself as a guarantor, responsible for his fellow-countrymen, and learn so to govern his actions as to cause his country to be loved and respected through him. Your country is the sign of the Mission God has given you to fulfill towards Humanity. The faculties and forces of *all* her sons should be associated in the accomplishment of that mission. The true country is a community of free men and equals, bound together in fraternal concord to labor towards a common aim. You are bound to make it and to maintain it such. The country is not an *aggregation*, but an *association*. There is, therefore, 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 activity of a portion of the powers and faculties of the individual is either cancelled or dormant; where there is not a common Principle, recognized, accepted, and developed by all, there is no true Nation, no People; but only a multitude, a fortuitous agglomeration of men whom circumstances have called together and whom circumstances may again divide. In the name of the love you bear your country, you must peacefully but untiringly combat the existence of privilege and inequality in the land that gave you life.

There is but one sole legitimate privilege, the privilege of Genius when it reveals itself united with virtue. But this is a privilege given by God, and when you acknowledge it, and follow its inspiration, you do so freely, exercising your own reason and your own choice. Every privilege which demands submission from you in virtue of power, inheritance, or any other right than the Right common to all, is a usurpation and a tyranny which you are bound to resist and destroy.

Be your country your Temple: God at the summit; a people of equals at the base.

Accept no other formula, no other moral law, if you would not dishonor alike your country and yourselves. Let all secondary laws be but the gradual regulation of your existence by the progressive application of this Supreme law. And in order that they may be such, it is necessary that *all* of you should aid in framing them. Laws framed only by a single fraction of the citizens, can never, in the very nature of things, be other than the mere expression of the thoughts, aspirations, and desires of that fraction; the representation, not of the country, but of a third or fourth part, of a class or zone of the country.

The laws should be the expression of the *universal* aspiration, and promote the *universal* good. They should be a pulsation of the heart of the nation. The entire nation should, either directly or indirectly, legislate.

By yielding up this mission into the hands of a few, you substitute the selfishness of one class for the Country, which is the union of all classes.

Country is not only a mere zone of territory. The true Country is the Idea to which it gives birth; it is the Thought of love, the sense of communion which unites in one all the sons of that territory.

So long as a single one amongst your brothers has no vote to represent him in the development of the national life, so long as there is one left to vegetate in ignorance where others are educated, so long as a single man, able and willing to work, languishes in poverty through want of work to do, you have no country in the sense in which Country ought to exist - the country of all and for all.

Education, labor, and the franchise, are the three main pillars of the Nation; rest not until you have built them thoroughly up with your own labor and exertions.

Be it yours to evolve the life of your country in loveliness and strength; free from all servile fears or skeptical doubts; maintaining as its basis the People; as its guide the principles of its Religious Faith, logically and energetically applied; its strength, the united strength of all; its aim, the fulfillment of the mission given to it by God.

And so long as you are ready to die for Humanity, the life of your country will be immortal.

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## **Chapter XII - Conclusion (pp. 137-146).**

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But the State, the Government - an institution only legitimate when based upon a mission of education and progress not yet understood - the State has a solemn duty towards you, a duty which will be easy of fulfillment when we have a really National Government, the Government of a free and united people.

A vast series of means of help might be bestowed by the Government upon the people, by which the social problem might be solved without spoliation, violent measures or interference with the wealth previously acquired by any of its citizens, and without exciting that immoral and unjust antagonism between class and class, fatal to the national welfare, which visibly retards the progress of France at the present day.

The following would be important and powerful modes of assistance:

The exercise of a moral influence in favor of the association of workingmen by the publicly manifested approval of the Government agents, by a frequent discussion of their fundamental principles in the House of Representatives, and by legalizing all the voluntary associations constituted on the basis indicated above.

Improved methods of communication, and the abolition of the obstacles now impeding the free conveyance of produce.

The establishment of public magazines and depots in which the approximate value of the goods or merchandise consigned having been ascertained, the Associations should receive a document or receipt negotiable in the manner of a bank-bill, by which means the Associations would be enabled to carry on their affairs without the ruinous necessity of an immediate sale without regard to prices.

The concession of the execution of necessary public works to Workingmen's Associations upon equal terms to those granted to individual contractors.

The simplification of judicial forms, justice being at present ruinously costly, and too often inaccessible to the poor.

Legal facilities given for the sale and transfer of landed property.

A radical transformation of the system of taxation, by the substitution of one sole tax upon income for the present complex and expensive system of direct and indirect taxation. This would give public and practical sanction to the principle of the *sacredness of human life*, for as neither labor, progress, nor the fulfillment of duty are possible without life, a given amount of money, the amount judged necessary to the maintenance of life, should be exempt from all taxation.

But there are further means:

The secularization or appropriation of ecclesiastical property by the State - a thing not at present to be thought of, yet, nevertheless, inevitable in the future, when the State shall assume its true educational mission - will place a vast sum of wealth in the hands of the nation. To this may be added the value of hitherto un-reclaimed land, and the profits of railways and other public enterprises, the administration of which should be in the hands of the State; the value of the landed property belonging to the communes, the value of property now descending by collateral succession beyond the fourth degree, and which should revert to the State, and many other sources of wealth which it is unnecessary here to enumerate.

Suppose all this mass of wealth and resources accumulated in the formation of a National Fund, to be consecrated to the intellectual and economic progress of the whole country. Why should not a considerable portion of such a fund be employed (proper provision being made to guard against its wasteful use or dissipation) as a Fund of Credit, bearing interest at one and a half or two per cent., to be distributed to the Voluntary Workingmen's Associations, constituted according to the bases indicated above, and giving evidence of morality and capacity? This sum of capital to be held sacred, not merely to the promotion of labor in the present generation, but in futurity; its operation being upon so vast a scale as to ensure compensation for the occasional inevitable losses it would have to sustain.

The distribution of the Fund of Credit ought not to be in the hands either of the Government or of a National Central Bank, but of local Banks, administered by elective Municipal Councils, under the supervision of the Central Government.

Without subtracting anything from the actual wealth of any existing class, and without enriching any single class through the medium of that taxation which, being contributed by *all* citizens, should be employed for the advantage and benefit of all; such a series of measures as are here suggested, by diffusing credit, increasing and improving production, compelling a diminution of the rate of interest, and intrusting the progress and continuity of labor to the zeal and interest of the producers, would replace the limited and ill-directed sum of wealth at present concentrated in a few hands, by a wealthy nation, directress of its own production and consumption.

Such, Workingmen, is your future. You may hasten this future. Conquer for yourselves your country, and a truly popular Government, the representative of your collective life and mission. Organize yourselves in a vast league of the people, so that your voice shall be the voice of the million, not merely of a few individuals. Truth and justice will be on your side, and the Nation will listen to you.

But, be warned! and believe the words of a man who has been earnestly studying the course of events in Europe during the last thirty years, and who has seen the holiest enterprises fail in the hour of promised success through the errors or immorality of their supporters. You will never succeed unless through *your own improvement*. You can only obtain the exercise of your rights by deserving them through your own activity and your own spirit of love and sacrifice. If you seek your rights in the name of duties fulfilled or to fulfill, you will obtain them. If you seek them in the name of selfishness, or any theory of happiness and well-being propounded by the teachers of materialism, you will never achieve other than a momentary triumph, to be followed by utter delusion.

They who appeal to you in the name of well-being and happiness, will deceive and betray you. They seek only their own well-being and happiness, and merely desire to unite with you as an element of strength wherewith to overcome the obstacles in their own path. When once they have obtained their own rights through your help, they will abandon the effort to obtain yours in order to enjoy their own.

Such is the history of the last half-century, and the name of this last half-century is, *Materialism*.

Sad story of blood and sorrow! I have seen them in my own land - these men who denied God, religion, virtue, and sacrifice, and spoke only in the name of the *right to happiness and enjoyment*--I have seen them advance boldly to the struggle with the words *People* and *Liberty* on their lips, and unite with us men of a better faith, who imprudently admitted them in our ranks. As soon as a first victory, or the opportunity of some cowardly compromise, opened the path of enjoyment to them, they forsook the cause of the people, and became our bitterest enemies the day after. A few years of danger and persecution were sufficient to weary and discourage them.

And wherefore should they, men without any conscientious belief in a Law of Duty, without faith in a mission imposed upon man by a Supreme Power, have persisted in sacrifice even to the last years of life?

And I have seen, with deep sadness, the sons of the people, educated in materialism by those men, turn false to their mission and their future, false to their country and themselves, betrayed by some foolish, immoral hope of obtaining material happiness, through furthering the caprice or interest of a despotism.

I have seen the workingmen of France stand by, indifferent spectators of the *coup d'etat* of the second of December, because all the great social questions had dwindled in their minds into a question of material prosperity; and they foolishly believed that the promises, artfully made to them by him who had destroyed the liberty of their country, would be kept.

Now they mourn over their lost liberty, without having acquired even the promised material well-being.

No; without God, without the sense of a moral law, without morality, without a spirit of sacrifice, and by merely following after men who have neither faith, nor reverence for truth, nor holiness of life, nor aught to guide them but the vanity of their own systems - I repeat it with deep conviction - you will never succeed. You may achieve *émeutes*, but you will never realize the true Great Revolution you and I alike desire - a revolution, not the offspring and illusion of irritated selfishness, but of religious conviction.

*Your own improvement and that of others*; this must be the supreme hope and aim of every social transformation.

You cannot change the fate of man by merely embellishing his material dwelling. You will never induce the society to which you belong to substitute a system of Association for a system of salary and wages, unless you convince them that your association will result in improved production and collective prosperity. And you can only prove this by showing yourselves capable of founding and maintaining associations through your own honesty, mutual good-will, love of labor, and capacity of self-sacrifice.

In order to progress, you must show yourselves capable of progress.

Tradition, Progress, Association. These three things are sacred. Twenty years ago I wrote:

"I believe in the grand voice of God which the Ages transmit to us through the universal tradition of Humanity, and it teaches me that the Family, the Nation, and Humanity, are the three spheres in which the human individual is destined to labor for the common good towards the moral perfection of himself and others.

"It teaches me that property is destined to be the manifestation of the material activity of the individual, of his share in the transformation of the physical world; as the franchise is the manifestation of his share in the administration of the political world.

"It teaches me that the merit or demerit of the individual, before God and man, depends upon his use of these rights; and it teaches me that all these things, being elements of human nature, are perennially modified and transformed as they gradually approach more closely to that ideal of which our souls have prevision - but that they can never be cancelled nor destroyed.

"It teaches me that the dreams of Communism, of the annihilation or absorption of the individual in the social whole, have never been more than fleeting incidents in the life of the human race, reappearing momentarily in every intellectual and moral crisis, but incapable of realization except upon a trifling scale, as in the Christian Monasteries and Convents.

"I believe in the eternal progressive life of God's creature; in the progress of Thought and Action, not only in the man of the past, but in the man of the future. I believe that it is of little comparative import to determine the form and method of the future progress, but that it is of great import to open up all the paths of progress by bestowing upon mankind a truly religious education which will enable them to complete it.

"I believe that we can never make man worthier, more loving, nobler, or more divine - which is in fact our end and aim on earth - by merely heaping upon him the means of enjoyment, and setting before him as the aim of life that irony which is named *happiness*.

"I believe in Association as the sole means we possess of realizing progress, not merely because it multiplies the action of the productive forces, but because it tends to unite all the various manifestations of the human mind, and to bring the life of the individual into communion with the collective life of the whole, and I know that Association will never be fruitful of good except among free men and free peoples, conscious and capable of their mission.

"I believe that man should be able to eat and live without having every hour of his existence absorbed by material labor, so that he may be able to cultivate the superior faculties of his nature; but I listen with dread to those who tell you that *enjoyment is your right, and material well-being your aim*, because I know that such teachings can only produce egoists, and that these doctrines have been in France, and threaten to be in Italy, the destruction of every noble idea, of every sacrifice, and of every pledge of future greatness.

"The life-destroying evil of Humanity at the present day is the want of a common faith, a common thought, accepted and admitted by all men, and which shall re-link earth to Heaven, the Universe with God. Deprived of this common faith, man has bowed down before lifeless matter and become a worshipper of the idol *Self-Interest*. And the first priests of that fatal worship were Kings, Princes, and evil Governments. They invented



the horrible formula of *each for himself*, for they knew that it would increase selfishness, and that there is but one step between the egoist and the slave."

Workingmen, brothers! avoid that step! Your future depends upon this.

Yours is the solemn mission to prove that we are all the sons of God, and brethren in Him. You can only prove this by improving yourselves, and fulfilling your duty.

I have pointed out to you, to the best of my power, what your duties are, the most important being those owed to your country. The amelioration of your present condition can only result from your participation in the political life of the Nation. Until you can obtain the franchise, your wants and aspirations will never be truly represented.

On the day in which you should follow the example of too many French Socialists, and separate the *social* from the *political* question, saying: "We will work out our own emancipation, whatever be the form of Institution by which our country is governed" - that day you would have yourselves decreed the perpetuity of your own social servitude.

And in bidding you farewell, I will remind you of another duty not less solemn than that which binds you to achieve and preserve the freedom and unity of your Country.

Your complete emancipation can only be founded and secured upon the triumph of a Principle - the principle of the Unity of the Human Family.

At the present day one half of the Human Family - that half from which we seek both inspiration and consolation, that half to which the first education of childhood is entrusted - is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal and excluded from the great Unity.

To you who are seeking your own enfranchisement and emancipation in the name of a Religious Truth, to you it belongs to protest on every occasion and by every means against this negation of Unity.

The *Emancipation of Woman*, then, must be regarded by you as necessarily linked with the emancipation of the workingman. This will give to your endeavors the consecration of a Universal Truth.

