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CARLO CATTANEO:
THE RELIGIOSITY OF A RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARY

by

Carolyn Bennett Ugolini

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of

Master of Arts

Department of History

Brigham Young University

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a Master's Thesis submitted by

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This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found satisfactory.

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As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the MA thesis of Carolyn Bennett Ugolini in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; and (2) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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ABSTRACT

CARLO CATTANEO:

THE RELIGIOSITY OF A RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARY

Carolyn Bennett Ugolini

Department of History

Master of Arts

Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) would have been a remarkable man in any time period. He was interested in everything, and as a man of ideas was involved in the astonishing technological and stimulating political events of the nineteenth century. He encouraged the building of railways as a way to unite the Italian peninsula, and he was involved in connecting Italy to the rest of Europe through the St. Gothard Tunnel. An innovator of gas lighting in his native Milan, the great Lombard thinker was a prolific writer, and kept prodigious notes and copies of his correspondence. His economic and scientific involvement in the latest technology was emblematic of the intellectual strides he made. For example, he logically and rationally argued for racial and religious tolerance of the Jews over one hundred years before the enactment of the infamous Racial Laws in Fascist Italy. Today, most know Carlo Cattaneo as the father of Italian federalism.

During the Cinque Giornate insurrection in Milan in 1848, Carlo Cattaneo was an integral part of the war committee, and its spokesman. Although he had many liberal ideas about government and the rights of men, Carlo Cattaneo was a reluctant revolutionary, preferring exile in Switzerland over pledging allegiance to the Savoyard monarchy during the Risorgimento. Historians have almost unanimously declared that Carlo Cattaneo was anticlerical and irreligious. This was not true. **CARLO CATTANEO: THE RELIGIOSITY OF A RELUCTANT REVOLUTIONARY** examines the writings and the correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo, and concludes that the Cattanean opus is replete with Biblical references and allusions, Christian traditions and ideas. Historians have not taken the religiosity found in the writings of Carlo Cattaneo seriously. This thesis does.

E cosí molti insegnamenti di libert  stanno nell'evangelio; ma il popolo li ha sempre ignorati; perch  quello   tesoro del quale i nemici della libert  tengono la chiave.

And so many teachings of liberty are found in the gospel; but the people have always been ignorant; because that is a treasure for which the enemies of liberty hold the key.

Carlo Cattaneo, *Archivio Triennale*, 1849

SPE I, 375.

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Graduate studies has been a marvelous experience, which I have thoroughly

enjoyed. I have learned so very much. My thinking and analytical abilities have greatly improved and been enhanced. I look forward to applying these newly refined skills in both my personal and professional lives. As Carlo Cattaneo exhorted, “every man has an interest in the culture of mankind as a whole” (*Del pensiero come principio d’economia publica*, 101). Personal progression in intelligence and free will are essential for society’s success.

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INTRODUCTION

Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) was one of the finest writers and intellectual minds of nineteenth-century Italy.¹ During his illustrious life, Cattaneo was diversified and eclectic in his interests. He was a lawyer, economist, teacher, historian, philosopher, politician, scientist, writer and editor. In these roles, Cattaneo participated in many of the salient events of nineteenth-century Italian history, and the impact of his writing reverberates into the twenty-first century Italy and Europe.² Nonetheless, most casual scholars and

¹This is an opinion held by contemporaries as well as historians. Jessie White Mario, called a Risorgimento revolutionary by her biographer Elizabeth Adams Daniels, was an intimate (along with her husband, Alberto Mario) of Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cattaneo and other participants in the Risorgimento. While writing as a correspondent for the *Nation* on current affairs in Italy from 1880 to 1906, Mario was an eyewitness to the opening of the St. Gothard Tunnel in June 1882. While giving a short history of its construction, she praises Carlo Cattaneo who first promoted the tunnel, as the “greatest philosopher and political economist of modern Italy, the guide and inspirer of the five days of Milan in 1848, where unarmed citizens defeated and drove out the entire Austrian army under Radetsky.” (See Elizabeth Adams Daniels, *Jesse White Mario, Risorgimento Revolutionary* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1972), 165. In another article for the *Nation*, which described the dedication of a statue erected in Milan on the occasion of the centenary of Cattaneo’s birth, Jessie White Mario wrote that “Professor Pulle vindicated Cattaneo’s right to be considered the discover of certain truths in almost all branches of science. Cattaneo, indeed, laid the cornerstones for anthropological ... and sociological geography.” (Ibid., 180.) In his edition of Cattaneo’s *Dell’insurrezione di Milano in 1848 e della sua successiva guerra*, Folco Portinari places Cattaneo next to Alessandro Manzoni in the hierarchy of Italian writers. See Carlo Cattaneo. *Dell’insurrezione di Milano in 1848 e della sua successiva guerra*, ed. Folco Portinari (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1986). Maurizio Viroli argues that Cattaneo was one of the best minds of the Risorgimento in his study of Machiavelli in Maurizio Viroli, *Machiavelli* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1998), 148.

²Almost one hundred and forty years after the death of Carlo Cattaneo, historians and philosophers are still analyzing his works and embracing his thoughts. Modern Italian politicians in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have appropriated the federalist ideas of Cattaneo for their own purposes. David Forgacs and Robert

students of Italian history only remember Carlo Cattaneo as one of the leaders (albeit, reluctant) of the *Cinque Giornate*, the Milanese Insurrection of 1848, and consequently for his involvement with the Unification of Italy. Furthermore, in the historiography regarding Italian patriots of the nineteenth century, scholars typically and readily label these revolutionaries as either Catholic or anticlerical. Following that dichotomy, most historians bothering to even consider the Milanese hero of 1848 conclude that Carlo Cattaneo was not only anticlerical, but was also irreligious. Historian Ernesto Sestan has influenced a generation of scholars by advocating that no historical figure of nineteenth-century Italy was more closed to not only the Christian religion, but all religions, and all

Lumley argue that the ethno-federalism that politico Umberto Bossi advocates is a far cry from the federalism of Carlo Cattaneo, while Damian Tambini concludes that Cattaneo inspired the formation of the Northern League. Since the Unification of Italy, the national government has faced the Southern Question. In the penultimate decade of the twentieth century, Anna Cento Bull and Mark Gilbert argue that the Northern League greatly disrupted Italian politics. *La Lega* succeeded in mobilizing the entrepreneurial class into considering the 'Northern Question.' Bull and Gilbert cite the fact that the *Leghisti* hailed Carlo Cattaneo as a forerunner of *La Lega*. For example, at an important political convention held in Vimercate in 1991, the *Leghisti* interpreted the writings of Cattaneo to mean that the union between northern and southern Italy was not a natural one. Unification occurred because of the opportunism of Garibaldi and Cavour. Cattanean political writings have been misappropriated over a hundred years after the death of the reluctant revolutionary and militant philosopher from Milan. In reality, Cattaneo envisioned the entire Italian peninsula and adjacent islands as independent states under a federalist system of government. See David Forgacs and Robert Lumley, eds., *Italian Cultural Studies: An Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 213-215. Damian Tambini, *Nationalism in Italian Politics* (London: Routledge, 2001), 119. See also Zygmunt Baranski and Rebecca J. West, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian Culture (Cambridge Companions to Culture)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 139. Anna Cento Bull and Mark Gilbert, *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), 24.

things divine.³ This thesis will examine and study some of Cattaneo's writings and correspondence to demonstrate that Cattaneo could be considered anticlerical, but not irreligious; he was anti-papal after Pio IX's retreat from reform, but not anti-Catholic. He was anti-Rosmini⁴, but not anti-Christian.

This thesis will use a different approach to understanding the Lombard thinker and reluctant revolutionary of the Risorgimento. No historian has taken the challenge given by the great twentieth-century Italian philosopher, Norberto Bobbio in *Una filosofia militante. Studi su Carlo Cattaneo* that Cattaneo's religiosity needs to be explored.⁵ Perhaps this was because the challenge was placed in a footnote. The writings of Carlo Cattaneo can indeed be understood and interpreted in a cultural-religious context, an aspect ignored in the Cattaneo historiography.

This approach will also shed light on the Age of the Risorgimento by offering an alternative interpretation of the ideas that impacted the nationalist ideals of nineteenth-

³Ernesto Sestan, "Cattaneo giovane," *Belfagor* II (6), 1947, 664-88, quoted in Clara M. Lovett, *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820-1860* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 5 and in Giuseppe Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo: una biografia. Il padre del federalismo italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1997), 12. "È difficile trovare in tutto il nostro primo Ottocento una figura di qualche rilievo che sia più chiusa ad ogni idea di religiosità, e non soltanto alla positiva religione cattolica, ma ad ogni religiosità in genere, ad ogni idea del divino. Anche per lui il mondo dell'uomo e il mondo della natura hanno molti misteri, ma dalle sue pagine non trapela mai l'idea che questa sfera del mistero possa essere ricondotta all'idea del divino, del trascendente, dell'inconoscibile."

⁴This important controversy will be discussed in Chapter Three. See also Armani, 50-54.

⁵Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante. Studi su Carlo Cattaneo* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1971), 17.

century-Italy. Historians have concentrated on the presumed anticlericalism of Italian democrats, often influenced by their own personal religious biases. In particular they have brushed aside Cattaneo's religious background and educational formation denying the religiosity of his writings. Furthermore, some historians have made light of the fact that Cattaneo died in the grace and communion of the Roman Catholic Church, seeing a contradiction between free thinking and religiosity.⁶ Scholars readily acknowledge the contributions Carlo Cattaneo made to the unification of Italy and to nineteenth-century Italian intellectualism, while shying away from his religiosity. This thesis argues that democratic or republican liberalism were not necessarily devoid of religious sentiment, as historians have assumed. While some nineteenth-century secular liberals were perhaps ignorant of, or failed to recognize how much Western and Christian ideas intermingled with their own, and the extent to which these religious ideas influenced their writings, Catholic liberals interpreted the basic principles of nineteenth-century liberalism, freedom and nationality, according to their religious tradition.⁷ And Carlo Cattaneo, the so-called anticlerical, liberal thinker incorporated scripture and Christian thought in his writings, quoting Biblical verse without temerity.

For example, in an essay concerning the Milanese Revolution of 1848, Cattaneo wrote without going into a theological or scriptural dissertation that there were many teachings concerning liberty and freedom in the Gospels, but the people are ignorant of

⁶Romano Bracalini, Cattaneo. ..(Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1995), 213.

⁷Anthony Scarangelo, "Major Catholic-Liberal Educational Philosophers of the Italian Risorgimento," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4. (Dec. 1964), 233.

them. Then Cattaneo lifts his anticlerical voice and accuses the enemy of free thought [the Catholic Church] of keeping the people from the Bible, which holds treasures of truth about liberty while also imparting teachings of slavery.⁸ So-called secular thinkers of the nineteenth century could not escape, nor deny their Christian heritage, and Cattaneo never did. They were educated in a Christian world, be it Protestant or Catholic, and that Christian theology had a great bearing on their thinking.⁹ Secular and Catholic liberals were trained at the same schools and universities. Their divergence rested on how they envisioned a united Italy.

Catholic Liberals considered the Catholic Church the only legitimate and glorious heritage of Italian history. If a united Italy was to exist, it could only be as a Catholic country.¹⁰ Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour, however, argued for the divine rights of kings, and in particular for his Savoyard king, Vittorio Emanuele II. Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi fought for democratic ideals, but were willing to compromise in favor of uniting Italy under the cross of Savoy.¹¹ Carlo Cattaneo offered still another possible solution for a united Italy: federalism. In *L' "Altro" Risorgimento: l'ultimo Cattaneo tra Italia e Svizzera*, Swiss historian Carlo Moos argues that from the experiences of 1848-49, one thing was clear to Cattaneo: federation and federalism did

⁸Carlo Cattaneo, *Scritti Politici ed Epistolari*, Gabriele Rosa and Jessie White Mario, ed. (Florence: Barbèra Editore, 1892), I, 375.

⁹Rodney Stark, *The Victory of Reason* (New York: Random House, 2005), 5ff.

¹⁰Scarangelo, 233.

¹¹Carlo Cattaneo, *Cattaneo: Scritti dal 1848 al 1852*. Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1967, 542.

not mean a lack of unity as his opponents declared, and a republic did not necessarily mean a rigid unity where local governments were practically eliminated. Cattaneo cited Switzerland and the United States as vital examples of federalist republics.¹² These ideas were, however, in conflict with the visions for Italy of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour.

The conflicting liberal democrats and republicans and the historians who interpreted them succeeded in a separation of church and state equating the anticlerical position as being completely anti-Church and anti-religion. This bias restricts historians from analyzing nineteenth-century Italy from a religious-cultural stance.

Compartmentalizing personal religious beliefs in the lives and in the thinking of Risorgimento leaders, or dismissing their religiousness altogether because of the political and economic dominance of the Roman Catholic Church seems to put secularism above the religious-cultural impact of Christianity in Europe. It ignores an important aspect of nineteenth-century Italian society: the influence of the intellectual tradition of Christianity.

For example, Cattaneo was influenced by the writings of John Locke, mentioning the British philosopher often in his writings. Cattaneo's personal library held two volumes of Locke's essays translated into Italian, including *Guida all'intelletto nella ricerca della verità*.¹³ [Intellectual Guide in searching for the truth.] The writings of John Locke, which influenced eighteenth- and nineteenth-century liberal western thinking, are

¹²Carlo Moos, *L' "Altro" Risorgimento: l'ultimo Cattaneo tra Italia e Svizzera* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1992), 52.

¹³Carlo G. Lacaita, Raffaella Gobbio, and Alfredo Turici, ed. *La Biblioteca di Carlo Cattaneo* (Bellinzona: Edizioni Casagrande, 2003), 242.

often considered as secular, political tomes. British philosopher, Jeremy Waldron, however, argues in his recent work, *God, Locke and Equality: Christian Foundations in Locke's Political Thought*, that Locke's political thought was founded on Christian ideas and ideals.¹⁴ The dichotomy and division of what is and who are religious belies the fact that European secular, Protestant and Catholic thinkers share the same Christian tradition. They speak the language evolving from Christian thought. Likewise, Carlo Cattaneo's political reasoning has Christian roots. It is beyond the scope and purpose of this thesis to analyze a history of those ideas. Instead, it proposes to examine the writings of Carlo Cattaneo, the great Lombard intellectual and patriot, interpreting Cattaneo's thought through a religious-cultural lens.

Religiosity is an abstract idea. It is difficult to quantify. The measuring sticks for religiosity can be as varied as the persons who use them, while claiming to be truly devout. Labels such as anticlerical can be bantered about, until the definition is completely diffused and thus meaningless. Labeling Carlo Cattaneo as irreligious and anticlerical like those of his ilk is confusing, biased and untrue. Quantifying the religiosity of the reluctant revolutionary of 1848 and the Risorgimento is not practical nor the purpose of this thesis, while identifying religiosity in the writings of Cattaneo is.

Nevertheless, if the litmus test for religiosity can be found in the observance of the sacraments of the Catholic Church, Carlo Cattaneo passes. He married in the Church and died in the grace of the Church. He was never excommunicated, nor was his standing in

¹⁴Jeremy Waldron, *God Locke and Equality: Christian Foundations in Locke's Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

the Church ever in question or in jeopardy. If religiosity can be defined as embracing, and never letting go of the teachings of the Bible, and recognizing the importance of religious instruction at preparatory schools or at the university, then Carlo Cattaneo was a religious man. The religiousness of Carlo Cattaneo can be found in his ardent defense on the public stage of the sincerity of the religiosity of his friend and mentor, Giandomenico Romagnosi. The fact that Cattaneo put his intellectual career on the line with his published dispute with the leading Catholic philosopher of the nineteenth century, Antonio Rosmini Serbati, shows that Carlo Cattaneo was confident and comfortable in his own religiosity.

Why Carlo Cattaneo? Who was he, and how does his previously ignored religiosity relate to the greater picture of understanding nineteenth-century Italian history? First of all, Carlo Cattaneo is known today as the father of Italian federalism, and a visionary who foresaw the United States of Europe.¹⁵ He was a prolific writer who delved into a myriad of subjects ranging from history and geography to economics and politics. The lifetime of Carlo Cattaneo spanned the first seven decades of the nineteenth century, one of the most tumultuous times in modern Italian history. Cattaneo grew up under Napoleonic rule in Lombardy, and then under the dominion of Austrian imperialism after 1815, when the conservatives under the direction of Prince Metternich

¹⁵Historians have debated regarding which intellectual first expressed this concept. Carlo Cattaneo first used this term on 25 October 1848, while Victor Hugo followed in 1849. Hugo was more well-known than Cattaneo, and thus been quoted more often especially by Francophile historians. See L.F. Bruyning and J. T. Leerssen, *Italy (Yearbook of European Studies/Annuaire d'Etudes Europeennes 3)* (Amsterdam and Kenilworth, New Jersey, 1990), 56.

restored the political balance of Europe. It was Metternich who pejoratively stated that Italy was a 'mere geographical expression.' Carlo Cattaneo lived in a somewhat liberal environment of northeastern Italy, beyond the overbearing influence of the House of Savoy, the Papal States, or the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. His native Lombardy enjoyed prosperity and relative autonomy in the Hapsburg Empire, where fledgling freedoms could more freely be explored than elsewhere on the Italian peninsula. During the Napoleonic Era, Lombardy enjoyed a taste of Italian unification with Milan, the capital city of the Cisalpine Republic from 1797 to 1802, before becoming part of the Kingdom of Italy under Napoleonic and French rule.¹⁶ Cattaneo was a subject of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire for most of his life.

Yet, history favors winners. Historians applaud the heroes, and the losers are relegated to footnote status. Most students of Italian history link the name of Carlo Cattaneo with the failed 1848 Revolution in Milan. Carlo Moos concludes that of all the 'defeated' of the Risorgimento, Cattaneo was perhaps the most defeated. In the end he

¹⁶When General Napoleon conquered northern Italy in 1796, the French created two states in the Padane Valley, one south of the Po River (Cisapadane Republic) and one north (Transpadane Republic). On June 29, 1797 Napoleon united these two states into the Cisalpine Republic, a French satellite republic. The Cisalpine Republic lasted until 1802 when it became the Italian Republic as an ally of the First French Republic under Napoleon. In fact the constitution of the new Italian Republic was changed to allow the French Consul Napoleon to be its president. The Italian Republic was short-lived. As soon as Napoleon became the French Emperor on 1805, the Italian Republic became the Kingdom of Italy with Napoleon as king and his step son as viceroy. Napoleon was crowned king in the Duomo of Milan receiving the Iron Crown of Lombardy on March 17, 1805. The Kingdom of Italy continued until April 11, 1814 when Napoleon abdicated in favor of his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais. In less than ten days thereafter, Austria occupied Milan and Eugène fled into exile. With the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia was created as part of the Hapsburg Empire, which maintained its control over the region for roughly fifty years until the Risorgimento.

had few supporters, perhaps a friend or two, a few disciples, but most of all he had many denigrators. Sidelined and maligned during the Risorgimento, Cattaneo saw the social and political problems of his time could not be resolved by socialism. Instead, Carlo Cattaneo believed in human progress, development, intelligence, and education, and preferred to pose the question of participation in a democracy in terms of the proper organization of a state.¹⁷ This thesis argues that Cattaneo expressed his ideas with shades of religious intonation.

Carlo Cattaneo was born in Milan on June 15, 1801, son of Melchiorre Cattaneo and Maria Antonia Sangiorgi. His family was of modest, agrarian origins. A few months after Carlo's birth, Milan became the capital of the Cisalpine Republic. The Cattaneo family had exchanged their agricultural roles for urban opportunities afforded by the French under Napoleon Bonaparte. Melchiorre Cattaneo was a goldsmith who struggled to provide advanced education for all his children.¹⁸ As the second son, the best opportunity for Carlo was to study at a Catholic seminary. Perhaps this choice in education was a mutual decision between the Cattaneo family and their great-uncle, Don Giacomo Antonio Cattaneo, a parish priest, to help the family economically, and to provide Carlo with a good education. The seminary was most of all a formative school

¹⁷Carlo Moos, 7-8.

¹⁸Carlo was the middle child of six. His older brother Filippo, followed in their father's profession. Angela was the second child and only daughter. Carlo took care of her by willing her his teacher's pension. He was followed by three brothers: Giacomo, an engraver; Francesco who studied in Zurich and Giuseppe who was an engineer. See Bracalini, 19-20.

rather than being an obligatory route to the priesthood.¹⁹ The youthful Cattaneo could, however, have wanted to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious relatives. Carlo first attended the seminary at Arlenico near Lake Como (1810 to 1815) where he took courses in grammar and humanities; then he transferred to the seminary in Monza, fifteen kilometers north of Milan, for the two-year course in logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics. The adolescent years of Carlo Cattaneo corresponded with the time period of Napoleonic political reforms and the laicization of the Catholic Church.²⁰ Catholic seminaries provided one of the best educations possible in Europe, and Carlo Cattaneo mastered French, German, Greek and Latin in what was regarded a classical education. Upon applying for the position of assistant librarian at the Brera Library in 1826, Cattaneo gave his religion as Roman Catholic, and indicated his proficiency in Italian, Latin, Greek, attaching documentation of his seminarian studies. He also cited his knowledge of written and spoken German, French, Hebrew, and English.²¹ Although he did not study theology, his seminarian schooling, as well as his lyceum years were imbued with religious devotion as indicated by the Council of Trent and enacted by St. Charles Borromeo, native of Milan. After leaving the seminary, Carlo Cattaneo studied at the lyceum of San Alessandro in Milan from 1817-18, where he successfully passed

¹⁹Giuseppe Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo: una biografia. Il padre del federalismo italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1997), 9.

²⁰Romano Bracalini, *Cattaneo: Un Federalista per gli Italiani* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1995), 10.

²¹Margherita Cancarini Petroboni and Mariachiara Fugazza, ed., *Carteggi di Carlo Cattaneo, Serie I, Lettere di Cattaneo, Volume I 1820 - March 1848* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, and Bellinzona, Switzerland: Edizioni Casagrande, 2001), 11.

examinations in mathematics, religious instruction, world history, and theoretical philosophy during the first and second semester. During the following year, the young Lombard scholar studied practical philosophy, religious instruction, world history and experimental physical mathematics. Transferring to the lyceum of Porto Nuovo in 1819, Cattaneo studied religion, history of the Austrian Empire, classical Latin literature, natural history and technology.²² Cattaneo's intellectual formation was rooted in his seminarian years. Yet, historians have glibly dismissed the extent of religiosity in the writings of Carlo Cattaneo, as they neglect to fully examine his importance during the Risorgimento.

Anyone vaguely familiar with the Italian Risorgimento can rapidly recite the names of Garibaldi, Mazzini and Cavour when asked what he or she knows about this subject. These men and their ideas supposedly united the Italian peninsula by 1870. Historians, such as George Macaulay Trevelyan in the early twentieth century, and Denis Mack Smith in the last forty years, have perpetuated this perspective with their massive interpretations of nineteenth-century Italy. Cattaneo and other so-called minor protagonists in nineteenth-century Italian history rarely receive mention in passing, if at all. Only in more recent historiography is Carlo Cattaneo considered an important figure of the Italian Risorgimento. For many years, Cattaneo was one of the neglected persons in the history of the unification of Italy, having been marginalized as a federalist.²³

If in one breath, Carlo Cattaneo is one of the finest writers and intellectuals of

²²Ibid., 292.

²³John Foot, *Modern Italy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 105.

nineteenth-century Italy, and then in the next breath, a failure and a footnote, then wherein lies the truth? Let us first consider the general problem of the Revolutions of 1848. As one of the leaders of the Milanese Insurrection, Cattaneo's name was associated with the failed, forlorn and romantic 1848 revolutions. For many participants and their contemporary observers, the over fifty-five revolutions in multi-ethnic and multilingual Europe that erupted in 1848 were all about the romantic notion of fighting for freedom in the barricades. The nagging question for many historians was: where was the substance? Doubt has lingered if the revolutionaries even knew what liberty, freedom and nationalism were. In fact, the Italian expression *fare un quarantotto* came to mean creating confusion and disorientation.²⁴ George M. Trevelyan summed up the situation in 1848 with his famous dictum: the Revolutions of 1848 were "the turning point at which modern history failed to turn."²⁵ This assessment is perhaps more accurate for central Europe and greater Germany, while in Italy many leaders of the Risorgimento cut their teeth in 1848. The Italian revolutions stirred the peninsula up politically, and were part of Italy's push for democracy and unity. Historians have argued that the Italian revolutions of 1848 were the prelude to the Risorgimento. In 1848 liberal democrats throughout Italy corresponded, and physically united in the cause of Italian liberation. In fact, Cattaneo first met Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini during the summer of 1848.

²⁴Piccolo Rizzoli Larousse (Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1972). S.v. "Quarantotto." Denis Mack Smith has defined the term as meaning anything turbulent chaotic or unserious. See R. J. W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann. *The Revolutions in Europe 1848-49* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 55.

²⁵Martin Kranzberg, ed. *1848 A Turning Point?* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1959), ix. See also note in Evans and Pogge, 23.

Since the sixteenth century, when Machiavelli described the Italian peninsula as enslaved, oppressed, without a head, without order, beaten, lacerated, overrun, Italy lacked unity. In the nineteenth century, things were not much better. Momentarily, with Napoleon, Italians had come close to being united, at least politically. Yet, what an affront and offense to be united by the French! With the Congress of Vienna, the powers of Europe sought a return to the status quo. What this meant for Italy was a repetition of foreign dominion and foreign abuses. Austria reclaimed Lombardy and obtained Venetia. Hapsburg princes were reinstalled in Tuscany, Parma, and Modena. Austria demanded that the Kingdom of Naples never enact reforms that undermined the dominion of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. When Pius IX had the audacity upon ascending to Peter's throne in 1846 to hint at political reform and offer amnesty to political prisoners, Austria responded with the capture of Ferrara, a northern city in the Papal States. The 1848 revolutions in Italy marked the beginning of the wars for the unification of Italy.

United Italy would face a wide gambit of political ideas among which was the obstacle of the Roman Catholic Church. Once Austrian domination of Italy was loosened after 1848, the consensus among historians is that the greatest enemy to Italian unity was the Pope. Democracy in Italy would be impossible because of clerical power. Yet, messy democracy did prevail in spite of contrasting and bickering Italian patriots of the Risorgimento. Many Italian nationalists envisioned a rebirth of ancient Rome, and the British, always enamored of romantic Italy through poets such as Byron and Shelly, were

enchanted by the prospect.²⁶ One of the lesser known participants in the Risorgimento and the political and rhetoric battles leading up to the Unification of Italy was Carlo Cattaneo. Unfortunately, Cattaneo's association with the 1848 Insurrection in Milan²⁷ has perhaps caused historians to doubt the substance of Cattanean thought even before reading his works. This was probably the primary reason Carlo Cattaneo fell into obscurity.

Secondly, most of Cattaneo's contemporaries rejected his federalist ideas for a United States of Italy as an implausible, unworkable solution for the unification of Italy. Thirdly, Cattaneo himself did not help promote his place in history, choosing to live a life of exile in Switzerland, where he taught school, engaging from abroad instead of being an active participant in Italian politics and governance.

Since the vast majority of the body of literature addressing the scholarship concerning Carlo Cattaneo has been written in Italian during the last fifty years, it is vital

²⁶Of the many interpretations of nineteenth-century Europe, some scholars have argued that Great Britain favored an united Italy, which would be pro-British and beneficial to British trade. Agrarian Italy would make a perfect market for British manufacturing goods. A united Italy would hopefully eliminate the myriad of customs laws and barriers, which hamper trade internationally and on the peninsula. Thus, Victorian Britain was sympathetic to Italian nationalists. Monarchic Britain favored Victor Emanuel II of Piedmont and Sardinia. Protestant England applauded the anticlerical initiatives of the Albertine constitution granted by Carlo Alberto, father of Victor Emanuel II.

²⁷Cattaneo's eye-witness account of the Cinque Giornate is found in *Dell'insurrezione di Milano nel 1848 e della successiva guerra*. Antonio Monti's classic history of the Milanese insurrection has recently been reprinted. See Antonio Monti, *Il 1848 e le cinque giornate di Milano dalle memorie inedite dei combattenti sulle barricate*. Milan: Fratelli Frilli Editori, 2004.

to convey the meaning of anticlerical as expressed by Italian historians. Especially in Italian, the adjectives, *anticlerical* and *laical*, have become almost synonymous.

Furthermore, they resonant negativity. In his book, *La questione federalista: Zanardelli, Cattaneo e i cattolici bresciani*, Giuseppe Gangemi notes that the word *laical* once had a positive connotation, deriving from Greek *laikòs*, meaning, *of the people*. It has since been transformed into a word meaning something bad, wicked, intolerant, expressing a position of separation, of refusal, of opposition or at the very least indifference to the Church.²⁸ This is the meaning of *anticlerical* in this thesis.

Why then, if the so-called anticlerical Cattaneo was such a historical failure, do historians continue to study him and his writings, and politicians try to bend his philosophy to their advantage? Perhaps the answer lies in the relevancy of Cattaneo's thinking in the twenty-first century. Carlo Cattaneo certainly contributes to the fascinating political dialogue of the nineteenth-century, and not just concerning federalism, inasmuch as he was interested in and wrote concerning a myriad of subjects.

In addition, some historians ponder the importance of compromise in a democratic society: what good did it do for Cattaneo to remove his voice from the political dialogue? Would Italy be better off having Cattaneo's input, had he not refused to compromise his democratic beliefs and pledge allegiance to King Vittorio Emanuele II? Carlo Cattaneo's thoughts have modern relevancy. Their importance is as a counterpoint in the political orchestrations of nineteenth-century Italy, and exploring Cattaneo's place in the history of

²⁸Giuseppe Gangemi, *La questione federalista: Zanardelli, Cattaneo e i cattolici bresciani* (Torino: UTET, 1994), 242, Note 1.

the Risorgimento provides a different and intriguing perspective of this time period. Studying the life and works of Carlo Cattaneo is germane to understanding the Age of the Risorgimento.

Lead by Ernesto Sestan after World War II, historians have stopped at the anticlerical label and have not examined the religiosity of the reluctant revolutionary.²⁹ This thesis will first examine the historiography concerning Carlo Cattaneo in Chapter One. Chapter Two will look at religious expression, sentiment and reasoning in the various editions of the published works of Carlo Cattaneo. Chapter Three will explore the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo in his personal and public correspondence. A conclusion will summarize the findings and argue in favor of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo, new uncharted territory in the Cattanean historiography.

²⁹Ernesto Sestan, "Cattaneo giovane," *Belfagor* II (6), 1947, 666.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS AND LIFE OF CARLO CATTANEO

The first instance of any mention of Carlo Cattaneo in scholarly writings by other contemporary writers were responses to Cattaneo's first writings concerning the propagation of railroads in northern Italy, one of Cattaneo's many interests. Giuseppe Bruschetti praised Cattaneo as well as critiqued the Lombard writer in *Risposta dell'ingegnere Giuseppe Bruschetti all'Articolo del dottor Carlo Cattaneo sul progetto di una Strada di ferro da Milano a Como*, in *Annali universali di statistica*, a scientific journal published in Milan in 1836.³⁰ Cattaneo was one of the biggest proponents for the building of railroads not just in Lombardy, but also in the neighboring province of Venetia in order to accommodate trade in Northern Italy. Contemporary writers such as A.G. Palmisese, Gottardo Calvi, Giovanni Milani and Carlo Ilarione Petitti debated the importance of the railroad and how to best expedite the building of railways.³¹ The lively discussion between Cattaneo and Milani concerning the *Ferdinanda*, as the railroad between Milan and Venice was nicknamed, lasted for five years (1836-1841). Both men were heavily involved in laying the groundwork for this enterprise. Always the advocate for free enterprise, Cattaneo, voiced the opinion that the railway would pay for itself through the advancement of commerce. Milani advocated for the railway to belong to the state. Their exchanges concerning the pros and cons of public and private ventures have

³⁰Giuseppe Armani, *Gli Scritti su Carlo Cattaneo* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1973), 19.

³¹*Ibid.*, 20-21.

recently been republished by Giunti.³²

Published in 1836, Cattaneo's first major work was *Ricerche economiche sulle interdizioni imposte dalla legge civile agli israeliti*, also known by its abbreviated title, *Interdizioni Israelitiche*. This long essay discusses the injustice of civil laws against the Jews in Europe. Cattaneo argued that the economic limitations placed on Jews were detrimental to the social and economic welfare of Europe. This work brought Cattaneo to the forefront of the European intellectual community. In Italy, the philosopher-critic Defendente Sacchi (1796-1840), and several anonymous writers praised Cattaneo's solid logic, his mastery of jurisprudence, and his skill in applying economic principles to the prosperity of Europe in light of the current laws against Jewish property holding. He outlined his argument historically and objectively. Yet, Angelo Piazza in *Annali universali di statistica* in 1837, found fault with Cattaneo's reasoning, because it upset the social status quo in Europe.³³

During the years leading up to the Cinque Giornate, Cattaneo became a founding editor, contributor and chief promoter of the *Politecnico*, a journal dedicated to scientific analysis of the economy, culture and society. In a letter to Vincenzo Gioberti written on November 17, 1843, Paolo Borsieri lauded this journal, calling Cattaneo a genius, but also commented that Cattaneo was a lost man, caught up in old sensism, intolerant of

³²Carlo Cattaneo and Giovanni Milani, *Ferdinanda. Scritti sulla ferrovia da Venezia a Milano* (Florence: Gruppo Editoriale Giunti, 2001).

³³Armani, *Gli Scritti su Carlo Cattaneo*, 20-21.

every religious philosophy, and against the ideas of Gioberti.³⁴ This is the first printed reference labeling Cattaneo as anticlerical. Borsieri's argument, however, is founded more on the fact that Cattaneo disagreed with Gioberti rather than on his so-called sensationalism, an accusation which contradicts Cattaneo's scientific reasoning methods. Cattaneo held anti-monarchical and political views, which offended Borsieri, and possibly influenced his assessment of Cattaneo.³⁵ King Carlo Alberto and the Savoyard monarchy disgusted Cattaneo, because of the king's moral weakness and arrogance in wanting to rule northern Italy.

After the failed 1848 revolution in Milan while in exile in Paris, Cattaneo wrote *L'insurrection de Milan en 1848*, which was translated by the author and published in Italian the following year in 1849 as *Dell'insurrezione di Milano nel 1848 e della successiva guerra*. In these works, Cattaneo gave his view of the Cinque Giornate and the disaster that followed. This work was followed in 1850 by *Archivio triennale delle cose d'Italia dell'avvenimento di Pio IX all'abbandono di Venezia*. Of this later work, Cesare Correnti, one of Cattaneo's collaborators wrote that Cattaneo had changed some of his words, omitting his favorable assessments, and including only the negative.³⁶

³⁴Giorgio Alessandrini, ed. *Avventure letterarie di un giorno ; e altri scritti editi ed inediti* (Roma : Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1967) 353.

³⁵Borsieri (1788-1852) was a participant in the Cinque Giornate along with Cattaneo. For revolutionary activities, he was incarcerated in the infamous Spielberg prison in 1824. His sentence was commuted to exile to the United States in 1836. After the Milanese Insurrection, Borsieri fled to Piedmont where he lived the rest of his life in poverty.

³⁶Tullo Massarini, *Cesare Correnti nella vita e nelle opere: introduzione a una edizione postuma degli scritti scelti di lui in parte inediti o rari* (Rome: Forzani e C.,

Associates such as Francesco Crispi, Giuseppe Montanelli, Giuseppe Ferrari, Giuseppe La Farina, and Carlo Pisacane all recognized Cattaneo's ingenuity and analysis of the political and social problems in the Italian peninsula. Not all agreed with him, but saw in Cattaneo the leading exponent of federalist ideas. For example, Montanelli refuted federalist concepts while Giuseppe La Farina clarified them in *La Storia d'Italia dal 1815 al 1850*.³⁷ In an anti-republican and anti-federalist work published in 1851, Enrico Lavelli and Pietro Perego indicated that they liked Cattaneo personally, but found his federalist thinking to be biting and childish.³⁸ In a letter dated May 3, 1854, Karl Marx wrote to Frederick Engels that *Archivio triennale* was the best work he had read regarding the "Italian revolutionary party."³⁹

Carlo Tenca (1816-1883), a friend and fellow 1848-revolutionary of Cattaneo, and a contributor to *Il Crepuscolo* tried to get the publishing house of Barbèra in Florence to publish some of Cattaneo's works in 1857. Tenca considered the writings of Cattaneo to be among the best literary, critical and historical writings of the nineteenth century. Tenca felt that previously edited and unedited Cattanean works would be widely accepted. The publisher responded in the affirmative to Tenca, but nothing ever came of

1890), 117-118.

³⁷Giuseppe La Farina, *Storia d'Italia dal 1815-1850*, vol. IV (Turin: Società editrice italiana, 1852), 599-603. Cited in Armani, *Scritti su Cattaneo*, 23.

³⁸Enrico Lavelli and Pietro Perego, *I misteri repubblicani e la ditta Brofferio, Cattaneo, Cernuschi e Ferrari* (Torino: Ferrero e Franco, 1851) 48-62. *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 23 from *Carteggi Marx-Engels*, vol. II (1852-1856), translated by M.A., Manacorda.

this project.⁴⁰

Like Cavour, Cattaneo did not live to see the unification of the Italian peninsula completed in 1870. He died on February 6, 1869 in Castagnola near Lugano, Switzerland. After his death, friends and former students, such as Gabriele Rosa (1812-1897) and Mauro Macchi (1818-1880), worked to publish his works, writings, and correspondence, recognizing not only the intellectuality of their Milanese friend, but also the historical significance of his writings. Perhaps the most important of these friends and associates were Alberto Mario (1825-1883) and his wife, Jessie White Mario (1832-1906). As activists during the Risorgimento, they were exiled from Italy. In Switzerland, they became close friends with Cattaneo, and his English-Irish wife, Anne Pyne Woodcock. Spending long hours together, Jessie White Mario described Cattaneo as a “veritable encyclopedia.” Alberto and Jessie Mario edited Cattaneo’s works after his death.

After Alberto Mario’s death in 1883, Jessie finished the biography that she and Alberto had begun. The Marios’ political ideas were greatly influenced by Carlo Cattaneo, drawing the ire of Mazzini.⁴¹ In a 1884 article in *The Nation*, Jessie described the comfort and assistance she and her husband had received from Cattaneo during their stay in Switzerland, and indicated that Alberto became Cattaneo’s chief exponent and

⁴⁰Luigi Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo* (Azzate, Varese: Macchione Editore, 2000), 13-14.

⁴¹Elizabeth Adams Daniels, *Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1972), 90-91.

disciple.⁴² Cattaneo voiced his opinion concerning the unification of Italy, offering an alternative to a constitutional monarchy under the House of Savoy. His ideas centered on federalist notions of uniting Italy under the models of the United States and Switzerland. The Austrian Empire with its conglomeration of nationalities also influenced Cattaneo's federalist thinking, as perhaps did the universality of the Catholic Church. Cattaneo concluded that the historical, cultural and economic differences in the five⁴³ principal political entities of the Italian peninsula could best be bridged by a federal system of government.

The fact that Cattaneo's political viewpoint of anti-monarchical federalism was not embraced by his Risorgimento contemporaries caused future publishers of his works to retreat from a financial commitment to publishing the works of Carlo Cattaneo.⁴⁴ Although highly appreciated and praised by Italian historians and politicians, it was not until 1875 that Mario announced that he, with Agostino Bertani (1812-1886), a doctor, Risorgimento leader and politician, had obtained from Cattaneo's heirs the rights to publish his complete works.⁴⁵ Previously, Cattaneo's work had been published as long essays and articles in journals and newspapers such as *Annali di statistica*, *Politecnico*,

⁴²Ibid., 166.

⁴³Kingdom of Sardinia, Duchy of Milan, Venetian Republic, Papal States, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Some historians indicate that there were seven political entities on the Italian peninsula, and include the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Duchy of Modena.

⁴⁴Luigi Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo* (Varese: Macchione Editore, 2000), 16.

⁴⁵Ibid., 15.

Rivista europea and *Crespuscolo*.⁴⁶ These periodicals engaged in lively debate over cultural, political, intellectual and economic matters in Italy and in Europe.

The federalist concept that Cattaneo espoused included the budding importance of *nation*. Carlo Cattaneo wrote in January 1850 that God, who grants an idea to each century, commissioned those living in the nineteenth century to bring into action a way that every nation have its own land, and God has put in sacred terms, that the nation ends where the tongue dies. In the process of signaling this limitation to foreigners, every people *unconsciously* imposes limits and barriers to their own nation as well as that of their neighbors.⁴⁷ In the original Italian, Cattaneo wrote this passage in eloquent prose, without shying away from religious sentiment.

After the publishing endeavors of Agostino Bertani, Jessie White Mario and Gabriele Rosa in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Milanese publishing house Sonzogno agreed in 1898 to publish some of the works of Carlo Cattaneo in its Universal Library of Italian intellectual thought. Carlo Romussi edited these works from a socialist perspective. He was followed by Cesare Enrico Aroldi who defended the positivist aspect of the writings and thinking of Carlo Cattaneo. Aroldi considered Cattaneo as a devoted friend of Giuseppe Mazzini, while overlooking the abyss between their political lines of thinking. In the early twentieth century different anthologies of Cattanean writings appeared. It was the political interpretation with emphasis on

⁴⁶Ibid., 11.

⁴⁷Carlo Cattaneo, *Manifesto per l'Archivio triennale. Tutte le Opere di Carlo Cattaneo*, Luigi Ambrosoli, Vol, IV, 772. Italics are mine.

federalist ideas of the writings that was the common thread linking all of these publications including Arcangelo Ghisleri's socialist leanings and Giovan Battista Pirolini's republican tenets.⁴⁸ During this time period, Tullo Massarani deviated from the political approach to Cattaneo to analyze the Lombard intellectual as a writer, admiring the style, composition and lively prose of Carlo Cattaneo.⁴⁹

While studying and teaching in Lodi during World War I, Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957) 'discovered' Carlo Cattaneo. One of modern Italy's greatest statesmen and historians, Salvemini had written his doctoral dissertation on Giuseppe Mazzini. This work was first published in Italy in 1905, then revised and republished in 1925. *Mazzini: A study of his thought and its effect on nineteenth-century political theory* became the standard for Risorgimento history, and was translated from the Italian into English by I. M. Rawson in 1957.⁵⁰ Until his 'discovery' in the gymnasium's library, Salvemini, a southern Italian, had only been superficially aware of Carlo Cattaneo. Three years before being exiled to the United States in 1925 for anti-Fascist activities, Salvemini published *Le Più Belle Pagine Scelte di Carlo Cattaneo* with the prestigious Milanese publishing house, Treves. Salvemini's biographical sketch of the life of Carlo Cattaneo and analysis of his works is today considered a classic in Italian historical literature.⁵¹ This short, but

⁴⁸Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo*, 27-31.

⁴⁹Tullo Massarani, *Carlo Cattaneo scrittore* (Milan: Sonzogno, 1901).

⁵⁰Gaetano Salvemini, *Mazzini: A study of his thought and its effect on nineteenth-century political theory* translated by I. M. Rawson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957)

⁵¹Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo*, 37.

important anthology of Cattaneo's thinking was republished in 1993.⁵²

Divided into nine sections, this work includes Cattaneo's thoughts on public economy, education, the military, local autonomy, federalism, social problems, literature, history, the Risorgimento and sociology. In sympathetic and generous prose, Salvemini describes Cattaneo as stubbornly resolute and faithfully determined in backing up his words with firm action. Yet, at the end of his life, Cattaneo had bought into the popular assessment of his life. He had accomplished little, and had seemingly not left any great work, just smatterings of his thinking. With *Le Più Belle Pagine*, Salvemini argues forcefully that this was not true.⁵³

Alessandro Levi (1881-1953), an intellectual historian of the early twentieth century, calls Cattaneo the first of the Italian positivists in his salient work, *Il Positivismo di Carlo Cattaneo* published in 1928. Levi was not the first to argue that Cattaneo's ideas and thinking was positivist (meaning someone who sought for truth in natural science through empirical means, and not through philosophical study), but Levi's pus set forth such succinct conclusions that it is considered a seminal work. He concludes that

⁵²Gaetano Salvemini, *Le più belle pagine di Carlo Cattaneo scelte da Gaetano Salvemini* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 1993. N.B. After the defense of this thesis, I was finally able to locate the first English translation of the Salvemini anthology of Cattaneo's writings entitled *Civilization and Democracy*. (Carlo G. Lacaita and Filippo Salvetti, ed. translated by David Gibbons *Civilization and Democracy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁵³At about the same time, Italy's greatest modern historian and philosopher also wrote about Carlo Cattaneo. In his classic volume on nineteenth-century Italian historiography, Benedetto Croce called Cattaneo a man free from religious bonds. See Benedetto Croce, *Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo XIX* (Bari: Laterzi editore, 1921), 57.

Cattaneo was a positivist after his own fashion. His reasoning lead him to analyze ephemeral concepts such as intelligence, will, freedom and truth. He used scientific thinking to find solutions to the social and political problems of his day. Thus, the positivism of Cattaneo intellectually engaged the notions that Auguste Comte, his French contemporary, relegated as collective concepts. Levi argues that Cattaneo was a believer, but perhaps not in a personal God, but in the natural order of things.⁵⁴ Although it is not clear in his writings if he did or did not believe in a personal God, Cattaneo wrote that he did not recognize anything outside of science, and that science included philosophy, which slowly emerged from the testimony of facts.⁵⁵ In his pursuit of truth (or science), Cattaneo placed above everything else his love of liberty. During the Fascist era Levi argued that Cattaneo had never thought of liberty as a gift of nature, or of the supernatural, or even as a fetish to worship in and of itself, nor as a vacuous abstraction or an indeterminate ideal.⁵⁶ It emerged from reason. Did reason, however, sprout from Christian thought as Rodney Stark argues, or is it a secular idea?⁵⁷ And how can Levi determine Cattaneo's personal belief in God?

Levi contrasted the personalities of the better known Italian patriot, Giuseppe Mazzini with that of Carlo Cattaneo. These two Italian republicans generally liked and

⁵⁴Alessandro Levi, *Il positivismo di Carlo Cattaneo* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2001), 28.

⁵⁵Ibid., 16-17.

⁵⁶Ibid., 85.

⁵⁷Rodney Stark, *The Victory of Reason* (New York: Random House, 2005).

respected one another throughout their lives, although their personalities were too opposed, their philosophies too diverse to come together politically. Mazzini was a supposedly religious person, a romantic, and an artist with a subjective spirit. Cattaneo was an observer, a scientist, a classical thinker, and an intellectual.⁵⁸ When his ideas for the future of Italy went unaccepted, Cattaneo stepped back, and as a scientist, observed the consequences. Alessandro Levi argues that Cattaneo's thinking oscillated between two conceptions of philosophy. On the one hand, Cattaneo embraced objectivity of the empirical sciences. Then again, he also espoused the analysis of the human spirit in its different manifestations,⁵⁹ including religion.

Perhaps the most influential historian of Cattanean studies the last sixty years is Ernesto Sestan. In his well-quoted article in the post-war Italian intellectual journal *Befalgor* in 1947 entitled "Cattaneo Giovane," Sestan gave a biographical sketch of Carlo Cattaneo's youth. Professor Sestan's words carry a lot of weight in the scholarship of the Risorgimento, considering that Sestan was one of the best students of Gaetano Salvemini, with whom he edited the geographical writings of Carlo Cattaneo,⁶⁰ and was a close associate of eminent historians Federico Chabod and Antonio Saita. His assessment of the writings and character of Carlo Cattaneo went beyond the anticlerical label adopted by previous historians to the decisive epithet of irreligious. Sestan wrote that "it would be

⁵⁸Alessandro Levi, *Il positivismo Politico di Carlo Cattaneo* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2001), 10.

⁵⁹Levi, 20.

⁶⁰See Cattaneo, *Scritti storici e geografici*, ed. Gaetano Salvemini and Ernesto Sestan (Florence: Le Monnier, 1957), I - IV.

difficult to find in early nineteenth-century (in Italy) any major figure who was less amenable to religious ideas and to things divine than Carlo Cattaneo.”⁶¹

The great Torinese historian, philosopher and Italian senator-for-life, Norberto Bobbio (1909-2004), made a ‘discovery’ similar to Salvemini when he received a collection of Cattaneo’s works as a wedding present.⁶² For Bobbio, Cattaneo represented historical thought, which strictly adhered to the facts, reaching useful and practical conclusions. It was a way of thinking that sustains determinant problems, refusing metaphysical elaborations, still, at the same time, is well aware of its limitations.⁶³ In other words, as Bobbio argues in his long 1960 essay entitled *Carlo Cattaneo: Scritti Filosofici* that Cattaneo did not cultivate philosophy. Instead he cultivated history and other sciences such as linguistics, economics and geography.

Bobbio refuses to label Cattaneo as an *illuminista*, romantic, or positivist. Rather, he seeks to paint a portrait of the Lombard intellectual as Cattaneo saw himself as outlined in a letter that Cattaneo wrote to Enrico Cernuschi (1821-1896). In this missive, Cattaneo described himself as one whose duty it was to conserve for Italy an intellectual tradition, filling a void in the break between intellectual schools. He ironically added that this break took longer than he had anticipated,⁶⁴ developing further his thesis that Carlo

⁶¹Ernesto Sestan, “Cattaneo giovane,” *Belfagor* II (6), 1947, 666.

⁶²Norberto Bobbio, *Old Age and other Essays* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2001), 54.

⁶³Levi, 20.

⁶⁴Carlo Cattaneo, *Scritti filosofici*, ed. Norberto Bobbio (Florence: Le Monnier, 1960), I, LV.

Cattaneo was not a positivist in that he did not completely rule out metaphysical manifestations in history or politics. He was a positive philosopher, because he looked to nature and empirical reasoning for the truth. Moreover, Cattaneo also used the Bible in his reasoning. Bobbio added to the Cattanean historiography in 1971 in *Una filosofia militante. Scritti su Carlo Cattaneo*. Bobbio's essay, *Stati Uniti d'Italia*, opens this collection of Bobbio's studies concerning Cattaneo, where he argues that Cattaneo was inspired by liberal Protestantism, always in tune with a severe anticlericalism. Bobbio, however, allows for the fact that Cattaneo's religiosity until that time had not been fully explored.⁶⁵

Two decades earlier, Paolo Rossi (1923-) synthesized the writings of Cattaneo as pertaining to human society. Categorizing Cattaneo's ideas in a similar fashion as had Salvemini: human society, economy, social problems, philosophy, education, arts and literature. Rossi concludes that Cattaneo's study of nature and human society was never conceived as an end to itself, but always in relation to the progression of society.⁶⁶ Rossi successfully places Cattaneo in a time when Italy and Europe were in an upheaval. These were complex times with radical interpretations. Rossi lets Cattaneo speak for himself, reminding us of Cattaneo's myriad of interests in contrast with twentieth-century intellectual specialization.

⁶⁵Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante. Scritti su Carlo Cattaneo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1971), 17. See especially note 2. Ambrosoli accuses Bobbio of avoiding the issue. See *La formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*, 65.

⁶⁶Paolo Rossi, *La Società Umana di Carlo Cattaneo* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1950), 11.

Over twenty years after *La Società Umana* and a dozen years after *Scritti Filosofici*, Clara Maria Lovett (1939-) returned to the political theme in Carlo Cattaneo's writings in her short book, *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento* arguing that

Cattaneo was not the only political thinker of the Risorgimento to perceive a possible conflict between the strong regional and municipal traditions and loyalties of the Italian people, and the relatively recent growth of nationalist sentiment. But he was among the few who argued that the preservation of local or regional political traditions would offer much greater guarantees for the growth of political liberty in Italy than would the founding of a centralized nation-state.

Lovett goes on to argue that "Cattaneo was convinced that the nationalist aspirations of the Italian people could be satisfied with something short of the political unification of Italy advocated by Mazzini and the Italian National Society."⁶⁷ In the end, Lovett concludes that despite Cattaneo's importance to modern Italian and European history, Cattaneo was not an uncompromising radical nor an incorruptible prophet of the virtues of federalism. She is convinced that Cattaneo's place in the Risorgimento is ambiguous and contradictory. In final summation, according to Lovett, Cattaneo wields much more influence on later generations of historians and politicians than on his own.

The Florentine historian and politician,⁶⁸ Giovanni Spadolini (1925-1994) wrote in 1974 a powerful and eloquent synopsis of the life and ideas of Carlo Cattaneo in

⁶⁷Clara Maria Lovett, *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820-1860* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 123.

⁶⁸Spadolini was the first Italian prime minister (1981-1982) not of the Christian Democracy party.

Autunno del Risorgimento. Although positive in his assessment of Cattaneo, Spadolini also concludes that Cattaneo was too aware of the political errors of other schools of thought. The critical nature of Cattaneo, when taken to the extreme, contradicted action. Thus, Cattaneo was a good ally of historians, not of politicians,⁶⁹ a similar conclusion to Lovett's.

During the Cold War, Umberto Puccio, in *Introduzione a Cattaneo* written in 1977, offers a Marxist approach to the writings of Cattaneo.⁷⁰ Puccio argues that when Cattaneo writes about *popolo*, he really means *bourgeoisie*. *Popolo* was more an historical ideal than a class. Puccio invites those studying Cattaneo's words to look at the progressive and revolutionary ideals extolled. For Puccio, Cattaneo's philosophy leads to a revolution from the lower class upward. Puccio, however, does not enter directly into the clerical-anticlerical historiographical discussion, other than referring briefly to religion as part of the structure of society. Once again a historian (Puccio) analyzes Cattaneo politically.

At the conservative extreme, written a quarter of a century ago in 1982, Vittorio Michelini's *Carlo Cattaneo: Studio Biografico dall'Epistolario* shows its religious bias on its sleeve. In so doing it received the *nulla osta* of the Roman Catholic Church and the Ecclesiastic Imprimatur in 1982. While conceding that Cattaneo was a positivist and *illuminista*, the author stretches his reading of the correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo to

⁶⁹Giovanni Spadolini, *Autunno del Risorgimento* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1974), 55-64.

⁷⁰Umberto Puccio, *Introduzione a Cattaneo* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore S.p.A., 1977).

argue that Cattaneo loved Pius IX, but did so under the criteria of Liberty and Truth (capitalized). He loved the saints, but not their images, and he loved the down-to-earth saints. He loved the church of the saints whether they were popes or populists.⁷¹ The use of the verb, *amare* (love) is extreme as is Michelini's thesis. He uses a plethora of words, dwelling on circumstantial evidence and anecdotal information to bolster his claims. Although seemingly well-documented, many of the quotes do not have adequate citation. Most of Michelini's account comes from giving brief synopses of the persons with whom Cattaneo interacted.

Ferruccio Focher, in 1987, considered Carlo Cattaneo a Renaissance man because of his polyhedral intellectual endeavors. Focher argues that Cattaneo was also an historian who used historical writing to expound his own positivist philosophy, and to explore, analyze and observe the historical progression of man. Some may even call this political ideology. Cattaneo, concludes Focher, believed that the progression of man lead to truth and liberty, as man used his intelligence. Focher argues that Cattaneo was rigorously anti-metaphysical, grounded in deriving truth in every area of knowledge from observation and from the experimental method.⁷² Thus, in the writings of Carlo Cattaneo there is always a resonance of positivism, which precluded a priori or metaphysical speculations. Focher writes that after his exile to Switzerland, Cattaneo became less a man of action. Instead, he dedicated himself to intense study and writing. Furthermore,

⁷¹Vittorio Michelini, *Carlo Cattaneo: Studio Biografico dall'Epistolario* (Milano: Nuove Edizioni Duomo, 1982), 335.

⁷²Ferruccio Focher, *Cattaneo Storico e Filosofo della Storia* (Cremona: Libreria del Convegno editrice, 1987), 6.

Focher indicates that other Italian scholars have seen in Cattaneo the father of their disciplines, including psychology, civil and criminal jurisprudence, and linguistics. For example, Graziadio Ascoli, praised Cattaneo for having clarified the many fables and illusions that epitomized the great transformation of peoples with historical fact and through his positivist reasoning.⁷³ In the frontispiece of his analysis of Cattaneo as an historian and a philosopher of history, Focher quotes Emilio Cecchi: “Cattaneo had the phantasmagoric sense of the origins, migrations and lost civilizations, and after Vico, no one like him, in the number of his phrases described the footstep of time and the development of cycles and of civil occurrences.”⁷⁴

In addition, Focher calls Cattaneo’s positivism the fruit of his moral personality, anti-rhetorical disposition, and of the rigor of his thinking processes anchored in concrete and deterministic concepts rather than from careful and profound studies.⁷⁵ Cattaneo’s historiography reflects his philosophical positivism and the influence that the Enlightenment thinkers had upon him. In fact his early works reference Locke and Bacon, and only beginning in 1835 took on a tone more dominated by the thinking of Vico.⁷⁶ Focher argues that the noticeable change in emphasis was due to the publication

⁷³Ibid., 6. See footnote 10. See Vitali, ed, 58

⁷⁴Ibid., v.

⁷⁵Ibid., 11.

⁷⁶Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) was an early modern Neapolitan philosopher of cultural history and law who believed with proper discipline and dedication practical wisdom can be obtained. With his important work, *Scienza nuova*, published in 1725, Vico attempted to bring about the convergence of history and the more systematic social sciences into a single study of humanity, rebutting Descartes and developing the

of new editions of Vico's work in that time period.⁷⁷ According to Focher, the historical thought of Carlo Cattaneo was based around the principles of variety in peoples and of their progression, thus concentrated on scientifically analyzing the similarities, but more importantly the differences in civilizations.

In his assessment of Carlo Cattaneo, published in 1992, historian Carlo Moos does not pull away from obvious passages featuring Cattaneo's religiosity. He offers a balanced look at Carlo Cattaneo in his book, *L' "Altro" Risorgimento: L'ultimo Cattaneo tra Italia e Svizzera*. Perhaps Moos is more inclined to include religious passages in his book because it was originally written in German, and Moos was Swiss. It is possible that he does not have the same religious biases as many of his Italian colleagues seemingly have.

Another Swiss historian, Antonio Gili, writing a decade after Moos, produced the first synthetic work concerning Cattaneo from the perspective of his long sojourn in Canton Ticino. Gili indicates that Cattaneo's thinking was very different from the spiritual philosophy of Spavento or the religious approach to good government endorsed by Rosmini and Gioberti. Cattaneo's thinking even went further than the Romantic and Enlightenment ideals of Romagnosi and Gioia. Cattaneo looked to a future with free enterprise, laical instruction, technical schools, reform of public and private rights with greater freedom in commerce, ideas and a greater participation in the democratic system

epistemology of historical progress, or the cyclical theory of historical development. See Donald R. Kelley, ed. *Varieties of History: from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 474ff.

⁷⁷Focher, 30.

of government of *uomini nuovi*.⁷⁸

With *Carlo Cattaneo Politico* also published in 2001, Risorgimento historian, Franco Della Peruta also enters the recent Cattanean historiography discussing Cattaneo's relationship with the proletariat, but concludes that Cattaneo trusted in free enterprise as the moving force of production. Thus, he stood in contrast with socialist and communist thinkers. Cattaneo advocated universal suffrage through which the *contadini* (peasants) could express their voice, but this objective had to be pursued through intelligence and democracy. Social and political problems could be resolved in a new Italy, which would be a reflection inspired by the cult of liberty and of a great and progressive democracy, aware of the dangers of abstract ideologies and revolutions, nevertheless, being opened to the aspirations and needs of the masses.⁷⁹ Della Peruta correctly asserts that the democracy that Cattaneo envisioned was laical and progressive. This short book does not, however, delve into Cattaneo's religiosity or the lack thereof.⁸⁰

Most other historians studying Carlo Cattaneo have concluded that anticlerical political thinkers cannot be religious, and have ignored the religious portent of words reflecting not only a belief in God, but also arguments founded in the Christian tradition.

⁷⁸Antonio Gili, *Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) un italiano svizzero* (Lugano: Giampiero Casagrande editore, 2001), 22.

⁷⁹Franco Della Peruta, *Carlo Cattaneo Politico* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2001), 145-147.

⁸⁰Also in 2001, for the bicentennial of the birth of Carlo Cattaneo, Della Peruta collaborated with Cattanean historians, Carlo G. Lacaita and Fernando Mazzocca in unveiling the various facets of Carlo Cattaneo. See Franco Della Peruta, Carlo G. Lacaita and Fernando Mazzocca, *I volti di Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) Un grande italiano del Risorgimento* (Geneva and Milan: Skira editore, 2001).

Adhering to this bias, Clara M. Lovett who, more than any other historian of the Risorgimento, explored the lives and political philosophy of its lesser-known protagonists, argues that Cattaneo’s “unhappy seminary experience in the formative years of adolescence may have been the cause of the indifference to religious values and of the strong anticlericalism displayed by Cattaneo for the rest of his life.” She quotes historian Ernesto Sestan’s comment concerning Cattaneo’s absolute lack of religiosity.⁸¹

Biographer Giuseppe Armani, seemingly agrees that Cattaneo chafed under the imposed restraints during his seminarian studies.⁸² He concludes that the hard and isolated seminarian life certainly caused Cattaneo not to be a practicing Catholic after leaving the seminary in 1817. Although Armani cannot pinpoint this break with the Catholic Church to a particular moment of religious crisis, he notes that Cattaneo never spoke specifically about his seminary days. Armani agrees with the estimation of Ernesto Sestan.⁸³

Moreover, another late twentieth-century historian, Romano Bracalini, writing in 1994, asserts that although Cattaneo was influenced by the anticlerical spirit of his times, he did not allow the pendulum of disavowing of one dogma to swing too radically into atheism.⁸⁴ Thus, the assumption that Cattaneo’s silence on his life in the seminary and

⁸¹Clara M. Lovett, *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820-1860*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 4. See footnote 2.

⁸²Giuseppe Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo: una biografia. Il padre del federalismo italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1997), 10-11.

⁸³Armani, 11.

⁸⁴Bracalini, 14.

subsequent liberal thinking signified a rejection of religion is not grounded. Armani and Bracalini wrote their biographies at roughly the same time. Armani's work is heavily influenced by his meticulous bibliographical research regarding Cattaneo. As such, Armani does not go beyond what other historians have previously written.⁸⁵ Bracalini interprets Cattaneo as a political hero whose voice is finally being heard today. A third historian and quasi-biographer, Luigi Ambrosoli offers a different view of Cattaneo in 2001. Instead of concentrating on the life of the Milanese intellectual, Ambrosoli examines, or rather 'discovers' Cattaneo following the lead of Gaetano Salvemini.⁸⁶ Of all recent historians, Luigi Ambrosoli comes the closest to acknowledging the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo in *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*.⁸⁷

Bracalini also comes to a different conclusion not only concerning Cattaneo's religiosity, but also his place in history. Bracalini argues that it took two world wars, and a twenty-year Fascist dictatorship for Cattaneo to regain his place in history. Unlike Lovett and Spadolini, Bracalini argues that Cattaneo retreated from Italian politics to punctuate his point. The intuition of the Lombard leader over a century and a half ago saw the advantage of federalism. Bracalini argues that Cattaneo understood that federalism was the only path for Italian nationalism, and Italy, today, would be better off

⁸⁵See also Giulio Andrea Belloni, *Carlo Cattaneo e la sua idea federale* edited by Giuseppe Armani (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1974).

⁸⁶Luigi Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo* (Azzate, Varese: Macchione Editore, 2000)

⁸⁷Ambrosoli, *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo* (Milan & Naples: Ricardo Ricciardi Editore, 1959).

as a federalist state.⁸⁸

Ambrosoli, Armani and Lovett explain that through Gian Domenico Romagnosi, his mentor-friend, Cattaneo was weaned on Enlightenment thinking including the philosophy of Giambattista Vico.⁸⁹ According to most of the historiography of the thinking of Carlo Cattaneo, the budding Milanese thinker embraced empirical, scientific reasoning, and this philosophy influenced all of his writing. He did not believe in metaphysics or abstract principles. For this reason, the standard assessment of his thinking was that he was positivist, a practical thinker, believing that logical reasoning would lead to good results. Cattanean historiography argues that he remained steadfast to the idea of progress throughout his life.

The preponderance of the historical writings concerning Carlo Cattaneo has focused on secular, political and philosophical analyses of his thinking and writing. No historian has fully examined Cattaneo using a religious-cultural approach. Professor Ambrosoli comes closest in his book *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*. He is very careful not to overstate the possibility that Carlo Cattaneo was a religious man. Nevertheless, unlike his colleagues, Ambrosoli is open to the idea, while Sestan, Croce, Lovett and Armani are quick to slam the door on this inconvenient idea.

Unfortunately, no historian, has to this point, fully considered the religious possibilities or roots in Cattaneo's proclamation of liberty, truth, and intelligence. They note the influence of Vico, Romagnosi, Bacon, Locke and others, but not the influence of

⁸⁸Bracalini, 217-219.

the Christian intellectual tradition on Western thinking. Perhaps this is due to biases in favor of secularism, and against religiosity. These historians could not reconcile in their own minds Cattaneo's anticlerical opinions with Christian thought. Perhaps they are blind to this possibility, and the mentioning of God in Cattaneo's writings dismissed as part of the poetic renderings of the nineteenth century. Later historians look back at Cattaneo through the haze of anticlerical agitation. As Jessie White Mario wrote in 1886, for a long time there was hope that Cavour's motto of "a free church in a free state" would prevail. Pessimistically, she concluded that Italian democratic liberals feared that the Jesuits would once again take control of Italy, especially through their influence on the youth.⁹⁰ The vision of an embittered, entrenched pope in the Vatican, excommunicating whomever dared vote, invoked images of medieval, papal edicts and ecclesiastical attempts at power politics.

Scholars and students living in nineteenth-century Italy, saw the *Bel Paese* as Rome, the ancient capital of the Roman Empire, or as Florence, the birthplace of the Renaissance. Its splendor was rusted and corrupted during the modern era due to political catastrophes of Custoza and Novara. While foreign visitors came to Italy on their Grand Tour, admiring the culture and sites, other contemporary foreign visitors to Italy were also confused and had preconceptions about the negative influence of the Catholic Church on the Italian people. After staying in England for about a year, an American Christian missionary in 1850 Italy described it as "a death-wrapt land, where the errors of ages were

⁹⁰Daniels, 167.

ready to combat my purpose with gigantic powers.”⁹¹ This dismal commentary was a commonly held idea of what Italy was like. Non Catholics and Catholics alike espoused it, and in varying degrees, contemporary European and Italian thinkers concluded that the Roman Catholic Church was an obstacle to liberal, democratic ideas. This bias was reinforced after Pope Pius IX’s brief flirtation with and retreat from administrative and political reforms ended with Austrian reoccupation of Ferrara and the Pope’s temporary exile to Gaeta during the 1848 Revolutions. Even beyond the Papal States, Italy was under the profound influence of the Roman Pontiff.

Historians must, therefore, keep Cattaneo in the time period in which he lived. Although he called the conflicts of 1866, a ‘simulacrum of war,’ because of the “frailties of the country’s political and military leadership were exposed [and] it suffered the humiliation of being ceded territory through French mediation — the very conditions it had fought to avoid,”⁹² Carlo Cattaneo was a product of the early nineteenth century. He did not experience, and therefore was not influenced by the bitter battles over every political, moral or social issue between Catholics and anti-clericals after Unification. It was an affront to the modern mind to consider, as did the Catholics, that the catastrophes of war, natural disaster and epidemics as *flagelli* (punishments) from God as Oliver Logan argues in “The Clericals and Disaster: Polemic and Solidarism in Liberal Italy.”⁹³

⁹¹Lorenzo Snow, *Italian Mission* (London: s.n., 1851), 2.

⁹²John Dickie, John Foot, Frank M. Snowden, ed. *Disastro! Disasters in Italy since 1860: Culture, Politics, Society* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 17-18.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 100-101.

Although anticlericalism was part of the atmosphere of the Age of the Risorgimento, the heightened level of anticlericalism, which Logan describes and to which most historians refer, took place after Cattaneo's death. According to Sestan, Armani, Lovett, Della Peruta, and other historians, an intellectual like Cattaneo could not possibly adhere to or be influenced by the same Catholic-Christian tradition that provoked such great atrocities against human liberty. Nonetheless, Cattaneo's thinking not only spoke occasionally of God, using Scriptural references, but also had its roots in Christian intellectual tradition.

CHAPTER TWO

RELIGIOSITY IN THE WRITINGS OF CARLO CATTANEO

During his lifetime, the mind and pen of Carlo Cattaneo explored many avenues of thought and inquiry. Historians, however, fail to acknowledge that his formative seminary years provided him the foundation for his elegant prose and quick intellect. The seminaries in Arlenco and Monza nurtured his love of books and of learning, and the priests/teachers stimulated his thinking and reasoning process to such a fine point that in 1820, Giandomenico Romagnosi, the eminent Milanese *illuminista*, accepted Cattaneo in his private school where Cattaneo became part of Romagnosi's inner circle, and favorite student. With Romagnosi, Cattaneo began the life of an intellectual, building on the firm foundation of his seminary education.

True, Carlo Cattaneo was anticlerical, meaning he, like others, saw the decadency and overbearing dominion of the Jesuits and other priesthood orders, but he was not irreligious as his biographer, Giuseppe Armani, and other historians such as Ernesto Sestan and Clara M. Lovett, have stated. In their secular bias, historians have ignored, or at the very least, explained away obvious indications of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo. The present chapter will begin to rectify this lacuna in Cattanean and modern Italian studies. A chronological examination of a sampling of Carlo Cattaneo's writings will show their religious content. Cattaneo did not profess to teach theology, nor did he hide logical, scientific objections to some clerics. Cattaneo was not, however, irreligious. Where appropriate, he did not shy away from his cultural-religious roots.

What kind of religious influence can be found in the writings of Carlo Cattaneo? In what works are religious expression found? This chapter will show that the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo in his intellectual expressions is manifested in seven distinct ways: 1) use of Biblical phrasing in his writings; 2) actual quoting of Biblical verse; 3) recognition of the papacy as a legitimate ruler in Italy; 4) intellectual interaction with the foremost proponent of a united Italy under the Pontiff; 5) addressing the need for reform in the teaching of religion; 6) application of Christian concepts, such as the progression of mankind, expounded in his philosophy; 7) and embracing Christian principles as part of common morality envisioned. In his writings, although never a theologian, Cattaneo was very much aware of the Christian world in which he lived, and the influence, sometimes contradictory, which Christianity had on Europe.

Beginning with his first published work in 1836, *Interdizioni Ebraiche*, and highlighting some of Cattaneo's major works, this brief chapter cannot be an exhaustive analysis of the religiosity in all of Cattaneo's works, but can serve as an introduction to the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo. For example, *Interdizioni Ebraiche* exemplifies Cattaneo's analytical abilities and skill in seeing historically the broad ramifications of the centuries of interdiction against the Jews. This chapter will also examine Cattaneo's 1848 eye-witness account of the Cinque Giornate of Milan, some of his social writings, and selections of his most beautiful pages as indicated by Gaetano Salvemini. Cattaneo's thinking culminates in one of his last long essays, *Intelligence as a Principle of Public Economy*, published in 1861.⁹⁴ A careful reading of these works reveals a tone and

⁹⁴This is the only one of two works of Carlo Cattaneo translated into English.

rhetoric in Cattaneo's writings that was perfectly understandable and acceptable in early nineteenth-century Europe. If Cattanean scholars can recognize that Carlo Cattaneo was almost genetically connected to agrarian and rural concerns, even though he was city-born,⁹⁵ it is strange that the rural seminary years of the Lombard intellectual have so routinely been dismissed by most historians. In other words, historians selectively accept Cattaneo's affinity with agricultural, but reject any positive influence of his formative years in the seminary.

In *Interdizioni Ebriache*, Cattaneo concludes that the perception, which the Christian world had concerning the Jews, was founded on the Christian principle condemning the love of money or filthy lucre as preached by Saints Peter and Paul.⁹⁶ Yet, Cattaneo points out the irony where the Christians themselves in the late Roman and early Byzantine eras, forced the Jews into the lending professions, because the Jewish people were forbidden by law to own land and property. In *Interdizioni*, Cattaneo argues that the Jews were not so different physiognomically or genetically from other Europeans. Cattaneo grasps the irony of the fact that Jews had been forced into the role of

⁹⁵Giovanni Luseroni, ed. *Carlo Cattaneo, Interdizioni israelitiche*. (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 2002), XXIII.

⁹⁶*La Sacra Bibbia illustrata da Gustave Doré*, Italian text, introduction and commentary (Milan: Editoriale Domus, SpA, 1977) Latin text from "Vulgata Clementina" Papal Bull Clement VIII, IX Nov MDXCII with juridical authenticity for the universal or Catholic Church. **Titus 1:7,11**: Oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse, sicut Dei dispensatorem: nonsuperbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum, non percussorem, non *turpis lucri* cupidum... quos oportet redargui; qui universas, domos subvertunt, docentes quae non oportet, *turpis lucri* gratia. **1 Peter 5:2**: neque *turpis lucri* gratia, sed voluntarie. (The italics are mine.) Interestingly, Cattaneo uses the word *lucro* as translated directly from the Latin, while the Italian version uses the word *guardagno* or *gain*.

moneylenders by the laws enacted by Christians, and consequently viewed as physically different because of their supposed, or perceived, love of lucre, which of course, was an abomination for Christians. By association with lucre, the Jews were perceived as being dirty and filthy as well.⁹⁷

Cattaneo does not enter into a theological discussion of lucre, nor does he disavow this Christian teaching. That is not his point, and is unnecessary. Moreover, he uses the Christian concept of lucre to explain this point. In *Interdizioni*, Cattaneo logically asserts that all of Europe suffers economically because of the economic interdiction and sanctions against the Jews. According to Cattaneo, if laws had not been enacted against the Jews, they would have been assimilated into European society. Jewish groups throughout Europe applauded Cattaneo's brilliant exposé and analysis of the fundamental problem of forbidding Jewish land ownership. They admired his scientific reasoning while understanding the Christian world in which he lived, and used *Interdizioni* as an argument in favor of their liberation before the Austrian Emperor.⁹⁸ Because of this work, Italian Fascism was never able to appropriate Cattaneo's writings in its assertion that Fascism was a continuation of the Risorgimento. Instead, Fascism attempted to label Cattaneo's works as insignificant, because they could not be reconciled with Fascist doctrine. Over a hundred years before Italian Fascism enacted laws against the Jewish people, Carlo Cattaneo argued for the equality of all men, and for religious and ethnic tolerance. Jews were no different from other Europeans.

⁹⁷*Interdizioni Ebraiche*, 52-54.

⁹⁸*Ibid.* 4.

Carlo Cattaneo begins his long essay, *Interdizioni Ebraiche* with an exposition of the meaning of tolerance. His explanation of tolerance is closer to the Christian ideal than the underlying insinuation typically connected to the word *tolerance*, wherein a moral superiority is implied. People or customs are tolerated as an aberration, rather than respected, loved and lifted up as indicated in the Christian meaning of the word where *forbearance* is synonymous. Cattaneo's definition reflects Christian values, defining tolerance as a most delicate balance between a sense of justice and of social utility with which spontaneous impulses of benevolence precede the persuasion of reason.⁹⁹ In other words, Cattaneo, without entering into secular polemics, argues for the moral superiority of Christian tolerance.

In the first chapter of *Interdizioni*, Cattaneo describes the era in which he lived as the *fulness of times*.¹⁰⁰ To the careful reader, this is an obvious reference to the phrase in the New Testament penned by Paul in his epistles to the Galatians and to the Ephesians.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Cattaneo's reference to a common citizenship (among all Europeans), and being no more strangers,¹⁰² loudly echoes another of Paul's declarations to the Ephesians.¹⁰³ After examining the juridic history of European laws against the Jews, and

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 12.

¹⁰¹ See Gala. 4:4: *la pienezza del tempo* [Italian] and *plentitudo temporis* [Latin] and Eph. 1:10: *nella pienezza dei tempi* [Italian] and *plentitudinis temporum* [Latin]

¹⁰²*Interdizioni Ebraiche*, 12.

¹⁰³See Eph. 2:19.

outlining the liberalization of these laws beginning in France and Great Britain, Cattaneo logically explains that the case against the Wahl brothers in Basel was an injustice to all Europeans. Cattaneo's point of departure was an inflammatory current event related in contemporary newspaper accounts regarding two French Jews, the Wahl brothers, who had bought land in the Swiss Canton of Basel. In France the Wahl brothers were freemen; in Switzerland they did not enjoy legal parity. The contract that they made was nullified by the municipal authorities because local legislation prohibited Jews from owning land. Cattaneo took this incident as a place to begin scientifically and empirically analyzing the history of the Jews and their long and tortuous journey to emancipation.

Using empirical evidence, Cattaneo demonstrates the economic problem of how a Christian could not get a fair price for his property if the only buyer was a Jew. The Jewish interdictions hurt the Christian more than the Jew. Where was the justice and social harmony in that prospect, even though some politicians and theologians argued that the Jews were fortunate to have the interdictions? They had great wealth. In his conclusion, Cattaneo appeals to higher principles, including peace, tolerance and acceptance of differing beliefs. He writes that human dignity, social consideration and the participation in the most *elect* pleasures are greater than cupidity, greed and avarice.¹⁰⁴ Here, of course, Cattaneo is identifying some of the seven deadly sins, and thus using his Christian learning to argue his point. The call for the higher nature in man is also resonate in Christian thought as taught in the gospels. Not by chance, Cattaneo, an erudite writer, chooses the word *elect* with its religious connotations, and also concludes

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 166-67.

his essay with his personal *voti* to this end, signifying a religious vow. How can this religiosity, therefore, be ignored? Cattaneo makes it clear from the beginning of *Interdizioni* that he is not making a theological nor a political statement. This essay addresses economical issues to the European intellectual community. Overt religiosity would be unnecessary for a secular audience.

Shortly after the publication of *Interdizioni Ebraiche*, Cattaneo published an article in the *Eco della Borsa*. While addressing the importance of expanding savings banks in rural Lombardy, Cattaneo emphasizes the importance of strengthening morality with religion or religious values. Professor Luigi Ambrosoli finds this statement very significant. He concludes that this Cattanean thought is an affirmation of the value of religion as an ulterior and supreme form of moral order for humanity. Without religion, humanity is rebellious and lost. With it, there is trust and serenity.¹⁰⁵

Cattaneo also advocated for religious instruction for all scholars. In the fourth volume of *Tutte le Opere di Carlo Cattaneo*, edited by Luigi Ambrosoli, and published in 1967 as part of Arnoldo Mondadori's Italian classics (which included all the Cattanean opus), this fact is well-documented. The Ambrosoli edition has careful footnotes indicating erasures and changes in the original manuscript, and includes the writings of Cattaneo from 1848 to 1852, including *L'Insurrection de Milan* in both the original French and the revised version in Italian. Cattaneo, an active participant and leader of the Cinque Giornate, gives an important eye-witness account of the Milanese insurrection.

¹⁰⁵Luigi Ambrosoli, *La formazione di Carlo Cattaneo* (Milan & Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1959), 66-67.

Most of the political rhetoric issued by the Milanese War Council came from the pen of Carlo Cattaneo.

Before 1848, Cattaneo had made a name for himself as editor of the *Politecnico*, and for his myriad of interests in applying knowledge to action. In the capacity of an appreciated thinker, he actively worked for reform in the public schools. When the vice-governor of Lombardy O'Donnell invited the Lombard Institute of Science, Letters and Art to elaborate a plan for the reform of public schools in Lombardy, Carlo Cattaneo was named as member of and relator for the committee consisting of the finest minds in Lombardy. Part of this reform included recommendations for the study of religion in the public schools. The committee's recommendations were first published in early 1848. Without prejudice, Cattaneo agreed with the committee, and noted that the teaching of religion left much to be desired among the devout. Religious study was too literal and almost profane. It should instead be given due respect with solemnity. Religious literacy alone was insufficient. Furthermore, the Lombard reformers proposed that the parish priest should receive a small remuneration for his services in teaching religion classes in the public schools. Cattaneo and committee advised that the religion classes be taught in the chapel of the lyceum or gymnasium an hour each week for all students. At the university level, Cattaneo also saw the value and importance of religious teaching for the moral and cultural progression of all peoples.¹⁰⁶ In these recommendations for reform, Cattaneo's tone is respectful with no hint of anticlericalism. Rather, he sees the

¹⁰⁶Luigi Ambrosoli, ed. *Cattaneo: Scritti dal 1848 al 1852* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1967), 13-14, 21-23.

enormous value of religious education as an intricate part of each student's moral and cultural development. He does not seem repulsed by his seminarian years as Professors Sestan, Lovett and Armani assert. In this same synthesis concerning public school reform, the Biblical phrase, *the fullness of times* also appears.¹⁰⁷

According to Professor Ambrosoli, Cattaneo particularly engaged the thinking of Ferrante Aporti, the Abbot of San Martino dell'Agine and of Cremona, known for being the first to establish preschools in Lombardy in 1838. Aporti rejected suggestions that encouraged the teaching of the classics at an early age, because of their profane nature. Professor Ambrosoli cites that Cattaneo wrote in the margin of his copy of the final report an incident in Christian tradition where St. Jerome, the translator of the Bible into Latin dreamt that because of his love of the classics, he was scolded and then asked to be whipped by Christ. Nevertheless, in spite of his promise to refrain from embracing the classics, St Jerome continued to study them and love them. During his ecclesiastical career, he made it a point to show how secular knowledge foresaw and confirmed Christianity.¹⁰⁸ This annotation indicates that Cattaneo was well-instructed in the Christian tradition concerning the early fathers of the Church. He remembered, and did not dispute the hagiography of St. Jerome. It is reasonable to conclude that Cattaneo found solace in the St. Jerome incident as he tried to reconcile his own religiosity with his love for secular learning. Cattaneo appears to be in full agreement with this anecdote from the life of St. Jerome, finding it important enough to make note of it in the margin

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 26.

¹⁰⁸Ibid. 929-930.

of his relation on scholastic reform.

Carlo Cattaneo's writings concerning public school reform also include moral statements such as admonitions to apply knowledge to agriculture so as to lighten the load of the poor and eliminate greed.¹⁰⁹ This is a theme Cattaneo continues in his essay *On the Economical and Moral Conditions of Lower Lombardy* written in 1851 where he ties the economic necessities to the morality and intellect progression of the *contadini* (peasant farmers). Perhaps it was his seminarian background that was the source of Cattaneo's moral concern for the poor, which stems from Christian tradition.¹¹⁰

In March of 1848, once again Carlo Cattaneo's talents as a facilitator and a relator were called into action as one of the central figures of the Milanese Insurrection. More of a thinker than a man of action, still Cattaneo loved his homeland, Lombardy. Thus, he agreed to participate in the revolt against Austria in March 1848. The reluctant revolutionary wrote most of the communications between the War Council and the people. These missives always began with the phrase *Viva Pio IX!* or *WPIX!*, meaning Long live Pope Pius IX!¹¹¹ Professor Ambrosoli has found evidence contrary to the

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 23.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 809ff.

¹¹¹Pius IX, considered by historians as the first modern pope, is also the pontiff who retreated into a self-imposed exile in the Vatican at the culmination of the Unification of Italy (1870). Born Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti in 1792, Pius IX was elected pope in 1846. Upon his ascension to St. Peter's Throne, there was great hope at the beginning of his papacy as Pius IX favored political reform and released many political prisoners and allowed exiles to return home. Catholic liberals hailed Pius IX as the 'patriotic pope,' an envisioned an united Italy under the Catholic Pontiff. After the Revolutions of 1848, he retreated from his previous reformist stands. Historically, he has been accused of acting out of ill-will and obstinacy towards those against him by issuing

assumption that this was merely a war cry and a rallying point, or as Norberto Bobbio indicates in *Stati Uniti d'Italia*: Pius IX was a lovely myth that the people embraced.¹¹² From a letter Cattaneo sent to his brother-in-law in April 1848, Ambrosoli concludes that at least for a certain time, Cattaneo believed in the national vocation of Pius IX.¹¹³ Yet, while shouting the war cry, *Viva Pio IX*, Cattaneo also condemned the decadency of the Jesuits and the Rosminians, in which case he was definitely anticlerical, but it was a discerning anticlericalism.¹¹⁴ Certainly, Carlo Cattaneo was very disillusioned when Pius IX retreated from his reformist stance, and the 1848 revolutions failed. In fact, after the failed revolt, Cattaneo penned a parody of the Italian national anthem ridiculing the Pontiff and pointing out that Italy did not awake from her long sleep as Mameli's *Fratelli d'Italia* proclaims.¹¹⁵

Other writings during Cattaneo's revolutionary period are replete with references to God and Christian imagery. For example, in a 1848 message to the Hungarian Diet, which faced similar challenges with Vienna as did the parliaments of Venice and

the *Syllabus of Errors* and in convening the First Vatican Council where Papal Infallibility was declared Catholic dogma in 1871. This was two years after the death of Carlo Cattaneo. The last temporal ruler of the Papal States died in 1878, the longest reigning pope.

¹¹²Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante. Studi su Carlo Cattaneo*. (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1971), 286.

¹¹³*Cattaneo: Scritti dal 1848 al 1852*, 71, 115, 122, 140, 937.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 71. More about Cattaneo's correspondence will be found in the following chapter.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.* 775-776. Mameli's hymn is today the Italian National Anthem. It was written in the fall of 1847, and sung during the Italian revolutions of 1848.

Lombardy, Cattaneo's verbiage included phrases such as "thanks be to God," "Italy brought you [Hungary] the faith in Christ," "May God grant." Cattaneo pleads to the Hungarians to remember their bonds and commonality with Italy, their ties going back ten centuries: Italy had brought the law and the altar to Hungary. These two nations should be united in Christianity.¹¹⁶

When addressing the bankers, storekeepers and industrialists of Austria, Moravia and Bohemia during the same period (April 1848), before the Pope and the King of Naples had withdrawn their troops in the cause against Austria, Cattaneo cited the importance of Pius IX in the unification of Italy. He alluded to a future congress in Rome where the people of Italy would resolve issues concerning an unified monetary system, a single civil law, one commercial and penal statute.¹¹⁷ This missive also includes the Christian imagery of the Crusades, which in Italian (*crociata*) is closely tied with the imagery of the cross (*croce*). Ever the economist, Cattaneo warns that if the movers and shakers of the Austrian Empire continued to support the war against the various provinces in Italy, Hungary and Poland, their money would be wasted in the *whirlwind of war*, future trade with the provinces would be truncated, and for the *guilty* it would be a *flagellation of God*. This is certainly language full of Christian allusions as indicated by the italicized words.¹¹⁸

In several other writings, Cattaneo speaks of the sacred cause and the holy war

¹¹⁶Ibid., 118-119. Other references to God are found on pp. 139 and 147.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 121-122.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 123.

taking place during the European revolutions of 1848.¹¹⁹ In his Italian account of the Milanese Insurrection, Cattaneo complains that the offer of the parish priest of Vimercate (in the province of Milan) was refused until it was too late. This sacerdotal proposal would have organized priests to go into the countryside to preach holy war to the peasants. Cattaneo hardly seems to be so anticlerical in his approval of using the parish priests to reach the people concerning the importance of fighting for independence from Austria. In fact, one of the reasons historians have cited for the failure of the Milanese insurrection was that the peasants were not involved. As Cattaneo laments, this suggestion was not taken seriously until the tide had turned against the Milanese revolution. Perhaps the other liberal insurrectionists were blinded by their anticlericalism, while the reluctant revolutionary, Carlo Cattaneo, saw the value of uniting with the Catholic Church as in the days of the Crusades under Godfrey and Richard the Lion-Hearted.¹²⁰ Carlo Cattaneo never acted out of pragmatism, so his support of using the parish priests to rally the peasants was no tactical ploy.

Later on in Cattaneo's *Insurrezione di Milano*, the Lombard writer points out the injustice of the provisional government in dealing with Father Lombardini from the town of Calcio (in the province of Bergamo) who just wanted to save the ecclesiastical registers from an arson's fire in his church, but was arrested instead as a conspirator. Cattaneo's discerning anticlericalism is also evident in this episode. Cattaneo supported the poor archpriest while condemning the government, and criticizing the bishop of

¹¹⁹Ibid., 133, 559, 581, 735, 740, 758, 775, etc.

¹²⁰Ibid., 589.

Cremona who sought to ban Lombardini from performing his priestly duties.¹²¹

Another interesting writing of Carlo Cattaneo is *Introduzione a Della Repubblica e del Cristianesimo* written in February/March 1849. Cattaneo wanted to reprint Vincenzo Gioberti's famous essay on republicanism and Christianity to give it new life. Vincenzo Gioberti was born in Turin the same year as Carlo Cattaneo (1801). Gioberti followed a similar path as the Lombard thinker, but instead of pursuing strictly intellectual endeavors, he joined the priesthood in 1823, becoming part of the clerics in the Savoyard court. He expressed himself politically by writing for Giuseppe Mazzini's *Giovine Italia*. *Della Repubblica e del Cristianesimo* was first printed in Mazzini's democratic journal in about 1843. At one time exiled for his political writings, Gioberti was pardoned by Carlo Alberto and later was his envoy to Rome. After Victor Emanuel II came to the throne, Gioberti was one of the leaders in parliament, serving in several capacities, including plenipotentiary minister to Paris to solicit French aid for Italy. Finding himself in disfavor in Turin, Gioberti never returned to Italy, and although critical of the events following 1848, Gioberti held tightly to the idea of an Italian confederation under the governance of the Pope. Gioberti did not, however, believe in the sovereignty of the people.

In *Introduzione a Della Repubblica e del Cristianesimo* Carlo Cattaneo engages the thinking of Vincenzo Gioberti, and with much of which he agrees. In fact, the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo is very clear in this introduction. The Lombard intellectual addresses the Piemontese priest/philosopher with great respect. He concurs that religion is merely

¹²¹Ibid., 574.

philosophy and philosophy is liberty. All men are brothers and equal before God, and have the same rights. Cattaneo shares Gioberti's assertion that with the fellowship of nations, the kingdom of God will come, which will be a kingdom of justice, peace, liberty, and no more war.¹²² Cattaneo agrees with Gioberti that religion should be an integral part of society, and it will flourish in liberty and equality. Christ himself is the model of these virtues. Social doctrines come from the gospel of Christ with its teaching of Christian charity and love for all mankind.¹²³

Cattaneo, however, disagrees with Gioberti politically. He laments the betrayal of Piedmont by not fully uniting militarily with Lombardy. (The disastrous battle of Novara took place just a few weeks later on March 23, 1849.) He asks Gioberti why Piedmont had not given Milan her independence in the spirit of confederation as he had preached. Cattaneo argues that the Republic does not extinguish the spirit of the provinces and municipalities, and literally calls Gioberti to *repentance* (certainly, a Christian concept), admonishing him to *shake the dust* (another Christian allusion!)¹²⁴ from his priestly robes. Savoy could never *redeem* Italy (yet another).¹²⁵

Carlo Cattaneo's exchange with the ideas of Gioberti, one of the era's most prominent religious/political thinker, is a fascinating snapshot of a moment in the early history of the Risorgimento. Unfortunately, it is not known if Vincenzo Gioberti

¹²²Ibid., 723.

¹²³Ibid., 725.

¹²⁴Matt. 10:14; Luke 8:5. Excute pulverem de pedibus vestris.

¹²⁵Cattaneo: *Scritti dal 1848 al 1852*, 727-731. (Italics mine.)

responded to Cattaneo. More study is necessary to see where these two great minds of northern Italy, intersected and where they had parallel thinking.¹²⁶ Sadly, neither of these two contemporaries lived to see the final outcome of the Risorgimento. Gioberti died in exile in Paris in 1852.

A final declaration of Carlo Cattaneo in his *Archivio Triennale delle cose d'Italia dall'avvenimento di Pio IX all'abbandono di Venezia* clearly shows his religiosity, his respect for Christianity in contrast with his anticlerical colleagues.

Our heart yearns for the open light of midday; because we have trust in justice; and because, it is our belief that the truth always cleaves to truth. No, we do not feel a kinship with those who sacrilegiously fear the truth and dare to record among the dangerous books, also the gospel of Christ.¹²⁷

In his important summary of the events leading up to the Milanese Revolution of 1848, and its failure, Cattaneo proclaims that his heart yearns for clarity, because he trusts in justice; it was his belief that truth always agrees with truth. He does not fear the truth and would never include the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the list of dangerous books. What stronger statement do scholars and historians need to identify in order to acknowledge the that Carlo Cattaneo was not afraid of his religiosity, even as he pointed out the errors of the Pope and of other ecclesiastic leaders?

¹²⁶Cattaneo states that Gioberti had commended Giordano Bruno as a free thinker killed by priests. This is not, however, an affirmation of anticlericalism, as some historians have interpreted. Ibid., 722.

¹²⁷Ibid., 764. Il cuor nostro agogna alla luce aperta e meridiana; perché fidiamo nella giustizia; e perché, a credenza nostra, la verità concorda sempre con la verità. No, non ci sentiamo simili a coloro che per sacrilego timore del vero, osano registrare fra i libri pericolosi alla fede anche l'evangelo di Cristo.

In another account of the Cinque Giornate, Cattaneo quotes the Epistle of Matthew that there is only one worthy to be called 'father,' which was the God in heaven¹²⁸ and not the pope on earth. Yet, the Lombard thinker also stated that there were many teachings concerning liberty in the Gospels, but were held from the people by the enemies of freedom. Continuing to reflect on the religiosity of mankind, Cattaneo concludes that Catholicism included a small portion of the world's population, all made in the image of God. They could not be excluded from the social contact of mankind.¹²⁹ Several years later, Cattaneo admonished the careful study of the Bible in order to understand this social contract, not to fear it, but embrace it in the face of those who twist its values, and hid its admonishments concerning freedom and liberty.¹³⁰ Because he did not consider himself a theologian, Cattaneo only hints at the Biblical references concerning freedom and liberty. Catholic or state censorship could also have played a part.

After the Milanese Insurrection, Carlo Cattaneo fled to France and finally to Castagnola near Lugano, Switzerland. Occasionally, he returned to Milan. Mazzini and other Risorgimento leaders sought after his wisdom. He was even elected to the new Parliament of the united Italy. Cattaneo, however, could not or would not pledge

¹²⁸Et patrem nolite vocare vobis super terram: unus est enim Pater vester, qui in caelis est. (Matt. 12:9).

¹²⁹*Scritti Politici ed Epistolari*, Gabriele Rosa and Jessie White Mario, ed. (Florence: Barbèra Editore, 1892), I, 375-76.

¹³⁰Gaetano Salvemini, *Carlo Cattaneo: Le Più Belle Pagine Scelte da Gaetano Salvemini*. (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 1993), 84-85.

allegiance to either Carlo Alberto or to his son, Victor Emanuel II. In the Ticino Canton, Cattaneo wrote and taught in the local gymnasium. He was involved in political and scholastic reforms in Ticino. During this time Cattaneo produced one of his most important works was *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica*.

Marco Vitale, economics professor at the University of Pavia, the Bocconi (in Milan), and the Carlo Cattaneo University in Castellanza, near Milan has edited the most recent edition of *Del Pensiero* in 1993, which includes the first translation of this long essay in English. Michael Novak, renowned theologian, author, and former U.S. ambassador, who currently holds the George Frederick Jewett Chair in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. wrote the foreword to the American edition, while Cattanean scholar and Director of the *Istituto varesino per la storia dell'Italia contemporanea e del movimento di liberazione*, Carlo G. Lacaia, wrote the foreword for the Italian edition. Professor Lacaia's comments are an interesting and simple outline of Cattaneo's works and intellectual career indicative of the traditional analysis of the Cattanean body of writings. Novak, who discovers Cattaneo in this translation, quotes Pope John Paul II, agreeing with Vitale that the papal text is purely in the tradition of Carlo Cattaneo when the Pontiff declared that besides the earth, man himself is his greatest asset. Even though John Paul II does not directly quote Carlo Cattaneo, their commonality in thought concerning man and intelligence speaks to the same Christian intellectual tradition. Novak, as a Catholic lay theologian sees the errors wherein Max Weber extols the Protestant work ethic, while not giving full justice to Italian capitalism. By the same token, Cattaneo's elegant prose and powerful intellect

have not been given proper recognition, according to Professor Novak.¹³¹ Perhaps with bias, Professor Vitale includes in his edition the religiosity so prominent in *Del Pensiero*. This may be because of his own personal religiosity. Vitale does not avoid the religiosity evident in the writings of Carlo Cattaneo as earlier historians have done.

When Carlo Cattaneo wrote *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica* in 1861, the Lombard expatriate was at zenith of his intellectual career. This long essay was a culmination of Cattaneo's reasoning concerning the progression of mankind. As he had done in *Interdizioni Ebraiche*, and other works, Cattaneo, ever the historian, uses incidents in world history to illustrate his points. The supposedly irreligious Cattaneo rationally and logically describes the role of Christianity in the history of mankind:

The founders of Christianity were told not to be anxious about food and clothes, but to seek the kingdom of God and justice, for everything else would follow: *Et haec omnia adjicientur vobis* (Mat. VI:33). And so it was. After only a few generations the heirs of that brotherhood of fishermen were owners of large estates. In the eighth century, they made a treaty with Charlemagne, which gave bishops and abbots half the land in the West, with serfs condemned to cultivate it, and from as far away as the forests of Sweden and Iceland the *pope's money* flowed to Rome.¹³²

In their haste to rightfully recognize Cattaneo's anticlerical and anti-metaphysical sentiment, historians have overlooked the religiosity of the Lombard thinker's reasoning. Taken out of context, this quote seems anticlerical. Furthermore, Cattaneo is talking about the power of an idea, in spite of the fact that it was corrupted by papal power.

¹³¹Carlo Cattaneo, *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica*, Marco Vitale, ed., Ruggiero di Palma Castiglione, trans. *Intelligence as a Principle of Public Economy or Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica*. (Lanham, Maryland, Oxford, England, Milan, Italy: Lexington Books, 2003), 4.

¹³²Ibid., 81-83.

From this passage, Cattaneo's knowledge of the canons of holy writ is evident. He links wealth to the rise of Christianity in Europe as the converted adhered to the Christian dictum of seeking first the kingdom of God. Cattaneo sees the mental power of faith, not a metaphysical presence. Nonetheless, his analysis goes beyond positivist reasoning. The mental value or intelligence of believing in Christian principles resulted in wealth for European Christians. There is no incongruity with religiosity in Cattaneo's reasoning.

Furthermore, the main thesis of *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica* addresses the Christian concepts of the inner man, intelligence and free will. Cattaneo defines the inner man as having two forces: intelligence and will,¹³³ and declares that freedom is will rationally and fully exercised.¹³⁴ Cattaneo's discussion of the importance of free will in conjunction with wealth and well-being shows a mature, uncorrupted and rational analysis of Christian teachings from their source, which he then applied to economics. In these passages, Carlo Cattaneo demonstrates an ability to cut through anticlerical clutter and find the pure power in the teachings of Jesus Christ.

If contrasted with Cattaneo's analysis of the rise of Islam in the context of a people embracing an idea, his conception of Christianity is quite benign. When explaining historically Islamic domination of "the land to the East beyond the Ganges and to the West beyond the Tagus"¹³⁵ Cattaneo uses the same reasoning as he did with Christianity. Yet, with his summary of the history of the followers of the Prophet,

¹³³Ibid., 86-87.

¹³⁴Ibid. 100-101.

¹³⁵Ibid., 81-83.

Cattaneo is quick to point out the flaws in Muslim teachings, and uses more radical phrasing such as the “fervid imagination of an Arab camel-driver” and “seventh-century fanatic” in identifying Mohammed.

Without citing scripture and verse, Cattaneo also quotes Proverbs in French: *à chacun selon ses oeuvres*, alluding to the fact that the Koran goes against the teachings of the ‘Other Book’ while Christians and Jews were admonished to “render to every man according to his works.”¹³⁶ Cattaneo assumes that his readers will recognize the adage from the Old Testament as part of their religious-cultural heritage, and does not hesitate in using the Bible in his secular writings. Unfortunately, modern historians are not as liberal in their thinking and limit Cattaneo’s religiosity. In his rhetoric, Cattaneo perceives that Mohammed disrupted the order of wealth as a product of work by professing that all wealth rightly belonged to the followers of the Prophet, and nothing to the infidels; in contrast, the Judeo-Christian tradition embraced the importance of work. He thus extols the moral superiority of Christianity, because it valued work.

Alessandro Levi and other historians call Cattaneo’s use of history in explaining his philosophy of the progression of mankind, positivist. For them, Cattaneo was a natural successor of Italy’s most famous philosopher of the Enlightenment, Giambattista Vico. Yet, another way of looking at this methodology is the Christian notion of progression: “But the word of the Lord was unto them precept upon precept, line upon line; here a little, and there a little” (Isaiah 28:9-13) Even though sarcastic in its original rendering in Hebrew, according to some Biblical scholars, this adage is an important part

¹³⁶Prov. 24:12

of Judeo-Christian thinking.

The fact that Cattaneo even explores the concept of the inner man in *Del pensiero* is also an example of the reluctant revolutionary's religiosity. According to Marco Vannini, the modern Florentine scholar of Christianity and mysticism, reference to the *uomo interiore* can be traced to St. Augustine of Hippo who referred to Plotinus' thinking concerning the inner man as well as Paul's writings on this subject.¹³⁷ Although not metaphysical, Carlo Cattaneo seems to acknowledge both Christian and Greek philosophy when philosophically examining the inner man. Cattaneo declares that the inner man has two forces: *intelligence* and *will*, declaring that these two are principles of wealth.¹³⁸ Both these terms (intelligence and will) have been endlessly examined from the early Church fathers through the Reformation. In his study of rhetoric, Cattaneo had learned the intricacies of the discussion, and recognized the religious overtones of his writing. He did not shy away from the religious connotations of his concepts concerning the role intelligence and will play in the history of mankind.

Religiosity was part of the philosophy, the mind of Carlo Cattaneo. It was part of his cultural heritage. The Biblical phrases flow naturally from his pen. They are part of his make-up, part of his way of reasoning. Cattaneo's eight years in the Catholic seminaries may have been difficult. He may have been deprived of a family, decent food and lodging as was typical in that era. This did not, however, turn him away from the

¹³⁷ <http://www.swif.uniba.it/lei/rassegna/990214.htm#inizio> accessed on February 11, 2007.

¹³⁸ *Del Pensiero*, 86-87.

Church or from religion causing him to become anticlerical, as most Cattanean historians have argued. The seminaries sharpened his intellect, nourished his love of learning, and gave him a foundation upon which he could express his scientific logic. The Catholic Church taught Cattaneo to be a moral man, the virtue for which both friends and enemies admire him the most. It is reasonable that Christian teachings should be found in his writings. It is plausible that irreligious historians have edited or hid away the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo, dismissing it as unimportant. As Luigi Ambrosoli has pointed out, Carlo Cattaneo never repudiated his seminarian education. Rather, the Lombard thinker ironically indicates that he remained true to what the priests taught him, and was never so revolutionary as to abandon the Christian faith in favor of atheism.¹³⁹ This chapter has presented ample evidence that this is so.

¹³⁹Ambrosoli, *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*, 67-68.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGIOSITY OF CARLO CATTANEO IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE

After examining examples of religiosity in the published writings of Carlo Cattaneo in the previous chapter, this chapter will scrutinize the correspondence of the great Lombard thinker for indications of religious thought or sentiment. Ever the scientist and historian, Carlo Cattaneo not only kept the letters received from his many correspondents during his lifetime, he meticulously made and kept copies of all his letters, articles, essays and notes. When Cattaneo died on February 6, 1869, his closest friends¹⁴⁰ wanted to honor him by editing and publishing his works, many of which had never before appeared in print. Heeding the counsel of Cattaneo's intimate collaborators,¹⁴¹ Anna Woodcock Cattaneo,¹⁴² his widow, offered the Cattaneo papers and letters to *the Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere* in Milan in preparation for their eventual publication. Unfortunately, Anna Woodcock Cattaneo died just a few months later in October 1869. Because she did not leave a valid will, a legal battle ensued. Eventually, their friend, Agostino Bertani received the rights to edit and publish the

¹⁴⁰Agostino Bertani, Gabriele Rosa, Mauro Macchi, Alberto and Jessie White Mario. See Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo*, and Margherita Cancarini Petroboni, and Mariachiara Fugazza, ed., *Carteggi di Carlo Cattaneo, Serie I, Lettere di Cattaneo, Volume I 1820 - 15 March 1848* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, and Bellinzona, Switzerland: Edizioni Casagrande, 2001).

¹⁴¹Bertani, Macchi, Enrico Rosmini, lawyer and cousin of Cattaneo, Carlo Battaglini, future mayor of Lugano, Switzerland. See *Carteggi* I, XI.

¹⁴²Carlo and Anna married in Santa Maria Maggiore in Trieste in 1836.

Cattanean opus. The next obstacle was finding a publisher willing to undertake the massive editorial effort. Historians Luigi Ambrosoli and Giuseppe Armani have written extensively about the vicissitudes of the publication of the writings of Carlo Cattaneo.¹⁴³

It was not until after World War II, however, and after the removal of the monarchy in Italy that archivist Rinaldo Caddeo, made another serious attempt to catalog the letters from and to Carlo Cattaneo.¹⁴⁴ Caddeo rectified the previous inventory's many errors. Separating the epistolary documentation from other writings was no easy task, but in the end, Caddeo's catalogue had 1396 letters compared to the approximately 330 edited by Gabriele Rosa and Jessie White Mario. This was due to an extensive search of other sources, archives and repositories.¹⁴⁵

A significant portion of the Cattanean correspondence deals with personal financial and other so-called mundane subjects. Most are written in Italian, but some are written in French, Latin or English. Many deal with the myriad of ideas and interests of Carlo Cattaneo, such as the development of the railroad in northern Italy, the modernization of the silk industry and projects for gas lighting in Milan. Most of all, the Cattanean correspondence provides a glimpse into the intellectual, social and political world of Italy in the mid-nineteenth century. Carlo Cattaneo corresponded with a long list of who's who of the Italian Risorgimento: Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi,

¹⁴³See Luigi Ambrosoli, *La Scoperta di Carlo Cattaneo* and Giuseppe Armani in *I volti di Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) Un grande italiano del Risorgimento* (Geneva and Milan: Skira editore, 2001), 15-20.

¹⁴⁴Rinaldo Caddeo, ed. *Epistolario* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1949-56), Vol. 1-4.

¹⁴⁵*Carteggi I*, XVIII-XIX.

Count Cavour, Enrico Cernuschi, Carlo Tenca, Antonio Rosmini, Giuseppe Ferrari, Francesco Crispi and Luigi Azzimonti to cite a few of the more well-known names. Letters to lesser-renowned correspondents flesh out the day-today happenings of the fascinating Risorgimento from Cattaneo's perspective.

The first volume of the *Carteggi* or papers of Carlo Cattaneo were published in time for the bicentennial of the birth of Carlo Cattaneo in 2001, and with the financial and moral support of the Italian-Swiss Committee for the publication of the works of Carlo Cattaneo. This committee includes the Cultural Ministry of the Italian Republic, the Department of Culture and Education of the Canton Ticino, the Lombard Region, and the Cariplo Foundation.¹⁴⁶ The aim of *Italian-Swiss Committee for the publication of the works of Carlo Cattaneo* is to produce the definitive collection and documentation of the writings of Carlo Cattaneo. Professors Mariachiara Fugazza and Margherita Cancarini Petroboni collaborated in editing the letters written by Cattaneo, while Carlo Lacaita prepared the editions of the correspondence received by Cattaneo. As of 2006, two volumes each have been published, covering the time period up through 1851. Newly discovered missives found after the publication of the first volumes have been added to the appendices in the succeeding tomes. These are the best sources for scholars beginning research regarding Carlo Cattaneo and the Milan Insurrection of 1848, as well

¹⁴⁶The Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, was established in Milan on 12 June 1823 offering banking and financial services. Since 1991, the Cariplo Foundation has been a nonprofit organization dedicated to cultural, scientific and educational studies for the public good. See <http://www.fondazionecariplo.it> (Accessed 20 Feb 2007.)

as the Risorgimento from the Milanese point of view.

The Lombard Region and the *Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere* also participated in another project dedicated to the ‘Lombardy of Carlo Cattaneo,’ in honor of the bicentennial of the great Lombard thinker’s birth. Printed in paperback form, the fifth and final volume provides a selection of the Lombard intellectual’s letters from 1821 to his death in 1869. Published in 2003, *Lettere* is the Reader’s-Digest version relying mainly on the first volume of *Carteggi di Carlo Cattaneo* for the time period from 1821 to March 15, 1848 and *Scritti Politici ed epistolario di Carlo Cattaneo*, which Gabriele Rosa and Jessie White Mario compiled and published in three volumes from 1892 to 1901. In addition, other references to the Carlo Cattaneo letters are found in other sources such as the seven-volume series of all the works of Carlo Cattaneo edited by various historians on the occasion of the centennial of the death of Carlo Cattaneo (1869). Chapter Two has used Volume IV extensively, which was edited by Luigi Ambrosoli.

Another source for the epistles of Cattaneo is Father Vittorio Michelini’s *Carlo Cattaneo: Studio Biografico dall’Epistolario*, which attempts to recreate the life of Carlo Cattaneo through letters written by the Lombard intellectual and missives he received. This book received the imprimatur of the Catholic Church. Although this work seems to be thoroughly documented there are several important references, which lack appropriate citation. For example, a pertinent idea attributed to Cattaneo stating that he had access to the Bible in many different languages, and considered it to be a moral compass for humanity cannot be traced to its original source, because no page number is given for the

references cited.¹⁴⁷

This thesis has relied upon important collections of the writings of Carlo Cattaneo.¹⁴⁸ The secondary sources prepared by Rosa, Mario, Caddeo, Ambrosoli, Fugazza and Petroboni are important tools. They are valid, historically reliable and universally accepted by all Cattaneo scholars. Especially in the case of *Carteggi I* and *II*, the editors have carefully indicated the corrections and changes Cattaneo made in his writings, and where possible have compared the copies of the letters with the missives sent. Professors Fugazza and Petroboni have also maintained the original spelling and punctuation. The letters are meticulously documented with excellent footnotes. The *Carteggi di Carlo Cattaneo* are an excellent and trustworthy source, albeit secondary for the purposes of this thesis. An idea of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo can be gleaned from the published material available keeping in mind that it is not the purpose of this thesis to determine to what degree Carlo Cattaneo was a devoted Catholic or Christian. His spirituality is a subjective matter, and thin ice for scholars, as Michelini's effort demonstrates. Esteemed historians such Norberto Bobbio and Luigi Ambrosoli have noted that no scholar has taken a deeper look at the Lombard thinker's religiosity, a

¹⁴⁷Vittorio Michelini, *Carlo Cattaneo: Studio Biografico dall'Epistolario*, 103-104. See note 5.

¹⁴⁸Most of the Cattanean papers are archived in the Museo del Risorgimento, Milan; the private Bersellini Reptti Archives, Milan; State Archives in Palermo for the Cattaneo-Crispi correspondence; and the Società d'incoraggiamento d'arti e mestieri, Milan. For the other archives and repositories see *Carteggi I*, LXIII.

weakness in the Cattanean historiography.¹⁴⁹ Since the writings of Carlo Cattaneo are replete with religious overtones, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, this chapter consequently studies the Cattaneo correspondence to find if these writings have similar religious references.

Over all, Cattaneo's correspondence deals with quotidian concerns. For example, on 30 April 1826, and again in February 1830, Cattaneo writes to *the Congregazione Municipale* of Milan to apply for a professional position at the Brera Library in Milan.¹⁵⁰ He communicates with friends and family asking about their well-being. Some letters are responses to articles read in journals and magazines about the issues of the day. His chosen profession of being a teacher, writer and conveyor of ideas brought Carlo Cattaneo into contact with the best and the brightest of his day both in Italy and throughout Europe. As a young man, he became a prodigy-friend of Giandomenico Romagnosi until the death of the latter in 1835. Cattaneo gave a legal disposition in favor of Romagnosi in 1821 when the older jurist, philosopher and scientist was arrested for association with Silvio Pellico and the Carboneria.¹⁵¹ Thus from his youth, Cattaneo was

¹⁴⁹Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante. Studi su Carlo Cattaneo* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1971), 17, and Luigi Ambrosoli, *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo* (Milan & Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1959), 65.

¹⁵⁰*Carteggi I*, Letters 12, 13.

¹⁵¹Silvio Pellico was an important early nineteenth-century Italian dramaturge and French professor in Milan. He is best known for his work, *Le mie prigioni* about his fifteen years (1822-1837) of hard confinement in the infamous Spielberg prison for his anti-Austrian activities.

The *Carboneria* was a secret revolutionary society in early nineteenth-century Italy. Its aims were for a liberal and constitutional government. Giuseppe Mazzini was a *carbonaro*.

well aware of the dangers of free thinking, and the tension between civil authority and the expression of ideas in nineteenth-century Europe. This was also an epoch of both civil and ecclesiastical censorship, a fascinating subject which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

Because of these restraints, it is difficult to determine to what extent religious expression in the written or illustrative form was condemned or permitted. For example, the presence of the figure of Pius IX on an envelope can be construed as a form of religiosity. Unfortunately, the editors of *Carteggi* have not indicated in what cases a representation of the pope appeared on Cattaneo's stationery. A letter written in late January 1848 to Richard Cobden¹⁵² in London had the image of Pius IX on its last page.¹⁵³ It is curious that Cattaneo would have this figure on his stationery, when writing to an Englishman, especially considering the anti-papal sentiment in the United Kingdom during the Victorian era. English support for Italian nationalism went beyond trade concerns. Protestant Great Britain hoped for a religious reformation in Italy and a shift away from the papacy.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the fixation of the representation was tantamount to the *Viva Pio IX!* written at the beginning or the end of declarations Cattaneo penned during the Cinque Giornate. For example on 23 March 1848, Cattaneo penned: *Dio ci voglia*

¹⁵²Richard Cobden (1804-1865) was a British manufacturer who advocate free trade. A radical and liberal statesman, he helped formed the anti-Corn Law League.

¹⁵³*Carteggi I*, 284.

¹⁵⁴A good source on Italian-English relations during the nineteenth-century is Harry W. Rudman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters, Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (New York: AMS Pres, Inc. 1966).

felici, come ci volle liberi e gloriosi. Viva l'Italia. Viva Pio IX in a missive to the troops.¹⁵⁵ A declaration to the citizens of Milan gives this same sentiment: *Possa Pio IX presiedere fra pochi giorni in Roma il vittorioso congresso di tutti i popoli italiani.*¹⁵⁶ This could have been sincere appreciation for the tradition of the papacy as Cattaneo expressed to his brother-in-law, Anatole Brènier, a French diplomat in Naples: “tant que Pie IX dure, nous avens un president-né.”¹⁵⁷ At least until 1850, Cattaneo advocated a pertinent role for Pius IX in national and constitutional matters.¹⁵⁸

Historians have looked at Cattaneo’s association or friendship with the Catholic clergy to identify his religiosity. This approach has been used by Luigi Ambrosoli with care, but has been mishandled by Vittorio Michelini. By this measure, Carlo Cattaneo was not anticlerical, and nor does he seem to have abandoned his seminarian studies with disgust or rancor for his priests-teachers. He remained close to Don Filippo Benelli, a teacher from his seminarian days, who as director of the Santa Marta Lyceum hired Cattaneo as member of the faculty. He also maintained a close relationship with Don Bartolomeo Catana who became the prefect of the Ambrosian Library.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵Carlo Cattaneo, *Lettere 1821 - 1869* (Milan: Oscar Mondadori, 2003), 49. God wants us happy, as he wanted us free and glorious. Long live Italy. Long Live Pius IX.

¹⁵⁶Cattaneo, *Cattaneo: Scritti dal 1848 al 1852* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1967), 115.

¹⁵⁷*Carteggi II*, 44.

¹⁵⁸Luigi Ambrosoli, *Cattaneo: Scritti dal 1848 al 1852*. Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editori, 1967), 937.

¹⁵⁹Luigi Ambrosoli, *La formazione di Carlo Cattaneo illustrata da un'appendice di scritti inediti o dimenticati* (Milan & Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore, 1959), 9.

Professor Ambrosoli concludes that the priests of Cattaneo's youth greatly influenced him, and he held them in high esteem. Cattaneo wrote: "What little we know about ideology was taught by three good priests. One of them has long since gone with God... Of the other two, one is a country priest, and the other is here among us...."¹⁶⁰ Ambrosoli identifies these three 'good priests' as first, his great-uncle, Giacomo Antonio Cattaneo who was the parish priest of Casorate Prima in the province of Pavia. The second was Don Bartolomeo Catena, while the third was Filippo Benelli.¹⁶¹ Along with Ambrosoli, Cattaneo's biographers also mention the positive influence that Carlo Cattaneo's maternal cousin, don Pietro Cighera had on the youthful Cattaneo. A prefect of the Ambrosian Library, don Pietro Cighera gave the young Cattaneo complete access to this important Milanese library even after hours. Through a paternal cousin, don Gaetano Cattaneo, Carlo became acquainted with the great Milanese literati, Carlo Porta and Alessandro Manzoni.¹⁶² Cattaneo's belief in God was nurtured by his priestly friends.

Cattaneo was also a close friend with Giuseppe Montani, a fellow Lombard and former Barnabita priest. From Montani, a philosophy professor, Carlo Cattaneo learned how to navigate the waters of writing and publishing, and was further introduced into the Milanese cultural circles. Their correspondence does not have any anticlerical sentiment.

¹⁶⁰ Caddeo, *Epistolario I*, 401.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 67. See also p. 12n. Ambrosoli ties this declaration to Cattaneo's conflict with don Antonio Rosmini, which is discussed in this chapter.

¹⁶²Ibid. See also, Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo il padre del federalismo*, 12.

It is not conclusive if this was because there was none or because of censorship restraints, or perhaps it was not a salient subject of their communications. Their similar path from ecclesiastical concerns to intellectual matters seems to have been a natural process many of their generation took. When Montani fled to Florence to avoid arrest in 1822, Cattaneo had access to Montani's Milanese apartment and library.¹⁶³

When Carlo Cattaneo entered into agreement in 1839 with Giovanni Battista Menini and Father Ottavio Ferrario to obtain the government license for the scientific periodical, *Il Politecnico*, this was an important step in asserting himself into Italy's intellectual milieu. Father Ferrario was an expert chemist and of the order of the Padri Ospitalieri di San Giovanni di Dio and of the Fatebenefratelli of Milan. Father Ferrario was director of the pharmacology department of the Fatebenefratelli hospital, and became the head of his order in the province of Milan in 1848. Menini and Ferrario left the administrative onus and financial responsibilities to Cattaneo's discretion. Carlo Cattaneo referred to Menini as eccentric,¹⁶⁴ while he called Ferrario a dear friend whose friendship he valued greatly.¹⁶⁵ In one letter, in a self-deprecating fashion, Cattaneo asks his priest-friend and collaborator to pray to the Lord for "noi poveri indivoti" (we poor pagans).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *Carteggi I*, 3-7. See also Giuseppe Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo il padre del federalismo italiano*, 15-17.

¹⁶⁴ Rinaldo Caddeo, *Epistolario I*, 108.

¹⁶⁵ *Carteggi I*, 212.

¹⁶⁶ *Carteggi I*, 126.

Perhaps historians, such as Ernesto Sestan and Giuseppe Armani, consider Carlo Cattaneo to be anticlerical because he was anti-Rosmini, and most historians of nineteenth-century Italy concur that Rosmini was the most prominent religious figure of his day, after the pope himself. If so, this would be a superficial assessment, because although Rosmini had close ties with the papacy from the reign of Pius VII to Pius XI, Rosminian thought¹⁶⁷ was controversial during the reigns of Gregory XVI and Pius IX. The earlier contemporary popes (Pius VII, Leo XII, and Pius VIII) all encouraged Rosmini to reform current philosophy to Catholic dogma. Later, Gregory XVI and Pius IX had his works dismissed, without condemning their author. Some historians see the machinations of Giacomo Antonelli, Pius IX's secretary of state, in the pope's rescinding his invitation to Rosmini to share his exile in Gaeta during the Revolutions of 1848. The Society of Jesus also opposed Rosmini and his school of thought.

Don Antonio Rosmini Serbato (1797-1855) was a theologian and founder of an important religious organization, the Institute of Charity. A contemporary of Cattaneo, he followed a similar path of intellectual preparation like so many young men of nineteenth-century Europe. Both Rosmini and Cattaneo studied for the priesthood, both were among the great thinkers of their day. Both are considered Italian patriots. Cattaneo embraced the philosophy of Giambattista Vico, the great Italian Enlightenment thinker (and priest), and the thinking of Giandomenico Romagnosi. The Rosmini philosophy sought to undo the supposed ravages of the Enlightenment in order to reconcile reason with religion. In

¹⁶⁷Rosmini applied two important principles to moral conduct: the principle of passivity and the principle of indifference, wherein the adherent of these principles waits to be acted upon by God's will.

other words, Rosmini attacked Romagnosi and other Enlightenment thinkers such as Locke, Constant and Melchior Gioia, because they had refuted metaphysical ideas, and thus, according to the prelate-philosopher, Romagnosi was insincere in his religious beliefs. The salient point in the famous Rosmini-Cattaneo controversy is that Carlo Cattaneo was furious that Rosmini would doubt the sincerity of Romagnosi's religious faith, and by extension, attack Carlo's own faith. The Milanese Enlightenment thinker and his disciple believed in God, saw the importance of religious and moral thought, and their philosophy did not deny the existence of God, which Rosmini's accusations inferred.

Cattaneo wrote to Rosmini that the doctrines of Giandomenico Romagnosi were a thousand times simpler and orthodox than the tired and risky writings of Rosmini. In so doing, Cattaneo asserted that he was defending the many priests and non-clergy who had espoused the teachings of Romagnosi. Giandomenico Romagnosi was not an atheist, according to Carlo Cattaneo.¹⁶⁸ Did Professors Ernesto Sestan and Alessandro Levi use the measuring stick of Cattaneo's anti-Rosminian beliefs to determine the Lombard thinker's religiosity? Was Cattaneo less religious than Rosmini, and how can that be determined? Is it even reasonable for historians to make such a subjective judgment? Alessandro Levi, however, brushes off as inconsequential any possible religiosity shown by Cattaneo in Cattaneo's defense of Romagnosi, which instigated the infamous Rosmini-Cattaneo polemic.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸Bobbio, *Scritti Filosofici I*, 87.

¹⁶⁹Alessandro Levi, *Il positivismo politico di Carlo Cattaneo*, 32.

As documented in *Carteggi I*, Letters 33 through 36,¹⁷⁰ the Lombard thinker first clashed with the philosopher-priest from Rovereto in defense of the character of Giandomenico Romagnosi. A few months after the death of Romagnosi, Rosmini published *Il rinnovamento della filosofia in Italia, proposto dal conte T. Mamiani della Rovere, ed esaminato da Antonio Rosmini-Serbati*¹⁷¹ where he expressed doubts concerning the sincerity of Romagnosi's religious faith, because the Milanese Enlightenment thinker trusted in experience and believed in the progression of humanity, which was faulted in Rosminian philosophy as failing to reconcile reason with religion.

Agreeing with Norberto Bobbio, Professors Fugazza and Petroboni consider Cattaneo's conflict of opinion with Rosmini to be the former's entrance on the stage of Italian philosophy.¹⁷² Cattaneo adamantly defended Romagnosi as not being atheist. Giuseppe Armani suggests that Cattaneo could have simply defended Romagnosi (and himself) from the charge of being atheist, but he went further. Perhaps Cattaneo wanted to engage the more well-known and prestigious Rosmini on the playing field of ideas and not in subjective accusations of religiosity.¹⁷³ He was outraged that Rosmini, bolstered

¹⁷⁰*Carteggi I*, 64ff.

¹⁷¹Terenzio Mamiani (1799-1885) was an Italian writer, statesman and politician. Her served as president of Pius IX's lay governing council in 1849. For further reading see Tommaso Casini, *La giovinezza e l'esilio di Terenzio Mamiani (da cartoggi e ricordi inediti)* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1896), and Wm. Chauncy Langdon, "Italy and the Papacy" *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 5, No. 1. (Oct. 1894), 103-106. Unfortunately, much of the correspondence is missing. Ambrosoli has hypothesized that censorship may have something to do with the missing documentation.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 339-340.

¹⁷³Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo il padre del federalismo*, 50-54.

by his close association with Alessandro Manzoni, and his well-oiled organization of Rosminians, targeted great Enlightenment thinkers, Bacon, Locke, and Vico. Cattaneo's reply to Rosmini was stopped by the government censors,¹⁷⁴ but the polemic continued until at least 1842. This was a period when both Cattaneo and Rosmini were highly active in their writing. It was during this time that Cattaneo wrote the preface to the posthumous works of his mentor. It is true that Cattaneo held diverse opinions from Rosmini, as he did with Vincenzo Gioberti. (See Chapter Two, pp. 49-51). Cattaneo's defense of Romagnosi against the accusations of Rosmini is an indication of Cattaneo's religiosity, albeit in conflict with Rosmini's views of what religion is. As Thomas Guarino argues, "Rosmini's synthesis of the Christian faith was profoundly interwoven with a philosophical point of view often unfamiliar, and considered threatening to neo-Scholasticism."¹⁷⁵

That, however, has little relevance in determining the religiosity in the writings and correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo. The important fact is that Carlo Cattaneo felt the need to defend Romagnosi (and himself) from Rosmini's outrageous accusations. Luigi Ambrosoli concurs. In *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*, Professor Ambrosoli argues that although Cattaneo's defense of Romagnosi and of the Enlightenment thinkers is not an explicit declaration of faith, it cannot be construed as a decisive repudiation of

¹⁷⁴Giuseppe Armani and Norberto Bobbio both argue that Rosmini tried to use government censorship to muffle Cattaneo's upstart opinions.

¹⁷⁵Thomas Guarino, "Rosmini, Ratzinger, and Kuhn: observations on a note by the Doctrinal Congregation.(Antonio Rosmini, Joseph Ratzinger, Thomas Kuhn)" Milwaukee: Theological Studies, Inc., Volume: 64 Issue: 1,7.

religious faith either. In Cattaneo's mind, there was a place for religious values, which assist in the progress of humanity.¹⁷⁶ This thesis goes a step further, taking Cattaneo at his word when he declared that Romagnosi's philosophy was a thousand times more religious than that of Rosmini.

In *Una filosofia militante*, the great twentieth-century Torinese philosopher, Norberto Bobbio, analyzes the Cattaneo-Rosmini polemic in a different light.¹⁷⁷ However insightful, this essay also ignores the question of Cattaneo's religiosity. It does not seem to be important to Bobbio nor to other Cattanean scholars, to explore Cattaneo's religiosity. They do not consider that Cattaneo may have been outraged by Rosmini's attack on the religiosity of Romagnosi, exactly for the fact that an intimate part of himself, his own belief in God was being assailed. Yet, it was just this point in Rosmini's argument that disturbed Cattaneo the most, according to Bobbio, Ambrosoli, and other scholars. Instead of delving into Cattaneo's religiosity, these historians have chosen to analyze Cattaneo's disdain and contempt for the cultural and political situation in Turin, which may have influenced his acid answer to Rosmini. They point out Cattaneo's feud with ontology, indicating that Cattaneo was upset because Rosmini and his collaborators masqueraded behind words like *eclectic* without dealing openly with concrete ideas, being more concerned with metaphysical thought. According to Rosminian philosophy, use of the senses was subjective; the intellect was objective. Furthermore, theologians

¹⁷⁶Ambrosoli, *La Formazione di Carlo Cattaneo*, 67.

¹⁷⁷Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante*, 56-83.

have discussed Rosmini's thought and interpreted it both positively and negatively.¹⁷⁸

On more than one occasion, Carlo Cattaneo wrote to his friends passionately informing them that he had seen to Romagnosi's religious needs at the time of death, calling for an old priest to provide the sacrament of extreme unction, and carrying the casket of their mentor to the parish church.¹⁷⁹ This affirmation by Carlo Cattaneo to his and Romagnosi's friends is an indication of their shared religiosity, even as different so-called true Catholics bitterly differed in what was religiosity, as evidenced by the cycle of Rosmini's condemnation and rehabilitation.

A clearer idea concerning Cattaneo's thoughts about religion are found in a newly discovered letter written to Agostino Sagredo on 8 May 1841. The editors, Fugazza and Petroboni, call this letter unique, because it directly addressed several subjects from Manzoni to religion to art, which Cattaneo normally was not as frank. Cattaneo sees Christianity in its purest form of love, tolerance and brotherhood. Perhaps some of his words in this letter can be construed as anticlerical. He writes: "The churches are

¹⁷⁸As Thomas Guarino concludes, "When John Paul II, in the encyclical *Fides et ratio* [in 1998], mentioned Antonio Rosmini in the same breath with warhorse Thomists such as Gilson and Maritain, Orthodox thinkers such as Florensky and Lossky, and idiosyncratic writers such as Newman and St. Edith Stein, as a possible model for properly understanding the relationship between philosophy and theology, he created something of a problem for Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger [the current pope, Benedict XVI] and his Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF). The problem, of course, stems from the fact that some of Rosmini's ideas had been explicitly condemned in the 19th century by the Congregation of the Holy Office, and Rosmini had been classified in generations of theology manuals as either a proximate ontologist or a semi-rationalist." He then proceeds to reconcile the earlier condemnation with the pope's recent benign citation asserting that John Paul II forthrightly contradicted and thereby revoked the earlier censure. Guarino, 1.

¹⁷⁹*Carteggi I*, 301.

institutions of the Middle Ages. The Catholic Church is the feudal domain of the Pontiff; the Protestants are communities of burghers or middle class. None have arms long and wide enough to embrace all the children of men without violence.”¹⁸⁰ This may appear to be a rant against organized religion, but it is a religious statement, and seems to echo Christ’s teachings in Matthew 23:37: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!”¹⁸¹

Cattaneo recognizes the importance of harmony among all people. True religion requires it. The nineteenth century must embrace all mankind and resolve with brotherhood the contrasts of the different nationalities, disaccord and furious religions, according to Cattaneo. Certainly he condemns the archbishop of Turin for censoring *Letture popolari* by Lorenzo Valerio, because this work talked about the lower classes, their work and their social and economic conditions, thus creating a conflict with the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Piedmont.

The openness of the mind of Carlo Cattaneo is apparent in the 1841 letter as he lauds the efforts of Abd-el-Kader who defended his land and his God for ten years, referencing an event taking place in Algeria at this time. At the end of the letter, however, he offers his assistance to *L’amico cattolico*, a Catholic journal, established that same

¹⁸⁰*Carteggi II*, 296.

¹⁸¹Jerusalem, Ierusalem, quae occidis prophetas, et lapidas esos, qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti?

year (1831) in Milan. It concentrated on ecclesiastical sciences and literature under the approbation of Cardinals Gaystruck and Romilli, the archbishops of Milan before and after the Cinque Giornate. These writings and opinions may appear to be anticlerical, but are not far from all things divine as Sestan insists. Rather, Cattaneo appears to embrace a greater religiosity and a sharper adherence to true religion, asserting that many teachings concerning freedom and liberty are found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁸²

Cattaneo takes up the defense of the Christianity he finds in the Holy Scriptures, while arguing against the papacy and abusive clerical power in other writings. Nonetheless, he embraces the importance of holy writ and expounding on Christian tradition. In a letter to Italian voters, published in the *Gazzetta di Milano* on June 29, 1867, he hails the victorious light of liberty, which disperses superstition and curses. He rails against the Catholic Church as Inquisitor, and then asks if the clergy is truly the Church. Ernest Sestan stopped at this clear anticlerical expression. Reading further in this letter, however, Carlo Cattaneo appeals to Scripture as the authority for his point of view. In a dialectic format, Cattaneo asks questions and responds using scriptural references, both in Italian and in Latin.

After explaining the meaning of church or *ecclesia*, Cattaneo asks if a supreme head of the clergy had been instituted in the Gospels? The answer was found in Matthew 20:27: “whoever will be your chief among you, let him be your servant.”¹⁸³ Then he asks if the Gospel delegates any authority other than paternal to the clergy. The answer to this

¹⁸²*Scritti Politici ed Epistolari I*, 375.

¹⁸³Et qui voluerit inter vos primos esse, erit vester servus.

query lies in Matthew 23:9: “call no man your father upon the earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.”¹⁸⁴ He continues with this line of reasoning, quoting Matthew 23:8, 10, that “there is but one Master who is Christ.”¹⁸⁵

Cattaneo believes that the duty of the disciples and apostles of Christ was to repeat, teach and transmit the word of God to the generations that follow, especially because most Europeans were illiterate. Citing Matthew 18:20, Cattaneo asserts that the Gospel of Jesus Christ states that where two or more are gathered in His name, Christ will be there.¹⁸⁶ Then in Matthew 6:6, Cattaneo concludes that prayer can and should be done in secret, and not before the world, and without long rosaries, but as simply as Christ taught (Matthew 6:7,9).¹⁸⁷

Perhaps Cattaneo’s greatest contention against the clergy, and the pope was the supreme authority of the Pontiff through Peter. The Lombard thinker uses Matthew, chapter 16 to argue that Peter was not infallible, for in the same chapter, Christ gives the Fisherman the commandment to feed the Lord’s sheep, and then reprimands Peter saying, “Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the

¹⁸⁴Et patrem nolite vocare vobis super terram: unus est enim Pater vester, qui in caelis est.

¹⁸⁵Vos autem nolite vocari Rabbi: unus est enim Magister vester, omnes autem vos fratres estis; nec vocemini magistri; quia Magister vester unus est, Christus.

¹⁸⁶Ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.

¹⁸⁷Tu autem cum oraveris, intra in cubiculum tuum, et clauso ostio, ora Patrem tuum in abscondito: et Pater tuus qui videt in abscondito, reddet tibi. Orantes autem, nolite multum loqui, sicut ethnici, pultant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur. Sic ergo vos orabit: Pater noster, qui es in caelis, sanctificetur nomen tuum.

things that be of God, but those that be of men.” (Matthew 16:23).¹⁸⁸ Finally, Cattaneo insists that Christ’s disciples should not hold properties and consequential economic powers, but be like the birds in the sky, and not possess gold or silver (Matthew 10:8,9).¹⁸⁹

Yes, Carlo Cattaneo voiced his anticlerical opinion to the voters in the new Kingdom of Italy that the riches held by the priests negated their priesthood. He calls on the new Italy to resist any French intrusion in Italian affairs (through the papacy), and in the spirit of universal freedom to urges the Church to embrace the liberal covenant with mankind, and exorcize the phantasm of the Inquisitor, because this is what the Gospel taught. Cattaneo’s arguments and conclusions are based on religious principles found in the Gospel of Matthew.¹⁹⁰ Carlo Cattaneo embraced religiosity and espoused divine teachings as truth. Contrary to what Professor Sestan and his followers have written, Carlo Cattaneo, though frustrated with the misuse and abuse of ecclesiastical power, he was a believer in the words of Christ, and not an atheist.

Moreover, this 1867 letter gives evidence of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo. First, Cattaneo died less than eighteen months after writing this letter. Thus, in the last

¹⁸⁸Qui conversus, dixit Petro: Vade post me, Satana, scandalum es mihi: quia non sapisea quaea Dei sunt, sed ea quaea hominum.

¹⁸⁹Gratis acceptistis, gratis date. Nolite possedere autem, neque argentum, neque pecuniam in zonis vestris.

¹⁹⁰Mario Boneschi, ed. *Scritti Politici IV* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1965), 484-92. In *Scritti Politici III*, 20-23, Cattaneo echoes similar sentiments to the clergy of Ticino, encouraging them with scriptural evidence that Christianity endorses and supports republican ideals.

months of his life, Carlo Cattaneo still had fervent feelings about the New Testament. These scriptures were still fresh in his mind as if they had been recently read and studied. Second, scripture study was not part of his youthful seminarian course work. Bible study was delayed until after finishing the minor seminary at age eighteen or nineteen. By ecclesiastical decree, it was not until a young man entered a major seminary or theological university that the study of the holy scriptures was permitted. Therefore, it follows that Carlo Cattaneo studied the Bible after leaving the seminary, which indicates his desire to delve deeper into religious and spiritual matters as he matured. These considerations are indicative of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo.

In studying the writings and correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo, Norberto Bobbio, ten years younger than Ernest Sestan, kept an open mind concerning the religiosity of the great Lombard thinker. He recognized that future historians should delve deeper into this aspect of Carlo Cattaneo's writings and thought. As a liberal socialist, Bobbio did not explore the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo, and called attention to the anticlerical Cattaneo. Bobbio noted anticlerical sentiment in the letters to the Italian electorate, to the clergy of Ticino, and even in *Un brindisi*, which he calls a burlesque improvisation.¹⁹¹ Yet, he fails to find any evidence contrary to the fact that religiosity can be found in both the writings and the correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo.

¹⁹¹Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante*, 17.

CONCLUSION

Who was Carlo Cattaneo? Contemporaries knew him as a formidable opponent, a superb, genial thinker, and a highly moral man. Historians write about him as an intellectual, teacher, politician, writer, editor and reluctant revolutionary. His interests covered a wide gambit of scholarly fields. Government entities and private enterprise looked to the Lombard thinker for his ideas, reasoning and solutions; he was not reticent about giving his well-conceived opinions. In politics, Cattaneo was called a liberal democrat and a federalist. Supporters and denigrators agreed that he was a complex, principled and honorable man.

Historians have given their universal consensus that he was anticlerical, and that he was far from “all things divine,”¹⁹² as if being religiously-minded and free thinking could not co-exist. In 1971 historian-philosopher, Norberto Bobbio indicated that no thorough study of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo had been initiated.¹⁹³ Almost forty years later, no scholar has taken up Bobbio’s challenge to delve into this aspect of one of the most important figures in nineteenth-century Italy. This thesis begins to rectify the evident lacuna in Cattanean historiography. More research awaits willing scholars.

In studying many of the Cattanean writings and much of the published

¹⁹²Ernesto Sestan, “Cattaneo giovane,” *Belfagor* II (6), 1947, 664-88, quoted in Clara M. Lovett, *Carlo Cattaneo and the Politics of the Risorgimento, 1820-1860* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 5 and in Giuseppe Armani, *Carlo Cattaneo: una biografia. Il padre del federalismo italiano* (Milan: Garzanti, 1997), 12.

¹⁹³Norberto Bobbio, *Una filosofia militante*, 15.

correspondence of this important leader of the *Cinque Giornate*, there is ample evidence that Cattaneo was, indeed, religiously-minded, and certainly was not as anti-clerical as historians have claimed. His published works and correspondence are replete with religiosity. Nonetheless, considering the mass of autographic and printed material, a thorough examination of the Cattanean opus will require more extensive research. This thesis has, however, indicated several fundamental starting places.

Carlo Cattaneo was a religious, disciplined, integral man. His religiosity is evident in his writings. Carlo Cattaneo not only knew the Holy Bible, he embraced its teachings and used them in his writings. He encouraged religious teachings in formative schools and in the university. Influenced by Ernesto Sestan's important article, "Cattaneo Giovane," published in *Befalgor* in 1947, a generation of historians followed Professor Sestan's lead. Each accepted without much scrutiny the false idea that the great Lombard thinker, teacher, and reluctant revolutionary was not only anticlerical, he was irreligious.

A careful reading of the Cattanean opus proves the contrary. When appropriate to arguing and presenting his ideas, Carlo Cattaneo used direct quotes from the Bible. What an odd thing for an irreligious, secular, liberal democrat to do! He also used Biblical phrasing as part of his rhetoric. This was not done gratuitously, but purposefully, because Cattaneo knew the value and believed in those words, knew how to incorporate them into his writings, and was not afraid to demonstrate what he had learned in his youth. As a principled man, Carlo Cattaneo did not use religious language for his own advantage, playing to his audience. He used it appropriately and honestly as it pertained to his intellectual argument.

Furthermore, in his personal life, Carlo Cattaneo was never excommunicated nor was his standing in the Church or religiosity ever questioned, except by Rosmini. And then Cattaneo vigorously defended himself and Romagnosi from Rosmini's attacks. Carlo Cattaneo was married religiously in Trieste, and died in the grace of the Catholic Church in Castagnola. He saw to it that his good friend and mentor Giandomenico Romagnosi received the last rites of the Catholic Church and a proper Christian burial in Milan.

Cattaneo argued that the Gospels held precious teachings about liberty. Since he did not favor theological allusions,¹⁹⁴ he did not expound doctrinally, rather he used Christian ideas as a starting point and as a catalyst for his intellectual reasoning. Cattaneo saw the value of religious instruction by priests as part of a well-rounded education. He especially saw the value of studying the Bible not only as a moral compass, but in understanding the order of society. It is quite amazing that scholars have not known what to do about the religiosity in Cattaneo's writings. They seem to prefer to adhere to the idea that Cattaneo was irreligious and anticlerical. Perhaps it was more in keeping with their idea of what a proper revolutionary and secular thinker should be.

Furthermore, Carlo Cattaneo showed great courage as an unknown intellectual to take on the foremost religious thinker of his day, Antonio Rosmini Serbati. This was a remarkable feat, and quite a risk for someone like Cattaneo who wanted to make a career of writing, editing, and consulting. When Rosmini doubted the sincerity of the religious beliefs of Cattaneo's mentor, Giandomenico Romagnosi, the Milanese scholar could not

¹⁹⁴*Interdizioni Israelitiche*, 7.

be quiet. He responded with vigor at the outrage as if he had been personally accused of being irreligious. In fact, during the same time period, he reminded his and Romagnosi's mutual friend, Giuseppe Montani, an ex-Barnabita priest, how he had summoned an old priest to Romagnosi's beside and later carried their mentor's coffin to church. How strange that an irreligious man, far from "all things divine" would be proud of such actions. Likewise, Carlo Cattaneo was confident enough of his religiosity to call Vincenzo Gioberti, another important nineteenth-century Italian religious figure, to repentance. Cattaneo agreed with Gioberti's conclusions about Christianity and liberty, but saw the fallacies in Gioberti's support of the Savoyard monarchy.

True, Cattaneo retreated from his initial support of Pius IX. He definitely saw many errors in the Catholic hierarchy. These may even be called anticlerical thinking. The reluctant revolutionary was, however, never hesitant in voicing his Christian beliefs in brotherhood, tolerance and freedom. He recognized the ability of all people to progress in intelligence.

Chapter Two explored several important works of Carlo Cattaneo, including *Interdizioni Ebraiche* and *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica*. That chapter provided ample evidence of the religiosity of Milan's reluctant revolutionary. Moreover, Carlo Cattaneo used the common Christian heritage to express his opinions to both fellow-Italians as well as other Europeans.

In an essay written to honor the eminent Cattanean scholar, Luigi Ambrosoli, Carlo Moos, specifically, launched the challenge to re-read the writings of Carlo

Cattaneo.¹⁹⁵ This thesis has taken up that challenge. The writings of Carlo Cattaneo use Biblical phrasing. They quote Biblical verse, and recognize the papacy as a legitimate ruler in Italy, which yet betrayed the cause of liberty. Cattaneo interacted intellectually with the foremost proponent of a united Italy under the Pontiff. He addressed the need for reform in the teaching of religion. He applied Christian concepts, such as the progression of mankind, and expounded them in his philosophy. Cattaneo's writings embrace Christian principles as part of an envisioned common morality. Perhaps the best expression of Cattaneo's moral philosophy was:

It is time that the discordant traditions of peoples come together in a pact of mutual tolerance and respect, and that all submit their legal codes to one justice and to the light of a truly universal doctrine. It is time that the arbitrary and vast divinations of primitive thinkers, perpetuated in the books of rival and inimical priesthods stop their constant revelations of living science, the explorer of the divine idea in the unlimited universe.¹⁹⁶

This belief in brotherhood, respect and mutual tolerance is the key to the morality and religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo. Although couched in religious language, to some readers this declaration may appear to be anticlerical. This thesis argues that it is Cattaneo's broader vision of what true religion is. Carlo Cattaneo's moral values are also evidenced

¹⁹⁵Garlo G.Lacaita, *Fare Storia, Studi in onore di Luigi Ambrosoli* (Milan: Franco Angeli, s.r.l., 1995), 117-128.

¹⁹⁶*Scritti Politici ed Epistolari*, edited by Gabriele Rosa and Jessie White Mario, (Florence: Barbèra Editore, 1892), I, 376. È tempo che le discordi tradizioni delle genti si costringano ad un patto di mutua tolleranza e di rispetto d'amistà, si sottomettono tutte le codice d'un'unica giustizia e alla luce d'una dottrina veramente universale. È tempo che le arbitrarie e anguste divinazioni dei pensatori primitivi, perpetuate nei libri di sacerdozi rivali e nemici, cedano alle costanti rivelazioni della scienza viva, esploratrice dell'idea divina nell'illimitato universo.

by thirty-four years of faithful marriage to his wife, Anna Pyne Woodcock Cattaneo, and his unwillingness to swear allegiance to a monarchy he despised. He was never excommunicated, and died in the grace of the Catholic Church.

The religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo is not as readily evident in an examination of the daily correspondence of Carlo Cattaneo as seen in Chapter Three. It was not the custom of Carlo Cattaneo to display his religiosity in his personal writings. Still, the unmistakable religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo is evident in his published exchange with Don Antonio Rosmini-Serbati. Outraged at the appellatives Rosmini used against Enlightenment thinkers, especially his mentor, Giandomenico Romagnosi to whom the great Lombard thinker attributed the highest level of religiosity, refuting the charge of atheism.

Cattaneo's pronouncement of the religiosity of Romagnosi was a declaration that the reluctant revolutionary saw no deviation in his religious beliefs from his intellectual thinking. Simply because he was not effusive in expressing religious sentiment cannot be construed as proof that the Lombard thinker was not religious in his personal life. His lauded morality is evidence of his personal adherence to the religious principles received in his youth. Unfortunately, most historians have blindly linked Cattaneo's departure from seminarian life, to an abandonment of Christianity.

As identified in Chapter Three, Cattaneo's entrance on the public stage of intellectual engagement, and exchange of ideas, dates a few months after the death of his mentor-friend, Giandomenico Romagnosi. In a published article, the renowned priest-philosopher, Antonio Rosmini-Serbati expressed doubt about the sincerity of

Romagnosi's religiousness. This was a biased conclusion. Just like contemporary and recent historians cannot reconcile free-thinking with religious belief, Rosmini believed that liberal thinkers were far from Christian belief.

The ferocity with which Carlo Cattaneo counterattacked Rosmini's article revealed a man who felt as if he had been personally assailed. Scholars have largely ignored the relevance and pertinence of this episode. Although he never assumed the role of theologian, Carlo Cattaneo cared deeply about his Christian beliefs. He incorporated Biblical concepts and expressions in his thinking and writing, and if applicable he was never reticent about his religiosity.

On a secondary level, Carlo Cattaneo held dear his friendships with his sacerdotal friends and former teachers. This is not necessarily proof of his religiosity, as it would be possible to be personally tied to the clergy without embracing their same views. Neither is the presence of a representation of Pius IX or referring to him as the natural leader of a federalist Italy before the papal abandonment of liberal reforms evidence of religiosity. Still, Cattaneo expressed the opinion that the village priest as being an important and intricate part of Italian society, not inimical. This was certainly a position not typically taken by an anticlerical thinker.

Fifty years after the death of Carlo Cattaneo, Luigi Luzzatti (1841-1927), former prime minister of Italy, and legal scholar (and a Jew) acknowledged that the Lombard intellectual continued to grow in stature in twentieth-century Italy.¹⁹⁷ Since Luzzatti's

¹⁹⁷Luigi Luzzatti, trans. By Alfonso Arbib-Costa, *God in Freedom, Studies in the relations between church and state* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1930), 465.

book cited the importance of God in freedom, He concluded that Cattaneo's importance in Italian thought grew as his supposed anticlericalism receded in the minds of Cattaneo's readers. Politicians, scholars, and thinkers explore Cattaneo's writings for a better understanding of not only the Risorgimento, but also of nineteenth-century Italian political, historical, economical reasoning. Unfortunately, many scholars have found it difficult to eschew personal bias concerning religious belief and liberal thinking. Perhaps this is the case in Gaetano Salvemini when editing *Le Più Belle Pagine di Carlo Cattaneo*. He could not avoid a couple of pages addressing religious matters, yet edited out scriptural reference, leaving an intellectual statement, void of religious sentiment.¹⁹⁸ This editing may, however, be attributed to getting at the essence of Cattanean thought. Scriptural references are, nonetheless, important in fully understanding Carlo Cattaneo.

Salvemini 'discovered' Carlo Cattaneo during World War I. He considered that Cattaneo's writings understood the reality of the Italian problem like no other. Salvemini inserted Cattaneo among the four greatest geniuses of nineteenth-century Italy with Leopardi, Cavour and De Sanctis. Then came Manzoni, Mazzini and Carducci.¹⁹⁹ This is pretty heady company for one who lost the ideological battle of the Risorgimento! Unfortunately, Salvemini eliminated most indications of religiosity in *Le Più Belle Pagine di Carlo Cattaneo*.

The biographers of Carlo Cattaneo fast-forward over the eight years Cattaneo

¹⁹⁸Gaetano Salvemini, *Le Più Belle Pagine di Carlo Cattaneo*, 84-85.

¹⁹⁹Romano Bracalini, *Cattaneo, Un federalista per gli italiani* (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1995), 214.

spent as a seminarian in his early youth. Instead, they firmly linked him with his mentor Giandomenico Romagnosi, and other Milanese Enlightenment thinkers, such as the economist and statistician, Melchiorre Gioia. Cattaneo's biographers have concentrated on the opportunity Cattaneo had to study in the private school of Romagnosi in Milano, because he did not have the means to study law at the University of Pavia. This is unfortunate. Although acknowledging that the seminaries of Arleno, Lecco, and Monza were formation schools, as the word seminary implies, the biographers have emphasized only Cattaneo's negative experiences in these institutions. They have also referred to contemporaries such as the writer, Tommaso Grasso, who fled the same institutions, and consequently embraced anticlerical causes. They ignored or skipped over the evidence of the religiosity of Carlo Cattaneo. This is a secular bias.

Ernesto Sestan's label of being "far from all things divine" stuck on Carlo Cattaneo. This perhaps explains why Harry Hearder, an English scholar of the Italian Risorgimento, expresses surprise that a liberal democrat such as Carlo Cattaneo could praise country priests "as warmly as he praised the doctors or the engineers who watched over the irrigation system."²⁰⁰ Carlo Cattaneo had a great appreciation for the priests who influenced his life, and saw their importance in Italian society. He sought to encourage religious thought and morals as he worked on public school reform.

As Luigi Ambrosoli has indicated, the Lombard thinker was grateful for three important priests in his life. Don Giacomo Antonio Cattaneo had opened the way for his

²⁰⁰Harry Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento 1790-1870* (London and New York, 1983), 35.

grand-nephew to study in the seminaries in the Milanese hinterland. Don Benelli and Don Catena became life-long friends. Carlo embarked on his professional journey at Santa Marta where Don Benelli was the director.

Cattaneo did not need to complete theological studies in order to have received an education based on Christian reasoning, or an appreciation of the role of the Catholic Church in Italian society. He valued the teaching of “country priests.” In 1841 Cattaneo referred to the parish priest of Cuggiono (in the province of Milano) as the “keystone in which all lines of life center.”²⁰¹ The influence of Romagnosi, and Cattaneo’s introduction to Vico after leaving the seminary cannot be denied. Dismissing seven or eight years of intense learning of his youth is prejudicial. To ignore or lightly regard Cattaneo’s formative education is to toss away a pertinent key for reading Cattaneo’s works.

In analyzing the writings of Carlo Cattaneo, historians, such as Levi, Sestan, Lovett and Armani indicate that being democratic and liberal implies being anticlerical or anti-religion. In a broader sense the, understanding the religious milieu in history can lend itself to a greater understanding of historical events and personages. Unfortunately, where religion is concerned, scholars can either be biased for religiosity as found in Don Vittorio Michellini’s book, *Carlo Cattaneo: Studio Biografico dall’Epistolario*; or on the other hand, historians latch onto an idea without examining its foundation. This has appears to be what happened when Ernesto Sestan’s assessment of Carlo Cattaneo is

²⁰¹Quoted in Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill Italian-Americans in St. Louis, 1882-1982* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 34.

repeated in other scholarly works. If Sestan had read all of Cattaneo's works unbiasedly, he would never have stated that of all the Italian patriots, Carlo Cattaneo was further from all things divine. At least Norberto Bobbio had the intellectual honesty to admit that the subject of Carlo Cattaneo's religiosity had still to be explored. Perhaps the anticlerical statements are easy for these historians to pinpoint, while religiosity seems hidden.

Ferruccio Focher has argued that the historical thought of Carlo Cattaneo was based around the principles of variety in peoples and of their progression, thus concentrated on scientifically analyzing the similarities, but more importantly, the differences in civilizations. Cattaneo's idea of human progression can find its roots in the Christian idea of progression. Christianity is based on precepts of learning and growing. Monks founded the modern university in Italy and throughout Europe with the idea of progressing religiously, intellectually and technologically. Vico, Romagnosi and Cattaneo refined this concept of human progression. Cattaneo may have been anticlerical when considering how the papacy and the Catholic hierarchy obstructed progression, but praised the priests who shared their libraries with him during his adolescence. He fondly remembered his teacher-priests. They had not obstructed his intellectual progression, nor dampened his appreciation for Christian teachings and values. He treasured the friendship of his colleague and partner, don Ottavio Ferrario as they worked to give birth to *Il Politecnico*.

During his seminarian years, Cattaneo learned to think critically. Reason and faith had long been the foundation of Christian thought. Therefore, when Alessandro Levi proposed his thesis that Carlo Cattaneo was the father of Italian positivism, and Norberto

Bobbio and Giuseppe Cospito tied Cattaneo's philosophy to Vico, they did not take into account the religiosity in Vico's thinking, perhaps because they could not reconcile their own anticlerical biases with the religiosity of Vico or Cattaneo. Vico's positivism seems irreligious because it was anti-metaphysical.

When Cattaneo explored some of Vico's philosophy, he wrote that "the new sciences do not bring to philosophy their discoveries. They present in themselves with their same procedures a new and higher problem. Philosophy is the study of thought: the highest effort of thought is science. It is of utmost importance to observe thought in the sciences."²⁰² Cattaneo did not shy away from applying Christian thought in his pursuit of truth as shown by the scriptural references and verbiage he employed in his writings.

Free will is a vital part of Christian philosophy. What free will meant divided Western Christianity during the sixteenth century. Carlo Cattaneo incorporated the idea of free will as a corollary to wealth. As Cattaneo argued in *Del pensiero come principio d'economia pubblica*, free will and intelligence produce economic well-being. Thus, Cattaneo concentrated his historical writing on analyzing and discussing the progression of mankind in his pursuit of moral and material well-being.

According to Cattaneo, the progression of man was strictly tied to liberty. He wrote,

The greater the variety of impulses the will can follow, the vaster its dominion and its liberty. Conversely, when the intellect has few ideas, the field is that much narrower in which will can move. [In this condition], appetites rule and will is confused with instinct. The savage cannot say he is free, having a tight circle of ideas and sentiments,

²⁰² Cattaneo, *Scritti filosofici* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1960), I, 348.

and in the forest, he is less free than the civilized man in a society more artificial and disciplined.²⁰³

This was the essence of Cattaneo's positivism: the tension and dichotomy between liberty and truth. Freedom of thought was the most prolific liberty. In his history of ancient civilizations, Cattaneo explained that Athens was an indestructible gem, leaving glorious thoughts, while the Byzantine empire did not leave one idea to posterity.²⁰⁴ According to Cattaneo, "Free minds are in eternal motion; they cannot be in agreement, except in the truth."²⁰⁵ This seems to reflect Paul's teachings in his second epistle to Timothy that men are "ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.... so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. (2 Tim 3:6-7).²⁰⁶

Perhaps even the idea of universality of the Catholic Church influenced Cattaneo's belief in federalism. Cattaneo recognized that human progression corresponds with the way learning and knowledge are applied. Freedom is essential to progression. Thus, the Catholic Church ruled over the most ignorant peasant village and had dominion over sophisticated universities, the same principle could be applied to the Italian peninsula. The governments of the five principal regions of Italy could be united as the Catholic Church united Europe. This was the essence of Cattaneo's federalism. And

²⁰³Cattaneo, *Scritti filosofici I*, 233.

²⁰⁴Cattaneo, *Scritti II*, 326-327.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 291.

²⁰⁶Semper descentes, et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes.

Cattaneo invoked the name of Pius IX as a unifier of a federalist Italy.

Cattaneo's first major work was his long essay, *Interdizioni Israelitiche* published both in Milan and Vienna in 1835. This work is an excellent example of a early nineteenth-century political pamphlet where Cattaneo refuted European anti-Semitism. As previously explained, *Interdizioni Israelitiche* outlines the tumultuous history of the Jews in Europe, concluding with the negative ramifications of their preclusion from full participation in the European economy. Cattaneo's basic arguments are that first, shutting out the Jews prevented them from assimilating into European society. Second, arguing in behalf of free trade and free enterprise, Cattaneo asserts that all of Europe would greatly benefit from free market practices that included the Jews.

To bolster his case against the Jewish interdictions, Cattaneo used free market principles. If two men wanted to sell their property, and only one could find a Christian buyer, would the second vendor not be punished because he was forbidden by law to sell his property to a Jew, even if he made the best offer? The faith in the free market had its roots in the collaboration between the Church and the local government. Cattaneo points this out in his *Storia della Lombardia* where the Catholic priests assisted in morally binding the city of Milan with the countryside, and encouraging commerce and trade. This is a positive assessment of the Church's role in Lombard history.²⁰⁷ *Interdizioni Israelitiche* has multiple references to Biblical verbiage as explained in Chapter Two.

²⁰⁷Carlo Cattaneo, *Storia della Lombardia* (Milan: Rusconi Libri S,r.l., 1992), 90.

Some examples are: the moral principle of tolerance,²⁰⁸ progression of mankind,²⁰⁹ fullness of times,²¹⁰ and meekness and justice.²¹¹

Carlo Cattaneo was not a theologian. He was not a priest. He was an man of ideas, and what we would today call a political, economic and scientific adviser. *Il Politecnico* was his think tank as he sought to resolve the problems of his day. Some persons listened to him, but many disagreed with his conclusions. Moreover, even his denigrators considered him to be a moral man of uncompromising standards. Cattaneo's contemporaries were mostly secular thinkers according to historians. By what measuring stick was Cattaneo judged moral? It was the measuring stick of Christian values.

Scholars should not expect that his writings are those of Gioberti or Rosmini. Yet, Cattaneo was right in declaring that there was more religiosity in Romagnosi's works, and by extension, Cattaneo's own, than in the writings of his contemporary religious antagonists. Carlo Cattaneo used his seminarian background to argue his points. Because of his seminarian schooling he was able to challenge both Gioberti and Rosmini, pointing out what he saw as fallacies in their thinking. He called Gioberti to repentance for straying from democratic principles, and was outraged that Rosmini would doubt the sincerity of Romagnosi's religious faith (and consequently his own.)

As an intellectual, or rather as a scientist, Carlo Cattaneo strove to be an impartial

²⁰⁸Carlo Cattaneo, *Interdizioni Ebraiche*, 4.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 5.

²¹⁰Ibid., 9.

²¹¹Ibid., 146.

observer. When he set forth his arguments, he confronted his religiosity and did not use political sarcasms. His approach has confused scholars into thinking that because Cattaneo removed himself from religious sentiment in his writings he therefore was anticlerical. He may have removed himself from the religious argument, but the language of his rationale and reasoning was steeped in the rational and critical thinking of the Christian intellectual tradition. The writings of Carlo Cattaneo unquestionably reflect the religiosity of the great Lombard thinker and reluctant revolutionary.

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