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ADDRESS

TO

POPE PIUS IX.

ON HIS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER.

BY

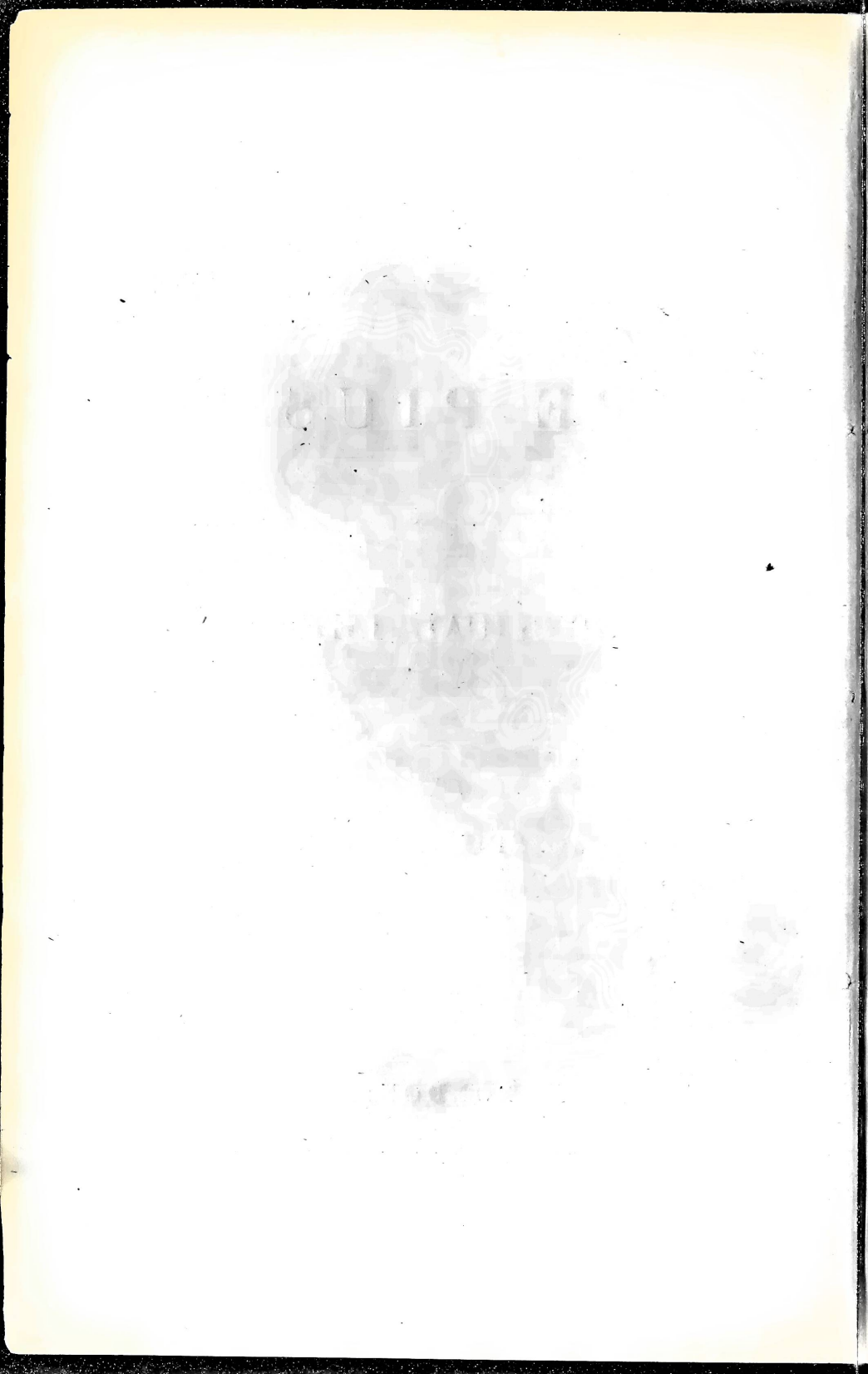
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ADDRESS TO
POPE PIUS IX.

I.

By your last Encyclica you have flung your Anathema over the civilized world, over its movement, over the life which inspires it, as if the world, life, and movement were not things of God. As the tempest-tossed mariner, seeing the waves rising higher and higher around him, despoils himself, in desperation, even of the things most needful to man, so you, maddened by the restless terrors that surround the death-agony of a despairing sinner, have thrown aside all spirit of love, all sense of the sacredness of this Earth, providentially designed to perfect itself, all idea of progress defined or indicated by Christianity, all the traditions which for eight centuries have constituted the Papacy's right to live, all that can make Authority revered, and powerful for good.

The tone of those ill-advised pages is one of grief and anger; but it is a dry and barren sorrow breathing the egotism of one who sees his power threatened,

assailed, condemned, the pitiful anger of one who longs to doom his assailants to the faggot, but knows himself powerless to do so.

Lost for ever in the judgment of mankind, unable to rule a single day unsustained by the bayonet; abandoned by the world which no longer recognizes its spring of life in you—incapable either of self-transformation or of resignation, you expire—saddest of all deaths—with a curse upon your lips.

Tempered by Nature to surround every great ruin with a lingering affection, reverencing the Tradition of Humanity and all the elements that compose it, precisely because I long for and have faith in the Future,—I had dreamed of a different death for the Institution whose last days you are now hastening. Seventeen years ago, you were surrounded by an applauding Europe bidding you "*Onward.*" Before you was a people, the Italian people, newly awakened to consciousness of their high destiny, who would have served you both as arm and lever in the great work of transformation. A single word of love from you, a blessing called down upon Italy—so long unlooked for from a Pope—would have been sufficient. Millions of souls, forgetting the profanations, persecutions, and corruptions of four centuries, would have rallied round you, thrilling with expectant hope and blind belief.

At that time, although incredulous of any revival of the past, yet thinking a benediction and a word of new life from the dying Institution might prevent long years of anarchy and rebellion,—I wrote to you: "*Believe, and unify Italy. If God wills that old faiths should now transform themselves; that, starting from the*

foot of the Cross, dogma and worship should purify themselves, and advance one step nearer to God the Father and Educator of the World—you may, by placing yourself between the two epochs, lead mankind to the conquest and practice of religious truth.”¹

I should have wished that mindful of the words of Jesus:—*Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you unto all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you the things to come,*² and understanding their sublime presentiment that for direct revelation through the individual, substitutes the continuous collective revelation through Humanity—you might have said to the peoples, “The Spirit *is* with you if only you will seek after and hearken unto it: it is where universal Tradition and individual conscience accord; most gloriously revealed where Genius and Virtue unite, and I am nothing but one believer among millions.”

I could have wished that an Institution beneficent and life-giving in the past, should have blessed in dying the emancipation of souls, and taught that death in the future will be the consummation of one mission, and the initiation of another.

I could have wished that as men bow the head before the death of Genius, and are moved to poetry by the sinking of the sun into the invisible infinite, so might they have learned through you to hail with solemn and reverent affection the going-down of the past.

¹ Lettera a Pio IX., 8 Settembre, 1847.

² John xvi. 13.

It was an illusion. It is decreed, perhaps to prevent mankind, ever unstable in their conception of life, from losing themselves in the worship of the dead past, that the last inheritors of worn-out Institutions should present the hideous spectacle of one who in dying clings convulsively to life, and resists in impotent blasphemy God's law of transformation.

So dies the Papacy. So will you die: powerless to resuscitate life; unable to comprehend the solemnity of death.

II.

Look around you. To whom do you speak? Who now has faith in your words? Foreign soldiers protect you from the anger of your own subjects, and those soldiers are the children of Voltaire, unbelievers and materialists like their Master. They protect you as the tools of a policy of dominion, seeking to gain credit with the French Clergy, and to keep open the way for the division of Italy into three. Were they to leave you, you would have to try to defend yourself with a rabble rout of mercenaries from every country in Europe, or you would have to leave with them. Your allies are the Neapolitan brigands; they wear your crosses and your indulgences upon their breasts; but cease to pay them for a single month, and suppose that we could sink so low as to hire them in our turn, and they would fight against you. The men who hedge themselves around you, who flatter you, and hail you as Pope, King, and Father of Souls, would desert you; denying both you and your faith,

the day on which you should remain without Princely aid, alone with the people you call yours. I heard that people's curses upon your madness some sixteen years ago, when we inhabited your rooms in Rome; and there was one who, while the French hemmed us in, secretly conspired for you, and was afterwards condemned for theft by your own judges, came to me, terrified by the solitude in which he found himself, to reveal his three or four accomplices. I smiled, and let him go free.

Of such stamp were then and are now the *believers* in you, whilst those of our faith died cheerfully with the words "God and the People," on their lips.

Some among the reigning ones of the earth, also threatened by their dissatisfied subjects, send their ambassadors to pay you hypocritical homage as Christ's Vicar, because their authority is founded upon the same basis as yours; but no sooner does Christ's Vicar venture to interfere even in the most timid and hesitating manner in their affairs, than they doff their hypocrisy and prohibit their bishops from publishing your Encyclica. Numbers of those who were formerly believing Catholics in Europe, still preserve the old habits, and follow the rites and discipline of your Church, partly because even the dead forms of a Great Religion that is past, exercise a prestige over the mind; and partly because mankind—which has and always will have need of religion—abhors the barrenness of scepticism, and clings to the Traditions of the past rather than be driven into mere negation.

But when, in 1849, we aroused the people of Italy

to a sense of their dignity as men, and called upon them to elect an Assembly to represent them and decree your fate, they sent a Republican Assembly to Rome, which unanimously abolished your power. And when you and yours endeavoured from Gaëta to raise up the populations against that Assembly in the name of the Catholic faith, it was only at Ascolani—where escape into the Neapolitan territory was certain—that you found some who for a few days were willing to risk their lives for you.

An echo of the Catholic Tradition still lingers in the souls of men, but faith in it is dead for ever. You cannot yourself rekindle it even in your own heart. The virtue of sacrifice has left you. Your Church has lost the power of suffering, and of dying, if need be, for the salvation of mankind. Before the dangers of a difficult position created by yourself, your adherents concealed themselves: you fled, and fled in disguise. Who henceforth would die for a Pope transformed into the lackey of the Countess of Spaur?

Faith is dead. Your Authority is but the ghost of Authority, and the terror inspired by the spectre has been diminishing for four centuries. It is for us now, free from every doubt, strong in the irrevocable assent of Humanity, to take up the gauntlet with the certainty of Victory.

In saying "for us," I include all who, like me, reject alike the barren negations of the unreflectingly rebellious, who, because one form of religion is exhausted, imagine that the eternal religious Life of Humanity is destroyed, and the inefficacious pretences of a Church which has neither knowledge, will, nor

power any longer to direct that Life; I include all who, like me, abhor the loathsomeness of materialism, and are ready to do battle against it in the name of the Ideal; all who reverently seek the *City of the Future*, a new Heaven and a new Earth destined to gather together in the name and in the love of God and of man, and in faith in a common aim, all those who now wander through your fault, mid fear of the present and doubt of the future, in moral and intellectual anarchy: I include those who know that from epoch to epoch God utters a new syllable of eternal Truth to Humanity; that every religion is an initiation towards the one destined to succeed it; and that an educational revelation ceaselessly descends in manner varying with the times upon the Nations; that to arbitrarily seek to limit that revelation to a given fraction of time, to one sole people, or to a single individual is the only heresy essentially denying God, the manifestation of His Life, and the unbroken and continuous link existing between the Divine Thought and Humanity, which is destined gradually to discover and to incarnate that Thought upon earth.

I include all those who, anxiously interrogating the signs of the Times, and observing on the one hand the constant increase of egotism, the dissolution of every Power, the impotence of every ancient authority; and on the other the universal agitation of the peoples, the growing though confused aspirations of intelligence, the apparition of new elements demanding admission into the social edifice, and of new words potent to move the multitudes, the tendency towards a new morality vaster than the former, and recognize

in all these things the indications of a new epoch, and therefore of a religious transformation.

Finally, I include all who hail with me the idea that the initiative of that inevitable transformation may sooner or later be taken by a People now for the first time called to National Unity.

We take up the gauntlet flung down to the world by your Encyclica. We take it up, not in the name of a blind misguided analysis which confounds the Thought with its manifestation, and Life with the organs by which it is revealed ;—not in the name of a philosophy that presumes to substitute itself for the Religious Synthesis, while its true historic office is merely that of verifying the exhaustion of one belief and preparing the way for another ;—but in the name of Religion itself, which you would annihilate by dooming it to immobility,—of Morality, which should be enlarged from epoch to epoch, and which you destroy by enchaining it to a dogma, the narrowness and imperfection of which has been demonstrated by four centuries of discovery ;—in the name of the teachings of Tradition, showing that the Religious Idea assumes different forms and a different worship at each stage of the education of Humanity ;—in the name of Jesus who foretold the future triumphs of the Spirit¹ through his own death, and whom you would degrade from the “*Master*” to the tyrant of man ;—in the name of Human Life which has need of harmonization, unification, and sanctification through Religion, of all of which you deprive it by condemning its

¹ John xvi.

progressive manifestations, and maintaining a fatal duality between Earth and Heaven ;—and in the name of God Himself who is eternal Life, Thought, Motion, and Enlightenment, and to Whose power of revelation you would assign a limit and a date.

Religion is with us, not with you. You materialize it by the exclusive adoration of one of its forms, as if the living God could be enchained in a single form ; as if any *form* of Religion could ever be other than a finite symbol of the Truth which He dispenses in the chosen *measure of time* ; as if when one form were exhausted, it were possible that God should perish, or withdraw Himself from the world which is naught other than a manifestation of His Thought ; as if it were possible to assign a limit to the Thought of God ; as if any people, any epoch, or any religion might presume to have comprehended that Thought entire ; as if Humanity were not bound constantly to labour and to advance in order to acquire a knowledge of, and identify itself with, that portion of the Divine Idea destined to be realized on earth.

III.

We believe in God, who is Intellect and Love, Educator and Lord :

We believe therefore in a sovereign Moral Law, the expression of His Intellect, and of His Love :

We believe in a law of Duty for all of us, and that we are bound to love, to comprehend, and, as far as possible, to incarnate that law in our actions :

We believe that the sole manifestation of God

visible to us is Life, and in it we seek the evidences of the Divine Law :

We believe that as God is *one*, so is Life *one*, and one the Law of Life throughout its twofold manifestation in the *Individual* and in *Collective* Humanity :

We believe in *Conscience*—the revelation of Life in the Individual—and in *Tradition*—the revelation of Life in Humanity,—as the sole means given to us by God by which to comprehend his Design, and that when the voice of Conscience and the voice of Tradition are harmonized in an affirmation, that affirmation is the Truth, or a portion of the Truth.

We believe that Conscience and Tradition, if religiously interrogated, will reveal to us that the Law of Life is PROGRESS, progress indefinite in all the manifestations of Being, the germs of which, inherent in Life itself—are gradually and successively developed throughout the various phases of existence :

We believe that as Life is *one*, and the Law of Life is one, the Progress destined to be wrought out by Collective Humanity, and gradually revealed to us through Tradition, *must* be equally wrought out by the individual, and since that indefinite progress forefelt and conceived by Conscience and proclaimed by Tradition, cannot be completely realized in the brief terrestrial existence of the *individual*, we believe it will be fulfilled elsewhere, and we believe in the continuity of the Life made manifest in each of us, and of which our terrestrial existence is but one period :

We believe that as in Collective Humanity every presentiment of a vaster and purer ideal, every earnest aspiration towards Good, is destined—it may be after

the lapse of ages—to be realized,—so in the individual, every intuition of the Truth, every aspiration—even if at present inefficacious—towards Good, and towards the Ideal, is a pledge of future development, a germ to be evolved in the course of the series of existences constituting Life :

We believe that as Collective Humanity in its advance gradually acquires a knowledge and comprehension of its own past ;—so will the individual in his advance upon the path of Progress acquire in proportion to the degree of moral education achieved, the consciousness and memory of the past stages of his existence :

We believe not only in Progress, but in Man's *solidarity* in progress : that as in Collective Humanity the generations are linked one with the other, and the Life of the one fortifies, assists, and promotes the life of the other—so, also, is individual linked with individual, and the life of one is of benefit to the life of the rest, both here and elsewhere :

We believe that pure, virtuous, and constant affection is a promise of communion in the future, and a link—invisible but powerful in its effect upon human action—between the dead and the living :

We believe that Progress, the Law of God, must infallibly be achieved by *all*, but we believe that we are bound to work out the consciousness of that progress and to *deserve* it through our own efforts, and that time and space are vouchsafed to us by God as the sphere of *free will*, wherein we merit or demerit in proportion as we accelerate or delay it :

We believe, therefore, in human *free will*, the condition of human responsibility :

We believe in Human Equality, that is to say, that God has given to all mankind the faculties and powers necessary to the achievement of an equal amount of progress; we believe that all are both *called* and *elected* to achieve it, sooner or later, according to their own works:

We believe that all that tends to impede Human Progress, Equality, and Solidarity, is Evil, and that all that tends to promote them, is Good.

We believe in the duty of each and all ceaselessly to combat evil, and to promote good by thought and action; we believe that in order to overcome evil and to promote good in each of us, it is necessary to overcome evil and to promote good in others and for others: We believe that no man can work out his own salvation otherwise than by labouring for the salvation of others: We believe that the sign of Evil is *egotism*, and the sign of Virtue, *sacrifice*:

We believe our actual existence to be a step towards a future existence, the earth to be a place of trial wherein, by overcoming Evil and promoting Good, we are bound to deserve to advance: We believe it to be the duty of each and all to sanctify the earth by realizing here as much as it is possible to realize of the Law of God: And from this faith we deduce our Morality:

We believe that the instinct of Progress innate in Humanity from the beginning, and now become a leading tendency of the human intellect, is the sole revelation of God to mankind; a revelation vouchsafed to all, and continuous:

We believe that it is in virtue of this revelation

that Humanity advances from epoch to epoch, from religion to religion, upon the path of improvement assigned to it :

We believe that whosoever presumes at the present day to arrogate that revelation to himself, and declare that he is the privileged intermediate between God and man, is a blasphemmer.

We believe that Authority is sacred when, consecrated by Genius and Virtue,—sole Priests of the Future—and made manifest by the greatest power of sacrifice,—it preaches Truth, and is freely accepted by mankind as their guide to Truth ; but we believe that we are bound to combat and exterminate as the offspring of Falsehood and Parent of Tyranny, every Authority not invested with these characteristics :

We believe that God is God, and Humanity is His Prophet.

Such, in its broad outlines, is our faith. In that faith we reverentially embrace—as stages of the progress already achieved—all the manifestations of Religion in the past, and—as symptoms and previsions of future progress—every earnest and virtuous manifestation of religious Thought in the present.

In that faith we recognize God as the Father of all ; Humanity as one in community of origin, of law, and of aim ; the Earth as sanctified by the gradual accomplishment of the Divine Design, and the *individual*—blessed with immortality, free will, and power—as the responsible Artificer of his own progress.

In this faith we live ; in it we will die ; in it we love, labour, hope, and pray.

In the name of this faith we bid you : DESCEND

FROM THE SEAT YOU USURP AT THE PRESENT DAY ; and, verily, you will descend before this age has run its course.

The faith promulgated in your Encyclica of the 8th December, 1864, renounces alike Earth and Heaven, Humanity and the individual.

God is Affirmation absolute : You pretend to subsist upon negatives alone.

With the errors against which you cry Anathema in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of the articles annexed to the Encyclica, we have naught to do. We believe that the sole source of Sovereignty is in God, and in His Law, and we therefore reject alike the Pantheism that confounds God with the manifestations of His Power, and every Authority, which is not the realization of the Law of God on earth.

Neither have we aught to do with those articles among the long series you have published, which treat of the old question—consequent upon the Christian duality—between the Temporal and Spiritual Authority.

We believe in one sole Power, the dominion of the Moral Law, and from it we deduce the legitimacy or illegitimacy of every temporal Authority.

We believe in the Church, the fraternity of believers, guardian and progressive discoverer of the Law. But is that Church your Church? Are you the Depositary of that Authority which all of us invoke as Supreme over every Power?

IV.

No : your Church only gathers around it a fraction of mankind, a fraction diminishing daily. For six centuries past, your Authority has neither generated, directed, nor promoted Life. You deny the faculties you are bound to direct ; you deny—by denying the work to be accomplished on earth—the instruments given to us by God for its accomplishment. You deny the initiation contained in Christianity towards higher things. You deny the free action of Man, without which there is neither merit nor demerit. You deny (Art. 80) that you have any mission to promote the civilization and progress of mankind. You deny the gifts of God to us all by substituting for them a *grace* arbitrarily bestowed upon a few. You deny the immortality of the life given by God, by the decapitation of the Soul in Hell. You deny the lasting communion of God with His creatures by decreeing a dual Humanity, the Humanity of the *Fall*, and the Humanity of the Redemption. You deny Morality by denying our power to constitute—as far as in us lies—the Kingdom of God on earth, and by allowing our brother men to remain a prey to tyranny, misery, ignorance, and injustice. You deny to the Nations their right of affirming their own free life, of fraternizing for mutual benefit with their sister Nations, and of choosing Rulers deserving of their Trust.

You do but affirm one thing—that you have a right to be a Prince, and to possess—without incurring any responsibility towards Humanity—those worldly goods which you bid us despise.

There was a time—a time I regard with reverence—when the Papacy did affirm and guide. Depositories and Guardians of the Moral Law; believing in their mission of Justice and Liberty for all; intrepid against all who sought to violate their power,—and ready to suffer for their faith, which then was the faith of the peoples,—the Popes, from the fifth to the thirteenth century, aided and promoted the progress you now condemn.

In that Rome they had taught the barbarian to respect, they represented the Ideal of the Epoch, the dominion of spirit over matter; love, opposed to brute force; the equality of souls,—individual merit set up against arbitrary power;—*election* against *birth*; justice against feudal and monarchical rule. They watched over and preserved the relics of ancient Learning in their Convents, they protected Art, consoled and alleviated suffering, educated antagonistic races, and called them to brotherhood in the name of God and Jesus.

Then might Leo truly declare to Rome, the centre of a second civilization:—“*Although thou hast by thy many victories extended thy empire over land and sea, thou hast conquered less by valour in war than by the spirit of Christian peace.*”

Then did Nicholas I. write word to the Bishops:—“*Observe whether the Kings and Princes be truly such; if they govern rightly, first themselves, and then the peoples: Observe if they reign according to justice; because if they do not, we must view them not as Kings, but as Tyrants, and arise against them, and against the vices by which they are corrupted.*”

Then did Innocent III. dare to declare to a powerful Seigneur :—“ *Were we but to take into consideration your crimes, we should not only cry Anathema upon you, but should call upon your people to arm themselves against you ;*” and the Seigneur humbled himself before the menace.

And before these, a man of gigantic heart and mind—though misunderstood even yet by the majority amongst us—the son of the people, Gregory VII., had declared to the world that “ *the sword of the Prince must be laid down, as all human things bow down, before the Church of God ; the King owes obedience to the Pope. The Apostolic Authority is as the Sun ; the regal power is as the Moon, illumined by the reflection of its ray ;*” and the people hailed that lofty doctrine with applause, and the Teutonic Monarchy prostrated itself in penitence for its attempted resistance, before the Italian Pope in Canossa.

But the Popes of that day were the representatives of a Duty. A Bishop then declared, in Orleans, that “ *the rich and powerful were bound to recognize the equal nature of the poor and servile, because one sole God reigned from on high over all.*”

Gregory VII. justified the boldness of his acts by the holy confession that “ *the Church had sinned, because it had allied itself to the world and to worldly men, because its ministers had sought to serve the Church and the world at the same time ;—that Churchmen were culpable and unworthy ; and that they were bound to correct and convert themselves ; that regeneration must begin from the highest among them ; that he felt bound to declare war to vice, and to unmask it to the world ; to*

protect all who were *persecuted for justice and virtue's sake*; that all belonging to the Church were bound to show themselves pure and irreproachable; and that it was reserved for the Pope to achieve the great work of establishing the reign of Peace on Earth."

But you are both a Prince and the servant of Princes at the present day; the bayonets that conducted you back through blood to Rome belong to the man of the 2nd of December. You reign through force, not through faith: your party is corrupt and corrupting; the Sanctuary is surrounded by Neapolitan brigands upon whom you confer your blessing, while you have no word of comfort for the peoples who invoke God's liberty and equality.

Therefore do the peoples look, not to you, but to us; to us, the Precursors of the New Church; to us, who teach them both by word and example, that it is possible to fulfil God's Law on earth.

Your predecessors conquered the Nations in the name of a Religion of spiritual liberty and equality; you do but persuade, from time to time, some unhappy maiden to accept the death of the Cloister while yearning for life, or steal some neglected son of Israel and display him in triumph to the multitude as a Convert.

I know that Gregory VII. failed to realize his sublime conception of the triumph of the ideal over the material on earth. I know that the *instruments* he sought to employ were unequal to the *aim*. The cardinal point of the dogma upon which he leaned for support was the duality, the antagonism between Earth and Heaven, and it was impossible to found Human Unity upon that dogma.

Instead of teaching that Religion is Life itself, it made of Religion a compensation for life, and taught the individual that he must achieve his salvation independently of the earth, and set before him an ideal impossible of realization in the brief years of terrestrial existence. It can only be realized progressively through *Association*, and that dogma in no way contemplated association; it contained no conception of the Collective Life of Humanity, nor of the law of Progress we now recognize.

Gregory VII. was therefore compelled to have recourse to despotic means: he failed in his enterprise, nor could it be successfully renewed by any Pope.

But though it was forbidden that the Popes should guide the world upon the path indicated by the vaster and more *unifying* dogma now dawning upon us, they might have accompanied the world in its advance towards it; they might and ought, like Gregory VII., ever ready to suffer martyrdom, to have remained the Representatives of that portion of the Truth contained in their own dogma, which owes its actual triumph to its incarnation in us. Christianity did not ordain association on this earth, but it laid the foundations for it by declaring: "*There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.*"¹

Jesus did not institute any Government of the things of this world, but He laid down the principle of all legitimate Government when He said: "*Who-*

¹ Paul: Galatians iii. 28.

soever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."¹

Jesus commanded endeavour and research,² He promised all things to labour,³ He understood and revered the power of man,⁴ He foresaw the future, the Epoch of Truth freed from every earthly symbol.⁵

Your predecessors might and ought, you might and ought to have accompanied us upon the path of discovery and advance, in order to have left us, as Moses left his people, on the borders of the promised land, and have blessed us in dying even as a dying father blesses the children who are to survive him. You expire cursing the spirit of inquiry, cursing the power of intellect, cursing faith in the discovery of the Truth, cursing the peoples who seek their freedom, cursing mankind and Life itself. An Apostate from Jesus and Humanity, you condemn yourself to expire in isolation, deprived of all communion with your brother men. We are compelled mournfully to cast back the Anathema upon yourself. We may say to you—as the French Bishops said to Gregory IV.—you came to excommunicate us, return excommunicated.

No : Religion is no longer with you. Before the Popes were, before Jesus came, God was with us. God is with us, the servants of His Law, who carry out the Tradition which is the revelation of His Design. From the days of Innocent III., the Papacy renounced alike life and mission, to worship self, its

¹ Matt. xx. 26, 27, 28.

² Matt. vii. 7 ; x. 26, 27, 28.

³ Matt. xxi. 43.

⁴ Matt. xxi. 21, 22.

⁵ John xiv. 16, 17, &c.

own Power, the World. From the days of Innocent III., Knowledge is ours, Art is ours, Progress in intellect and in the purer adoration of God, is ours. In the face of your decrees, and cancelling the sentence of your Inquisition, we discovered the laws that rule the Stars, the ages of the earth's existence anterior to the Biblical hypothesis, the continuity of Creation, the Unity of the Law that links earth to Heaven, the chain of progress extending without interruption from the earliest generations to our own.

Without you, against you—dissolving the darkness of the past, we discovered a portion of God's revelation in all those religions which you have stigmatized as impostures, a portion of the Design of God in those epochs anterior to the Cross, upon which you had cried Anathema, a portion of God's power in Worlds of the existence of which you were ignorant.

Without a word of inspiration or encouragement from you, and often condemned by you, we, the men of Progress, did battle against Mahometanism in the East of Europe, called back Greece to life, diminished the sufferings of the multitudes, raised the banner of Liberty among the oppressed Nations, and now, emancipate the Negroes of America, and create Italy in the face of your opposition.

Not to you, but to God do the Peoples look for courage in the struggle, and faith to meet death with smiles. The martyrs of Duty are found amongst those whom you term unbelievers: the comforters of the poor amongst those whom you doom to damnation to serve the Princes whose support you seek.

Naught is left for you but undignified lamentation, to live a mendicant, and to die cursing, unheeded, and despised.

Descend then from a throne on which you are no longer a Pope, but a vulgar tyrant, upheld by the soldiers of tyrants. You know that, were not those soldiers ranged around your Conclave, you would be the last Pope of Rome. Humanity has worshipped in the Religion of the Father, and in that of the Son. Give place to the Religion of the holy Spirit.

V.

As Pope, six hundred years of impotence,—the betrayal of every precept of Christ,—your Church's adultery with the wicked Princes of the earth,—the idolatry of the form substituted for the Spirit of Religion,—the systematic immorality of the men who surround you, and the negation of all progress sanctioned by yourself as the condition of your existence, rise in judgment against you.

As Prince, the blood of Rome, and the impossibility of your remaining there a single day other than by brute force, rise in judgment against you.

Reconcile yourself with God. With Humanity you cannot.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

January, 1865.