

the truths of Ingersoll's remarks in his famous "Arraignment of the Church." "Surely it is a joy to know that all the cruel ingenuity of bigotry can devise no prison, no lock, no cell, in which for one instant to confine a thought, that ideas cannot be dislocated by racks, nor crushed in iron boots, nor burned the brain is a castle and that within its curious bastions and winding halls, the soul in spite of all worlds and all beings, is the supreme sovereign of itself." On his release from prison, Mazzini organized the "Young Italy Association." The purpose of this society was to achieve the liberty and union of the provinces of Italy and establish that country as an independent nation under a republican form of government. The aspirations of the patriots were not confined to the redemption of their own country. They wished to establish in Italy a model nation, an example to the other nations of Europe, a type on which the democrats of Europe would see the ideal to which they might bring their own nations to conform. Mazzini was essentially an idealist. He aspired to liberate the continent from the despotism of feudal institutions, and establish a new and happier era of popular government, fraternity, union and peace. To the realization of this ideal his life was henceforth consecrated, and till the day of his death he toiled and fought, wrote, exhorted, plotted and suffered, that his dream might be written in indelible characters on the face of the land that he loved. The reward of his early exertions was a sentence of perpetual banishment, and from the year 1832 he was an outlaw from Italy. Henceforth for many years his life was spent in hiding. To all but his most intimate associates his whereabouts was generally unknown. Despite the secrecy of his life, his energy never ceased. In some mysterious way he seemed to communicate with all parts of his own country and of Europe and to organize and direct that remarkable succession of conspiracies and agitations and of revolutionary ideas which made him the terror of all governments and the idol of all republicans. He wrote incessantly and poured the hot lava of inspiration from his own mind into the minds of his followers and the agitators of Europe. Though under the ban of the law, his writings were extensively circulated and secretly read. They throbbed with a passionate eloquence and spoke with irresistible logic, breeding at the same time conviction in the minds and passion in the hearts of their readers. He organized an invasion of Savoy in 1834, but owing to the impossibility of personally supervising its arrangement and execution, and also owing to the incapacity and treachery of its immediate leaders, it failed. Failure, however, was the last thing to discourage Mazzini, and in the same year he organized "The Young Europe Association," a society for the liberation of the people of Germany, Italy and Poland. He wrote "The Pact of Fraternity" to furnish a soul for the new organization, and in it communicated a new and exalted political creed. Switzerland, which, for a short time, had furnished him a place of refuge, soon followed the example of Italy and France, and banished him. He fled to London where he lived for some time in poverty. Yet even here he toiled and planned by day and night for the freedom and union of Italy.

When not engaged in directing the revolu-

tionists in Europe and toiling for a living by writing for English reviews, he devoted himself to teaching his Italian countrymen in London the literature and history of their native land. There are few more sublime pictures than that of the unfortunate Italian exile, gathering the poverty-stricken Italians of London around him and teaching them to know and love the beautiful land of their fathers.

The discontent in Italy burst into revolution in Lombardy in 1848, and Mazzini returned to that country to assist Garibaldi in leading and directing the forces of the revolutionists. Attempts on the part of the King of Sardinia to bribe him by the offer of the position of Prime Minister of a new state of Piedmont-Lombardy, he rejected with scorn. He struggled bravely against the powerful forces of government, and even after the surrender of Milan, still toiled and schemed to maintain the contest in the Alps. Failing in this, he went to Tuscany. His vast popularity with his countrymen was amply evidenced by the passionate and enthusiastic welcome he received at Leghorn and other places where he was recognized. He was elected a deputy to the Republican Congress at Rome, and he and Armellini and Saffi were appointed a triumvirate with powers to govern the city as they pleased. From a political point of view, Mazzini was at this time probably at the summit of his greatness. He was the idol of the Romans, and practically the absolute head of an Italian Republic. But his position, however exalted it might appear, was in reality far from enviable; the forces at his disposal were weak and undisciplined, the fortifications of the city were of small strength. His camp was filled with spies and many of his supporters lacked only the opportunity to become traitors. A strong French army was marching against the city to replace the Pope on his throne. What a Napoleon, an Alexander or a Caesar would have done under circumstances like these, it is difficult to say. It is possible, perhaps, they might by some supreme expedient of genius, have overcome the manifold difficulties about them, defeated the French, marched swiftly on their other foes and routed them, established the new Republic on a firm basis, organized a powerful army, reconquer all Italy, defeated or conciliated Austria and France and re-established by force of genius the Republic of Italy. To accomplish such a tremendous task as this required, however, a genius and military capacity of so supreme a quality as is rarely given to man. Mazzini, brave, noble, eloquent, as he proved himself to be, was not a Caesar. After a short and stubborn resistance, the French entered Rome and replaced the Pope on his beloved throne. The triumvirs resigned and left the city and Mazzini returned to London. Again he had failed to liberate Italy, but he did not despair of her freedom. He organized the Society of the Friends of Italy and also the European Society, and busied himself contriving new plots and seeking new schemes to destroy foreign influence and monarchy in Italy. He planned and organized risings in Mantua, Genoa, Leghorn and Milan. When the heroic Garibaldi undertook his famous expedition against Sicily and Naples, Mazzini spared no exertion to furnish it with all available essentials of success. When the army of the patriots were dispersed at Aspromonte, the profound indignation of Mazzini at the conduct of the King prompted him to a violent

and eloquent attack on the Sardinian monarchy. The reply to this was a sentence of death. The convention of September 1860, the crowning triumph of the genius of Cavour was denounced by Mazzini as an unworthy compromise. In 1869 he was banished for a second time from Switzerland, where he had taken refuge, and the next year he was arrested and cast into prison at Gaeta. On his liberation he lived for a time at Lugano, and on March, 1872, his weary, tortured life came to a close, and he breathed his last at Pisa and was buried in the land he had loved far better than life.

Such is the story of Mazzini, and a sadder, sweeter, grander life than his was never lived by man. I have given the bare outline of events, but who can tell the secret history of his thought and life, who can picture in cold type the terrible strength of that passion which could survive a thousand failures and see hope in the darkest night. Who can measure the might of that devotion at whose bidding he gladly, lovingly, laid down his peace, his prosperity, his rest, his life, upon the consecrated altar of an almost hopeless cause. The secret history of the life of Mazzini has never been written. We read of the events, the revolution, the conspiracies, the visible evidences of his activity, but we know nothing of the terrible toil, the planning and scheming and contriving which brought these things to pass; nothing of the strange meetings in dark cellars; the gatherings in hidden places, the meetings in strange caves by lonely Italian shores; the assembling in mountain gorges of those ostracized conspirators, to whom the slightest revelation of their activity meant death. We know nothing of the spinning, the weaving, and winding of the mysterious web of giant conspiracies of the secret language of signs and symbols by which the rebels communicated in public; the fierce, swift councils held in lonely corners by the light of some dimly burning fire. Of these we know nothing, nor do we know anything of that internal, mental strife, that nameless sorrow with which the hunted patriot, driven from land to land, banished from the presence of light by the blood-hounds of the monarchs of Europe, looked down on the wrecks of shattered hopes, and mourned in secret tribulation the death of cherished dreams. To build, to weave, to scheme, to elaborate a plot, to see it budding into form beneath his subtle hands and then to learn that it had failed through treachery of friends or force of foes, this was the repeated experience of Mazzini. Who shall tell of the strength of that love which could outlive the death of many hopes, who can record the tempests of his thought or tell of the doubt he defeated, the sins he smote, the cares he conquered.

Mazzini was not the only weaver of plots for the liberation of Italy. In another and higher sphere a giant mind laid other and deeper plans whose fruit was the freedom and union of Italy. I shall not attempt in this short sketch to describe the character or follow in its intricate and winding ways the profound policy of one who was probably the greatest statesman of his generation. To Cavour must be given the supreme credit for the union and freedom of Italy. He was more patient, more cautious, calmer, less scrupulous, than Mazzini or Garibaldi. He was willing to take liberty in fractions, to fight for a little at a time, to temporize, to compromise, to acquiesce, to