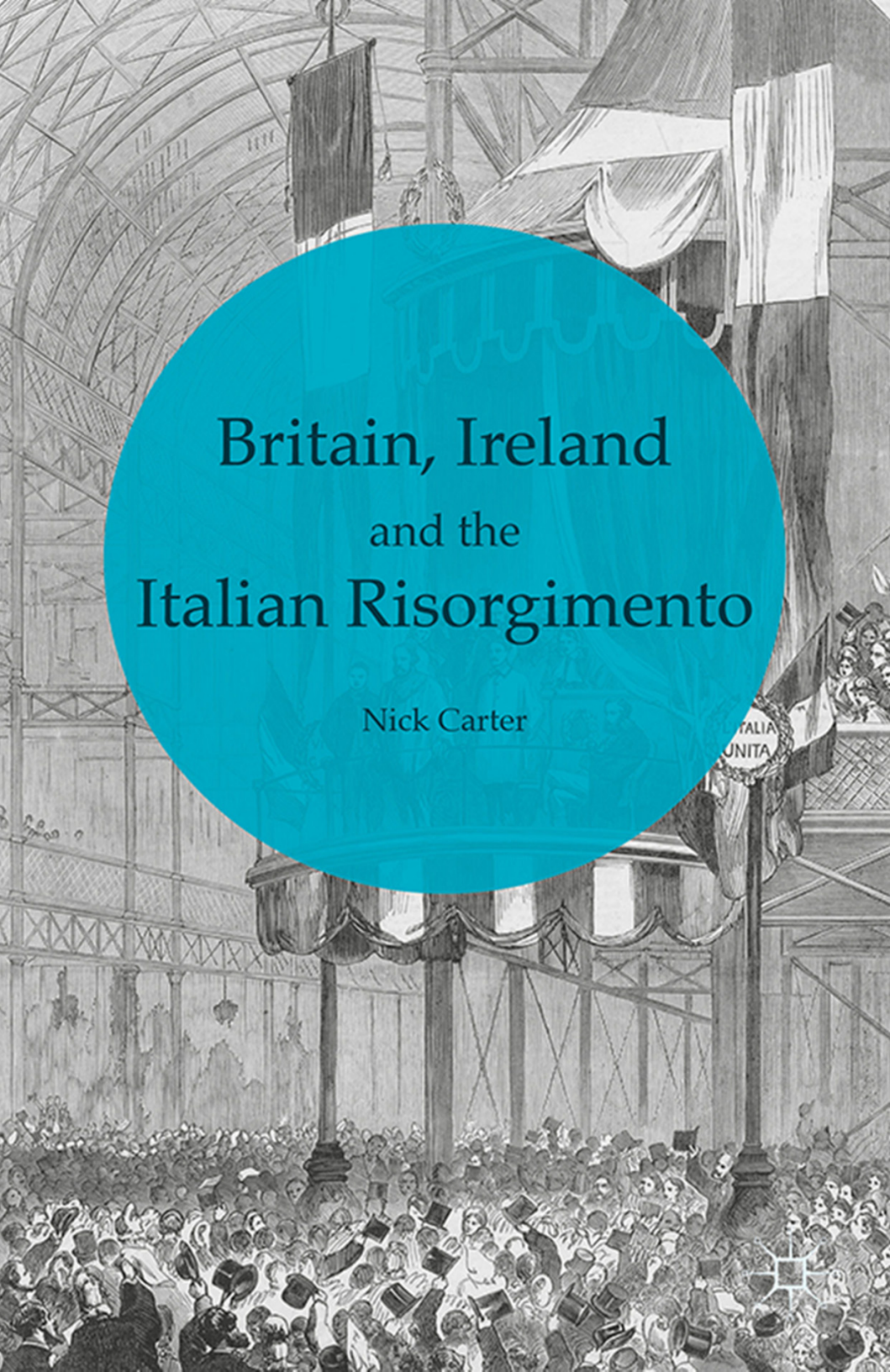


Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

Nick Carter

Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

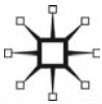
This page intentionally left blank

Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

Edited by

Nick Carter
Australian Catholic University, Sydney, Australia

palgrave
macmillan



Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-29771-6

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-1-349-67130-4 ISBN 978-1-137-29772-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137297723

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

For Dave
The sun rises and rises again

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of Michael Huggins' chapter appeared under the title 'The *Nation* and Giuseppe Mazzini, 1842–48', in the *New Hibernia Review*, 17, 3, 2013, pp. 15–33.

Notes on Contributors

Joan Allen is Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at Newcastle University and Director of the North East England History Institute (NEEHI). She has served as a secretary, senior editor and vice-chair of *Labour History Review* and is co-convenor of the annual Chartism conference. She is the author of *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside, 1829–1900* (2007), and is co-editor of *Faith of Our Fathers: Popular Culture and Belief in Post-Reformation England, Ireland and Wales* (2009), *Histories of Labour: National and International Perspectives* (2010), and *Papers for the People: A History of the Chartist Press* (2005). She is preparing a monograph on the Irish Catholic press in Britain, 1884–1934, and her most recent work is a contribution to Laurence Marley (ed.) *The British Labour Party and Twentieth-Century Ireland: The Cause of Ireland, the Cause of Labour*? (2015).

Raffaella Antinucci is Associate Professor in English Literature at the University of Naples "Parthenope" and former lecturer in Italian at Manchester Metropolitan University, UK. She took her PhDs in English Studies and Italian Studies at the University "G. d'Annunzio" of Chieti-Pescara, Italy. Her main areas of research include Victorian culture and fiction, literature and cinema, comparative literatures and corpus stylistics. She is the author of a monograph on the literary representations of the Victorian gentleman (*Sulle orme del gentiluomo: percorsi narrativi ed episteme vittoriana*, 2009) and of essays on Dickens, Collins, Gaskell, D. G. Rossetti, Newman, Henry James, E. M. Forster and Joyce. She has co-edited the volume *Migrating Cultures and the Dynamic of Exchange* (2011) and a special number of the academic journal *Rivista di studi vittoriani/Review of Victorian Studies* (2012) on Edward Lear. She is currently completing a study on the English fiction of Giovanni Ruffini.

Elena Bacchin has a PhD in Modern History from the University of Padua, and she is now finishing her second doctorate at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy. She is the author of *Italofilia. Opinione pubblica britannica e Risorgimento italiano, 1847–64* (2014) and of several articles on transnational history, nationalism, political mobilization and the public sphere.

Nick Carter is Associate Professor of Modern History at the Australian Catholic University, Sydney. He has written widely on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian history. His recent publications include *Modern Italy in Historical Perspective* (2010), and 'Sir James Hudson nella diplomazia inglese della seconda metà dell Ottocento', in E. Greppi and E. Pagella (eds) *Sir James Hudson nel Risorgimento italiano* (2012). His current research examines the survival, restoration and historicisation of Fascist art and architecture in post-war and contemporary Rome. He is the reviews editor for *Modern Italy* and an executive member of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy.

Chiara Chini has a PhD from the University of Florence. Her dissertation examined Irish–Italian political and diplomatic relations in the inter-war period. Her areas of interest include the history of Fascism (with a particular interest in Fascism in the Anglophone world), international and cross-national dynamics of the inter-war extreme right, international relations, and British and Irish contemporary history.

Michael Huggins is Senior Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Chester. His doctoral studies at the University of Liverpool focussed on agrarian conflict in pre-famine Ireland and he won the Becket Prize in Irish History (2000) for his work. He has published widely on pre-famine social conflict and political radicalism, including essays on Chartism in Ireland, and a monograph, *Social Conflict in Pre-Famine Ireland* (2007). In recent years, he has been interested in the Young Ireland movement and, in particular, the politics of John Mitchel. He has contributed articles on mid-nineteenth-century Irish nationalism to a range of scholarly journals. More recently, he has returned to the subject of pre-famine conflict in rural Ireland, contributing a chapter to *Crime, Violence and the Irish in the Nineteenth Century* (forthcoming, 2015).

Anne O'Connor lectures in Italian in the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures, National University of Ireland, Galway. Her research interests include nineteenth-century Italian literature and history, Irish–Italian relations and translation history. She is the author of *Florence: City and Memory in the Nineteenth Century* (published in Italian as *Firenze: La città e la memoria nell'Ottocento*, 2008) and Italian editor and translator of *European Romanticism: A Reader* (2010). She has also co-edited *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (2013). She has translated the Italian correspondence of Cardinal Paul Cullen for the Irish Manuscripts Commission and is Principal Investigator in the

research project Translation in Nineteenth-Century Ireland (www.translationhistory.ie).

Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe is a postdoctoral fellow at Clare Hall, University of Cambridge. Her research has focussed on nineteenth-century British radicalism, transnationalism, the history of co-operation, the history of education and the history of the Italian Risorgimento (with studies on Garibaldi and on the 'Mazzinian international'). In 2013 she was an award holder at the British School at Rome. She has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Labour History Review* (2012), *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* (2012, 2013), *Modern Italy* (2010), *History Workshop Journal* (2013) and *History of Education Journal* (2014) as well as chapters in edited books. Her monograph *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (2014) won the 2012 Scouloudi Historical Award. She is an executive member of the Association for the Study of Modern Italy.

O. J. Wright is Lecturer in International History at the University of Ulster. He teaches across the field of modern European history, and has published articles on various aspects of Britain's relationship with Italy in *European History Quarterly*, *Historical Journal*, *Crime, History and Societies* and *International History Review*. He has also published in the *In Medias Res* series of interdisciplinary papers on British–Italian cultural transactions. He is currently undertaking a British Academy-funded research project on Britain and the unification of Italy.

Introduction: Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

Nick Carter

Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento brings together scholars working in and across a range of academic disciplines in order to examine British and Irish responses to the Italian national question in the mid-nineteenth century, and the impact of the Risorgimento on mid-century British and Irish politics, society and culture. The book also considers British attitudes towards Italy in the decades immediately following Italian unification, and Italian views of Ireland and Britain during and after the Irish War of Independence, 1919–21. The book focusses on two key themes: nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalism and the construction of national identity (British, Irish and Italian); and the roles of religion, exile, politics and culture in shaping nationalist movements and national identities (both internally and externally perceived). As such, the book not only builds on the now well-established idea of the nation as an 'imagined community', but it also extends the methods and approaches of the 'new cultural historians' of the Italian Risorgimento such as Lucy Riall, Alberto Banti and Silvana Patriarca to the transnational context. In this respect, the book goes a step further than Riall and Patriarca's *The Risorgimento Revisited* (2011), which explores how 'the idea, or better the imaginary, of the nation [was] formulated, represented and expressed' in Italy.[1] This study examines how, why and to what extent the idea of an Italian nation took root, was popularised and opposed in mid-century Britain and Ireland, and how and why the idea of 'Italy' could be (and was) used to construct and reinforce both positive and negative notions of Britishness (specifically Englishness) and Irishness. In this context, the study of Britain *and* Ireland in relation to the Risorgimento is important. From the Act of Union (1801) until the Anglo–Irish treaty of 1921 establishing the Irish Free State, all Ireland – southern as well as northern – was part of

the United Kingdom. As I argue in this introduction, the way in which the British (or at least British Protestants) viewed Italy was heavily conditioned by the way in which they conceived the 'Irish question' in the mid-nineteenth century. Similarly, Ireland's relationship with Britain helped to shape Irish (or at least Catholic Irish) reactions to the Risorgimento. Relations with Britain also influenced Italian views of the Irish national struggle, both during and after the Risorgimento period. For example, Giuseppe Mazzini's rejection of Irish nationalism in the late 1840s – the Irish, he claimed, did not constitute 'a distinct, a separate nationality' – stemmed from his fear of alienating influential British support for Italian independence.[2] 'We have no Irish in the Council [of the People's International League]', Mazzini confessed in 1847, 'because then the question of Repeal [of the Act of Union] would come into play which would be fatal'.[3] Mazzini even suggested the Irish Repeal Movement give its support 'to the Liberal cause in the British parliament',[4] a good example of Mazzini's 'licking the arse of the English liberal bourgeoisie', as Karl Marx put it.[5] Conversely, as Chiara Chini demonstrates in her chapter, Britain's refusal to support Italian territorial claims in the Adriatic after the First World War led the Italian nationalist and Fascist press to embrace the Irish War of Independence as an 'Irish Risorgimento' against an oppressive imperial power.

The historiographical context

Since the time of G. M. Trevelyan, successive generations of British historians of Italy have explored the British response(s) to the Risorgimento.[6] Indeed, the list reads like a 'who's who' of leading British Italianists: Trevelyan, Denis Mack Smith, Derek Beales, Harry Hearder, John Davis, Paul Ginsborg, Christopher Duggan and Lucy Riall have all tackled the topic, either in general terms (notably Trevelyan, Mack Smith, Beales, and, more recently, Ginsborg, Duggan and Riall) or in relation to particular periods, events, issues and individuals.[7] Other historians writing in English (but not necessarily British themselves) have also made important contributions to our understanding of the period. Among older works, those by Miriam Urban (1938) on the English press and the Risorgimento and Harry W. Rudman (1940) on the relations between Italian exiles in England (primarily Mazzini) and Victorian writers stand out for the depth and breadth of their research and analysis.[8] (Both studies also had a contemporary political relevance, their publications coinciding with the rapid deterioration in relations between Britain and Fascist Italy in the late 1930s, which culminated in Mussolini's

declaration of war on Britain and France in June 1940.) English language studies of a more recent vintage have covered a wide range of subjects. Nick Carter, Owain Wright and Danilo Raponi have examined aspects of British policy in Italy before and after unification.[9] C. T. McIntire and Saho Matsumoto-Best have written in-depth monographs on British diplomacy and the 'Roman question'.[10] The 'linguistic turn' in the last couple of decades has given rise to several innovative studies on Italy and the Risorgimento in the English political and cultural imagination (see, for example, those by Maura O'Connor, Annemarie McAllister and Lucy Turner Voakes).[11] Historians meanwhile continue to discuss the influence of Italian exiles – notably Mazzini – on English politics and society (see in this regard the works by Gregory Claeys, David Laven, Maurizio Isabella and Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe), as well as the importance of the Garibaldi 'myth' in England (Sutcliffe the most recent example).[12] Similarly, many Italian historians have written in Italian on the subject, including Adolfo Colombo, Alfredo Signoretti, Emilia Morelli, Ottavio Barie, Giuseppe Giarrizzo, Carlo de Cugis, Massimo de Leonardis, Franco Valsecchi, and more recently Pietro Pastorelli and Elena Bacchin.[13] Of the historians listed above, Carter, Wright, Sutcliffe and Bacchin all contribute to this volume.

In contrast to the long-standing and substantial historiography on Britain and the Italian Risorgimento, historians have traditionally shown very little interest in Irish responses to Italian nationalism. Indeed, at the end of the twentieth century the 'serious' academic literature on the subject did not extend much beyond *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, a collection of essays edited by R. Dudley Edwards and published in 1960.[14] Much has changed in the last decade or so. Thanks to the work of historians such as Michele Finelli, Jennifer O'Brien, Colin Barr and Anne O'Connor, we are now much more aware of the complex and important 'interactions and intersections'[15] that existed between Irish and Italian nationalisms in the mid-nineteenth century, and of the Risorgimento's impact in Ireland. *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (2013), edited by Finelli, Barr and O'Connor, represents the current 'state of the art' in this regard.[16] O'Connor also contributes to the present volume.

The contrasts between the two historiographies (Britain and the Risorgimento; Ireland and the Risorgimento) are in part a reflection of the very different positions that Britain and Ireland occupied internationally in the nineteenth century. Britain was a great European power, its interests and history enmeshed with those of the continent. The same could not be said for poor, underdeveloped, peripheral, oppressed Ireland.

Mass migration from Ireland to the New World appeared to take Ireland even further away from Europe. For historians of nineteenth-century Britain, it was impossible to ignore the European (and by extension, the Italian) dimensions of that history. For historians of nineteenth-century Ireland it was all too easy to do so; as Barr and O'Connor note, the chief characteristic of the historiography of nineteenth-century Ireland is its insularity.[17]

There is, though, perhaps another reason for the great disparity between the coverage of British and Irish attitudes towards Italian nationalism. The Italian 'struggle' for independence generated enormous enthusiasm in Britain (although, as we shall see, it was not as deep, widespread or as constant as historians have sometimes assumed). In Ireland, the Catholic majority sided with the papacy against the nationalist movement; loyalty to the pope outweighed any sympathy for the Italian national 'cause'. The British backed the winners – the nationalists – who were widely considered at the time (and subsequently) to represent the forces of 'modernity'. British sympathies, in other words, appeared to have been 'wisely directed', and official British policy in Italy had been a marked success, 'in an epoch when our other dealings with the outer world were a series of well-meant blunders'.[18] This was an attractive story for historians to tell.[19] Catholic Ireland, on the other hand, backed the losers, the opponents of Italian 'freedom': not just the pope, whose once extensive temporal authority across central Italy was reduced to the Vatican and its immediate surrounds, but by extension the Austrians (who lost Lombardy [1859] and Venetia [1866]) and the Bourbon monarchy in southern Italy (effectively ousted by Garibaldi in 1860). History is rarely interested in losers. Moreover, to oppose the nationalist cause was to support (intentionally or not) absolutist, repressive and (in the case of Austria) foreign rule in Italy. Irish opposition, then, looked like a straightforward case of reaction and historians have been far quicker to dismiss than to study such attitudes.

Britain and the Italian Risorgimento

There is abundant evidence of widespread sympathy, support and enthusiasm for the Italian national cause in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Among the political elite, the Italian proclivities of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were such that Queen Victoria referred to them as her 'Old Italian Masters'.[20] Gladstone's long journey from conservatism to liberalism received a decisive push in mid-1859 when he joined Palmerston's Whig government – a decision taken by Gladstone based

on the new administration's pro-Italian stance. At the end of 1860, Gladstone felt so moved by recent events in Italy that he wrote to his friend Antonio Panizzi that 'She (Italy) has been to me for the past 18 months, a principal cause not only of joy and satisfaction but even of the desire for political existence'.[21] The noted social reformer and evangelist (and Palmerston's son-in-law), Lord Shaftesbury, was equally effusive, judging Garibaldi in 1860 to be the 'noblest hero and champion since the days of Gideon, or the Maccabees'.[22] Some in the diplomatic corps, notably Sir James Hudson, the influential British minister at Turin (1852–63), were also strong advocates of Italian 'freedom'. In 1851, Hudson had replied to Palmerston's offer of a post in Italy thus:

> At Florence, or at Milan, Venice, Bologna, or Naples, I was made to study Italy: I was taught how the soul and body of poor Italia was bound in fetters – and it was pointed out to me that it would be a crowning work to deliver her from bondage.[23]

This was not the usual language of diplomacy. (Such was Hudson's dedication to the Italian nationalist cause that following his death in Florence in 1885, the Florentine *comune* erected in his honour a plaque on the house in which he had lived for much of his retirement. In late 2010, the Turin authorities erected a similar plaque on the building that had housed the British legation in Hudson's time.)

Support or sympathy 'for Italy' stretched well beyond the confines of politics and diplomacy. Among the British *literati,* we find many Italian enthusiasts. The poet Walter Savage Landor, for example, announced in an open letter published in 1856 that he was contributing £100 to the Italian republican cause, £5 of which was to go towards the purchase of muskets, with the remaining £95 reserved 'for the family of the first patriot who asserts by action the dignity of tyrannicide.'[24] (Landor did not say which Italian ruler(s) he wanted dead; but it certainly landed him in trouble.) In 1860, and by then virtually penniless, Landor donated his watch to a subscription fund set up in Florence in support of Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition.[25] Elizabeth Barrett Browning was another devotee. 'If ever there was a holy cause it is this; if ever there was a war on which we may lawfully ask God's blessing, it is this', she enthused to her father in the spring of 1859 as war raged in northern Italy between Piedmont-France and Austria.[26] (Barrett Browning collapsed when she heard of the Franco–Austrian armistice of Villafranca [8 July 1859], which left Austria still in control of the Veneto. 'Dizzy with grief' at the news, Barrett Browning's ever-fragile health gave way and she was confined

to bed for three weeks.)[27] The list goes on. Meredith, Tennyson, Clough, Swinburne, George Eliot, Dickens, the Carlyles, all embraced in one way or another the concept of an Italian Risorgimento – as did Florence Nightingale (named after the city of her birth), who in 1848 was already writing of the 'glory' of the Italian 'cause' and who in 1860 gave money in support of Garibaldi's Sicily expedition.[28]

Pro-Italian sentiment was evident, too, beyond elite (that is, middle- and upper-class) circles. In 1854, hundreds of workers in Newcastle contributed to a penny subscription fund set up to purchase a sword and telescope in honour of Garibaldi when the Italian revolutionary visited the city. A list of contributors to a later Emancipation of Italy Fund (1856) in the Newcastle area, which called on the 'workmen of England' to assist the cause of Italian freedom, shows donations from potters, bakers, tailors and printers, while workers from the small town of Hawick raised £37 (roughly equivalent to £1600 today), again mainly through penny subscriptions.[29] Pro-Mazzinian British radicals were more often than not involved in these initiatives. Among these was the secularist George Holyoake, best known for his championing of the co-operative movement in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Holyoake is an interesting, if extreme, example of how far some British radicals were prepared to go in support of Italian nationalism. In 1856, he was involved in early tests of the bombs later used by Felice Orsini in his attempted assassination of Napoleon III. In 1857, he agreed to hide an Italian 'patriot' following the stabbing of four French agents in London. In 1860, he was instrumental in raising a British volunteer force of between 600 and 1000 men to fight alongside Garibaldi in southern Italy.[30] Joan Allen and Elena Bacchin examine the connections between British radicalism and (Mazzinian) Italian nationalism in Chapters 2 and 3 of this volume.

Garibaldi's conquest of Sicily in 1860 saw British political and popular enthusiasm for Italian nationalism reach new heights. Besides the British Garibaldi Legion, public meetings and subscriptions in support of the *Mille* sprang up across the country, while newspapers compared Garibaldi to (among others) Caesar, Cincinnatus, Oliver Cromwell, Hannibal, Napoleon, St George, William of Orange, William Wallace and George Washington. Meanwhile, moving panoramas showing Garibaldi's Sicilian achievements toured provincial theatres from September 1860, attracting 'large audiences'; a stage play simply entitled 'Garibaldi' opened in London as early as August 1860.[31]

Garibaldi remained an extraordinarily popular figure in Britain in the years following the formal unification of Italy in 1861. Indeed, as John

Davis has written, 'the reception he received on his visit to London in 1864 was probably without precedent'.[32] So large was the crowd that met Garibaldi on his arrival in the capital that it took him five and a half hours to travel the three miles to his destination.[33] During his 12 days in London, men and women of all classes and rank clamoured to meet, honour, hear, touch, or simply glimpse the Italian hero. Some literally sang his praises: 'No lordling knight this chieftain / No blood-born Prince is he / but Europe's noble mentor / Saviour of I-ta-ly', went one popular song of the time.[34] Paul Ginsborg has described the welcome given to Garibaldi in 1864 as the 'most dramatic expression' and 'culminating celebration' of the 'propulsive myth' of the Risorgimento in Britain.[35]

Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

In her groundbreaking 2005 article on 'Irish Public Opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859–60', Jennifer O'Brien demonstrated how events in Italy in these crucial years of the Risorgimento were followed in Ireland with 'intense interest, largely because of the papacy's involvement'.[36] Irish public opinion split along sectarian lines. On the one hand, many within the minority Protestant community in Ireland supported the Italian nationalist movement, in large measure because of its anti-Catholic/anti-papal character. This was particularly the case within Irish evangelical Protestantism, which 'dominated mainstream Presbyterianism and formed an influential minority in the Church of Ireland'. To evangelicals, the papacy was the Antichrist, and the Risorgimento 'part of the eternal struggle between true religion and the powers of darkness'.[37] As Anne O'Connor shows in her contribution to this volume, this explains the extremely warm reception given by Irish Protestants to the itinerant Italian nationalist preacher Alessandro Gavazzi, who made frequent lecture tours of the country in the 1850s and 1860s inveighing against the evils of Catholicism. Gavazzi's declaration that 'all true Italians swear to destroy the papacy' because the pope was the enemy of Italian freedom, exerted a powerful hold over the Irish Protestant imagination.[38]

From an Irish Catholic perspective, Italian nationalism posed an unacceptable threat to the temporal and spiritual authority of the pope. Hence, Irish Catholics rallied to the papal cause *against* the Risorgimento.[39] In the 1859 general election, enfranchised Irish Catholics voted in large numbers for the traditionally anti-Catholic Tories because of the Whigs' pro-Italian stance. In late 1859, as revolution threatened papal rule across central Italy, huge crowds, mobilised by the clergy, gathered in 'monster meetings' in Irish towns and cities to demonstrate their support for the

pope.[40] In the space of just a few months in 1860, Irish Catholics donated £80,000 through 'Peter's Pence' collections towards the defence of the papacy, an enormous amount given the general poverty of the population. At the same time, 1300 Irish volunteers made their way to Italy to defend papal temporal rule in central Italy against national encroachment. The so-called 'Battalion of St Patrick' or 'Irish Brigade' would have been much larger but for a cap imposed by Church authorities.[41]

Colin Barr has examined the role of the head of the Catholic Church in Ireland, Paul Cullen, in mobilising Irish Catholic opinion against the Risorgimento in the 1850s and 1860s. Cullen had left Ireland to study in Rome in 1820, where he remained until 1850 when he returned to Ireland as the new Archbishop of Armagh. He became Archbishop of Dublin two years later. Cullen dominated the Irish Catholic Church for the next quarter of a century, bringing it into line with Roman orthodoxy while at the same time greatly expanding its 'power, reach, size and uniformity (devotional, political, administrative)'.[42]

Cullen's hostility towards Italian nationalism had deep roots, dating back to his early years in Rome. However, it was his first-hand experience of revolution in Rome in 1848 that, in Barr's view, 'confirmed all of Cullen's prejudices and fears'.[43] Italian nationalism, which Cullen took to mean Mazzinian nationalism, was an 'evil' to be resisted and opposed at all costs. Not only was it revolutionary, democratic and republican – all of which were, of course, anathema to Cullen – but, as the murder of the pope's interior minister and the subsequent flight of Pius IX from Rome in November 1848 demonstrated, it was also anti-papal, if not actually atheistic. Mazzini himself was, in Cullen's opinion, 'the arch-enemy of the Church of God'.[44] Cullen's antipathy towards Italian nationalism did not lessen during the 1850s, despite the growing influence of moderate, monarchical 'liberal nationalism': Italian nationalism in whatever guise was antithetical to papal temporal (and by extension, spiritual) rule.

As Barr shows, Cullen's almost pathological fear/hatred of Italian nationalism not only fed and sharpened Irish Catholic opposition to the Risorgimento but it also affected the development of Irish nationalism after the collapse of the 'Young Ireland' movement in 1848. Cullen opposed the national–liberal Independent Irish Party (IIP, 1852–58) because he considered one of its leaders, Charles Gavan Duffy, to be 'an Irish Mazzini', despite ample evidence to the contrary.[45] 'The young Irelanders', Cullen observed in late 1853 with Duffy clearly in mind, 'act just as the Mazzinians did in Italy – Evviva Pio Nono just as they are going to crucify him'.[46] According to Barr, Cullen's pursuit of Duffy effectively killed the IIP.[47]

Cullen's influence in Ireland and the strength of popular Irish Catholic sentiment against the Risorgimento also meant that even a 'real' Mazzinian-style nationalist organisation such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) felt obliged to distance itself from the Italian nationalist cause. Established in 1858 and committed to armed revolution and the creation of a democratic, independent Irish republic, the IRB recognised that it would be fatal to its ambitions if it were 'to allow itself to be linked with Italian nationalism in general and Mazzini in particular'.[48] One way was to publicly disavow Mazzini, another was simply to ignore events in Italy altogether; according to Barr, the 'Fenian' (IRB) press was virtually silent on the Risorgimento.[49] (For his part, Mazzini rejected Fenianism as he had earlier rejected the Repeal movement, telling the French-born revolutionary and Fenian, Gustave Paul Cluseret, in 1867 that 'the Irish Question could only be settled by English co-operation'. A handful of Italian radicals, however, did join the Fenian movement.)[50]

What emerges from many of the recent studies is the centrality of the Cullen-inspired 'anti-Risorgimento' movement in Ireland to the development of an Irish nationalism rooted in Irish Catholic identity.[51] Nowhere is this more evident than in relation to the Irish Brigade in 1860.

The recruitment of volunteer soldiers in Ireland formed part of a wider papal initiative in early 1860 to assemble an international volunteer army to fight in defence of the papacy in Italy. A papal agent arrived in Ireland in February to drum up support for the venture and although some within the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland – Cullen included – harboured doubts about the plan, the majority of church leaders (led by Cullen) fell into line. Parish priests acted as local recruitment officers while the once 'Mazzinian' *Nation* newspaper (see Chapter 1) enthusiastically promoted the enterprise. The involvement of the *Nation* no doubt contributed to what Anne O'Connor has called the 'greening' of the Irish Brigade.[52] Originally conceived by Church leaders as a religious mission – as an opportunity for Irishmen to serve the pope and, if necessary, to die a glorious martyr's death – the recruitment drive quickly developed a nationalist hue. To serve the pope was also to serve Ireland: 'I am dying for Ireland ... I am dying for the faith of my Fatherland', one recruit reportedly exclaimed; according to another volunteer, it was a matter of 'God and duty, faith and country'.[53] Ill-trained, disorganised, under-resourced, and heavily out-numbered, the Italian experience of the Irish Brigade in 1860 was hardly a happy one and many recruits returned home deeply disillusioned (not least because it had quickly become apparent to the volunteers that they were not welcome in Italy). Nonetheless, the Irish Catholic hierarchy and nationalist press were able

to dress the venture as a great moral victory even if it had ended in military defeat. Cullen presided over a requiem mass for the 65 Irish soldiers whose death in battle 'reflected lustre on the land that bore them'; banquets were organised across the country to honour those who returned alive.[54]

Britain and the Italian Risorgimento revisited

The historiography on Ireland and the Risorgimento is very much in its infancy. As such, historians are still for the most part 'mapping out' this particular history rather than seeking to revise established orthodoxies or contest particular issues (although Michael Huggins in this volume does challenge Colin Barr's thesis that Young Ireland in the 1840s owed little to Mazzini). More surprising is the settled character of the historiography on Britain and the Risorgimento. When we look at how historians have presented and explained British attitudes towards mid-nineteenth-century Italian nationalism, we find a considerable degree of consensus. The majority of accounts stress the remarkable popularity of the Italian cause in Britain, especially in the period 1848–61.[55] As to why the British embraced the Risorgimento with such enthusiasm, historians – almost without exception – emphasise the same three general factors: the influence of the Grand Tour; the impact of Romanticism and Byron in particular; and the role of Italian political exiles living in Britain, notably Mazzini. These three factors are so ubiquitous in the existing literature that it is unnecessary to 'unpack' them fully here. The general thesis, though, can be quickly summarised. First, historians argue that the aristocratic Grand Tour and growing middle-class travel to Italy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, combined with an education system heavily weighted towards the classics, meant that long before the creation of an Italian national movement, the idea of 'an Italy' was already fixed in the imagination of the British elite.[56] This Italy, though, was historical and cultural rather than political; it was the Italy of classical and imperial Rome, of the Renaissance and the Baroque. British travellers to the peninsula at this time were not interested in 'real' Italy or Italians; indeed, most British visitors avoided the native population as much as possible and if they did notice their contemporary surroundings, it was usually to observe how far Italy and its people had fallen in recent centuries. 'Modern' Italy for these travellers did not exist since there was nothing 'modern' about it – apart from the travellers themselves; in fact, as Jeremy Black has written, 'Italy was seen as "decivilised"'.[57]

Such attitudes persisted into the middle decades of the nineteenth century but, crucially, whereas earlier generations had generally assumed Italy's current degraded state to be a given – the Italians were an unimprovable race – by the mid-nineteenth century there was an expectation that Italy could be 'remade'. At this point, historians usually highlight the impact of Romanticism, and Byron particularly. The epitome of the English romantic, historians argue that Byron played a crucial role in the development of the Risorgimento 'myth' in Britain in two ways. First, so great was his cultural influence and celebrity in Britain after the publication of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18) that his personal commitment to the cause of Italian 'freedom' (he was a member of the Carbonari in Italy during the revolutions of 1820–1) inevitably excited popular interest. If anything, the Byronic legend increased after his death in Greece in 1824 and 'his fight for Italian and Greek independence became a myth in itself, which [in turn] nourished the myth of the Risorgimento'.[58] Second, Byron's fourth canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, set in Italy, is said to have transformed the widely held early nineteenth-century British view of Italy as a 'museum deprived of life', into 'a land of perfect beauty ... whose preceding glory constituted a spur to action and a guarantee of rebirth'.[59] ('The sap lasts', notes Harold, 'and still we find / Sown deep, even in the bosom of the North; / So shall a better spring less bitter fruit bring forth'.)[60] Consequently, 'Italian independence began to acquire a profound moral and emotional resonance' within well-to-do British hearts and minds.[61]

The third commonly cited source of British enthusiasm 'for Italy' – the role played by Italian political exiles, particularly Mazzini, in the promotion and popularising of the Risorgimento in Britain – has generated some historical debate: not all historians share the widespread view that, broadly speaking, the exile community exerted a positive influence on British public opinion.[62] In recent years, though, the 'orthodox' position has strengthened its hold. Maurizio Isabella, for example, who is widely (and rightly) regarded as the leading authority on the exiled Italian community in Britain, has argued that Italian political refugees were instrumental in establishing and entrenching the Austrian 'black legend' in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s, vital if British public opinion was ever to countenance the overturn of Austrian rule in Italy.[63] The influx of large numbers of political exiles from Italy after the failures of the 1820–1, 1831 and 1848–9 revolutions, he points out, also ensured that the British were regularly reminded of the plight of Italy and the need to 'do something' for the Italians. Many of these exiles subsequently played an active role in keeping the 'Italian question' in

the British public eye, writing pamphlets and articles, giving lectures, and organising meetings, subscriptions and petitions. A small number even enjoyed privileged access to the uppermost echelons of the liberal-whig establishment (Panizzi a case in point). As Isabella notes (and Elena Bacchin and Raffaella Antinucci argue in their respective chapters on Felice Orsini and Giovanni Ruffini), exiles also worked hard – and with some apparent success – to counter negative British stereotypes of Italians and Italy, and construct an ideal type of the new Italian man (very close, in fact, to the British self-image).[64]

While Isabella has sought to direct the spotlight away from Mazzini and onto lesser-known but nonetheless influential exiles, the Italian republican leader – perhaps inevitably – dominates this particular aspect of the historiography. Historians generally agree that his skills as a propagandist, his religiosity, his emphasis on and embodiment of self-abnegation, duty, sacrifice and suffering (values similar to those of British Puritanism), his advocacy of education, his intellectual brilliance, his personal charm, his romanticism, his heroic leadership of the Roman Republic in 1849, and his politics (republicanism and democracy) won him – and the Italian cause – the support of a broad cross section of British public opinion in the 1840s and 1850s. The London *literati* opened their doors to him. Leading radicals and republicans, many of them Nonconformists, embraced his causes – sometimes with a passion that bordered on adoration. (Joan Allen's chapter in this volume examines in detail Mazzini's relationships with three such figures: Joseph Cowen, William Linton and George Julian Harney.) Significant numbers of middle-class women were also drawn into his orbit, with several (Jessie White, Emilie and Caroline Ashurst, for example) entering his innermost circle of advisers and confidants.[65] David Laven reflects the long-standing consensus on the role of Mazzini when he writes that the Italian 'made a major contribution to British support for Italian unification … the fact that tens of thousands of British men and women were, by the late 1850s, passionately concerned with the fate of the peninsula was largely a product of Mazzini's own labours'.[66]

The popularity of the Italian cause in Britain, 1848–61, cannot be gainsaid. Yet, British support for and interest in the Risorgimento in this period was never constant: it waxed and waned during these key years, a point that historians sometimes overlook or downplay. The pro-Mazzini Society of the Friends of Italy, for example, established in 1851 with a central committee featuring three MPs, 14 vicars and cultural luminaries including Leigh Hunt, Landor and Francis Newman, found it difficult to reach beyond a relatively limited circle of supporters. The

Society was unable to raise more than 9100 signatories for its 159 petitions in support of Italy, 1852–3. This equated to a mere 58 signatories per petition on average.[67] The Society's first annual report, published in June 1852, revealed a national membership of just 796; funds from subscriptions and donations amounted to £498.[68] Although the Society's London-based lectures (or 'conversations' as they were advertised) were well-attended (newspaper reports of the first lectures in 1852 indicate audiences ran into the low hundreds), these were not necessarily 'English' affairs. In November 1852, for example, the radical and pro-Mazzinian *Reynolds's Newspaper* reported that 'first conversazione of the season' had attracted a large audience, made up of equal numbers of English, Italians, Germans and Hungarians.[69] The novelty of the 'conversations' also appears to have worn off relatively quickly. In January 1853, *Reynolds's* reported that 'fewer than usual of those intellectual, generally young, men who are the motive power of this society' had attended its most recent lecture.[70] The fact that the Society did not bother to publish a second annual report in 1853, suggests that its already rather modest fortunes may have suffered a reverse in year two.[71] (The Society appears to have gone into terminal decline in 1853. First, the failure of the Milan rising in February dealt Mazzinian nationalism a heavy blow; the growing crisis in the Crimea then took the public gaze away from Italy altogether.)[72]

Many pro-Italian activists in the United Kingdom constantly complained of the lack of support for, or even interest in, Italy in the 1850s. For example, the initial address of the Society of the Friends of Italy in 1851 noted the 'indifferentism', 'apathy' and 'ignorance' of 'Englishmen' to foreign affairs in general.[73] Although many London-based and provincial newspapers were happy to publish the address in full or in part, many ignored it, while some reacted negatively. The *Era* was a case in point, unwittingly demonstrating the 'indifferentism' of which the Friends of Italy complained:

> Without wishing to offend these philanthropists, we cannot help suggesting to them a homely old proverb, that persons are never better employed than when they are minding their own business. We have certainly no honest grounds for 'exporting' our philanthropy, and of all places in the world to Italy.[74]

The 'little Englander' mentality of the *Era* was shared by many in parliament, to the frustration of Antonio Panizzi who protested to his friend Gladstone:

> If a negro slave is proved to be treated by an American master as now Italians are treated by the Austrians, the House of Commons ring with declarations against slavery, the Americans, democracy, and all that sort of thing. But for the Italians who are shot like dogs, bastonated [beaten] like slaves, and oppressed as if they were beasts of burden who has ever said a word?[75]

One might even argue that the flurries of philo-Italian activity in Britain in 1851–2 (connected to the Friends of Italy) and again in 1857–8 (the lecturing tours of Aurelio Saffi, Jessie White and Orsini), were both instigated in periods of *declining* British interest in Italy.[76] Seen in this light, they are better understood as the rearguard actions of a relatively small band of committed enthusiasts designed to keep the Italian question in the public eye as attention turned to other issues (for example, in 1857, to the Indian rebellion and growing tensions with France).

That early-Victorian society was often indifferent to the Italian cause in the 1850s is (surprisingly) confirmed by Garibaldi's reception in Newcastle in 1854. Garibaldi is widely seen as the great mobilising force behind British enthusiasm for Italian nationalism in the 1850s, his popular standing established in 1849 by his defence of the Roman Republic from French troops and enhanced by his own and Mazzini's adept use of the modern mass media to 'invent' (Lucy Riall's term) the heroic myth of Garibaldi.[77] The evidence, though, suggests we should be careful not to overstate Garibaldi's significance in Britain before the 'Garibaldi moment' in 1860. Prior to Newcastle, Garibaldi had already visited England in June 1850, landing in Liverpool on his way to America; he stayed in the city for six days. One might have expected the visit of the 'hero of two worlds' to receive a rapturous welcome in England and attract substantial (and enthusiastic) press interest. Instead, as Riall notes, he came and went with little fanfare.[78] Although many provincial newspapers carried the *Liverpool Albion*'s short report of his arrival, only the *Liverpool Mercury* (in an article published after Garibaldi had set sail for New York) reported on his itinerary.[79] It was left to George Harney's *Red Republican* – a week after Garibaldi's departure – 'to give publicity to Garibaldi's stay in England',[80] but as the name suggests, the *Red Republican* was hardly mass-circulation material. There was barely a mention of Garibaldi in the British popular press over the next few years, and when he did visit England again in 1854 this was, as John Davis notes, 'a very low key affair', with his visit to Newcastle essentially the pet project of the industrialist and radical Joseph Cowen.[81] Garibaldi's presence in Newcastle and particularly Cowen's presentation

of a sword and telescope to 'the eminent Italian patriot and republican' did gain national press coverage thanks to the *Daily News*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and the ever-reliable *Reynolds's Newspaper*.[82] Tellingly, however, Cowen referred again in his presentation address to 'our popular ignorance of foreign affairs'. In fact, in Britain in the 1850s, no Italian nationalist received anything like the reception accorded to the Hungarian revolutionary leader Lajos Kossuth in 1851, who attracted huge crowds as he toured England and was feted by high and low society alike.[83] (The *Economist*, not normally given to hyperbole, described him as one of the 'Heroes of Mankind'.[84] Only the implacable opposition of the prime minister, Lord John Russell, and Queen Victoria dissuaded the foreign secretary Lord Palmerston from meeting Kossuth.)

A final indicator of the 'softness' of British public opinion on the Italian question comes from data collected by Norbert Gossman regarding financial contributions to the various philo-Italian organisations and subscription funds. Gossman estimates that collections for Mazzini totalled £3000.[85] The sum collected for Garibaldi was much higher – approximately £34,000 – with donations concentrated in 1860. Even this figure, though, pales in comparison to the £80,000 raised in Catholic Ireland in support of the pope during the spring and summer of that year.[86]

Not only was British enthusiasm for Italy inconstant and often quite shallow after 1848 and through the 1850s but there was widespread opposition within Britain to the Risorgimento: the reality was that the Italian question was a deeply divisive issue in the early Victorian era. The divide ran along two fault lines. The first was political–ideological in nature: while liberals and radicals generally sympathised with the Italian cause (at least when they thought about it), conservatives usually stood opposed. Conservative opposition stemmed from three sources. First, conservatives saw Italian nationalism as a threat to the international political order in Europe, established after the defeat of Napoleon; treaties had to be respected. Moreover, conservatives feared that the defeat of Austria in Italy would weaken Austria in Europe generally (it could even precipitate the collapse of the Austrian empire) and deliver the continent into the hands of Bonaparte France.[87] This was simply unthinkable (and was something that also tempered the 'pro-Italian' sympathies of many liberals). Second, conservatives feared that the Mazzinian wing of the Italian nationalist movement might triumph. A republican–democratic revolution in Italy was an unpalatable prospect. Third, conservatives (and they were by no means alone) struggled with the idea of an Italian 'nation'. This puzzled even self-confessed

Italophiles such as Lord Malmesbury, the Tory foreign secretary in 1852 and 1858–9. If a classical training, a passion for renaissance art and a love of the Italian countryside were foundations upon which educated English minds in the nineteenth century based their Italian sympathies, then measured against such criteria Malmesbury's Italian pedigree appears impeccable. Malmesbury had travelled extensively in Italy. In his youth, Malmesbury had spent ten months in the peninsula and had returned for a further six months when in his late thirties. He toured northern Italy again in 1856. His enthusiasm on these occasions for Italy's classical past is unmistakeable. 'I revelled in the classical associations of Pozzuoli, the Bay of Baiae, Pompeii and Paestum', he later recalled of his first visit to Italy, 'and thanked the Gods that I had been sent to Eton and there acquired the enjoyment of knowing their legends'. Malmesbury was also an enthusiastic collector of Renaissance art and his own private collection contained works by Titian and Crivelli (some of which were obtained through Sir James Hudson, himself a keen collector, who acted as a dealer for Malmesbury while minister at Turin). Given such a cultural background it is little wonder then that Malmesbury regarded himself as '*Italianissimo*', admitting to Queen Victoria in 1858 'those romantic feelings which the former history and the present degradation of Italy may naturally inspire even at a more advanced time of life'. Yet Malmesbury simply could not conceive of an Italian nation. Italy was 'a mosaic of nationalities' he argued; if Italy were left to govern itself it would 'become a 2nd Mexico ... the prejudices and even dislike of the various provinces to one another is ingrained by centuries'. Consequently, Malmesbury considered it 'both sound policy as well as sound honesty to leave Austria in quiet possession of her Italian dominions'.[88]

The second source of division in Britain was religion: as in Ireland, Catholics (in this case the minority in Britain, numbering around 750,000 in England at the start of the 1850s)[89] supported the papacy against the Risorgimento while the Protestant majority backed the nationalists against the pope. (As we shall see, popular anti-Catholicism was a critical factor in British support for the Italian cause.) Catholic MPs, the English Catholic press, and leading English Catholics consistently spoke out in support of the papal temporal authority (and the Bourbon monarchy in southern Italy, another favourite target of the British press and parliament in the 1850s). In late 1859, after nationalist revolutions had broken out in parts of the Papal States, Catholics staged meetings across England in support of papal rule. In December 1859, the Catholic *Tablet* carried on its front page a 'Declaration of the Catholic Laity of

Great Britain', in which 'a great number of persons of rank, and fortune, and education'[90] defended papal governance and protested 'against the wrong done to all Catholics' by the efforts of 'rebels', 'foreign incendiaries' and 'invaders' to compromise the pope's temporal power. The signatories vowed 'to resist and resent, in the spirit of the Constitution', any attempt by the British government to influence events in Italy 'in favour of the Holy Father's rebel subjects'.[91] In early 1860, the *Tablet* called on all Catholics to look to their conscience:

> The time is come when Catholics of every nation must choose their path. Will they stand by the Catholic Church, or will they join the League for robbing the church ... of all that belongs to her ... [B]efore our bodies are laid in their quiet graves, we shall have to answer for the deeds done by the flesh ... it is certain that we shall be asked whether in the battle of life, we fought as soldiers of Christ around the standard of the Cross, or became legionaries of the Devil, and marched beneath his flag.[92]

Many British or British-based Catholics heeded the call. In Rome, Cardinal Wiseman presented a statement of devotion to the pope signed by 14,000 English lay Catholics. Across Scotland and England, large congregations of Catholics gathered to hear speakers defend the pope's right to rule. In London, Catholics quickly raised £2000 for the newly established papal benevolence fund. Even the collection of 'Peter's Pence', banned by Henry VIII in the fifteenth century, was revived, while later in the year a 'spectacular service' was held in London to honour the fallen 'glories' of the Irish Brigade.[93]

As in Ireland, the intensity of the British Catholic response to events in Italy peaked in 1859–60. This, though, did not mean that Catholic Britain was insensible to events in Italy during the 1860s – far from it. The creation of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, following the annexation of central and southern Italy to Piedmont, did not resolve the 'Roman question'; although the pope had lost large swathes of territory in 1859–60, he still ruled in Rome and its environs. The fate of papal temporal power thus remained in the balance, and British/British-based Catholics showed themselves ready to fight for the pope – literally – when the issue of Rome and the papacy periodically flared up. The London 'Garibaldi riots' of September–October 1862 are the best-known example. The riots, over successive Sundays, came in the wake of the 'Battle of Aspromonte' (August 1862) when a volunteer army assembled by Garibaldi for the purpose of taking Rome had been stopped in

the mountains of southern Italy by regular Italian troops; Garibaldi had been shot and wounded in the foot in the ensuing melee. When pro-Garibaldi groups assembled at a meeting in Hyde Park on 28 September to show their support for their fallen hero, hundreds of mainly Irish Catholics stormed the platform. Fierce running battles ensued across the park, which lasted for several hours. The following Sunday saw the events of the previous week repeated, only on a much greater scale: 'It was not a mere squabble', *The Times* reported, '…it was a battle'.[94] Serious disturbances quickly followed in Birkenhead after a Protestant minister in a Catholic area of the town draped the local Protestant Church School in Orange flags and announced that a meeting would be held to debate 'a motion of sympathy for Garibaldi'.[95] Catholic antipathy towards Garibaldi also appears to have been behind another, albeit much smaller, riot in Newcastle in June 1866. Following the publication of two inflammatory articles in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (one a crowing report on the defeat of the Fenians in Canada, the other a paean to Garibaldi) and against the international backdrop of the Austro–Prussian war, a hundred or so Irish Catholic immigrants armed with shillelaghs 'ploughed' through crowds at Newcastle's Town Moot racecourse, having earlier demanded that racegoers declare whether their allegiance was to 'Garibaldi or the pope'.[96] A year later, as Garibaldi once again prepared to march on Rome, a small number of Scottish and English Catholics joined the Papal Zouaves, the same multinational fighting force in which the Irish Brigade had served during 1860. One English volunteer, Julian Watts-Russell, welcomed the opportunity to die a martyr's death for the pope, 'because in that case I have the hope to go straight to heaven'.[97] Watts-Russell got his wish. He died during the Battle of Mentana (November 1867).

Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento

If we compare the historiography on Britain and the Risorgimento with that on Ireland and the Risorgimento, one cannot help but be struck by the very different position that the role of religion occupies in the respective literatures. In the Irish historiography, religion is the critical factor in explaining Irish attitudes towards Italy. In the British historiography, religion takes a back seat: cultural–political explanations of British enthusiasm dominate. This is not to say that British-focussed studies have ignored the role of religion entirely – on the contrary, it features in many accounts – but it has rarely been proposed as a *core* cause and is often dealt with in summary fashion.[98] There are signs that this is

beginning to change – religion, specifically Protestant anti-Catholicism, lies at the heart of recent studies by Riall, Raponi and Bush – but the historiographical scales remain weighted against such interpretations.[99]

The respective historiographies differ from each other in one other crucial regard. Irish-oriented studies usually set the Irish response to the Risorgimento within the wider context of Irish–British relations. Thus, for example, Colin Barr shows how Paul Cullen's deep antipathy towards Britain buttressed his instinctive fear of nationalism. Cullen believed that Britain actively supported revolution in Italy to further British interests in the peninsula at the expense of the pope. Cullen's 'linkage of England, irreligion and violent nationalism', writes Barr, 'would remain a constant in Cullen's thought, to be applied equally to Young Ireland and to the Fenians'.[100] Likewise, Anne O'Connor writes that 'The Irish reaction to Garibaldi cannot ... be simply assessed on its own as Britain in fact occupied a pivotal position in what might be termed a triangular relationship between the three countries'.[101] Irish Catholics wondered how the British could support the right of Italians to independence but deny the same right to the Irish. Moreover, British enthusiasm for Garibaldi in 1860 confirmed Britain in Irish Catholic eyes as the great enemy of Catholicism. The British position on the Italian question drove Irish nationalism and Irish Catholicism towards each other: 'the rallying of the Irish people around a national cause was a direct result of the situation in Italy, of England's obvious celebration of Italian nationalism and in particular of Garibaldi'.[102] In contrast, British-focussed studies seldom mention Ireland. McIntire's *England against the Papacy* and Matsumoto-Best's *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution* are two obvious exceptions, but since they both deal with Anglo-papal diplomatic relations, this is hardly surprising.

I would argue that both religion *and* the 'triangular relationship' between Britain, Ireland and Italy are fundamental to a full and proper understanding of British enthusiasm for Italian nationalism. The Risorgimento in Britain was above all (as in Ireland) a *Protestant* cause, one that was intimately bound up with not only deep-rooted popular anti-Catholicism but also the so-called 'Irish question' and popular British anti-Irish sentiment.

It is difficult to exaggerate the strength of anti-Catholicism in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.[103] Not only was anti-Catholicism inherent within Protestantism (and particularly virulent within the evangelical movement) but Protestant anti-Catholicism was a key component of British identity. In the British Protestant mind, the 'Glorious Revolution' had saved Britain from Catholicism and had set the country on the path

to greatness: it was why Britain was the best governed, the most stable, the most powerful and the most prosperous nation on earth. Catholicism by contrast was a 'spiritual tyranny', possessed with an 'inherent thirst for lay servitude and for priestly domination'.[104] As John Wolffe has written, British 'anti-Catholics felt that they were confronting a system with enormous potentiality for evil in spiritual, social and political matters which was fundamentally inimical to British society and its embodiment in constitutional and political life'.[105] A range of factors contributed to an intensification of anti-Catholic feeling in Britain in the late 1840s–early 1850s. First, the Catholic-conservative reaction on the continent following the collapse of the 1848 revolutions created a sense of encirclement and isolation in Britain; the growth of ultramontanism on the continent and in the British and Irish Catholic Churches (under Wiseman in Britain and Cullen in Ireland) was also viewed with concern. Second, recent high-profile Protestant defections to Roman Catholicism fed fears of a Catholic 'fifth column' within the Anglican Church – the so-called Tractarianism or the 'Oxford movement' (John Henry Newman an example). Third, the revival of Catholicism in Britain and – connected to this – mass Irish immigration into Britain in the wake of the Famine (250,000 Irish migrants, mainly Catholic, arrived in 1850 alone) led to concerns that Protestant Britain was in danger of being swamped by immigrants who had no interest in adapting to 'British' ways. Fourth, Protestants saw the papal attempt to re-establish a Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850 as a direct attack by the head of the Catholic Church on the authority of the British Crown.[106] This last development, widely regarded in Britain as an overt act of 'papal aggression', provoked a huge outpouring of anti-papal and anti-Catholic sentiment. Effigies of the pope and his chosen head of the English Catholic Church (Wiseman) were burned in processions across the country in front of immense crowds (estimated at 10,000 in Exeter). Such was the storm that Parliament passed legislation in 1851 prohibiting Catholic bishops from using territorial titles.

Alongside growing anti-Catholicism in Britain in the early 1850s, historians have also identified a hardening of anti-Irish sentiment. Edward Lengel argues that the combination of famine, poverty and rebellion in Ireland in the late 1840s swung popular opinion in Britain away from the 'liberal' view of the Irish as an improvable people, to the 'racial' view of the Irish as a lost cause, a race apart.[107] The condition of the Irish, though, was also considered a consequence of their religion. Catholicism, described by Palmerston as the 'white slave trade in minds',[108] kept the Irish ignorant and agitated: the Catholic Church

suppressed any spirit of inquiry within the population, while at the same time it was keen to take any opportunity to use the misery of the Irish as a weapon in its crusade against Protestantism. Even the tragedy of the Famine was considered in some quarters to have been self-inflicted, the result of (in the opinion of the *Scottish Guardian*) Ireland's 'barbarous spiritual destitution, its moral and intellectual poverty'.[109] And now they were arriving in Britain in their tens of thousands: 'dirty, violent, ignorant, priest-ridden fool[s]', to use Lengel's description of the Irish literary stereotype employed in lowbrow English fiction of the time, bringing their fatal religion with them – and competing for jobs and houses with local workers.[110]

The Irish, then, were the most visible and close-to-home threat to British Protestant identity at a time when Protestant Britain was feeling both bullish and anxious. On the one hand, 1848 was considered a demonstration of the superiority and robustness of the British constitutional model and of the good sense of its people: in contrast to its European neighbours, who had been 'plunged ... in anarchy and deluged ... in blood', Britain had ridden out the year in 'matchless tranquillity'.[111] The 1851 Great Exhibition subsequently confirmed (if it needed confirming) Britain's status as the world's most advanced industrial power. On the other hand, Britain was now the 'only great free constitutional state remaining' in Europe, confronted by a Bonapartist France, an absolutist Austria and a pope who appeared 'resolved to force back the European world, and to replace upon the nineteenth century the yoke which even the sixteenth century found too burdensome and shook off'.[112] A similar mixture of self-confidence and anxiety permeated British Protestant attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish. Evangelicals, for example, 'saw the Famine as a blow to Irish Catholic prestige' and an 'opportunity to effect a final reformation' in Ireland.[113] At the same time, they were worried about the spread of 'Irish Romanists ... herded together in every city and township and district, an unimproving race ... deeply imbued with the principles of their religion, offensive as it is to Christianity, and hostile as it ever proves to civilisation and human advancement'.[114]

What has this to do with Italy? Just like their Irish counterparts, British Protestants were quick to read the Italian national cause in religious terms. Almost all the Italian nationalist leaders were anti-clerical (some deeply so), they were in favour of freedom of religion (which was opposed by the Catholic Church in Italy), and in Mazzini and Garibaldi had leaders committed to a united Italy with Rome as its capital – which would entail the destruction of papal temporal power.[115] A pope without

a state meant (or was assumed to mean) a weakened pope. A Catholic Church with a weak leader would mean a weakened church. A weakened Catholic Church would halt the Catholic advance across Europe, Britain and Ireland; it would be good for Protestantism in general and British (and Irish) Protestant interests in particular. There were even those who predicted the *collapse* of Catholicism in Italy in the face of nationalism. Palmerston, for instance, considered an Italian Reformation probable and British evangelical groups poured missionaries, money and bibles into Italy during the 1850s (and 1860s) towards this end.[116] It was no coincidence that Italian nationalism played especially well in Scotland and in cities such as London, Liverpool and Birmingham, where significant tensions existed between 'native' Protestant and new large-scale 'immigrant' Irish Catholic communities. As Anne O'Connor reveals in her chapter, Gavazzi 'electrified London audiences' in the early 1850s 'with his dramatic attacks on the Papacy'.[117] He also toured Scotland frequently during the 1850s (and later) speaking to audiences that sometimes ran into the thousands.[118] The Italian nationalist Felice Orsini, who was to meet his death on a Parisian scaffold in 1858 after a failed attempt on the life of Napoleon III, criss-crossed England and Scotland in 1856–7 on a lecture tour to push the Italian nationalist message and spoke on numerous occasions in Birmingham, Liverpool and London. Both Orsini and Aurelio Saffi attracted large audiences in Scotland. Anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment was particularly in evidence in Scotland, the prevailing mood caught by an editorial in the journal the *Scottish Protestant*:

> If the hopes of the Popery to regain her dominion of darkness in the kingdom of Bible light are beginning to revive, it is because she is colonising our soil, from another land, with the degraded hordes of barbarised and enslaved victims, which she proudly styles her subjects.[119]

The strength of Scottish Protestant anti-Catholic/anti-Irish feeling helps to explain why in public subscriptions to the Italian War of Independence in 1859, Glasgow and Edinburgh contributed one-quarter of the British total. (Glasgow also contributed more money than any other city to the subsequent Garibaldi Fund.)[120] It also helps to explain why the Scots were such a visible component of the British Garibaldi volunteer force that sailed from England in late 1860 to join Garibaldi's campaign in southern Italy. The sectarian-riven city of Liverpool also sent a large number of volunteers, around 50, as did Birmingham.

Conclusion

Protestant Britain and Catholic Ireland might have responded to events in Italy in very different ways but those responses stemmed to a considerable degree from the same roots: religious animosity and the British–Irish semi-colonial relationship. While Jennifer O'Brien has rightly emphasised the inward-looking nature of much of the Irish debate on the Risorgimento, the Irish did not have a monopoly on parochialism; the 'tendency to project ... politico–religious animosities onto a very different Italian situation' was a characteristic of British as well as Irish debates on the Risorgimento.[121] Historians need to pay more attention to the 'darker side' of British pro-Italian sentiment.

One final observation: historians have generally seen the welcome given Garibaldi in England in 1864 as confirmation of the enormous popular enthusiasm for the Italian cause that had built up in Britain over the previous 15 years. As I have attempted to show, however, British support 'for Italy' in the middle decades of the nineteenth century was actually less solid and consistent than has often been assumed. By 1864, British enthusiasm for the new Kingdom of Italy created in 1861 had waned considerably (Owain Wright explores British attitudes to the new state in his contribution to this volume). 'Revolving door' government, civil war in the south (and attendant state barbarity) and, above all, Aspromonte had seriously tarnished the reputation of the new Italy in British eyes. Garibaldi's reception in 1864 was not so much 'the culmination of the celebration of the myth of the Risorgimento'. Rather, it was more a celebration of the *Garibaldi* myth, which had taken root in Britain (and Protestant Ireland) in 1860 and had been given significant extra impetus by the events of 1862 (to the image of Garibaldi the hero was now added that of Garibaldi the martyr). For the British (specifically the English) in 1864, Garibaldi embodied what they liked to think of as British virtues: bravery, honesty, dignity, simplicity of character, humility. The new Italy, on the other hand, appeared to epitomise what the British regarded as long-standing Italian vices: cowardice, duplicity, dishonesty, weakness. Garibaldi was what the British hoped Italy would be but was not. In some ways, then, we can read the reception accorded to Garibaldi in 1864 almost as a public *censure* of the new Italy – and it is hardly surprising that Italy's political class was, for its part, deeply unimpressed by the welcome the General received.

Notes

1. S. Patriarca and L. Riall (2011) 'Introduction: Revisiting the Risorgimento', in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 2.
2. G. Mazzini (2013) 'Notes upon the Repeal Movement', 1847, quoted in M. Finelli, 'Intersections: The Historiography of Irish and Italian National Movements', in C. Barr, M. Finelli and A. O'Connor (eds) *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), p. 22.
3. Mazzini to Giuseppe Giglioli, March 1847, quoted in Finelli, 'Intersections', p. 23.
4. Mazzini quoted in Finelli, 'Intersections', p. 22.
5. D. Mack Smith (1994) *Mazzini* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), p. 86.
6. Frustratingly, and confusingly, many studies (in both English and Italian) employ the terms 'English' and 'British' interchangeably.
7. For general surveys by the historians listed see G. M. Trevelyan (1911) *English Songs of Italian Freedom* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.); D. Mack Smith (2000) 'Britain and the Italian Risorgimento', in M. McLaughlin (ed.) *Britain and Italy from Romanticism to Modernism: A Festschrift for Peter Brand* (Oxford: Legenda), pp. 13–31; D. Beales (1961) *England and Italy, 1859–60* (London: Nelson), especially chapter 2; P. Ginsborg (1995) 'Il mito del Risorgimento nel mondo britannico: "la vera poesia della politica"', *Il Risorgimento*, XLVII, 1–2, 384–99; Christopher Duggan (2007) 'Gran Bretagna e Italia nel Risorgimento', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds) *Il Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi); L. Riall (2012) 'Anticattolicesimo e rinascita cattolica: la Gran Bretagna, l'Irlanda e gli Stati pontifici, 1850–1860', in R. Balzani and A. Varni (eds) *La Romagna nel Risorgimento. Politica, società e cultura al tempo dell'Unità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), pp. 5–23. See also M. Isabella (2011) 'Interlocking Patriotisms: Italy and England in the Long Nineteenth Century', in C. Harrison and C. Newall (eds) *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italy* (Oxford and Farnham: Ashmolean Museum/Lund Humphries), pp. 36–40. For works on particular aspects of British opinion or policy by the historians listed see, for example, D. Mack Smith (1971) 'Cavour, Clarendon, and the Congress of Paris, 1856' and 'Palmerston and Cavour: British Policy in 1860', in D. Mack Smith (ed.) *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento* (London: Oxford University Press), pp. 77–91, 154–75; D. Mack Smith (1987) 'Gli inglesi e l'amore per l'Italia', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 33, 1, 11–20; H. Hearder (1966) 'Politica e opinione pubblica inglese verso l'Italia dal luglio 1859 al marzo 1860', *Atti del XLII congresso di storica del Risorgimento italiano* (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento); H. Hearder (1973) 'Mazzini e l'Inghilterra', *Atti del XLVI congresso di storia del Risorgimento italiano* (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento); D. Beales (1956) 'Il Risorgimento protestante', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, 43, 4, pp. 231–3; D. Beales (1959) 'Simpatie e incomprensioni dell'Inghilterra vittoriana', *Osservatore politica letterario*, 6; D. Beales (1991) 'Garibaldi in England: The Politics of Italian Enthusiasm', in J. A. Davis and P. Ginsborg (eds) *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento. Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 184–216; D. E. D. Beales (1998) 'Gladstone and Garibaldi', in P. J. Jagger (ed.) *Gladstone* (London: Hambledon Press), pp. 137–56; J. A. Davis (1982) 'Garibaldi and England', *History Today*, 32, 12, pp. 21–6; J. A. Davis (2008) 'The Many English Lives of Giuseppe Garibaldi', *Atti del LXIII congresso di storia del Risorgimento italiano* (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento), pp. 339–60.

8. M. B. Urban (1938) *British Opinion and Policy on the Unification of Italy, 1856–61* (Scottdale: Mennonite Press); H. W. Rudman (1940) *Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (London: Allen and Unwin).
9. N. Carter (1997) 'Hudson, Malmesbury and Cavour: British Diplomacy and the Italian Question, February 1858–June 1859', *Historical Journal*, 40, 2, pp. 389–413; N. Carter (2000) '"More Italian than the Italians"? Sir James Hudson and British Policy in Italy before the Second War of Independence (February 1858–April 1859)', *Ricerche Storiche*, XXX, 2, pp. 321–57; O. J. Wright (2007) 'Sea and Sardinia: Pax Britannica versus Vendetta in the New Italy (1870)', *European History Quarterly*, 37, 3, pp. 398–416; O. J. Wright (2008) 'British Representatives and the Surveillance of Italian affairs, 1860–70', *Historical Journal*, 51, 3, pp. 669–87; D. Raponi (2009) 'An "anti-Catholicism of free trade?" Religion and the Anglo–Italian negotiations of 1863', *European History Quarterly*, 39, 4, pp. 633–52.
10. C. T. McIntire (1983) *England Against the Papacy, 1858–1861* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); S. Matsumoto-Best (2003) *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846–1851* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Association). Interested readers are also directed to D. Raponi (forthcoming) *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento: Britain and the New Italy, 1861–1875* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
11. M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan); A. M. McAllister (2007) *John Bull's Italian Snakes and Ladders: English Attitudes to Italy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars); L. Turner Voakes (2010) 'The Risorgimento and English Literary History: The Liberal Heroism of Trevelyan's Garibaldi', *Modern Italy*, 15, 4, pp. 433–50.
12. G. Claeys (1989) 'Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism, 1848–1854', *Journal of British Studies*, 28, pp. 225–61; D. Laven (2003) 'Mazzini, Mazzinian Conspiracy and British Politics in the 1850s', *Bollettino storica mantovano*, 2, pp. 267–82; M. Isabella (2003) 'Italian Exiles and British Politics Before and After 1848', in S. Freitag (ed.) *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (Oxford: Berghahn), pp. 59–87; M. Isabella (2009) *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); M. P. Sutcliffe (2014) *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (Martlesham: Boydell and Brewer); M. P. Sutcliffe (2010) 'Negotiating the "Garibaldi Moment" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854–1861)', *Modern Italy*, 15, 2, pp. 129–44; M. P. Sutcliffe (2013) 'Marketing "Garibaldi Panoramas" in Britain (1860–1864)', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 18, 2, pp. 232–43; M. P. Sutcliffe (2014) 'Garibaldi in London', *History Today*, 64, 4, pp. 42–50.
13. A. Colombo (1917) *L'Inghilterra nel Risorgimento italiano*, (Milan: Casa Editrice); A. Signoretti (1940) *Italia e Inghilterra durante il Risorgimento*, (Milan:

Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale); E. Morelli (1954) 'Mazzini in Inghilterra', in *Italia e Inghilterra nel Risorgimento* (London: Institute of Italian Culture), pp. 46–58; O. Barie (1954) 'La politica inglese in Italia nel 1848–49', in *Italia e Inghilterra nel Risorgimento* (London: Institute of Italian Culture), pp. 1–14; G. Giarrizzo (1962) 'La politica inglese verso l'Italia e il Regno di Sardegna nel 1857–1861', *Critica Storica*, I, 4, pp. 399–420; Massimo de Leonardis (1980) *L'Inghilterra e la questione romana, 1859–1870* (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore); Carlo de Cugis (1967) 'England and Italy a Century ago – A New Turn in Economic Relations', in *Catalogue of the Exhibition held during the British Week in Milan 9–17 October 1965* (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana); F. Valsecchi (1979) 'L'Inghilterra a il problema italiana nella politica europa del 1848', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, LXVI, 1, pp. 14–24; Pietro Pastorelli (2011) *17 Marzo 1861: L'Inghilterra e l'unità d'Italia* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino) and Elena Bacchin (2011) 'Il Risorgimento oltremanica: nazionalismo cosmopolita nei meeting britannici di metà Ottocento', *Contemporanea*, 2, pp. 173–212.

14. R. Dudley Edwards (ed.) (1960) *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin: Italian Institute).
15. C. Barr and A. O'Connor (2013) 'Introduction', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, p. 9.
16. See note 2.
17. Barr and O'Connor, 'Introduction', p. 4.
18. G. M. Trevelyan (1919) 'Englishmen and Italians: Some Aspects of their Relations Past and Present. Annual Italian Lecture, 11 June 1919', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. IX (Oxford: Humphrey Milford/Oxford University Press), pp. 3, 8.
19. It was also a story that British politicians were able to turn against Fascist Italy in 1940. Immediately after Mussolini's declaration of war on Britain and France, the British Minister of Information, Alfred Duff Cooper, gave a radio broadcast on the BBC: 'In her struggle for independence in the last century, she [Italy] was assisted at every turn, both by Great Britain and by France ... Garibaldi, the heroic Italian, registered the debt that his country owed to Great Britain when he called down a curse upon any Italian Government who, in the future, should fight against the country that had saved her'. *The Times*, 11 June 1940.
20. J. Fleming (1973) 'Art Dealing and the Risorgimento – I', *Burlington Magazine*, 115, 838, p. 5.
21. William Gladstone to Antonio Panizzi, 27 November 1860, British Library, Gladstone Papers, BM Add MS 44274.
22. Diary of Lord Shaftesbury, 12 October 1860, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, SHA/PD/7.
23. Hudson to Palmerston, 10 October 1851, Palmerston Papers, Hartley Library, University of Southampton, GC/HU/39. For more on Hudson's role in the Risorgimento see E. Greppi and E. Pagella (eds) (2012) *Sir James Hudson nel Risorgimento italiano* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino).
24. The letter is quoted in G. J. Holyoake (1892) *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, vol. 1 (London: Fisher Unwin), p. 101.
25. R. H. Super (1954) *Walter Savage Landor: A Biography* (New York: New York University Press), p. 483.

26. M. Foster (1988) *Elizabeth Barrett Browning: A Biography* (London: Chatto and Windus), p. 337.
27. Foster, *Elizabeth Barrett-Browning*, pp. 338–9.
28. L. McDonald (ed.) (2004) *Florence Nightingale's European Travels* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press), pp. 318, 324.
29. D. F. Mackay (1964) 'Joseph Cowen e il Risorgimento', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, LI, I, pp. 13–17.
30. G. J. Holyoake (1892) *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, vol. 2 (London: Fisher Unwin), pp. 19–25, 41. Details of the ill-fated British Garibaldi Legion in 1860 can be found in the Holyoake papers, Bishopsgate Institute and Library, Holyoake 11/1 and 11/4.
31. Sutcliffe, 'Marketing "Garibaldi panoramas" in Britain', pp. 233–4.
32. J. A. Davis (1982) 'Garibaldi and England', *History Today*, 32, 12, p. 22.
33. Beales, 'Garibaldi in England', p. 189. See also Sutcliffe, 'Garibaldi in London'.
34. R. H. B. Jackson (1864) *Welcome to Garibaldi* (London: publisher unknown).
35. Ginsborg, 'Il mito del Risorgimento', pp. 385, 397.
36. J. O'Brien (2005) 'Irish Public Opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859–60', *Irish Historical Studies*, 34, 135, p. 289.
37. O'Brien, 'Irish Public Opinion', p. 295.
38. A. Gavazzi (ed.) (1854) *The Lectures Complete of Father Gavazzi, as Delivered in New York* (New York: American and Foreign Christian Union), p. 271.
39. A handful of Irish Liberal Catholics railed (in private at least) against the pope's temporal power. For example, the Liberal MP for Limerick County, Stephen de Vere, told his friend William Monsell in December 1859: 'I have no sympathy with the Pope as a misgoverning temporal prince. I have all sympathy with a noble people who after long years of patient suffering have dared to claim their liberty'. I am grateful to Matthew Potter for this quote.
40. C. O'Carroll (2008) 'The Irish Papal Brigade: Origins, Objectives and Fortunes', in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds) *The Irish College, Rome and its World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 167–87; reprinted in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, pp. 73–95 (p. 75).
41. O'Brien, 'Irish Public opinion', pp. 290, 298.
42. C. Barr (2013) 'Paul Cullen, Italy and the Irish Catholic Imagination, 1826–1870', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, p. 134.
43. Barr, 'Paul Cullen', p. 137.
44. C. Barr (2008) 'Giuseppe Mazzini and Irish Nationalism, 1845–70', in C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism 1830–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 133.
45. Barr, 'Giuseppe Mazzini', p. 137.
46. Barr, 'Giuseppe Mazzini', p. 134.
47. Barr, 'Giuseppe Mazzini', p. 137. For more on Duffy and Cullen see M. Ramon (2013) 'Irish Nationalism and the Demise of the Papal States, 1848–1871', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, pp. 180–2.
48. Barr, 'Giuseppe Mazzini', p. 142.
49. Barr, 'Paul Cullen', p. 150. See also Ramón, 'Irish Nationalism', p. 186.
50. N. Whelehan (2012) *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 51–3 (pp. 51–52).

51. A. O'Connor (2010) 'The Dangerous Serpent: Garibaldi and Ireland 1860–1870', *Modern Italy*, 15, 4, p. 402.
52. O'Connor, 'The Dangerous Serpent', p. 404.
53. O'Carroll, 'The Irish Papal Brigade', p. 81; A. O'Connor (2013) '"Giant and Brutal Islanders": The Italian Response to the Irish Papal Brigade', in Barr et al., *Nation/Nazione*, p. 102.
54. O'Brien, 'Irish Public Opinion', p. 303; O'Carroll, 'The Irish Papal Brigade', pp. 88–9. See also A. O'Connor (2011) 'The Pope, the Prelate, the Soldiers and the Controversy: Paul Cullen and the Irish Papal Brigade', in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds) *Paul Cullen and his World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 329–49.
55. This is particularly true of general survey studies of the subject. See, for example, Trevelyan, 'Englishmen and Italians'; Ginsborg, 'Il mito del Risorgimento'; Duggan, 'Gran Bretagna e Italia'.
56. See Duggan, 'Gran Bretagna e Italia', pp. 781–2, for a recent example of this argument.
57. J. Black (1996) 'Italy and the Grand Tour: The British Experience in the Eighteenth Century', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14, p. 538. There is an enormous literature on the Grand Tour in Italy, which lies beyond the scope of this book.
58. Ginsborg, 'Il mito del Risorgimento', p. 391.
59. Duggan, 'Gran Bretagna e Italia', p. 784.
60. Quoted in O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy*, p. 27. O'Connor argues that the romantic recasting (by Byron and others) of Italy 'as a woman in distress, a tragic figure in need of being rescued' (pp. 37–8), gave the Italian national cause a deep emotive appeal, particularly among British middle-class women seeking their own freedom and independence. 'As Italy was so often cast as a woman, a "femme fatale" in the popular travel literature and poetry about Italy that the English had come to cherish, "her" political liberation could be viewed as a liberation for women themselves' (p. 110).
61. Duggan, 'Gran Bretagna e Italia', p. 784. For older intepretations along the lines of Duggan, Ginsborg and O'Connor see also C. P. Brand (1957) *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 202; Trevelyan, *English Songs of Italian Freedom*, pp. xvi–xviii.
62. See, for example, Beales, *England and Italy*, pp. 30–2; Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*, chapter 2.
63. Isabella, 'Italian Exiles and British Politics', p. 62.
64. Antinucci discusses the negative Italian stereotype in more detail in her contribution to this volume. For a fuller treatment of the subject see S. Patriarca (2010) *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
65. On the religious appeal of Mazzini to British Nonconformists see E. F. Biagini (1992) *Liberalism, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 47; E. F. Biagini (2008) 'Mazzini and Anticlericalism: The English Exile', in Bayly and Biagini, *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism*, pp. 145–66. On the success of Mazzinian propaganda see L. Riall (2008) 'The Politics of Italian Romanticism: Mazzini and the Making of a Nationalist Culture', in Bayly and Biagini, *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of*

Democratic Nationalism, pp. 172–3. On the ties between Mazzini and British radicalism see M. C. Finn (1993) *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism'. For a more sceptical account of Mazzini's influence on British radicalism see M. Taylor (1995) *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847–60* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), chapter 6. On Mazzini's female support network see O'Connor *The Romance of Italy*, chapter 4; R. Pesman (2012) 'Mazzini and/in Love', in Patriarca and Riall, *The Risorgimento Revisited*, pp. 97–114.

66. Laven, 'Mazzini, Mazzinian Conspiracy and British Politics', p. 278.
67. J. Rothney (1961) 'La società degli amici d'Italia e la nuova riforma', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, XLVIII, I, p. 27.
68. N. Gossman (1969) 'British Aid to Polish, Italian, and Hungarian Exiles 1830–1870', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 63, 2, pp. 231–45.
69. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 November 1852.
70. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 21 January 1853.
71. Gossman, 'British Aid', p. 235.
72. Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism', p. 230.
73. *Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy*, 1851 (London).
74. *Era*, 3 August 1851.
75. Panizzi to Gladstone, 20 June 1851, Gladstone Papers, BM Add MS 44274. The comparison with African slaves was one often made by supporters of Italian nationalism. For instance, the first *Address of the Friends of Italy* in 1851 asked rhetorically, 'Are we, the protectors of the black race, to see unmoved one of the most renowned portions of the white race trampled on and given over as prey to physical force?' In 1859 – to give one later example – an anonymous 'English liberal' wrote in an open series of letters to Lord John Russell, 'if constraint be put upon a negro in the Gold Coast, England sympathises, and rightly so, with that dusky member of the human family. An Italian-Lombard is surely as elevated in the scale of humanity as the most promising negro. Why not give him a turn, now we have set the affairs of our swarthy brethren to rights as well as we can'. *Italy: its Condition. Great Britain: its Policy. A Series of Letters Addressed to Lord John Russell, M.P. by an English Liberal* (London: James Ridgway, 1859), p. 31.
76. Miles Taylor has argued that 'Mazzini's English supporters … sustained a loss of momentum after 1848' and by the early 1850s 'British interest in Europe was at a low ebb'. Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism*, pp. 205–6. Miriam Urban correctly identifies a surge in British interest in Italy in 1856 following the Congress of Paris, but notes that by early 1857 'it was evident that … interest in the Italian Question had spent itself'. Urban, *British Opinion*, p. 84.
77. L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
78. Ibid., p. 106.
79. *Liverpool Albion*, 24 June 1850; *Liverpool Mercury*, 28 June 1850.
80. Riall, *Garibaldi*, p. 106.
81. Davis, 'The Many English Lives of Giuseppe Garibaldi', p. 342. Davis writes (p. 342), 'It would be wrong … to over-state the importance of Garibaldi's impact on British public opinion at this time. Once the revolutions were over, newspapermen went off in search of new stories and new icons.'

82. *Daily News*, 8 April 1854; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 16 April 1854; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 April 1854.
83. On the 'Kossuth Fever' see Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism', pp. 245–7.
84. *Economist*, 8 November 1851.
85. Gossman, 'British Aid', p. 238.
86. Ibid.
87. For Conservative views on the Italian question see G. Hicks (2007) *Peace, War and Politics: The Conservative Party and Europe, 1846–59* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), especially chapter 9.
88. For Malmesbury's policy and attitudes towards Italy see Carter, 'Hudson, Malmesbury and Cavour'; Carter, 'Sir James Hudson and British Policy in Italy before the Second War of Independence'.
89. This figure is quoted in D. G. Paz (1979) 'Popular anti-Catholicism in England, 1850–1', *Albion*, 11, 1, p. 338. The weekly *Tablet* newspaper (9 June 1860) put the figure at 1.25 million.
90. *Tablet*, 7 January 1860.
91. *Tablet*, 17 December 1859.
92. *Tablet*, 21 January 1860.
93. McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, pp. 172, 201; S. Gilley (1973) 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *Historical Journal*, XVI, 4, p. 702.
94. *The Times*, 6 October 1862, quoted in Gilley, 'Garibaldi Riots', p. 710.
95. Gilley, 'Garibaldi Riots', p. 721.
96. D. M. Jackson (2001) '"Garibaldi or the Pope!" Newcastle's Irish Riot of 1861', *North East History*, 34, p. 54.
97. C. A. Coulombe (2008) *The Pope's Legion: The Multinational Force that Defended the Vatican* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 121–2.
98. There have been some notable exceptions to this general rule. See, for example, Beales, 'Il Risorgimento protestante'; G. Spini (1987) 'Immagini dell'Inghilterra nel Risorgimento italiano', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 33, 1, pp. 22–9; G. Spini (1994) 'Protestant Reactions to Italian Unification', in T. Macquiban (ed.) *Methodism in its Cultural Milieu: Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Wesley Historical Society in Conjunction with the World Methodist Historical Society* (Oxford: Applied Theology Press), pp. 47–51; McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*. At the other extreme, religion is noticeable by its absence in the monographs by O'Connor and McAllister and in Duggan's essay in Banti and Ginsborg's influential edited collection, *Il Risorgimento*.
99. Riall, 'Anticattolicesimo e rinascita cattolica'; Raponi, 'An "Anti-Catholicism of Free Trade?"'; Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento*; J. Bush (2013) *Papists and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo–Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845–70* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars), chapter 4.
100. Barr, 'Paul Cullen', p. 136.
101. O'Connor, 'The Dangerous Serpent', p. 404.
102. Ibid., p. 406.
103. Frank Neal writes of 'the endemic anti-Catholicism of Victorian England, at all levels of society'. F. Neal (1982) 'The Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 131, p. 89.

104. The *Record*, 26 August 1830, quoted in J. Wolffe (1991) *The Protestant Crusade in Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 109; *Economist*, 7 June 1851.
105. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Britain*, p. 131. Paz has suggested that 'anti-Catholicism was perhaps as deeply engrained in [Victorian] national ideology as anti-communism in the American', Paz, 'Popular anti-Catholicism in England', p. 355. See also McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, p. 8.
106. On the sources and character of mid-nineteenth-century popular anti-Catholicism see Bush, *Papists and Prejudice*, chapter 1; W. Ralls (1988) 'The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism', in G. Parsons (ed.) *Religion in Victorian Britain. Volume IV; Interpretations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 115–34.
107. E. G. Lengel (2002) *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era* (Westport: Praeger), pp. 7–12.
108. Fleming, 'Art Dealing and the Risorgimento', n. 4, p. 4. John Wolffe has argued that Palmerston's 'objection was not to Roman Catholicism *per se*, but to politicised religion'. Palmerston's allusion to the 'white slave trade in minds' would seem to suggest otherwise. J. Wolffe (2007) 'Palmerston and the Church', in D. Brown and M. Taylor (eds) *Palmerston Studies I* (Southampton: Hartley Institute, University of Southampton), p. 24. Lord John Russell and Gladstone also at times demonstrated an antipathy towards the pope that went beyond mere politics. As C. T. McIntire notes, 'Russell himself led the anti-Catholic outrage' during the 'No Popery' campaign against the Catholic hierarchy in 1850 (McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, p. 30). Indeed, Russell's letter to the bishop of Durham (4 November 1850) which was subsequently published in *The Times* (7 November 1850) has been described as the 'most famous of all Victorian assaults on English Catholicism'. Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850', n. 3, p. 116. Gladstone was a long-standing critic of papal temporal rule on political grounds. Even he, though, could not resist writing to Panizzi on Christmas Eve, 1863: 'Some of us I hope will live to see that Lucifer [Pius IX] fall from Heaven. How the spirit of Dante will rejoice!' Gladstone to Panizzi, 24 December 1863, BM Add 36722.
109. T. P. Coogan (2001) *Wherever Green is Worn: The Story of the Irish Diaspora* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), p. 235.
110. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes*, p. 117.
111. *Economist*, 8 February 1851.
112. *Economist*, 1 January 1853; 7 June 1851.
113. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes*, p. 13.
114. *Achill Missionary Herald, and Western Witness*, 30 September 1850.
115. Garibaldi recognised the value of playing to his British Protestant gallery. In a speech in Naples (31 October 1860), Garibaldi declared 'I am a Christian as you are: yes, I am of that religion which has broken the bonds of slavery, and has proclaimed the freedom of men. The Pope, who oppresses his subjects and is an enemy of Italian independence, is no Christian: he denies the very principle of Christianity'. Garibaldi subsequently sanctioned the construction of an English Protestant church in Naples and gifted the land for the purpose. J. Weston (1864) *General Garibaldi at Fishmongers' Hall* (London: William Clowes), pp. 11, 16. Even the 'bigoted and grossly superstitious'

Victor Emanuel II became something of a Protestant hero in the mid-1850s – a result of Cavour's on-going 'war with the papacy' in Piedmont. Spini, 'Protestant Reactions to Italian Unification', p. 50; Urban, *British Opinion and Policy on the Unification of Italy*, pp. 18–19.

116. Spini, 'Protestant Reactions to Italian Unification', p. 48.
117. Quoted in A. O'Connor, 'Oil on Fire' in this volume, p.
118. For Gavazzi's impact in Scotland see B. Aspinwall (2006) 'Rev. Alessandro Gavazzi (1808–1889) and Scottish Identity: A Chapter in Nineteenth Century Anti-Catholicism', *Recusant History*, 28, 1, pp. 129–52.
119. Coogan, *Wherever Green is Worn*, p. 235.
120. J. Fyfe (1978) 'Scottish Volunteers with Garibaldi', *Scottish Historical Review*, LVII, pp. 168, 181; *Glasgow Herald*, 31 August 1860 (my thanks to Giovanni Iamartino for this reference).
121. O'Brien, 'Irish Public Opinion', p. 305.

1

A Cosmopolitan Nationalism: Young Ireland and the Risorgimento

Michael Huggins

For many years, since the pioneering work of historians such as Kevin Nowlan, it was assumed that Mazzinian nationalism had a direct and potent impact upon the romantic nationalist movement that emerged in the 1840s around the Young Ireland movement and its mouthpiece, the *Nation* newspaper. In 1960, Nowlan, Robert Dudley Edwards and Thomas Desmond Williams published a series of lectures under the title *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*. In the introduction to the volume, Edwards stated bluntly that the Irish movement 'had been strongly influenced by the ideas of Mazzini and their gospel of Irish Nationalism was largely based on his theories'. While positing a more qualified relationship between Mazzinian ideas and Young Ireland in the 1840s, Nowlan nevertheless averred that 'the Young Irelanders in their newspaper, the *Nation*, came close enough to Mazzini's position'.[1]

In a 1973 article on the relationship between Irish and European romantic nationalism, Giovanni Costigan made a similar point, noting that Mazzini sometimes wrote of Italy in 'language almost identical with that of the *Nation* [about Ireland]'. Costigan also listed some of the characteristics of romantic (or Mazzinian) nationalism: the development of a 'powerful mystique of the nation', a sense of history and idealisation of 'folk culture', an enthusiasm for the revival of ancient languages, an emphasis on the need for blood sacrifice, a cult of the hero (in the Irish case, Tone and Emmet were most often deployed to this end), the personification of the nation (often as a forlorn, suffering female), the importance of virtue, and a predilection for failure.[2]

It should also be noted that this political culture, as Paul Ginsborg has recently suggested, owed much to European romanticism. Ginsborg's

claim that the anthropocentric perspective on the natural world of Italian nationalists 'often translated into a heightened love and awareness of the physical features of the Italian homeland', might just as easily have been made in relation to the regular evocation of the Irish landscape in the pages of the *Nation*. Ginsborg has identified other motifs derived by Italian nationalists from romanticism – a view of the past as more harmonious than the present, an emphasis on self-sacrifice and admiration for individual heroism – that might also be applied to Young Ireland's journalistic mouthpiece.[3]

As this chapter will show, most of these characteristics can be detected in the narratives of Ireland published in the *Nation* between 1842 and 1848. This is not to say that Mazzini was solely responsible for such narratives: the failure motif, for example, was a common enough romantic trope, while the influence of Herder's thought on fostering the *volksgeist* through education might be detected in Mazzini as well as Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy, two of the *Nation*'s founders. More specifically, Eva Stöter has suggested that the Grimm brothers' demand for a national folkloric German literature was an important influence on Davis. It is more profitable to see both Mazzini and Young Ireland as part of a Europe-wide cosmopolitan cultural and intellectual matrix that developed after the revolutionary years of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. As Nowlan noted, Young Ireland was 'inspired by the new trends in thought which inspired nationalists in other lands'.[4]

However, in a recent essay, Colin Barr has questioned the extent of Mazzinian influence on Young Ireland. According to Barr, 'Young Ireland had precious little to do with Young Italy in particular or continental concerns in general'. Barr argues that Archbishop Paul Cullen's crusade during the early 1850s against the 'Mazzinian' *Nation* newspaper and its editor, Duffy, was wrongly premised: 'Duffy was no disciple of Mazzini; Young Ireland was not Young Italy'. In fact, 'Duffy had … taken the lead within the ranks of Irish nationalism in condemning any expression of sympathy for, or agreement with, Mazzini'. Cullen, however, who had lived in Rome from 1820 to 1850 and had witnessed first-hand the Roman Republic of 1848–49, 'was unable to see Irish politics without Italian lenses': radical Irish nationalism was indelibly linked in his mind to anti-clerical Mazzinianism.[5]

Barr's characterisation of Young Ireland is somewhat awry. After the failure of the Irish rebellion in July 1848, Young Ireland was effectively moribund, and its formal political organisation, the Irish Confederation, ceased to exist. The *Nation* also closed, albeit temporarily. When Duffy re-launched the paper in late 1849, it bore little political resemblance to

the strident romantic nationalism espoused by Duffy and its two principal writers, Davis and John Mitchel, during its first phase. 'I greatly mistake if his views are not wholly altered, or altering, in regard to all manner of Anglo–Irish questions', wrote Thomas Carlyle of his friend Duffy in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Clarendon, shortly before the paper's reappearance. As for the new *Nation*, this would be 'very different indeed from what the late one was'. After the paper resumed publication, Carlyle wrote enthusiastically to Duffy in praise of its contents.[6]

This chapter argues that to gain a fuller and more accurate picture of the influence of Mazzinian thought on Young Ireland it is essential to examine the movement between 1842 and 1848, rather than the period of political realignment and relative inertia following the Irish Confederation's demise. Through the pages of the *Nation* in that critical period, the chapter will consider two dimensions to the relationship between Risorgimento or Mazzinian nationalism and Young Ireland. The first of these requires an examination of the generic similarities between the two, and the second involves some attention to the concrete evidence of Risorgimento connections and empathies in the ideas of the Young Irelanders. The similarities between Mazzinian concepts and those developed in the *Nation* will become clear.

Barr attempts to enlist Nowlan for his perspective by citing him selectively. While Barr quotes Nowlan as suggesting that 'the Young Irelanders had little interest in Mazzini's personal philosophy or…with the more violent aspects of the "Young" movements on the continent', he does not quote the remainder of the sentence: 'yet the Irish movement did deserve its name'. Nowlan thus cannot be recruited for a perspective that disconnects Young Ireland from broader currents in romantic nationalism. What is perhaps curious here is that Nowlan suggests the Young Irelanders were not interested in Mazzinian thought, while suggesting that Young Ireland deserved its name. This chapter demonstrates that Young Ireland was not only generically a Mazzinian movement but also that its most important voices empathised with and admired the Italian, most significantly during the formative period of radical Irish nationalism in the 1840s: there was, in other words, an ideological connection between Young Ireland and Young Italy.[7]

The long-term significance of this in the development of radical Irish nationalism is suggested in an article by Jennifer O'Brien on Irish attitudes to the creation of Italy, which argues that Irish Catholic responses to Italian nationalism were complex and that there were cross-currents within those responses. Importantly, O'Brien acknowledges that the efforts of Cullen and the church to link its hostility to the Risorgimento

with an anti-revolutionary position in Ireland failed, a failure demonstrated by the growth of Fenianism in the 1860s. Fenians such as Charles Kickham attempted to combine loyalty to Rome with militant nationalism (and Patrick Maume has outlined the case of a former papal soldier who became a Fenian). One of the *Nation*'s co-founders, John Blake Dillon, was a Catholic but remained highly critical of the papacy during the period of the Roman Republic and found a kindred spirit in Mazzini's envoy to the United States. It is important to acknowledge that a radical tradition developed in Irish nationalism that absorbed ideas from beyond the loyally Catholic version of Irishness developed by O'Connell. This radicalism had its origins in the engagement of Young Irelanders in the 1840s with a wider, cosmopolitan vision of the nation that bore generic similarities to Mazzini's vision of nationality, as well as a specific empathy with the Italian movement and its exiled figurehead during the same period.[8]

Young Ireland had its origins in the founding of the weekly *Nation* newspaper by Duffy, Davis and Dillon in October 1842. The group of young friends, who at this time were all members of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association, had a different vision of Irishness from O'Connell. While this may be partially accounted for by the presence of Protestants among the group's leaders (Thomas Davis and, later, Mitchel being the two most important examples), Richard Davis has suggested that Thomas Davis's travels in Europe may have exposed him to romantic nationalism and the influence of anti-clerical thought. While O'Connell's repeal politics were developed during the 1830s in the *realpolitik* of a parliamentary alliance with the Whigs, which he hoped would result in a series of ameliorative measures for Ireland, the *Nation* 'exalted Irish nationalism as "a spiritual essence"', in a romantic conception of the nation that invites comparison with Mazzini's vision of *italianità*.[9]

'Young Ireland' was a label that the men around the *Nation* in the 1840s did not choose but did accept. It is often assumed that the term was first used by Daniel O'Connell, in May 1845, when he spoke dismissively of the existence of a 'Young Ireland party' within the Repeal Association in an internal debate over proposals for non-denominational education. In fact, the term 'Young Ireland' was in use before this. Richard Davis claims that Young Ireland was 'christened' in 1844, while Oliver MacDonagh's biography of O'Connell suggests that Daniel Owen Madden, a journalist and convert from Catholicism to Protestantism, had earlier used the term in a critical survey of O'Connellite politics published in 1843, for which he incurred the lasting hatred of the mainstream repealers.

The name 'Young Ireland' also appears in the *Nation* itself at least as early as August 1843, in a poem of the same name. It is clear, therefore, that many of those active in Irish political and cultural life in the 1840s made the connection between this new political current and the Mazzinian movement. There were diverse views within the movement (which led, for example, to a major split between Mitchel and Duffy in late 1847) and the leaders moved in very different directions after its defeat in 1848. Some of the Young Irelanders were less enthusiastic democrats than Mitchel during the revolutionary era (and Mitchel was only explicitly a democrat during the spring of 1848), yet there was a consensus about the founding principles of Irish nationality espoused by the *Nation* during those critical years, 1842–8.[10]

In the pages of the *Nation* there is much that can be described generically as Mazzinian. Like Mazzini, Young Ireland saw the nation in political terms, striving to overcome historic disunity through the forging of a new political present. Similarly, Young Irelanders did not take particular care to define the nation precisely, allowing discursive flexibility – or opportunism – in the identification of what constituted the nation. While language, territory and ethnicity might all indicate the existence of a nation, these required integration in a polity that conferred citizenship, constitutional government and formal equality on all. Both Mazzini and Young Ireland were acutely aware of the historical factors that militated against the required political unity for the construction of the nation, and their propaganda was focussed particularly on the construction of what proved to be a chimerical unity, a unity that was often rather contradicted by experience. Alberto Banti has summarised the Mazzinian vision of the nation as a community ordained by God, who had granted it a land and a mission; it had suffered internal discord and external oppression, but had also made glorious rebellious gestures that provided an intellectual and moral example to the present, maintained through the veneration of its past heroes. Given this characterisation of the Mazzinian vision, the similarities between Risorgimento ideas and the construction of Ireland in the *Nation* could scarcely be more apparent.[11]

In his biography of Mazzini, Denis Mack Smith identified a number of key features of Mazzini's political thought. These included an emphasis on education, a justification of violence (in certain circumstances), a stress on democracy as well as nationality, a sense of duty and wider responsibility than the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham or the individualism of Adam Smith, a dedication to art, music and literature as part of the national struggle, and a belief in the necessity of martyrdom. While most Young Irelanders never had a consistent commitment to

political democracy, the *Nation* betrays striking similarities to Mazzinian thinking in a number of these areas: an emphasis on education, on unity and organisation, an abstract idealisation of 'the people', an ill-defined sense of national mission, and an identification of the struggle for nationality with that against absolutism and aristocracy. A few examples will demonstrate this.[12]

The emphasis on education, described by Mazzini as the 'first duty', is perhaps the most obvious. Barr acknowledges a 'certain congruence' between Mazzini and Davis on education, but does not consider it significant. Education, which, in Davis's case, meant immersion in an imagined Irish culture, was in the young editor's view the key task of the *Nation*, the Repeal reading rooms and the political clubs that developed in Ireland during the 1840s. In early 1843, Davis could be found demanding that 'the People must take *diligent care to procure books on the history, men, language, music and manners of Ireland for their children*'. By the following month, the *Nation* was taking practical steps to fulfil this mission, producing bundles of reading material for popular reading societies and publishing a book composed of articles from the newspaper, entitled *Spirit of the Nation*. Indeed, the popularity of the *Nation* led Duffy to publish over the following years a number of popular historical and cultural titles in a series he named the 'Library of Ireland'. The third volume in the series, Mitchel's *Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster*, was published shortly after Davis's death in the autumn of 1845 and involved precisely the kind of veneration of past heroes that Banti identifies as a key ingredient in the Mazzinian construction of *italianità*.[13]

Mack Smith has noted Mazzini's enthusiasm for the folkloric collection, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, and that he urged Italians to collect folk songs. The pages of the *Nation* echo a similar enthusiasm for connecting with an imagined Irish past. Davis urged repealers to encourage 'the revival of dancing jigs, reels, country dances, hurling and foot-ball matches'. Keening at funerals had declined, despite the availability in print of stylised laments. Davis said these printed versions should be used only after the 'traditionary keens had been spread, practised and noted down'. Similarly, a review of a Dublin concert of Irish music noted that such melodies were 'best heard from the sweet lips of a peasant countrywoman'. The search for an authentic 'people' is noteworthy. Further, calls for the education of that 'people' appeared regularly in the pages of the *Nation* (for example, in July 1844 the newspaper suggested that there should be 3000, not 300, Repeal reading rooms in Ireland). It should also be noted that the *Nation* explicitly supported non-denominational education and incurred O'Connell's wrath over its support for the so-called 'godless colleges' bill

in 1845, in the incident in which O'Connell labelled the group around the *Nation* 'Young Ireland'.[14]

However, the connection with Mazzinian ideas goes further than an emphasis on the political and cultural education of an abstract 'people'. It also involves a broadly anti-modern sensibility, an antipathy to what Mazzini had described as the 'materialists' who did not understand the idea of the nation, or what Davis called 'the bale of cotton theory of civilisation'. Indeed, while Davis supported some kind of mass educational initiative for want of better, he was profoundly alarmed at the education offered by the new national schools in Ireland and their 'most pestilent amount of materialism in thought'.[15]

One of the distinguishing features of Mazzinian thought is the attribution to nations of particular characteristics and national mission. An article in the *Nation* in 1843 suggested that 'no nation can become great, if it be not peculiar' and that 'freedom and her votaries cherish these distinctive moral and physical features which cause us to know ourselves and one another'. Here, an abstract notion of mutual recognition between the citizens of the nation is suggested in a romantic imagining of the national community that was common to many emerging national movements in Europe, not merely the Irish or the Italian.[16]

Just as Mazzini was rather imprecise in defining *italianità*, so the writers of the *Nation* asserted Irishness in general terms that dwelt upon an imagined history of an ancient civilisation and an exalted culture. The spiritual essence of Irishness was at the core of Ireland's distinctive national character: 'look into our hearts ... they were made for love and kindness and confiding friendship'. These qualities were contrasted with English materialism: 'no character is so unlike the Irish as the English, and none so unfit for the Irish to follow'.[17]

The responsibilities of Irish patriots to the nation were presented as duties and the 'sacred obligations of patriotism', in much the same way as Mazzini contrasted national duties with individual rights.[18]

The *Nation* espoused what it called 'a sacred internationality', calling for a Europe-wide revolution of the oppressed. When the Poles revolted against Austria in early 1846, the *Nation* demanded Mazzini prove himself by occupying the Austrians on another front, 'so his glorious Italy may rise again from the torpor of provincialism to be a kingdom among the kingdoms'. A few issues later, the appeal for internationalism was repeated, with a call for Italy, Ireland and other nations to 'combine in a "holy alliance" for freedom – for common national existence – combine to shake despotism off the earth, and to give vitality

to European existence'. Similarly, Mazzini had written of a 'mission of progress that embraces HUMANITY as a whole'.[19]

The *Nation* also concurred with Mazzini's views on the issue of violence. In fact, Young Ireland's split with the Repeal Association in 1846 was a direct consequence of O'Connell's insistence on an abstract and permanent renunciation of the use of violence to achieve political ends, a position that the Young Ireland leadership, including Duffy, Mitchel and William Smith O'Brien, refused to endorse. The *Nation* claimed the right to use violence as a last resort, as circumstances might demand. A leader in December 1844 stated, 'war is one of the worst of horrors. But there are times and circumstances when the sword is the only appeal – GOD breathes his sanction on him, who raises it in the cause of righteousness'.[20]

Martyrdom was another motif common to Young Ireland and Mazzini. Mazzini believed that 'ideas ripen quickly when nourished by the blood of martyrs', and martyrdom itself was a 'religion'. The relation of this to the martyrdom narrative in Irish nationalism is clear. Both Davis and Mitchel enthused about the idea of blood sacrifice, transmitting an idea that Marianne Elliott has described as the 'origin legend' of independent Ireland. However, the notion of self-sacrifice was not inherently Irish (or Mazzinian), appealing as it did to romantics across Europe at the time. The intellectual *milieu* in which the Young Ireland movement developed meant that the likes of Davis and Mitchel were more likely to have absorbed this motif from continental romanticism than from any inherited Gaelic tradition.[21]

Thus it appears that between 1842 and 1848 the *Nation* was at the forefront of an Irish movement attempting to diffuse, through reading rooms, public banquets, demonstrations and educational initiatives what can be termed a Mazzinian political culture, that is to say one based on a romantic conception of the nation and its liberating mission, in which an apparently intuitive and visceral romantic imagination was projected as political and philosophical insight. Romantic nationalism in Ireland was part of a cosmopolitan political culture that was developing across Europe in the period, based on a vigorous public sphere of clubs and societies, and an engagement with romanticism in the arts, at the centre of which (in the Irish case) were figures like Carlyle and Mazzini. The welcome given by the *Nation* to the Italian revolutions early in 1848 is more or less explicit in this. In his leader of 12 February 1848, Duffy, at this point at his most radical, claimed:

> The spirit which now shakes the cities and fortress foundations of Italy, like an underground volcano … was born years ago in the academies,

> studios and saloons of the artists' land ... it found its first occupations in literature, archaeology and art. It has come fully developed in good time and good order to the sterner task, of asserting Italian independence by speech and sword.[22]

What of the direct references in the *Nation* to Italy and its national struggle? Early in the life of the newspaper, a leading article made an explicit comparison with Italy:

> Ireland has been called the Italy of the west, her land so fair, her soul so fiery, her glories so remote, her sorrow so deep, and her slavery so enduring. A tyrant neighbour and a young race full of hope complete the resemblance. Filicaja's divine hymn to Italy was circulated through the press here with the proper names altered, and passed as the wailing of an Irish bard ... Our cause is the same as that of Italy.[23]

The leader went on to make further comparisons, suggesting that internal discord sown by the 'enslavers' was responsible for their degradation into provinces, that unity was an essential prerequisite of national liberation, and that democracy and strong local government institutions were necessary to root out despotism and aristocracy. The following month a leader again took a cosmopolitan view of European politics, hoping for the emergence soon of 'as many separate nations, with separate governments, laws, manners, characters and languages as possible'. Much of this could be considered Mazzinian, including the suggestion of nations' complementary missions, in what has recently been termed a 'cosmopolitanism of nations'. This was echoed the following week in the assertion that 'We are battling for Ireland; if we conquer, 'twill be for mankind'. Similarly, the newspaper espoused a democratic and internationalist sense of nationality the following year (in an occasional column on 'Our foreign relations') when it claimed for Ireland 'no alliance with the France of Louis-Philippe', instead asserting 'brotherhood in the great doctrines which guarantee to man the largest civilisation, freedom and happiness ... Between them and us there is a sacred internationality'. Later, on St. Patrick's Day, 1848, at a joint meeting of Chartists and Repealers at Manchester's Free Trade Hall, the Young Irelander Thomas Francis Meagher spoke of the need to assert 'the independence of each people ... thereby establishing, throughout the world, a community of interest, through an equalisation of power'. Thus, while Young Irelanders claimed a distinctive nationhood for

Ireland, they shared with Mazzini a cosmopolitan sense of a future family of nations.[24]

The *Nation* also made much of the fate of the Bandiera brothers, followers of Mazzini, who were executed in June 1844 following a failed insurrection in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The paper lamented that for some time the British government had been opening Mazzini's mail and had recently passed to the Austrian authorities the contents of a letter from Emilio Bandiera to Mazzini. While some of the *Nation*'s coverage of the Bandiera affair could be attributed to a desire to expose the bad faith of the British government, it also reveals an explicit empathy with Mazzini, the exiled patriot. In August 1844, the *Nation* published a short didactic drama dramatising the thoughts of two Italian peasants who witnessed the executions. The following month the paper noted that Mazzini was shortly to publish a pamphlet on the affair, and in October 1844 it was claimed that 'the blood of the BANDIERAS calls aloud from the soil of Italy'. References to the opening of Mazzini's mail recurred over the next few years, including (after the British government finally admitted that Mazzini's letters had indeed been opened) a lament that the young Bandieras could not be brought back to life. The Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, had 'betrayed to a foreign court the secrets he had stolen from the letters of honourable men whose fortunes had driven them to the perfidious refuge of Britain'.[25]

A leader in May 1845 noted Graham's apology for opening Mazzini's mail and eulogised Mazzini thus:

> MAZZINI is a man of rank, genius and knowledge. He is a man of that character, that THOMAS CARLYLE thought fit to write a letter to the *Times*, saying that he had known MAZZINI for years, and if there were a pure and noble spirit on earth, it was that MAZZINI. He is a man of such patriotism, that driven from Italy, to save his life from the aggregate tyrants who curse his native land, he has ever since devoted his life to that country's freedom, and is the honoured head of the Italian exiles.[26]

This was a clear connection of the Irish and Italian struggles, and some distance from any attempt to disassociate Ireland from Mazzinian taint.

Mazzini was again eulogised in a lengthy leader entitled 'Freedom in Italy' in the spring of 1846. By this time, Mitchel, heavily influenced by Carlyle, was the paper's main writer. In the *Nation*'s opinion, Mazzini

was 'highly accomplished and gifted, with a mind as able as it was ardent'. Furthermore,

> In character, as a man and a gentleman, Joseph Mazzini ranks among the highest. His inflexible integrity and noble, manly nature have made him long the intimate and valued friend of Thomas Carlyle ... we too, though not having the honor of Mazzini's acquaintance, have had the opportunity of knowing what he was in Italy as well as what he is in London, and in that knowledge it is that we confidently introduce him to our countrymen as one eminently to be treated with their affectionate respect and sympathising confidence.
>
> Having thus taken the opportunity of making his name better known, let us conclude by directing attention to the graceful and manly account he has given of the martyrdom of two brother patriots; and let Mazzini be judged by his own words in future.[27]

There followed Mazzini's account of the Bandiera affair, reprinted from the *Apostolato popolare*.

Mitchel remained an ardent admirer of Mazzini after the collapse of Young Ireland in 1848. In 1849, Mitchel, en route to the British penal colony of Van Diemen's Land for the offence of treason-felony, described Mazzini as 'that good and noble Italian'. In November 1853, Mitchel – by now in Nicaragua on his way to the United States following his escape from penal exile – recorded with pleasure the news that war among the great European powers appeared imminent (Mazzini also increasingly considered such a crisis as his 'chief hope' following the waning of the revolutionary tide of 1848). Mitchel speculated in his diary about the European exiles who would be encouraged by such an eventuality, listing Kossuth, Mazzini, Blanc, Cavaignac, Ledru-Rollin, Garibaldi and Avezzana: evidence of Mitchel's intellectual connections to a cosmopolitan, pan-European political culture.[28]

Perhaps Mitchel's most significant assertion of enthusiasm for Mazzini appears in a letter written some years later. It is especially significant because it demonstrates that the Young Irelanders (in this case, Mitchel, although Duffy's immersion in the same cosmopolitan intellectual world is probably even clearer, given his correspondence with Carlyle over many years) were in touch with Mazzini's ideas during the 1840s. While they were clearly familiar with and immersed in that broad political culture through journalism and their wide reading, the Young Irelanders' 'tea and Thomas' discussions of the early 1840s (when the core group around the *Nation* would meet regularly at each other's houses to discuss

matters of cultural and political interest, very often including Carlyle's work) evolved into a direct contact with the Scot's social and cultural nexus.[29] This in turn had resulted in Mitchel acquiring a personal letter written by Mazzini on Italian affairs. Mitchel refers to this correspondence in a letter to an American acquaintance in 1857:

> My researches among my papers have brought to light a really valuable autograph – that of Mazzini, whom I consider one of the most remarkable & one of the best men in Europe. It is valuable both as an autograph, & as conveying Mazzini's sentiments on Italian politics in a letter to an intimate friend at a very critical period in Italian affairs.[30]

While Barr has asserted that Mazzini's influence on Ireland 'was not because Irish nationalists had contact with him, or even admired or emulated him', Mitchel's treasured autograph suggests that the Young Ireland movement's most important political voice both admired Mazzini and had indirect contact with him through Thomas Carlyle's circle. Duffy, while more circumspect in his views of Mazzini than Mitchel, was also part of that group through his long-standing friendship with Carlyle.[31]

Mazzini's 'intimate friend' in Mitchel's precious letter was most likely either Thomas or Jane Carlyle (the word 'intimate' suggests it was possibly Jane, who was more consistently friendly with Mazzini). The Carlyles' relationship with the exiled Mazzini is relatively well known, but Thomas's friendship with a number of Young Irelanders in the 1840s is perhaps less familiar. Carlyle's attitude to Ireland, long considered dismissive, has undergone considerable re-evaluation in recent times. He was a profound influence on the leaders of the Young Ireland movement, which John Morrow has attributed to a sense of 'shared moral authenticity' and a common commitment to ideas associated with early-nineteenth-century romanticism. Significantly, in respect of the theme of this essay, Morrow has claimed that they were also impressed by Carlyle's support for Mazzini.[32]

The Young Irelanders largely hero-worshipped Carlyle and a number of them visited him in London on two occasions. One Carlyle scholar has suggested that the first of these visits, in April 1845, was specifically because of Carlyle's letter to *The Times* supporting Mazzini, alluded to above. On the second occasion, when visiting the imprisoned William Smith O'Brien in London during May 1846, half a dozen Young Irelanders spent an evening at the Carlyles', with Mitchel and Thomas

Carlyle taking a walk together. Carlyle subsequently visited Ireland for the first time in September 1846, dining with Mitchel in Dublin. Carlyle spent much of his second visit, a lengthy tour of the country in the summer of 1849, in the company of Duffy. Such was Carlyle's friendship with Mitchel and Duffy that he wrote to Clarendon in support of both men following their arrests in 1848 (Mitchel in May, Duffy in July), appealing to the Lord Lieutenant to show leniency. There were, then, a number of occasions on which Carlyle and the Young Irelanders, including Carlyle's most ardent follower among them, Mitchel, had the opportunity to discuss the issue – one on which Carlyle and Mazzini tended to agree – of whether Ireland possessed that 'principle' that made it a nation. As Nowlan noted long ago, 'through Carlyle, Mazzini's and Mitchel's mutual friend, there could have been a contact with the Italian political exiles in England'. What is certain, though, is the readiness of Young Ireland to immerse itself in that cosmopolitan culture centred on London.[33]

For Young Ireland clearly moved in cosmopolitan ways. Mazzini and Carlyle shared a profound dislike of the utilitarian spirit of the age and this was one of the principal attractions of both men for the Young Irelanders. The foundations of Carlyle's social criticism lay in his antipathy to secular visions of enlightenment and progress, an antipathy that was evident in writings such as *Signs of the Times* (1829). For Carlyle, the spirit of enlightenment had led to Benthamite utilitarianism in the 'Mechanical Age', which he contrasted with an idealised past. In *Signs of the Times*, Carlyle complained, 'It is by tangible material considerations that we are guided, not by inward and spiritual'. This polarity ran though the essay and, indeed, much of Carlyle's thought, his prophetic voice demanding a reorientation of human enterprise towards an inner, spiritual world, its value and verities. As Roy Foster has recently put it, '"Manchester" was the real enemy and moral regeneration the answer'.[34]

Davis's comment (cited earlier) about bales of cotton reflects this influence, but it was in Mitchel that Carlyle's influence was most evident. Carlyle offered direct critical commentary on specific political and social issues of his day. These criticisms were concrete expressions of his broader concerns about the spirit of the age in which he lived, the age of the 'dismal science' of political economy in which God's work was being abandoned in favour of secular, enlightened notions of perfectibility and progress. The critique was to find its way into Mitchel's thought, inspired as Mitchel was by Carlyle's dissenting voice and Mazzini's vision of the nation as a historic–spiritual community. Neither Carlyle

nor Mazzini offered concrete political support to Young Ireland – in fact, quite the contrary since both were opposed to Irish nationalist claims. In Mazzini's opinion, Ireland lacked the national mission that made it a separate nation. The Italian refused to allow Irish members on the council of his People's International League because 'the question of repeal would be fatal to us'. Despite this, there was much that the Young Irelanders, and Mitchel in particular, admired and absorbed in their engagement with the Carlyle–Mazzini axis.[35]

While it is clear that there was a connection between the national ideals of Mazzini and Young Ireland, the *Nation* in the 1840s was not careless about Irish Catholic sensibilities. Its pronouncements on Italian politics steered away from anti-clericalism and the charge that it was undermining the Repeal cause. An undated letter from Duffy to William Smith O'Brien suggested that giving the name 'Young Ireland' to a regular column in the *Nation* 'may frighten some, and be misunderstood by others', although the fact that it was under discussion at all suggests it was far from anathema to the Young Irelanders themselves. This anxiety on Duffy's part does not mean that the paper (or the movement) always defended papal rule in Italy. In 1844, for example, the *Nation* responded to a revolt in the Romagna in the northern Papal States by demanding constitutional government there and scolding the Rome government for its 'inflexible resolve to refuse every species of concession to the justly discontented'. In early 1845, a prominent Young Irelander, Thomas McNevin, told a meeting of the Repeal Association that Rome had no right to instruct Irish Catholic clergymen to desist from involvement in the repeal movement. At the same time, a lengthy article in the *Nation* discussed the opinions of many learned continental scholars on the pope's authority in temporal matters, concluding that he had none.[36]

Nonetheless, the *Nation* was often circumspect in its attitude towards the papacy. When Pius IX became pope in 1846 and raised real hopes of reform in Italy, the *Nation* appeared sufficiently aware of the *realpolitik* of the situation to pounce on these hopes in the desire to engage with the loyally Catholic at home. The newspaper feared a *rapprochement* between the new 'liberal' pope and the British government that would make the Catholic Church an enemy of 'nationality'. This fear was well-founded, as Lord Minto spent some time in Rome as an ambassador for the government in late 1847 and early 1848, attempting to persuade the pope to order the Irish Catholic clergy to shun political engagement. Minto subsequently wrote to Clarendon that he had sought from the pope 'an immediate intimation … of his disapprobation of clerical agitation'. While the *Nation* praised Pius for 'wisely and firmly' working

towards the restoration of Italy's lost nationality, it also claimed there were factions in Rome that were 'favourable to foreign ascendancy' and attempted to cast the pope as an Italian nationalist, claiming he was avenging the Bandieras while plotters in Rome wished to turn over the Papal States to Austria. Even though this assertion related specifically to Austrian domination of the Italian peninsula, the newspaper's anxiety over the British mission to Rome had implications for Irish readers. In mentioning once more the Bandiera brothers, the newspaper was also simultaneously reminding its readers of British perfidy and aligning itself implicitly with Mazzini. After the Austrians occupied Ferrara in the summer of 1847 (in response to Pius IX's decision to establish a civic guard in the city) the *Nation* noted that since the French Revolution, 'to be a Republican or a Reformer in a misgoverned state, or the patriot son of an enslaved land, was to be called an infidel ... the millions of Catholics have thus been the patientest slaves of imperialism ... and now the chain is broken'.[37]

By September 1847, the *Nation* was less confident of the pope's support for a liberal and nationalist agenda, stating that should Irish hatred of England and devotion to Rome be placed in opposition by an *entente* between London and Rome (along the lines that Minto was soon to broker), 'we tremble for the result'. The leader then begged Irish bishops not to allow the Catholic Church to become the servant of England. After Mitchel left the *Nation* to publish his own *United Irishman* newspaper in early 1848, Duffy adopted a more cautious line regarding the papacy, portraying Pius IX as a reformer and suggesting he had done more for Italian nationality than Mazzini. The newspaper was 'grieved' that the clergy had been attacked in Italy and by June was unsure which way to bet on the Italian situation, given the pope's shifting position, declaring that 'MAZZINI is posting proclamations for a republic at Milan ... PIUS IX and the Roman senate are pursuing different policies'. Here Duffy was careful not to criticise anyone, but warned of the 'follies of faction' and of repeated debates about the relationship between temporal and spiritual power, although he ended with an upbeat assertion that Austria would be defeated. While the *Nation*'s political instincts can thus be described as nationalist, constitutionalist and cosmopolitan, these passages do suggest a real concern that it would become marginal in Irish politics if labelled anti-clerical.[38]

However, among the former Young Irelanders, Mitchel, Thomas Francis Meagher and John Blake Dillon, one of the co-founders of the *Nation*, remained committed to a Mazzinian vision after 1848. After fleeing Ireland following the collapse of the movement in July 1848,

Dillon found himself in New York. From there he regularly debated Irish politics with his wife via lengthy letters. In July 1849 he wrote:

> I never could understand why the happiness and freedom of millions should be made secondary to and dependent upon, the interests and intrigues of that petty Italian state. You say that if Catholicity [sic] be true it must be reconciled with the freedom and happiness of man. But my notion is, that if the Church – (that is to say *the Pope, the Bishops and the Priests) – must be* leagued as it is now with despots and murderers, Catholicity has gone out of it and we must search for it elsewhere.[39]

A month later, Dillon reported enthusiastically to his wife that he had befriended the former *carbonaro* Felice Foresti, while visiting a Long Island resort. Dillon wrote that Foresti had spent 14 years 'with a chain about his leg' in Austria's Spielberg castle for his conspiratorial activities in the Italian peninsula. The men had quickly become good friends and Dillon added that Foresti was 'a very intimate friend of Mazzini's, who appointed him Minister to [sic] the Roman Republic in this country'.[40]

In 1850, Meagher, like Mitchel a transportee, wrote from Van Diemen's Land expressing his disappointment with his brother (evidently a loyal Catholic) who had returned to Rome with the Pope after the city's brief experience of republican government and was to be given a high commission in the pontifical guard. 'I would feel far happier in hearing of him being amongst the Hungarian refugees', Meagher commented.[41]

Mitchel, after his escape from Van Diemen's Land, settled in the United States, from where he was free to register his approval of Mazzini without regard for the political consequences in Ireland of taking such a position. Early in his new life in the United States he became involved in a bitter feud in the pages of the *Citizen* newspaper with the Irish-born Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, publishing a series of polemics against political Catholicism in August and September 1854. In a leader the same year he wrote:

> If Irish Catholics are too devout to be good Republicans, – if, in order to be faithful Catholics, they must uphold the temporal dominion of the Pope, and the usurpation of the Queen of England in Ireland, – must denounce "Red Republicanism," and turn up their eyes in horror at the name of Mazzini – if, in short, the cause of Irish Republicanism is to be set on the one side, and the sacraments of the church on the other, – why let them take their sacraments and be – saved.[42]

Nevertheless, even Mitchel later developed an ambivalent stance on political Catholicism. By 1867, as editor and proprietor of his final newspaper, the New York *Irish Citizen*, Mitchel was hostile to monarchist Italy. This hostility was the consequence of the sophistry required to remain a republican position while needing to earn a living from a publication with a mainly Catholic readership. Thus, Mitchel demonstrated hostility both to Vittorio Emanuele II and to Garibaldi. In a leader published in November 1867, Mitchel wrote that 'as a temporal prince, Pope Pius has as good a right to his dominion as any other sovereign, and a much better right than King Victor Emmanuel has to Tuscany or the Marches', while Garibaldi was 'the simple embodiment of revolt against all order and authority'. A month later, Mitchel admitted 'we have formerly, indeed, censured the ecclesiastical rule of Rome as a vicious kind of government. But that, after all, is for its subjects to judge, not us'. Yet when Mitchel's old friend John Martin (with whom he disagreed entirely over the possibility of a parliamentary nationalist strategy) was defeated as a parliamentary candidate in Co. Longford in early 1870, Mitchel complained in the *Irish Citizen* that there had been a clerical campaign against Martin. The Bishop of Ardagh had denounced Martin as a Fenian, an idea ridiculed by Mitchel, who wrote that a large portion of the Longford electorate was 'unhappily influenced by priestly intimidation'. Thus, it appears that, like many Irish republicans, Mitchel developed an inconsistent approach in order to retain an audience that was devoutly Catholic, while claiming republican principles.[43]

Duffy, on the other hand, had never been a committed republican and, as has been seen, was already exercising some caution in relation to Italian nationalism before the events of 1848. Barr is right to suggest that Duffy was not the republican portrayed by Cullen. However, what is of importance here is that the Young Ireland movement's Mazzinian vision became an element in the ideological compound of Irish nationalism, including the contradictions that continued to be reflected in republicanism's relationship with Catholicism.[44]

Colin Barr's essay implies that mid-nineteenth-century nationalist Ireland was a static confessional monolith, when it was anything but. For example, Sean Connolly established 30 years ago that the 50 years before the great famine had seen a state of continuous conflict between priests and people, in which the Catholic Church had sought to impose doctrinal orthodoxy on a peasantry whose material religion was incompatible with orthodox Catholic strictures of obedience to temporal authority. Opposition to Italian unification after the defeat of the Confederate rebellion in 1848 was not the inevitable result of

Catholic Ireland's eternal devotion to the Holy See. Instead, it was a consequence of the growing – but far from complete – ability of Cullen's church to impose ultramontane doctrinal – and social – orthodoxy, a process accelerated dramatically by the removal of many of the poorest in rural Ireland, through death and emigration, in the mid-to-late 1840s. It should be acknowledged that the development of radical nationalist politics in Ireland was a dynamic process which was shaped over many years by interactions with a host of influences. Some of these may appear contradictory and some were forged in the context of revolutionary situations which, once the tide had ebbed, no longer resonated for the remnants of what had been Young Ireland. These influences together created a flexible ideological compound.[45]

A perusal of the *Nation* during the 1840s reveals a broad engagement with a cosmopolitan, pan-European romantic political culture that appealed enormously to the people grouped around the newspaper. Political news and analogous stories of national oppression featured strongly. The literature and arts of continental Europe (and, for that matter, the rest of the United Kingdom) were important features of the weekly fare produced by Davis, Duffy and Mitchel. One Young Irelander living in Birkenhead, England, explicitly compared their role in providing instruction for Ireland's young men with that of Guizot's lectures and Thierry's letters, writing to Duffy: 'this is to be truly an educator, a leader and a guide. And this is what you and Davis have been, what you and Mitchel are'.[46]

From 1842 until its enforced closure in the summer of 1848, the *Nation* and the Young Ireland movement were generically, as well as specifically, creating narratives of nationhood that bore the influence of Mazzini, among others. In their most radical phase, from their secession from the mainstream Repeal Association in 1846 until the rebellion of July 1848, many Young Irelanders embraced a democratic republicanism that was closely attuned to Mazzinian principles. Like Mazzini himself, they were not always and forever consistent in this view, and after 1848, increasingly looked to agents other than the Irish themselves to deliver national salvation. Yet, for a short time during the spring of 1848, it appeared that there were real prospects for Mitchel's call to democratic and national revolution, as the Lord Lieutenant's panic-stricken letters to London attest. Davis and Mitchel were profoundly influenced by the cosmopolitan vision of the nation offered by Mazzini and European nationalism, learning their politics in that *milieu*; as Duffy wrote many years later, the group around the *Nation* were 'Irish specimens of the genus'.[47]

After the political defeat of Young Ireland in 1848, the *Nation* was to reappear in 1849 as a much tamer affair, conscious perhaps that the moment of revolution had gone. During the following decade any new national political initiative would be launched in the context of the growing hegemony of Cullen. This, as well as the inevitable realignments that occurred after the dashing of exalted political ambitions, accounted for the changed editorial tone of the *Nation*, in which a new pragmatism demanded that no quarter be given to the perception that the Irish national movement was an anti-clerical one. With Mitchel removed from the scene and the revolutionary tide waning, Duffy's innate conservatism quickly re-emerged to turn the *Nation* into a much less threatening proposition to the hegemony of the Cullenite Catholic church. Roy Foster has neatly summarised the distinction, contrasting the 'transcendentalist moral regeneration, in the style of Carlyle and Mazzini' of the *Nation* in its early years with the pragmatism of Catholic nationalism.[48]

The importance of making the connection between Young Ireland and cosmopolitan European ideas on nationality in the 1840s lies in the impact these ideas had in shaping Irish nationalism in the ensuing decades. It is common to consider Irish nationalism as having two hermetic variants – one moderate, constitutional and Catholic, the other republican and revolutionary. In a number of senses this characterisation is inadequate, understating both the extent to which ideas were hybridised and the protean character of nationalism. Later nationalists of whatever hue were inclined to absorb and opportunistically recreate particular narratives that suited contemporary exigencies. All, whether of the Fenian or Home Rule variants, sought to recruit Ireland's 'patriot dead' for their own particular requirements. Thus, for example, the romantic nationalism of Patrick Pearse (1879–1916) could appear profoundly visceral – apparently attuned, through its emphasis on sacrifice, martyrdom and devotion, to Catholic sensibilities and, of course, of little appeal to most Protestants. Yet for all its apparent Catholicism, Pearse's nationalism owed much to the Young Ireland group of middle-class, urban gentlemen, Protestant as well as Catholic, who, influenced by romanticism, were part of a cosmopolitan sense of nationality that developed in Europe in the 1840s, and at the centre of which stood the figure of Mazzini. Young Ireland had narrated a story of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, of pluralism and romantic nationhood that was to be part of the compound of Irish nationalism in the future.[49]

Notes

1. R. Dudley Edwards (1960) 'Introduction', in R. Dudley Edwards (ed.) *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin: Italian Institute), pp. 11–18 (p. 16); K. Nowlan (1960) 'The Risorgimento and Ireland, 1820–48', in Edwards, *Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, pp. 19–30 (p. 24).
2. G. Costigan (1973) 'Romantic Nationalism: Ireland and Europe', *Irish University Review*, 3, 2, pp. 141–52 (p. 143).
3. P. Ginsborg (2012) 'European Romanticism and the Italian Risorgimento', in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 18–36 (p. 34).
4. Costigan, 'Romantic Nationalism', p. 144; E. Stöter (1998) '"*Grimmige Zeiten*": the Influence of Lessing, Herder and the Grimm Brothers on the Nationalism of the Young Irelanders', in T. Foley and S. Ryder (eds) *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 173–80; K. Nowlan (1965) *The Politics of Repeal* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), p. 42.
5. C. Barr (2008) 'Giuseppe Mazzini and Irish Nationalism, 1845–70', in C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 125–44 (pp. 128, 137, 138).
6. Thomas Carlyle to the Earl of Clarendon, 5 August 1849, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Clar. Dep. Irish Box 8; C. G. Duffy (1892) *Conversations with Carlyle* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), pp. 128, 134.
7. Barr, 'Mazzini and Irish Nationalism', p. 128; Nowlan, 'The Risorgimento and Ireland', p. 24.
8. J. O'Brien (2005) 'Irish Public Opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859–60', *Irish Historical Studies*, 34, 135, pp. 289–305; P. Maume (2006) 'Fenianism as a Global Phenomenon: Thomas O'Malley Baines, Papal Soldier and Fenian Convict', in C. Graham and L. Litvack (eds) *Ireland and Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 148–59.
9. R. Davis (1987) *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan), p. 34.
10. Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement*, pp. 56–7; O. MacDonagh (1991) *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel O'Connell, 1775–1847* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson), p. 551; D. O. Madden (1843) *Ireland and its Rulers since 1829* (London: T. C. Newby), p. 304; *Nation*, 12 August 1843.
11. A. M. Banti (2008) *Il Risorgimento Italiano* (Rome: Laterza), p. 64.
12. D. Mack Smith (1994) *Mazzini* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 6, 9, 15, 28, 29, 43, 25–6, 33–4.
13. G. Mazzini (2009) 'On the Duties of Man', in S. Recchia and N. Urbinati (trans and eds) *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 80–107 (p. 88); Barr, 'Mazzini and Irish Nationalism', p. 128; *Nation*, 18 February 1843.
14. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 26; *Nation,* 15 April 1843, 18 February 1843, 27 April 1844, 27 July 1844, 17 May 1845.
15. G. Mazzini (2009) 'Three Essays on Cosmopolitan Ideals and National Sentiment', in Recchia and Urbinati, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, pp. 53–65 (p. 64); *Nation*, 29 October 1842, 15 April 1843.

16. *Nation*, 9 September 1843.
17. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 151; *Nation*, 19 December 1842, 12 November 1842.
18. *Nation*, 13 January 1844; S. Recchia and N. Urbinati (2009) 'Introduction', in Recchia and Urbinati, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, pp. 1–30 (p. 9).
19. *Nation*, 28 December 1844, 14 March 1846, 28 March 1846; G. Mazzini (2009) 'On the Superiority of Representative Government', in Recchia and Urbinati, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, pp. 39–52 (p. 46).
20. C. G. Duffy (1883) *Four Years of Irish History* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co), p. 239; *Nation*, 28 December 1844.
21. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, pp. 33–4; G. Mazzini (2009) 'Manifesto of Young Italy', in Recchia and Urbinati, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, pp. 33–8 (p. 37); *Nation*, 28 April 1845; M. Elliott (2004) *Robert Emmet: The Making of a Legend* (London: Profile), p. 224; I. Berlin (1999) *The Roots of Romanticism* (London: Chatto & Windus), p. 9.
22. *Nation*, 12 February 1848.
23. *Nation*, 25 February 1843.
24. *Nation*, 18 March 1843; Recchia and Urbinati, *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations*; *Nation*, 25 March 1843, 28 December 1844; *United Irishman*, 25 March 1848.
25. *Nation*, 24 August 1844, 28 September 1844, 3 October 1944, 4 January 1845, 22 February 1845, 26 April 1845.
26. *Nation*, 10 May 1845.
27. *Nation*, 28 March 1846.
28. J. Mitchel (1854) *Jail Journal* (New York: The Citizen), p. 164; Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 78; Mitchel, *Jail Journal*, pp. 363–4.
29. Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle*; R. Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement*, p. 32.
30. J. Mitchel to Mr Jeffrey, 26 February 1857, New York Public Library, Miscellaneous Papers.
31. Barr, 'Mazzini and Irish Nationalism', p. 144.
32. J. Morrow (2008) 'Thomas Carlyle, "Young Ireland" and the "Condition of Ireland Question"', *Historical Journal*, 51, 3, pp. 643–67; See also M. Huggins (2012) 'A Strange Case of Hero-Worship: John Mitchel and Thomas Carlyle', *Studi Irlandesi*, 2, pp. 329–52.
33. K. Fielding (1992) 'Ireland, John Mitchel and his "Sarcastic friend" Thomas Carlyle', in J. Schwend, S. Hagemann & H. Volkel (eds) *Literatur im Kontext: Festschrift für Horst Drescher* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang), pp. 131–43 (p. 132); W. Dillon (1888) *Life of John Mitchel*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.), p. 109; Thomas Carlyle to Clarendon, 26 May 1848, 27 October 1848, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Clar. Dep. Irish Box 8; Nowlan, 'The Risorgimento and Ireland', p. 26.
34. T. Carlyle (1971) 'Signs of the Times', in A. Shelston (ed.) *Thomas Carlyle: Selected Writings* (London: Penguin), pp. 59–84 (pp. 64, 81); R. Foster (2011) *Words Alone: Yeats and his Inheritances* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 50.
35. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 157; Nowlan, 'The Risorgimento and Ireland', p. 26.
36. Charles Gavan Duffy to William Smith O'Brien, no date, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Charles Gavan Duffy Papers, Ms. 5758; *Nation*, 6 April 1844, 18 January 1845, 4 January 1845.

37. *Nation*, 15 May 1847; Lord Minto to Clarendon, 2 January 1848, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Clar. Dep., Irish Box 19; *Nation*, 7 August 1847, 14 August 1847.
38. *Nation*, 18 September 1847, 22 February 1848, 29 April 1848, 3 June 1848.
39. J. B. Dillon to Adelaide Dillon, 16 July 1849, Trinity College Dublin, Dillon Papers, Ms. 6455/124.
40. J. B. Dillon to Adelaide Dillon, 10 August 1849, Trinity College Dublin, Dillon Papers, Ms. 6455/130.
41. T. F. Meagher to W. Smith O'Brien, 11 May 1850, National Library of Ireland, Dublin, William Smith O'Brien Papers, Ms. 444/2690.
42. *Citizen* (New York), 30 September 1854.
43. *Irish Citizen* (New York), 2 November 1867, 7 December 1867, 22 January 1870.
44. Barr, 'Mazzini and Irish nationalism', p. 137.
45. S. Connolly (2000) *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press).
46. See, for example, T. Dunne (1988) 'Haunted by History: Irish Romantic Writing, 1800–50', in R. Porter and M. Teich (eds) *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 68–91; M. MacDermott to Charles Gavan Duffy, 1 November 1846, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Charles Gavan Duffy Bequest, 12 P 19/4.
47. Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 164; Clarendon to Sir George Grey, 25 March 1848, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Clar. Dep. Irish vol. ii, f. 177; Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle*, p. 1.
48. See E. Larkin (1972) 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland', *American Historical Review*, 77, 3, pp. 625–52; Foster, *Words Alone*, p. 77.
49. See P. Pearse (1966) *Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin: Talbot Press), pp. 335–72.

2

‘The ink of the wise’: Mazzini, British Radicalism and Print Culture, 1848–1855[1]

Joan Allen

The last decade or so has seen a marked revival of interest in Mazzini’s role in the Risorgimento and a far greater recognition of his contribution to the intellectual currents of the time, those which coalesced around ideas of nation building, self-determination, human rights and democracy.[2] To some extent this revisionism has been prompted by the Mazzini and Garibaldi bicentenaries, and the recent 150th anniversary of Italian unification.[3] It is also refracted by the turn to transnationalism, an approach which does not diminish the centrality of an Italian focus for Risorgimento studies but rather one which locates it within an international framework – as part of a wider ‘transcontinental, transatlantic and progressive nineteenth-century movement’.[4] This work has had an impact on British studies too, expanding on Margot Finn’s groundbreaking critique of post-Chartist politics to flesh out the complex milieu of London émigré society in which Mazzini’s republican ideas were variously debated, contested and embraced.[5] Some of these studies have revisited Mazzini’s own writings and there is much to be said for deepening that critique.[6] As a natural corollary to this reappraisal, this chapter seeks to explore more fully the world of radical print culture which enabled him to develop and disseminate a vision of democracy that transcended national boundaries.

Giuseppe Mazzini’s determination to create an Italian republic based on the ‘unity, independence and liberty of its citizens’ burnished his nationalist credentials in Britain and Europe, and yet the complexity of his role in the Risorgimento has posed a particular challenge for historians. Even those who have recognised the significance of his moral authority have had to wrestle with his failings as a political strategist. What Lucy Riall and

others have stressed, however, is his success in harnessing the print culture of the age and the way that this gave powerful expression to the nationalist cause.[7] From his earliest days as an activist he looked for ways to disseminate his ideas in the reformist paper *Antologia* and other Italian journals, 'to make Italy know itself', and, during his periods of exile in Britain, he continued to raise questions about democracy and liberty, nationalism and republicanism, religion and revolution, in his literary and political writings.[8] From the late 1830s onwards Mazzini cultivated a network of contacts among London's radical and literary fraternity who provided essential backing for his many campaigns, raising much needed funds and facilitating his access to both the mainstream and radical press.

The years 1848 and 1849 were crucial for Mazzini. In the short term, he secured popular recognition of his vision and leadership, but his rise to power was all too brief and, after the fall of Rome in July 1849, he was exiled once again. He found a safe haven in Switzerland where he successfully relaunched his journal *Italia del Popolo* and spent a few weeks in England in the summer of 1850 to raise essential funds for the European refugees. Although he expected his exile from Italy to be short-lived, events dictated otherwise, and after February 1851, London became his permanent home. Once again, he turned to a small group of British friends for support, most notably the radical Joseph Cowen junior, the Chartist leader George Julian Harney and the engraver William Linton, who were all connected to the world of journalism as editors, writers or proprietors, and deeply committed to the republican cause. Individually and collectively, as friends who shared the same political ideals, they helped Mazzini to promote Italian nationalism beyond the privileged inner circle of London's intelligentsia. This study will critically appraise the radical journals which they published between 1848 and 1855: the *Democratic Review* (1849–50), *Red Republican* (1850), *English Republic* (1851–5) and *Northern Tribune* (1854–5). While these publications never attained anything approaching the mass circulation rates of either the *Northern Star* or *Reynolds's Miscellany*,[9] they were able to reach that relatively affluent section of British society whose support for the republican movement was an important element in its success. It will be argued that their willingness to open up their journals to Mazzini's own writings and public correspondence, and publish a large amount of complementary material, including poetry, helped him to gain the backing of a core group of middle-class intellectuals who were able to tap into wide social, political and business networks to raise the financial support he needed.

For much of the nineteenth century Britain's policy towards admitting foreigners turned upon the established principle that the 'sacred

duties of hospitality' should be extended to 'persons of all opinions'.[10] This public display of tolerance to outsiders was intrinsic to the international reputation of the British state as a civilised democratic polity. Crucially, economic strength underpinned wider perceptions of British liberalism by which free trade in goods and the untrammelled flow of workers and visitors, as well as exiles, made manifest the state's innate political confidence and superiority. In the first half of the century, the numbers of incomers were relatively small and Britain's industrial capacity was elastic and needy.[11] In contrast to the restrictions that typified twentieth-century policy, recourse to legislation such as the 1793 and 1848 Aliens Acts was then but rarely sought and always strongly contested. Foreigners might well be subjected to surveillance but such monitoring applied to dissident citizens and émigrés alike during periods of political unrest; and in Britain the general consensus that it would be wrong to extradite exiles for political acts usually held sway.[12] Accordingly, European exiles could be confident of taking up residence in Britain without being subjected to the strict regulatory practices that prevailed elsewhere.[13]

The large numbers of insurgent Europeans who fled their homelands in the 1830s included a small Italian émigré community led by Mazzini, whose involvement in the *carbonari* resulted in his enforced exile in France. As with his open *Letter to Charles Albert* (1831), Mazzini's favoured *modus operandi* was to provoke confrontation and debate.[14] He boldly launched a journal, *La Giovine Italia*, to disseminate his republican ideas and the activities of Young Italy, and to put out a call for armed insurrection. Copies of the journal soon made their way back to the Italian states via Genoa, once again marking him out as a seditious activist. With membership of Young Italy in 1833 estimated at somewhere between 50,000 and 60,000, and the proliferation of a linked network of national associations in Poland, Germany and Switzerland, in some quarters Mazzini was held to be the 'most dangerous man in Europe'.[15]

Undaunted, Mazzini unleashed a torrent of criticism of the European powers as his 1836 essay *Interests and Principles* demonstrates, hammering home the view that only 'war to the death against the acts of a corrupt government' would secure the liberation of the people:

> Teach the proletariat its rights. Uncloak one by one the crimes, the injustice, the infamy of our rulers. Denounce every act of authority that injures any interests whatever, that infringes a single right. Fight, Fight. Shout Liberty in the ears of the People. Revolt is the principle of the century. Then guide it.[16]

Mazzini seized every opportunity to whip up support for his nationalist campaigns in the press, in the full knowledge that this would make him an easy target of the various state authorities who kept his correspondence and movements under constant surveillance. That he evaded punishment for so long can be attributed partly to his linguistic skills, which enabled him to blend more easily into Marseilles' transient population of traders and visitors, and the practical assistance provided by a network of co-conspirators and like-minded revolutionaries. Many activists found his dynamism difficult to resist, though the sheer force of his didactic personality meant that his personal and political relationships were often fraught. As Roland Sarti observes, 'Revolutions required coalitions, and successful coalitions required shared ideals'.[17] His quarrels with the socialist revolutionary Filippo Buonarroti (1761–1837) are a case in point, not just because they competed for the leadership role but because they were ideologically at odds on the question of class – a source of conflict that resurfaced time and again in his dealings with both his fellow Italians and other nationalists.[18]

Following his ill-conceived involvement in an assassination attempt on Charles Albert's life in 1834, Mazzini launched the Young Europe association in a bid to seize the initiative from the French whose revolution, he proclaimed, 'crushes us. It weighs on the party, like a nightmare, and hinders its growth'. He aimed to reinstate Rome as the epicentre of a new liberated Europe and all of his efforts – as a communicator and as an activist – were directed towards realising this goal.[19] A series of failed insurrections in Piedmont and Genoa in 1834 served only to undermine his leadership and the Young Italy organisation was reduced to little more than a rump. In 1836, when the Swiss authorities moved to expel him, he made his way to London, arriving in early January 1837 with his friends Giovanni and Agostino Ruffini, and Angelo Usiglio, where he stayed until the outbreak of revolutions in Europe took him back to the heart of the nationalist struggle.[20]

Initially, they shared a house near Euston Square with little money and few comforts. Before many months had passed, Mazzini had gained an entrée into the company of Bloomsbury's radical literati. Here he forged lasting friendships with writers such as John Stuart Mill, and with Thomas and Jane Carlyle, who helped him to make a modest living from his writing.[21] In October, Mill invited him to pen a review of Italian literature for the *London and Westminster Review* and other commissions quickly followed, invariably with established journals such as *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (1832–61), the London *Monthly Chronicle* and the *British and Foreign Review*.[22] At first Thomas Carlyle was impressed by

Mazzini's sharp intellect and recommended him to his friend Henry Cole as 'an honourable, brave and gifted man' who needed assistance in publishing some articles.[23] Before long, however, he began to entertain serious doubts about Mazzini's judgement, describing him to Edward Strachey as 'a man of some talent, but a furious radical, one who has no notion except of pulling down; but he is a young man and may get wiser'. If Carlyle soon wearied of Mazzini's republican zealotry,[24] his wife Jane was more sympathetic and willing to excuse some of his more extravagant schemes – though even she had to admit that, at times, he could be as 'credulous and ignorant as a two-years-old child'.[25]

Although Mazzini gathered around him a very wide network of artists and authors, progressive thinkers and political friends, his journalism in this first period of exile can best be understood by focussing on his links with three prominent British radicals: William J. Linton, Joseph Cowen junior and George Julian Harney. All three men shared a commitment to democratic reform, including the campaign for a free press, and were instrumental in providing Mazzini with a unique political platform for his ideas and ideals. Moreover, they were influential 'gentlemen radicals' with sufficient funds at their disposal to champion the republican cause and whose favoured strategy for disseminating their ideas about progressive reform, at home and abroad, lay in harnessing print culture.

Mazzini's relationship with the radical engraver, William J. Linton, proved to be singularly important. Although his biographer, F. B. Smith, is unclear about the date of their first meeting, Linton's 1892 memoir states that his brother-in-law, the dramatist and editor Thomas Wade (1805–75), was instrumental in effecting an introduction in 1837.[26] Acquaintanceship transformed into friendship after 1841 when Mazzini became aware of how young boys were being lured from rural Italy on the promise of a better life, only to be cruelly exploited as street beggars or employed in the plaster cast trade. This 'traffic' in children became the focus of Mazzini's campaigning energies. He pursued the 'slave dealers' through the courts to outlaw what he denounced as an abhorrent practice and set about inculcating the skills and education they needed to make their way in the world. Mazzini decided to open a free evening school for poor Italian boys near to Linton's home in Hatton Garden. With Linton's sponsorship and teaching skills, the boys were schooled in the decorative arts and to appreciate the importance of Italian history.[27] These teaching responsibilities did not absorb all of Mazzini's boundless energy; he still found time to attend the lively political gatherings of other European exiles, including the Poles, and published 12 issues of a newspaper *Apostolato Popolare*, aimed at the Italian working-classes.[28]

It was the letter-opening scandal in 1844 which placed Linton and Mazzini's friendship on an altogether more intimate footing. Mazzini had long suspected that his correspondence was being intercepted and, drawing on Linton's political connections, he moved to expose the practice to public scrutiny. Linton persuaded the radical MP Thomas Slingsby Duncombe to petition parliament on their behalf. In his address to the Commons, Duncombe asserted that interfering with private correspondence was tantamount to spying, a practice that was deeply 'repugnant to every principle of the British Constitution' and cleverly calculated to raise the hackles of his fellow parliamentarians. Linton and Mazzini listened to the debate from the gallery as the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, struggled to defend the charge that he had flouted the law to serve the interests of a foreign power and to ingratiate himself with the Austrian ambassador, Baron von Neumann. The affair became a *cause célèbre* as the newspapers of the day pitched into the fray with sarcastic editorials and lampoons, recasting the privacy issue as a direct conflict between the Home Office and the civil liberties of the people. Although the government managed to quell the tide of criticism by producing a report defending its actions, the scandal was soon reignited. When news emerged that the Austrian powers had used the intelligence received to subvert a raid on the Calabrian coast, and had executed Attilio and Emilio Bandiera along with seven other insurgents, the integrity of the British government was once again called into question.[29] As for Mazzini, who had specifically encouraged the Bandiera's ill-fated expedition, he did not dwell too long on his role in the tragedy as he berated the ineptitude of everyone but himself.[30]

As it turned out, the Graham affair was instrumental in raising the profile of the Italian cause by bringing Mazzini into contact with other leading Chartists and luminaries of the radical left who were beginning to rediscover their earlier Jacobin roots. As Chartism faltered they began to register the potential advantages of collaborating more closely with their European compatriots.[31] William Lovett and Linton, for instance, busied themselves in advancing the cause of Polish independence in 1845 and as part of this initiative they launched the Democratic Friends of all Nations – a first attempt at formalising the growing consensus between British radicals and European nationalists. However, Lovett's entrenched commitment to a 'moral force' position, which had long been the source of friction within the Chartist movement, scarcely endeared him to the more revolutionary phalanx of the émigré community; after the initial fanfare and opening address it quickly fizzled out. Its primary function was to anchor transnational solidarities and

prepare the ground for the more significant political associations which followed: the Fraternal Democrats in 1845 – an 'umbrella' organisation of British and European radicals launched on 22 September to commemorate the French Republican Constitution of 1792, under the aegis of George Julian Harney – and, the following April, the foundation of the People's International League, led by Mazzini under the watchful brief of Linton as organising secretary.

Mazzini had been busy preparing the intellectual ground upon which a continental rapport might flourish. In August 1846 he persuaded the editor of the *People's Journal* to publish a series of seven articles which would explain the intellectual currents that were driving the democratic movement, arguing that unless there was an attempt to 'conceptualise' them their potential to mobilise progressive change would be lost. Beginning with an essay on 29 August entitled 'The Democratic Tendency of our Times', Mazzini's *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe* evaluated a range of ideological positions: Saint Simonianism, Fourierism, Communism and Nationalism. He acknowledged that the public associated democracy with the events of 1793 and 'a guillotine surmounted by a red cap', but sought to assuage their fears by arguing that democratic change enshrined the twin principles of duty and responsibility. When the series ended in May 1847, his concluding essay asserted that it had succeeded in cultivating a better understanding of nationality, identifying the inherent weaknesses of theories other than republicanism, most notably socialism, and in making the case for his own abilities as leader of the republican cause.[32]

With annual membership pitched at one shilling, the People's International League was dominated by a mixed coterie of London intellectuals, wealthy nonconformists, British radicals and Polish nationalists, such as Mazzini's close friend Charles Stolzman.[33] As Linton declared in a circular letter soliciting subscriptions, the time had come 'for a successful association of the best minds of the country'.[34] The opening statement called upon members to 'disseminate the principles of National Freedom and Progress' and to recognise 'the right of every people to self-government and the maintenance of their own nationality'.[35] Mazzini's founding *Address* obtained a particularly wide circulation. Apart from sending it out to a long list of supporters, members and literary institutions, Linton endeavoured to put a copy into the hands of every member of parliament and the 'entire Press of Great Britain and Ireland'. By November, the publicity campaign and lecture programme had generated sufficient support to justify a grand opening meeting in the Strand. The *Address* was also distributed throughout Europe, with promotional

material appearing in *Débat Social*, *Réforme* and other influential journals; the general consensus is that it had a salutary impact in the run-up to the 1848 revolutions.[36]

Among those who took out membership of the League was the young firebrand and ardent republican Joseph Cowen junior, who was already building a reputation in north-east England as a man of extreme opinions.[37] Cowen first made contact with Mazzini when he was a student at Edinburgh University in the mid-1840s, where he became involved in a range of radical causes. He neglected his studies entirely, choosing instead to spend his time chairing the Edinburgh University Debating Society. On hearing of the Graham affair, Cowen put forward a motion for a special debate censuring the Home Secretary's actions, and penned a letter of support to Mazzini which drew a 'cordial' reply.[38] Along with Linton, Cowen subsequently became closely involved in Mazzini's various fund-raising activities, including the Society for the Friends of Italy, but this was merely the public face of their shared enterprises. Cowen helped Mazzini to smuggle revolutionary literature into the Italian ports, hiding them in the medal-winning firebricks and retorts produced by his father's business. They met covertly well away from the Thames and the Tyne in small northern towns such as Doncaster, and Mazzini used an alias ('Silva') in their regular exchange of letters.[39]

The final member of this trio of supporters was George Julian Harney, the 'enfant terrible' of the Chartist movement, whose revolutionary ideas wooed the physical force faction and attracted the attention of Marx and Engels.[40] He acquired excellent journalistic skills during his apprenticeship on Henry Hetherington's *Poor Man's Guardian* and a keen interest in French revolutionary politics from Bronterre O'Brien, credentials that enabled him to secure the full editorship of the flagship Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star* in 1845, and to occupy a pivotal position in the community of European exiles in London in the late 1840s.[41]

London had a well-deserved reputation as 'the storm centre of Europe' at the mid-century but there was a marked lack of unity between the various national groups; inevitably, the German, French, Polish, Italian and Hungarian societies prioritised their own individual campaigns.[42] Mazzini's reconstituted 'Young Italy' movement, for instance, focussed exclusively on the prospect of a unified Italy and, as he did not share the nascent socialist ideals of the French and German societies, this was a major obstacle to any shared enterprises. The British radicals, too, were riven by ideological differences. Although Harney and Linton were both

committed supporters of the republican movement, there was a certain amount of rivalry between them and their respective organisations.[43] The People's International League was dominated by the Italians and Poles while Harney's Fraternal Democrats had a much stronger German and French membership.[44] Moving in much the same circles it was inevitable that Harney, Linton and Mazzini should be brought into one another's company, especially at the frequent democratic suppers and other gatherings of Italians and Polish exiles. If the tone of Mazzini's correspondence with Harney between 1844 and 1845 suggests a degree of formality there can be no doubting their mutual respect; Mazzini clearly valued the international direction of the *Northern Star* under Harney's management and was more than willing to draw it to the attention of his friends in Tuscany.[45] Mazzini was an occasional contributor to the *Northern Star* in this period and appreciated Harney's efforts to make the Italian question better understood, 'so that when the day for our insurrection comes – "and come it will for a' that", it would not suffer from "the misconstructions of diplomats and the like"'.[46]

A series of risings in Italy and other major European cities in the early months of 1848 took everyone, including Mazzini, by surprise. Harney's *Northern Star* tracked the events in February in a flurry of articles on the revolution in Naples and Sicily, publishing the formal Addresses of the Fraternal Democrats to convey their official support for the French and the manifesto of the Polish National government.[47] Even-handed as ever, Harney ensured that the affairs of Young Ireland were not pushed out entirely by continental events, or the objections of those like Mazzini who did not recognise Irish claims to national identity. The *Northern Star* kept readers apprised of Irish events and, in the autumn, it meticulously documented the conduct of the Irish treason trials, supplying subscribers with a specially commissioned portrait of John Mitchel.[48]

Initially the European monarchs of Austria, Germany and Italy made major concessions to calm the revolutionary fervour that gripped the capital cities. These upheavals spawned numerous political clubs and gave impetus to the radical press as the best means of publicising the revolutions' successes and agitating for further reform. After Charles Albert 'declared himself the Soldier of Italian Freedom' on 23 March, Mazzini made his way to Milan where 'the people crowded to see him, kissing him, snatching at his hands, welcoming him with tears of joy'.[49] Afterwards, Mazzini confided to his friend Emily Hawkes that he had 'cried like a child' when the people 'frantic with joy' had flocked to greet him, but confessed that he had been intimidated too by the sheer scale of the demonstration.[50] The proposed union with Piedmont, however,

proved to be a sticking point with some of his fellow republicans. While Mazzini was inclined to compromise, Carlo Cattaneo and Giuseppe Ferrari were not. Linton's memoir of the unfolding events speaks more to his blinkered adulation for Mazzini than to the historical account: in Linton's eyes, Mazzini could do no wrong; he rejected the idea that Mazzini was too willing to endanger the lives of others while protecting his own, insisting to the last that the Italian patriot was not responsible for the divisions that emerged over political strategy and Garibaldi's military tactics; the moderates, he argued, were guilty of 'moral cowardice'.[51] As his letters at the time reveal, Mazzini's emotions oscillated between joy and despair, his refusal to accept defeat the only constant.[52]

Factionalism and defeat in Lombardy in the summer of 1848 spurred on rather than deterred the nationalists who expected nothing less than a political transformation. A power vacuum finally opened up in January 1849 when the insurgent republicans secured universal male suffrage, forcing Grand Duke Leopold to abandon Tuscany; in Rome, the killing of the Pope's interior minister, Pellegrino Rossi, sparked an upsurge in political rioting, culminating in the departure of Pius IX to Gaeta. Mazzini's opportunity to seize power finally arrived on 9 February 1849 when the democratically elected interim government proclaimed the Roman Republic.[53] Following his election to the assembly (in absentia) he declared that his 'twenty years of exile have received their full reward'.[54]

Linton's erstwhile hero was reputedly 'everywhere and everything: strategist, tactician, diplomat, engineer, commissary, working day and night without rest'.[55] Yet, despite Mazzini's rapturous welcome in Rome and promotion to Triumvir, the republic's future was compromised almost immediately. Euphoria rapidly dissipated as the conservative European powers exerted their authority by force of arms and neo-absolutist power was restored. The collapse of Piedmont fatally undermined the nationalist project. In Rome, armed resistance to the French onslaught proved fruitless, though Garibaldi and his troops managed to hold out until 2 July, and Pius IX was soon restored to power, intent on crushing the republican movement. For Mazzini, who had expected – and depended on – support from French democrats, such as Ledru-Rollin, and whose reputation was on the line, the fall of Rome was a deeply personal loss.

In the repressive climate that followed, many republicans, including Mazzini, were forced to flee their native countries. London, with its melting pot of nationalist, republican and socialist discourse, once again became their chosen refuge. Undoubtedly Mazzini coped much

better in this second phase of exile, for he was able to slip back into the company of established friends who rallied to his aid.[56] This was the complex milieu in which Harney sought to present his own manifesto for radical political change by establishing a new international journal in June 1849, the *Democratic Review of British and Foreign Politics, History and Literature*.[57] It marked a critical moment too in both Chartist and European politics. Harney's fractious relationship with the *Northern Star*'s owner, Feargus O'Connor, was only one of the reasons why he was eager to publish an independent journal.[58] Editorial freedom would enable more space to be devoted to the debate on international socialism and inculcate a collective vision of European politics among the working classes. He also urgently needed a platform to promote the activities of the recently revived Fraternal Democrats. The government clampdown on political activism in 1848, enshrined in the exacting provisions of the new Aliens Bill, had forced Harney to disband the Democrats and temporarily suspend all public gatherings. By summer 1849, the time was ripe to revive the Democrats as a powerhouse of republican politics.

Readers of Harney's new journal, the *Democratic Review*, which circulated for just 16 months from June 1849 to September 1850, were encouraged to embrace progressive reform by backing a call for 'the Charter and Something more', and introduced to the complex world of European republicanism. Harney had little money to invest but he secured the services of a Fleet Street printer and soon the *Review* was selling in small quantities as a monthly journal of 40 pages, priced at 3*d*. per copy. The format was entirely plain apart from an emblazoned emblem on the frontispiece of the later bound volumes, bearing the words 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'. Harney's regular open letter in the *Star*, 'To the Working Classes', was seamlessly transferred to the *Review*, with the promise to his new readership that the *Review* would 'be open only to men of "ultra opinions" ... who will call a tyrant a tyrant'. He invited contributions from distinguished 'foreign' writers, who were 'not *of* the Proletarians but Heart and soul *with* them'. And as 'the battle for Democracy against Class Usurpation' was being fought on the continent, he pledged that European affairs would occupy a 'considerable portion' of the journal.[59] His legion of unpaid writers on European affairs included Ledru-Rollin, Mazzini, Engels and Louis Blanc, who were uniquely placed to provide expert commentary and reportage.[60]

Aside from the 'Political and Historical Review', a staple feature penned by Harney which exposed parliamentary decisions that impacted

negatively on working-class interests and critiqued the unfolding drama in continental Europe, the first issue focussed closely on events in France: a report on the May elections, a letter from Louis Blanc to Armand Barbes, who was then languishing in a French prison, and an abridged version of Blanc's 'Appeal to Honest People'.[61] The republican agenda was firmly to the fore in July when Harney berated the French who had resorted to 'force and fraud, every scheme of violence and treachery' against Rome. He paid handsome tribute to Mazzini and Garibaldi for their defence of the city before devoting much of the volume to the evils of the monarchical system, quoting at length from John Milton's *Prose Works*.[62]

In these first few issues, Harney's attention to the Italian question was filtered through an oblique focus on republicanism and anti-monarchism. In August 1849, for example, following the fall of Rome, he launched a multi-part history of the 'Hungarian Struggle' in order to castigate the imperial powers and expose the 'tyrannical rule of brutal foreign hordes'.[63] However, it was the publication of Linton's three-stanza poem, 'For Rome, *June, 1849*', which called for 'every heart [to] be Roman now!' which made explicit Harney's Italian sympathies.[64] As the '*monkish* terrorists'[65] assumed control over Rome and the Inquisition was set in train, the analysis of Italian affairs assumed centre stage. In October, an indictment of the reactionary forces by the French socialist Victor Considerant dominated the front pages, yet Harney still maintained that the 'world of brute force is in its last agony', for 'ideas are the artillery of the modern world'.[66]

Harney announced the reconstitution of the Fraternal Democrats in November 1849, with a new set of rules published in the *Review*, and simultaneously launched a 'Fraternal Fund' to support 'Red Republicans' in Europe. As Harney pointed out, a large 'number of aristocratic, wealthy and literary characters' had set up an Italian Refugee committee while other refugees could expect little more than 'lip-sympathy'. This did not mean that Harney was anything less than fully committed to the Italian cause, as the inclusion of a 12-page open letter penned by 'the Triumvir Joseph Mazzini' to De Tocqueville and Falloux indicated. Mazzini's vitriolic attack tore into the French ministers, accusing them of rank hypocrisy and slander in claiming that Rome had been defended largely by foreigners when France herself had relied so heavily on Spanish and Austrian troops.[67] Mazzini affirmed that there had been only 1400–1500 'foreigners' in the army – not the 20,000 men quoted in the French National Assembly. He praised the courage of the '*14,000 men, a young army without traditions, and*

improvised under the very fire of the enemy, [who] *held in check for two months the 30,000 soldiers of France*'. The Italian government had not needed

> *To place the capital in a state of siege, to dissolve the national guard, to fill the prisons, to exile (amongst others) the representatives of the people, to condemn to transportation hundreds of working men, and to surround ourselves by cannons and soldiers*. Our capital was cheerful and happy ... our prisons were all but empty of political offenders.

He accused the French of ruling by terror while boasting that they had restored the people's liberty, rhetorically challenging them to withdraw, 'give the people a free vote', and abide by their decision. Mazzini's letter was an exercise in self-righteousness to the last, contrasting their deceit with his honesty; his 'pure conscience' with their mendacity:

> *I can fearlessly raise my eyes to meet those of other men, without the dread of meeting any one who can say to me: – 'You have deliberately lied'.* I have combated, and will combat again, without pause as without fear, wherever I may be, the wicked oppressors of my country ... I have fought with loyal arms; never have I sullied myself with calumny, or degraded myself by using the assassin against one unknown to me, and who was perhaps better than myself. God save you, gentlemen, from dying in exile; because you have no such consciousness with which to console yourselves.[68]

It was not insignificant that John Whittier's poem, *To Pius IX*, was included in the same issue to heap further derision on 'The Nero of our time'.[69]

As ever, Harney tried to mediate between the contending ideological positions and protect his cordial relations with the French, especially Blanc whose regular articles on social reform had become such a centrepiece of the *Review*. Harney gave his French comrade the opportunity to defend his fellow democrats and so it was that the December issue carried Blanc's impassioned defence that Italian republicans still had the support of the majority of the French people. As evidence, Blanc cited the production of a new drama, *Rome*, when French theatre-goers had risen as one at the mention of Mazzini's name to sing Pierre Dupont's favoured anthem, 'Tous les peuples sont frères' ('All the people of the earth are brethren').[70] Alongside Blanc's placatory letter, Harney republished Mazzini's 'withering' riposte to a speech on the Roman question

by the conservative leader Montalembert, suggesting that he should give up his nationalist ambitions:

> The Roman question, as regards the invasion, is now decided, and we can, leaving behind the mire of calumnies, contradictions, and hypocrisies, elevate ourselves to a loftier sphere … Popes, emperors, inborn oppression, the jealousy of foreign powers, have done all they could to stifle this faith; they have failed … And you pretend to stop this movement! You have the pretension to convince us that we are sacrificing our lives to a dream, to a culpable illusion, because a Pope and a small knot of corrupt, immoral, irreligious men, pointed at in scorn by the people of the Red Triumvirs, dare to lisp an excommunication against us … I, who exiled for twenty years, have sacrificed my whole life, and my household joys, to this one idea, am I to give it up!
>
> Perish the Papacy! Live Italy![71]

The final footnote to this exchange was an official statement from the Fraternal Democrats affirming that the invasion of the Roman Republic constituted a violation of the French Republican Constitution.[72] As for Harney, he declared himself gratified that he had been able to publicise the writings of so many democrats. Harney's entrenched quarrels with O'Connor and the Chartist leadership came to a head in 1850 and were played out in full in the pages of the June 1850 issue of the *Northern Star*.[73] On his resignation from the *Star*, Harney launched the *Red Republican*, a weekly journal which ran alongside the *Democratic Review* between June and the end of September. The simultaneous publication of both journals is highly significant insofar as it gave much greater exposure to Italian affairs.

On 29 June 1850, the opening edition of the *Red Republican* carried the first in a series of weekly instalments from Mazzini's major work *Republic and Royalty in Italy*, translated by Linton.[74] This was accompanied by a long adulatory preface by George Sand which referred to Mazzini as 'the most misunderstood, the most calumniated, the most vilely insulted reactionary spirit … one of the greatest men of this time'.[75] Simultaneously, a review of Mazzini's pamphlet 'The Pope in the Nineteenth Century' was published, once again pointedly identifying the author as the 'Triumvir of the Roman Republic'.[76] Serialisation of Mazzini's elaborate treatise on the recent conflict in Rome appeared in successive editions of the *Red Republican* from 29 June onwards and was often buttressed by other related material, such as the revolutionary poem 'A Call to

the People'.[77] The following month, too, Harney published the first of a series of writings hailing the American constitution as a model republic, and which included a copy of the Declaration of Independence to mark the anniversary.

As with Linton's later 'letters' on 'Republican Principles', these serialised items enabled readers to access complex material in a more accessible form, demonstrating that a successful republic was achievable.[78] Beneath a note announcing Garibaldi's arrival in Liverpool, and as a counterweight to the hostile treatment of those newspapers 'subsidized by the great political parties', Harney published nine stanzas of the Rev. John Jeffrey's narrative poem *Lays of the Revolutions*, extolling the Italian legion's bravery in defending the Republic.[79] On 20 July 1850, Mazzini's close friendship with Linton and Harney was affirmed when a specially commissioned translation of his work *A Voice from the Roman Triumvir: The People of the Proscribed* was published on the front page of the journal, together with a further four-column extract of his *Republic and Royalty*. Throughout, Harney took seriously his responsibility to use the *Red Republican* to correct misinformation, especially as it affected the Italian campaign, as the inclusion of correspondence from the *New York Tribune* demonstrates.[80]

While sales of the *Red Republican* grew apace during the summer of 1850, losses incurred by the *Democratic Review* – Harney had lost upwards of £60 on the venture – meant the latter was no longer sustainable and in September 1850 he had little choice but to amalgamate the two journals. The *Red Republican*'s 7 September issue published in full the rallying address of the Central European Committee (CEC), led by Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Albert Darasz and Arnold Ruge, which set out the steps needed for the achievement of European democracy.[81] In homage to the CEC Address, which Linton called 'Mazzini's manifesto', Harney once again picked up the baton in defence of the republican ideal. Linton's 'Republican Principles' column appeared in serialised form and provided his most detailed exposition yet of Mazzini's ideas about work, education, family, liberty etc.[82] The final chapter of Mazzini's *Republic and Royalty in Italy* was published on 9 November with a quasi-religious call to arms: 'It is time O young men! To understand how grand, how holy and how religious is the work which God confides to you'. He warned against 'courtly intrigue', arguing that only through 'the travail of the soul, and sacrifices of blood' would they achieve the 'future of Italy'. The Address of the Italian National Committee, signed by Mazzini, Saffi, Saliceti, Sirtori, Agostini and Montecchi, appeared on 16 November to proclaim their doctrine of unity: 'One faith – one direction – one banner',

trumpeting anew their belief that 'a single war can save Italy … headed by men of well tried love of their country', who would seek 'no reward other than that of a pure and satisfied conscience … we alone … can promote this war'.[83]

As the year drew to a close, Mazzini had achieved a remarkably high profile in all three radical journals. That he was able to do so when his relations with other exiled democrats was so poor says a great deal about Harney's character and his ability to keep all of the contending parties on side. Marx held Mazzini in barely concealed contempt as his correspondence with Engels reveals, while Blanc and Mazzini were constantly at odds with one another over the vexed question of socialism.[84] It is also the case that Marx and Engels were just as eager to maintain good relations with Harney in order to advance their own political agenda, not least in publishing the *Manifesto of the German Communist Party*, as he did between 9 and 30 November. A final extract from the *Manifesto* marked the end of the *Republican*'s circulation. Its title, no less than its contents, made closure a near certainty; all that was needed for the government to act was a further increase in circulation.[85]

The *Friend of the People*, which replaced the *Red Republican* from December 1850 to April 1852, continued to ventilate republican ideas. Despite the adoption of an anodyne title the contents remained broadly the same and the mission statement still embraced an egalitarian mantra. Just as before, Mazzini was given plenty of coverage for the promotion of his Italian National Committee and the various international addresses of the European Central Democratic Committee. Mazzini was also pressed into service to heap praise on George Sand – his fulsome tribute heralded the forthcoming serialisation of Sand's *Consuelo*.[86] Nonetheless, given Harney's trademark even-handedness when it came to supporting his European friends, the Italian cause was increasingly but one of the many nationalist campaigns – German, Polish, French and Hungarian – that jostled for space.

Thereafter, it fell to William Linton's new journal, the *English Republic*, to act as the primary vehicle for articulating the Italian cause between 1851 and 1855. Linton had already carved out a notable reputation as a journalist and an engraver, not least for the quality of the artwork he provided for the *Illustrated London News,* but also through a raft of political publications, such as his short-lived weekly journal the *Cause of the People* (May–July 1848), which he used to publicise the activities of the People's International League.[87] Mazzini's motto 'Ora e Sempre' (Now and Forever) occupied the significant space below the title, underlining its expressly republican credentials – and it is worth noting that

most of the contributions were penned by Linton. In 1850 he briefly collaborated with Thornton Leigh Hunt and George Lewes to set up the *Leader*, a republican weekly. He soon realised that his 'Ultra' radical articles were destined to be watered down by Hunt, and that exclusive control of his own republican organ was the only way to ensure that his republican message would be heard. The first issue of Linton's *English Republic,* which appeared in early 1851, was sponsored by his close friend Joseph Cowen who paid the mortgage on Linton's Brantwood house and covered the printing costs. It was lavishly produced and Linton was able to call on his European friends, Herzen, Worcell, Stolzman and, most importantly, Mazzini, to fill his pages. It was also strongly endorsed by Harney in the pages of the *Friend of the People*, which publicised the *Republic*'s launch and allowed Linton to reprint some of his contributions, including the series 'Letters on Republican Principles'. The front cover boldly gestured to the Mazzinian connection with its subtitle 'God and the People' and the opening preface carried a handsome tribute to the 'Apostle of Republicanism', whose example would help to revive the spirit of the Commonwealth and a Young England movement.[88] Before long Linton was able to report the growth of Republican Associations in London and Cambridge as well as in northern England.[89] Although the *English Republic*'s aims were directed at the European movement, the first volume of 12 issues was dominated by the Italian cause to an unusual degree: it reported on the progress of the Italian loan fund, republished an account of the 'martyrdom' of the Bandiera brothers and offered a sustained critique of the papacy; readers were encouraged to learn and adopt a 'Republican Catechism' and to engage anew with Mazzini's treatise on the *Duties of Man*.[90] By the end of the year, Linton declared himself relatively 'content' that his efforts were beginning to have an impact.[91]

Some of the *Republic*'s success was linked to the activities of the Society of the Friends of Italy (SFI), an organisation launched by Mazzini in May 1851 and which provided its 796 members, including '75 ladies', with their own *Monthly Record* as well as a series of tracts.[92] It also reveals much about the social composition of the membership that subscriptions were pitched at 'half a crown or upwards' (2*s*. 6*d*.), and that a reasonable percentage of members were willing to pay ten shillings or more. The second volume of the *Republic* (January 1852 to November 1853) was presented exclusively as a collection of tracts, many of them republished from the *Monthly Record* and this reflected the overlapping interests of the SFI and the *Republic*'s readership. Among the *Republic*'s one hundred published tracts was Mazzini's first 'Conversazione of

the Friends of Italy', delivered to the SFI at the Freemason's Tavern on 11 February 1852, which denounced atheism, anarchism, terrorism, communism and materialism, and described the National Party's aims as a 'holy struggle'. Mazzini called upon England to provide 'moral strength' and a 'relentless propagandism for Italian liberty and independence', to petition Parliament frequently to maintain the immediacy of the campaign, and to provide material help.[93] The *English Republic* was a key instrument of the fund-raising effort and for eliciting other practical help, including the promotion of a 1*s*. 'Subscription for European Freedom' to support Mazzini and Kossuth in their efforts. Mazzini was very grateful for the money which he declared 'acquires an incalculable value when it represents a free man raising his hand and bearing open testimony in the cause of the oppressed' – though he was also disappointed that the money was not placed at his disposal, to do with as he chose.[94] Subscribers received a handsomely engraved receipt card signed by Kossuth and Mazzini in exchange for their donation, as did those, including Cowen, who donated large sums of money to the Italian Loan fund.[95] Cowen is said to have persuaded 10,000 subscribers in his home town of Newcastle upon Tyne to donate their shillings to the fund, yet Linton judged the effort a failure, blaming the Liberal press for not providing enough support.[96] A good deal of the money had been expended in sending out thousands of Addresses and it would seem that the work of administering the collection had been left to a small number of activists. Linton's closing remarks in November 1853 singled out the Milan Insurrection as a 'great act of protestation' and reflected on 'What a republican government might do'.[97]

Even with the staunch support of Cowen and Harney, who were both key members of the SFI, the *Republic* struggled to meet its costs. In 1854, it appeared under a new guise as a monthly 'Newspaper and Review' and bearing Mazzini's motto, 'The formation of a Nation is a religion'. However, war in the Crimea was the overwhelming preoccupation and it was the vision of an *English* republic that dominated its pages; Milton was cast as the hero for the times. Linton continued to allocate space to Italian affairs and to Mazzini's public addresses, but by 1855 the focus of the final few issues was on an extension of the franchise as the best means of ensuring the 'right conduct of the war'.[98] Fittingly, Mazzini's 'Letters to his English Friends' on the suspension of the SFI was the final contribution, and all that was left were Linton's closing remarks alluding to the straitened circumstances that had dictated the journal's demise.[99] With a print run of just 300 copies per issue, and many of those pressed into the hands of potential supporters without charge by Cowen, it was

never a commercial venture.[100] What mattered was that, during those critical five years, it buttressed the work of the SFI in promoting republican ideals among working-class radicals outside of London, while those who were regular subscribers were also cajoled into supporting Mazzini financially.

The *English Republic* was not the only journal published at Brantwood by Linton. In 1854, when Cowen proposed to establish a regionally focussed monthly journal, the *Northern Tribune: A Periodical for the People* (1854–5), Linton's printing works was the obvious choice. At first glance, the *Northern Tribune* appears an unlikely vehicle for Mazzinian propaganda. By Cowen's own account, he intended that at least half of the journal would be dedicated to the needs of the immediate north-east community, most particularly the inhabitants of local villages who have 'no *direct* representation in the Press'; the other half would concentrate on 'General Topics'. But this statement of intent also made it abundantly clear that the education and improvement of the people would be an absolute priority, as would the campaign for electoral reform. In words that resonated with Mazzinian idealism, Cowen insisted that 'to enact the *duties* and *responsibilities*, and yet refuse the *rights* of citizenship, we hold to be arbitrary and unjust'.[101] Among the engraved portraits in the *Tribune* of 'England's Worthies', Cowen included Mazzini, Garibaldi and Kossuth. The first issue included a letter from Mazzini on the Eastern Question in which the Italian patriot bragged of how 'We, thank God, did not flinch. We have spurned the devil and his temptations', advising Louis Worcell to counsel his compatriots that 'their actual duty is war'. That same issue included a short sketch of Mazzini and Italy by the Chartist poet Gerald Massey, who called upon *Tribune* readers to revere great men and to regard Mazzini as a 'true hero', claiming that his 'privations' would have 'crushed a lesser man'.[102] Italian affairs were not the dominant theme by any means but Mazzini's intellectual influence was a guiding presence, glimpsed in Massey's study of 'Mazzini and Italy', in his poem, *Exile Song of the Motherland*, and in the panegyric at Agostino Ruffini's death.[103]

Although much has been made of Mazzini's aggressively propagandist ambitions, in both periods of exile he was in an extremely vulnerable position and reliant on the good offices of radicals like Linton, Harney and Cowen. Extensive coverage of Mazzini's ideas and principles in their journals, most crucially in his own words and assisted by Linton's painstaking translations, enhanced his profile and extended his fund-raising efforts in the crowded politics of the mid-century. Much of his writing saw him in defensive mode, at pains to justify his actions; defending his

reputation was vital if he was to press on with his campaign. For a time, they helped him to answer his critics by printing his own account of why the revolution had failed. Defeat and exile certainly forced Mazzini into a period of introspection, but this pushed him towards the development of a more detailed exposition of his republican theories, which he sought to disseminate throughout the English-speaking world.

Notes

1. 'The ink of the wise is the match of the might of the sword', G. Mazzini (1831) *La Giovine Italia*, and cited by R. Sarti (2000) 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his opponents', in J. A. Davis (ed.) *Italy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 82.
2. M. Finelli (2008) 'Mazzini in Italian Historical Memory', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 13, 4, pp. 486–91. For earlier work that provides important British perspectives, see D. Beales (1961) *England and Italy (1859–60)* (London: Nelson); G. Claeys (1989) 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism, 1848–54', *Journal of British Studies*, 28, 3, pp. 225–61; D. Mack Smith (1991) 'Britain and the Italian Risorgimento', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, 5, pp. 83–102; E. F. Biagini (1992) *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
3. R. Sarti (2008) 'Thought and Action? Perspectives on Mazzini and Garibaldi on the Bicentenaries of their Births', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 13, 4, pp. 463–7; L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); C. Duggan (2008) 'Giuseppe Mazzini in Britain and Italy: Divergent Legacies (1837–1915)', in C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nations (1830–1920)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 187–210; M. Pellegrino Sutcliffe (2014) *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (London: Boydell).
4. E. Dal Lago (2012) '"We Cherished the Same Hostility to Every Form of Tyranny": Transatlantic Parallels and Contacts between William Lloyd Garrison and Giuseppe Mazzini, 1846–1872', *American Nineteenth Century History*, 13, 3, pp. 293–319. For other transnational approaches, see 'Chartism, Radicalism and Internationalism', *Labour History Review*, Special Issue, 78, 1, 2013; J. Allen, A. Campbell and J. McIlroy (eds) (2010) *Histories of Labour: National and International Perspectives* (London: Merlin).
5. M. Finn (1993) *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
6. Finelli, 'Mazzini in Italian Historical Memory', p. 490; M. Ridolfi (2008) 'Visions of Republicanism in the Writings of Giuseppe Mazzini', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 13, 4, pp. 468–79.
7. L. Riall (1994) *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation State* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 133–7 (p. 133); D. Mack Smith (1994) *Mazzini* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 215.
8. T. Jones (1907; Reptd.,1924) 'Introduction', in J. Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons), p. xiii.

9. Between April and September 1839, the *Northern Star* attained 43,000 weekly sales. *Reynold's Miscellany* sold 300,000 copies per week in the mid-1850s. See L. Brake and M. Demoor (eds) (2009) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (Ghent and London: Academia Press British Library), pp. 459, 539–40.
10. Lord John Russell to Queen Victoria, 29 February 1848, and cited in J. Saville (2003) '1848 – Britain and Europe', in S. Freitag (ed.) *Exiles from European Revolutions* (New York & Oxford: Berghahn), p. 23.
11. D. Cesarani (1996) 'The Changing Character of Citizenship and Nationality in Britain', in D. Cesarani and M. Fulbrook (eds) *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe* (London: Routledge), p. 61. See also P. Panayi (1999) *German Immigrants in Britain during the 19th Century, 1815–1914* (Oxford: Berg), pp. 69–82; B. Porter (1979) *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
12. Saville, '1848 – Britain and Europe', p. 24. See also A. Fahrmeir (2003) 'British Exceptionalism in Perspective: Political Asylum in Continental Europe', in Freitag, *Exiles from European Revolutions,* pp. 34–8.
13. F. Bensimon (2012) 'British Workers in France, 1815–1848', *Past and Present*, 213, 1, p. 149.
14. D. Beales and E. F. Biagini (2002) *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* (Harlow: Pearson Education), p. 56; H. Hearder (1983) *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790–1870* (Harlow: Longman), p. 187.
15. Sarti, 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his Opponents', pp. 83–4; S. J. Woolf (1991) *A History of Italy, 1700–1860* (London: Routledge), p. 312.
16. G. Mazzini, *Interests and Principles*, 6 January 1836, and cited in Mazzini, *Duties of Man and Other Essays*, pp. 125, 135.
17. Sarti, 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his Opponents', p. 107.
18. Woolf, *A History of Italy*, pp. 307–11; C. Duggan (2008) *The Force of Destiny. A History of Italy since 1796* (London: Penguin), p. 186.
19. Woolf, *A History of Italy*, p. 313.
20. Riall, *Risorgimento*, p. 16; Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, p. 134.
21. Beales and Biagini, *Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, p. 55; Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, pp. 23–4.
22. *The Carlyle Letters Online* [*CL*], Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, 6 December 1839, available at: http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/11/1/lt-18391206-TC-JSM-01, accessed 24 September 2012.
23. *CL*, Thomas Carlyle to Henry Cole, 25 April 1840, available at: http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/12/1/lt-18400425-TC-HC-01 accessed 24 September 2012.
24. Edward Strachey to Thomas Carlyle, 22 June 1838, This correspondence is cited in a footnote appended to *CL,* Thomas Carlyle to Henry Cole, 25 April 1840, available at: http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/12/1/lt-18400425-TC-HC-01, accessed 18 December 2014.
25. *CL*, Jane Carlyle to Jeannie Welsh, 22 October 1842, available at: http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/cgi/content/full/15/1/lt-18421022-JWC-JW-01, accessed 24 September 2012.
26. F. B. Smith (1973) *Radical Artisan: William James Linton 1812–97* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 51–2; W. J. Linton (1892) *European Republicans: Recollections of Mazzini and his Friends* (London: Lawrence and Bullen), pp. v–vi.

27. Linton, *European Republicans*, pp. 52–3; Smith, *Radical Artisan*, pp. 51–2; Jones, 'Introduction', p. xxiv.
28. Linton, *European Republicans*, p. 53; Jones, 'Introduction', p. xxxvi. The *Apostolato Popolare* included four chapters of Mazzini's key treatise, *The Duties of Man* (1860).
29. Smith, *Radical Artisan*, pp. 53–8 (p. 55); Linton, *European Republicans*, pp. v–vi.
30. Sarti, 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his Opponents', p. 91.
31. Finn, *After Chartism*, pp. 57–8.
32. G. Mazzini (2001) *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe, 1846–1847* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano), trans. S. Mastellone, pp. 1–67.
33. Finn, *After Chartism*, pp. 71–3; Ridolfi, 'Visions of Republicanism, p. 471.
34. Circular letter of the People's International League, addressed to Joseph Cowen Junior, Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums [TWAM], Cowen Papers [CP], A9.
35. The Address of the People's International League, 1847, TWAM/CP/A8.
36. I. Prothero (2003) 'Chartists and Political Refugees', in Freitag, *Exiles from European Revolutions*, p. 225; Smith, *Radical Artisan*, p. 60; Linton, *European Republicans*, p. 62; *Edinburgh Magazine*, October 1847.
37. J. Allen (2007) *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside, 1829–1900* (Monmouth: Merlin Press).
38. Mazzini, 'Italy, Austria and the Pope, A Letter to Sir James Graham Bart', May 1845, TWAM/CP/A4, a pamphlet protesting at the interference with his correspondence; Allen, *Joseph Cowen*, pp. 23 (pp. 40–1). The *Cowen Papers* in TWAM contain a substantial collection of letters between Mazzini and Cowen, as well as other related documents.
39. Jane Cowen Mss., chapter 6, TWAM/CP/E435–7. The Jane Cowen mss, chapter 6 is held in the Cowen Papers, TWAM/CP/E435–7 and is a draft biography (unpublished) of her father's life.
40. G. D. H. Cole (1965) *Chartist Portraits* (London: Macmillan), p. 268.
41. D. Goodway, 'Harney (George) Julian (1817–1897) Chartist and Journalist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available at: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/42340, accessed 5 February 2011; A. R. Schoyen (1958) *The Chartist Challenge: a Portrait of George Julian Harney* (London: Heinemann); D. Goodway (1982) *London Chartism, 1838–1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
42. S. Maccoby (1935) *English Radicalism 1832–1852* (London: Allen and Unwin), p. 379.
43. Smith, *Radical Artisan*, p. 74.
44. Prothero, 'Chartists and Political Refugees', p. 225.
45. See the correspondence dated 1844 to 1847 between Mazzini and Harney in F. G. Black and R. M. Black (eds) (1969) *The Harney Papers* (Assen: Van Gorcum), pp. 47–52 (notably letters nos. 58–67).
46. Ibid., Mazzini to Harney, n.d. (though pencil annotation states 1845). Mazzini was quoting Robert Burns's famous radical poem, *A Man's a Man for A' That*.
47. *Northern Star*, 5, 12 and 26 February 1848.
48. *Northern Star*, various dates, including 1, 9, 16, 30 September 1848; 14 October 1848.
49. Linton, *European Republicans*, p. 67.

50. *Mazzini's Letters*, trans. A. de Rosen Jervis (1930) with an Introduction by Bolton King (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons), Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 11 April 1848, p. 119.
51. Linton, *European Republicans*, pp. 70, 93; Sarti, 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his Opponents', pp. 92–5; M. Rapport (2005) *Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 145.
52. *Mazzini's Letters*, see for example, Mazzini to George Sand, 7 October 1848 and Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 1 May 1849, p. 122.
53. For more detail on events in Italy, see Rapport, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp. 144–51; Woolf, *History of Italy*, pp. 361–406; Riall, *Risorgimento*, pp. 21–2. More generally, see J. Merriman (1996) *A History of Modern Europe*, vol. 2 (New York: W. W. Norton and Co), pp. 728–30, 742–4.
54. *Mazzini's Letters*, Mazzini to the President of the Roman Constituent Assembly, 25 February 1849, p. 133.
55. Linton, *European Republicans*, p. 112.
56. *Mazzini's Letters,* Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 5 April 1851, p. 145; Rapport, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp. 133–58; Saville, '1848 – Britain and Europe', pp. 19–31.
57. For a detailed study of Harney's journalism in this period see J. Allen (2013) '"The Teacher of Strange Doctrines": George Julian Harney and the *Democratic Review*, 1849–1850', *Labour History Review*, 78, 1, pp. 67–86.
58. *Northern Star*, 10, 17 and 24 March 1849. See also, P. A. Pickering (2008) *Feargus O'Connor: A Political Life* (Monmouth: Merlin Press).
59. 'To the Working Classes', *Democratic Review* [*DR*], June 1849, pp. 1–3, 4.
60. 'Conclusion', *DR*, May 1850, p. 475.
61. *DR*, June 1849, pp. 22–9, 33–8.
62. 'Continental Europe', *DR*, July 1849, pp. 64, 70–2, 75–8.
63. 'The Hungarian Struggle', *DR*, August 1849, pp. 84–98.
64. Spartacus, 'For Rome, *June, 1849*', *DR*, August 1849, p. 113.
65. 'Political Postscript', *DR*, September 1849, p. 160.
66. Victor Considerant, 'The Thirteenth of June', *DR*, October 1849, pp. 161–76 (p. 176).
67. Mazzini, 'The Roman Republic Defended, and its Assassins Unmasked', *DR*, November 1849, p. 221.
68. Ibid., pp. 224, 225, 232. Mazzini's original emphasis retained.
69. John G. Whittier, *To Pius IX*, *DR*, November 1849, pp. 238–9.
70. 'Louis Blanc to Joseph Mazzini', *DR*, December 1849, p. 265.
71. 'Mazzini and Montalembert', *DR*, December 1849, pp. 267–8.
72. 'The Fraternal Democrats', *DR*, December 1849, p. 276.
73. *DR*, June 1850, p. 40; Schoyen, *Chartist Challenge*, pp. 194–5; M. Chase (2007) *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 335–6; Pickering, *Feargus O'Connor*, p. 137.
74. Based on George Sand's earlier French translation, it appeared between 29 June and 9 November 1850.
75. George Sand, Preface, 'Republic and Royalty in Italy', *Red Republican* [*RR*], 29 June 1850.
76. 'The Pope in the Nineteenth Century', *DR*, June 1850, pp. 24–31.
77. Bandiera, 'A Call to the People', *RR*, 29 June 1850, p. 16.

78. 'Institutions and Laws of Republican America', *RR*, 6 July 1850, pp. 23–4 and *passim*.
79. John Jeffreys, *Lays of the Revolutions*, *RR*, 6 July 1850, p. 24.
80. H. Forbes, 'The Roman Republic and its Calumniators, *DR*, July 1850, pp. 51–7; 'The Italian Princes and the Italian People', *DR*, August 1850, pp. 99–105.
81. The Address of the Central Committee for Democratic Europe had been published first in *Le Proscrit* (no. 2) and was 'translated expressly' for the *RR*.
82. 'To the Peoples', *RR*, 7 September 1850, pp. 94–5. Linton's 'Republican Principles' series began on 21 September.
83. 'Address of the Italian National Committee', *RR*, 16 November 1850.
84. *Marx-Engels Collected Works* (1982) (London: Lawrence and Wishart) hereafter *MECW*, various letters, including Marx to Engels, 2 December 1850, vol. 38, p. 244; Finn, *After Chartism*, pp. 169–71.
85. *MECW*, Marx to Engels, 23 November 1850, p. 242.
86. Mazzini, 'Georges Sand', *Friend of the People* [*FP*], 14 December 1850, pp. 6–7; 'Address of the European Central Democratic Committee', *FP*, 14 December 1850, pp. 1–2; 'Address of the Italian National Committee', *FP*, 23 December 1850, p. 13.
87. Smith, *Radical Artisan*, pp. 76–9; Chase, *Chartism*, pp. 335, 338; K. Parkes (1891) 'Introduction', *The English Republic* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.), p. v.
88. Preface, *English Republic* [*ER*], vol. I, 1851, p. 4; 'The *English Republic*', *FP*, 11 January 1851, p. 37.
89. *ER*, vol. I, 1851, pp. 78, 158.
90. *ER*, vol. I, 1851, pp. 45–54, 67–72, 99–107, 145–9, 195–233.
91. *ER*, 'Postscript', vol. I, 1851, p. 377.
92. *The Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy*, Cowen Tracts, Robinson Library Special Collections, Newcastle University (RLSC/NU). For membership details, see SFI First Annual Report, 9 June 1852; Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy, 1851, TWAM/CP/A134; List of Subscribers of Ten Shillings and Upwards, TWAM/CP/A138; Circular Letter of the Subscription for European Freedom, February 1852, TWAM/CP/A151; Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 95.
93. 'First Conversazione of the Friends of Italy', *Monthly Record*, Cowen Tracts, No. 11, (RLSC/NU), pp. 1–19 (15); *ER*, vol. II, 1852–3, pp. 45–52.
94. Mazzini, 'Letter to the Collectors of the Shilling Subscription for European Freedom', May 1852, TWAM/CP/A164.
95. See Cowen Papers, TWAM/CP/A154, for a large collection of special banknotes issued for different national groups and a list of a number of donors/donations, including Joseph Cowen's donation of £25; TWAM/CP/A160 is an engraved receipt card for the Subscription for European Freedom.
96. *ER*, vol. II, January 1853, pp. 209–11; Mack Smith, *Mazzini*, p. 96.
97. *ER*, vol. II, November 1853, pp. 385–8, 393.
98. *ER*, vol. III, January 1854, p. 3; Mazzini, 'God and the People', pp. 132–3; *ER*, vol. IV, January 1855.
99. *ER*, vol. IV, Mazzini to P. A. Taylor, 2 March 1855, pp. 98–106. See also *Monthly Record*, XXXIII, March 1855, TWAM/CP/A332.

100. Parkes, 'Introduction', p. x.
101. Joseph Cowen, 'Exposition of Principles', *Northern Tribune: A Periodical for the People*, [*NT*], vol. I, January 1854, p. 3.
102. *NT*, vol. I, January 1854, pp. 15–16; *NT,* vol. II, January 1855, pp. 5–8.
103. *NT*, vol. I, July–August 1854, pp. 320, 402–5; vol. II, January–March 1855, pp. 83–5.

3

Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain

Elena Bacchin[1]

> February 16, 1858, was a memorable day for me. It was my birthday, and I was eighteen ... That afternoon I was walking with my father in Regent Street. Before us was a placard at a shop-door, saying 'portrait of Felice Orsini. Admission one shilling'. My father suggested that we should go in. We were conducted to a room in the basement, totally dark, but arranged so that light should fall upon one object only – the picture. ... It represented Orsini in prison, with fetters upon his hands, a man in the prime of life, of a most splendid and handsome appearance; looking out of the darkness, in a full light, the face and figure appeared almost life-like. Upon me at the most impressionable age, the most impressionable moment, the effect was instantaneous and indelible (Harriet Hamilton King, *Letters and Recollections of Mazzini*, 1912).[2]

Felice Orsini is a central figure in the history of the Risorgimento. His attempt on the life of the French emperor Napoleon III (January 1858) and his pre-execution appeal to Napoleon to 'deliver my country' heralded a new interventionist phase in French imperial policy towards the Italian question. Orsini's name is also familiar to British historians: parliamentary opposition to the Conspiracy to Murder Bill (February 1858), introduced in response to the *attentat* (the Orsini plot had been prepared in England), led to the fall of the Palmerston ministry.

Far less well known or studied is Orsini's role in spreading Italian nationalist propaganda in Britain during his brief period of exile in the country, May 1856 – November 1857. Yet, such a study reveals a great deal about the strategies used by Italian nationalist exiles and their supporters, primarily within the British radical community, to mobilise

public opinion behind the Italian 'cause'. Together, they sought to utilise the new mass media and the 'platform' (lectures, meetings) to construct not only a romantic, heroic image of Orsini, similar to that built around Garibaldi,[3] but also to reinforce a broader narrative ('good', 'progressive' Italy/'bad', 'barbaric' Austria and the Papacy), which relied heavily for its appeal on key aspects of British self-representation and identity.[4]

Historians have long been aware of the influence of Mazzini and other Italian political exiles on mid-nineteenth-century British radicalism, and the role played by radicals in popularising Italian nationalism in Britain. British radicals created middle-class reform circles that allowed for a mixture of social and political associationism in which even women were able to participate. They 'rejected the values of established society' and were involved in other campaigns such as the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, women's emancipation, national reform and so on.[5] United by religious nonconformism, marriage, social and economic ties, and political ideals, these circles were central to mid-century Victorian debates over the 'Italian Question'.[6] They acted as culture brokers, founding movements, editing journals and organizing public speeches; and they mediated not only between elite and popular politics but also between Italian exiles and the British public.[7] The means of propaganda reproduced those employed by Chartists and other Victorian extra-parliamentary pressure groups.[8] Through formal organisations – for example, the Peoples International League (established 1847), the Italian Refugee Fund (1849), the European Democratic Committee (1851), the Society of the Friends of Italy (1851), and the Emancipation of Italy Fund Committee (1856), the media (newspapers, books, pamphlets, articles), and the platform, radicals sought to generate public support – and funds – for the Italian nationalist movement.

The platform played a crucial role in this campaign: between January 1847 and May 1864, there were at least at least 909 public lectures and meetings in Britain connected to Italian events. In the case of lectures, the orator – a well-known Italian political exile (for example, Aurelio Saffi, Alessandro Gavazzi, Felice Orsini) or someone closely connected with the Italian cause (for example, Jesse White Mario, James Stansfeld) would give a talk (or talks), in a particular locality on the situation in Italy, sometimes as part of a larger tour.[9] Meetings served more immediate ends: to raise a petition to present to the Queen or parliament, to raise money or simply to demonstrate solidarity with Italian nationalist aims (of course, many lectures also included one or more of these elements). The number and geographical spread of lectures and meetings naturally peaked with the key

events in Italy (the Roman Republic, the Second War of Independence, the *Mille*, Aspromonte, the 1864 visit of Garibaldi, and so on). In July 1860, for example, the *Birmingham Daily Post* wrote of 'meetings held almost daily in different parts of the country to sympathise with Garibaldi and his cause'.[10] Aspromonte (August 1862) prompted no less than 74 lectures/meetings in the United Kingdom (Britain and Ireland) during September and October, including a mass rally in Hyde Park. During these peak periods, meetings were held all over the country by local groups not directly connected with any radical or philo-Italian organization. At such moments, the Italian cause became a mass, cross-class movement in Britain.

Orsini as a propagandist

Orsini arrived in England in May 1856, largely unknown outside Italian nationalist circles. Only a few British newspapers had reported his recent daring escape from the Austrian prison fortress of San Giorgio in Mantua, and even those that did had spent no more than a few lines on the story. Orsini's name had been mentioned in the British press once before, in late 1853, but only because Mazzini had alluded to him in passing, in a letter to *The Times*, which was then picked up by a number of regional newspapers. Orsini's presence in England from late 1853 to March 1854 had elicited almost no press interest (his name appears as one of the guests at a dinner party hosted by the American consul in London in February 1854; other guests included Garibaldi, Mazzini, Kossuth and Ledru-Rollin).[11] In 1856, however, Mazzini immediately recognised the propaganda value of Orsini's recent confinement and escape and wrote to Orsini (5 May 1856, before Orsini's arrival in England) urging him to 'think about publishing' his account.[12] This Orsini did, first in a letter to the *Daily News* (published 27 May) and subsequently (July 1856) in a book entitled *Austrian Dungeons in Italy: A Narrative of Fifteen Months' Imprisonment and Final Escape from the Fortress of San Giorgio*.

Orsini had originally sent the *Daily News* letter to Mazzini, who had then given it to Emilie Ashurst to translate with instructions to 'shorten it; cut off all things that are really useless and uninteresting. Make of it a relation of a flight that might be read with interest by an English reader'.[13] The letter had then been forwarded to the newspaper through the radical lawyer William Shaen.[14] This was not an unusual process: Mazzini made free and frequent use of a network of female supporters – including at one time or another Caroline and Emilie Ashurst, Sophia Craufurd, the Winkworth sisters and Linette Gregory – to translate and prepare Italian articles for publication in British papers and journals.

Orsini's letter (and the preface that accompanied it) was a public relations triumph: *The Times*, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper*, the *Era* and a host of provincial titles across Britain all published it in full. The preface made clear the messages that the letter itself was meant to convey: 'the courage, resources and self-reliance of Orsini himself', 'the rancorous cruelty of the Austrian government', and 'the moral isolation of the Austrian in their Italian dominions'; in other words, Italian heroism, Austrian barbarism, and the inevitability of Austria's eventual defeat.[15] The success of the letter was such that one fraudster in London was able to use Orsini's name to make money from well-wishers, obliging the Italian exile to denounce the deception in the press.[16] (A similar fraud featured in a play staged in London a few years later. In this case, though, the swindler pretended to be a Garibaldian volunteer, taking advantage of the popularity of Garibaldi.)[17]

In the wake of the *Daily News* letter, Orsini approached the radical publisher George Holyoake for advice on publishing a full account of his imprisonment and escape. Holyoake suggested that Orsini try Routledge since it was 'able to put many more thousands into the market than I was'.[18] Orsini duly signed a contract with Routledge for a 200-page book, to be ready in one month.[19] In keeping with other philo-Italian propaganda, Orsini adapted his narrative to suit the tastes and sensitivities of his British readership.[20] This time, the job of translating the manuscript into English fell to another female 'disciple' of Mazzini, Jessie Meriton White. Advertised in advance of its publication in newspapers and handbills, *Austrian Dungeons* went on sale at the end of July 1856, its cover a tricoloured flag against a blue sky, with the Mazzinian slogan 'ora e sempre' inscribed on it.[21] It was an immediate success. By mid-October, the *Glasgow Herald* was reporting that it had 'become almost a household book in this country'. Within a year, it had sold an estimated 35,000 copies.[22] The success was partly due to marketing and pricing strategies – it cost only one shilling. Its strong sales, however, also owed to the fact that it was both a thrilling story ('it has all the interest of a novel; it has all the horrors of a tragedy', wrote one reviewer)[23] and a vehicle through which British readers could reflect on and rejoice in their own good fortune. The book – and reviews – contained many examples of Austrian tyranny in Italy.[24] The 'cruelties practised by the brutal Austrians',[25] contrasted with the (largely unexamined) myths of tolerance and justice, which lay at the heart of British self-identity and representation:

> At the same time we Englishmen are living in happiness and freedom, so few of us knowing, and but few of those who do know caring, what

> goes on within some forty-eight hours' journey of us. The reader of this book might fancy, if he did not look at dates, that he was perusing accounts of the barbarism enacted in the dark ages.[26]

According to Holyoake, there was 'no single book concerning Italy which more stirs the blood of indignation at Austrian subjugation than Orsini's narrative'.[27]

Despite its commercial success, the book satisfied neither Orsini nor Mazzini. Orsini complained that the publisher had cut 'everything related to political matters'; White, meanwhile, 'had taken many liberties in the translation', and the 'most important chapters concerning the interrogation had not at all been understood' by her.[28] ('I have the proofs to hand and I feel very embarrassed', he confided to Carlo Arrivabene, 'You know how touchy women are'.)[29] Orsini suspected that White 'served a faction, a party' but in an effort to retrieve the situation he tried to convince her to write 'everything related to politics' in the preface and decided to publish the book in Italian.[30]

As for Mazzini, Arisi Rota and Balzani have recently argued that Orsini's memoirs disappointed him because they did not serve the kind of collective 'functional' or 'cultural' memory that he favoured, whereby individual examples of patriotic sacrifice were used to create 'common sentimental ties which could inspire young followers, and urge them on to new engagement even after dramatic failures'. Instead, Orsini's memoirs were too personal and his self-image too heroic: he was a 'superman of the masses', rather than a man of the people; his story could astonish but not inspire.[31] However, aside from the deepening political and personal rift between the two patriots, Orsini's memoirs published in Britain (*Austrian Dungeons* and *Memoirs and Adventures*, 1857) as well as his lectures, fell within the range of strategies commonly adopted by British-oriented pro-Italian propagandists and should be understood in this context. Their mobilizing methods and aims were different, directed to a British rather than an Italian audience, and designed to elicit indignation, sympathy and support for Italy rather than necessarily act as an encouragement to take up arms or risk one's life for the Italian cause.

Mazzini, at least in his published letters to his English friends, does not appear to have commented on Orsini's books; before the publication of *Austrian Dungeons* he merely asked Emilie Ashurst for her opinion of the volume.[32] Mazzini despised the editor of the Italian edition of the memoirs, Ausonio Franchi, but he only said of Orsini that 'he wrote things that he knew to be untrue'.[33]

Lectures

In the wake of the success of *Austrian Dungeons*, Orsini announced in September his intention 'to make a tour of the provinces with the view of delivering lectures of the state of Italy'.[34] Between October 1856 and July 1857, he toured England and Scotland: we know from newspaper reports of lectures in Brighton, Leeds, Newcastle, South Shields, Hexham, West Hartlepool, Preston, Greenwich, London, Woolwich, Bristol, Glastonbury, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Birmingham and Deptford; Orsini's memoirs mention talks in Bath and Kent; he is also said to have spoken in Manchester and Blaydon Burn.[35] These were often multiple engagements: for example, Orsini spoke on several occasions in Liverpool between February and April 1857.

According to an account published in the *Leeds Mercury* in January 1858, after the *attentat*, the idea that Orsini should lecture came from Jessie White, who thought that 'Orsini might do good' in this capacity. 'It was agreed between her, Mazzini and Orsini, that half of the proceeds of the sale of the book and the lectures should be devoted to the Italian cause'.[36] Orsini, however, claimed in *Memoirs and Adventures* that he had 'proposed to give some lectures as a means of creating an opinion among the English in favor of Italy'.[37] In the Italian (but not the English) edition of his memoirs, Orsini also wrote that the recently constituted Emancipation of Italy Fund Committee (EIFC) had offered to sign him 'in the manner of a singer', to lecture on its behalf, with profits divided between Orsini and the committee. Orsini refused on the grounds (he said) that he wanted to be independent; the committee, though, wanted him to submit his lectures for its approval, while the funds raised by his lectures would go to support only the Mazzinian faction of the nationalist movement rather than the wider cause of Italian freedom.[38] (The *Leeds Mercury* article suspected a less principled motive behind Orsini's refusal: 'he saw that the harvest was rather abundant, he refused to divide it with his associates and decided on acting upon his own account').[39]

In fact, Orsini's refusal to collaborate formally with the EIFC was almost certainly connected to the growing tensions between himself and Mazzini (and Mazzini's London circle), which reached a head in mid-October 1856 and resulted in an irrevocable breach. Mazzini, aware, no doubt, that Orsini was flirting with the moderate pro-Piedmontese nationalist movement (Orsini was in regular contact with Antonio Panizzi and Arrivabene), wrote to him on 11 October, urging Orsini to 'remain pure', and to keep in mind that 'no national initiatives will ever take place in Italy except by us [republicans]'.[40] Orsini replied that he had never

given reason to anyone to doubt his opinions. He also launched a blistering attack on the group of 'foreign [English] women' – Orsini singled out Emilie Ashurst for particular criticism – who surrounded Mazzini in London, and criticised Mazzini for sharing details of his conspiracies with them. Because of this, Orsini argued, the lives of many Italian patriots were now dependent on the discretion of five or six women, none of them known for secrecy. Orsini's letter did not reach Mazzini directly. Mazzini was on the continent and had tasked another of his English confidants, James Stansfeld, the chair of the EIFC (and Emilie's brother-in-law), to open his correspondence in his absence. Stansfeld not only read Orsini's letter but he also sent an indignant reply *and* showed the letter's contents to the women concerned. Orsini, incensed by what he saw as a violation of his privacy, challenged Stansfeld to a duel (which Stansfeld refused). When Mazzini wrote to Orsini to complain of his behaviour and demanded that he apologise both to Stansfeld and the women, Orsini responded by once again questioning Mazzini's judgement and past tactics. At this point, Mazzini severed relations: 'You help our country as your conscience tells you', Mazzini wrote (17 November), 'I will do the same for my part. Addio'.[41] After this point there seems to have been no contact between Orsini and Mazzini's group, although Mazzini still wanted to be informed of Orsini's activities; Mazzini even asked Emilie Ashurst not to quote Orsini when speaking about the 1844 letter-opening scandal.[42]

While Orsini described these events in detail in his Italian *Memorie*, in the earlier English version (published in June 1857) he limited himself to general, but fundamental, criticisms of Mazzini's policy: the fact that the republican movement in Italy was effectively dead, he argued, was Mazzini's responsibility. Such truths were 'very sad to confess; but the interest of the country, the advantage of the national cause, and the desire not to deceive a great nation like the English, who take so much interest in the welfare of my country oblige me to relate things *as they are*'.[43] Those wishing to see an independent Italy, he suggested, had now to look elsewhere for leadership and inspiration; Italian patriots of all political persuasions had to unite under whatever banner best served the interests of the *patria*. Later, in private, Orsini went much further, declaring that he wanted to 'demolish' Mazzini because he was such a divisive figure in the nationalist movement.[44] Nonetheless, Orsini appears to have remained on good terms with a number of leading pro-Mazzini British radicals: in Liverpool, for example, he stayed with Peter Stuart; in Newcastle, he was the guest of Joseph Cowen.[45] In December 1856, he approached William J. Linton for advice on his memoirs.[46]

This episode not only demonstrates how the breach between Orsini and Mazzini was influenced as much by differences of opinion over strategy as by personal animosity and egotism,[47] but it also reveals how heterogeneous the radical philo-Italian group was in Britain. Certainly, Mazzini's influence over the movement was not as complete as his control of the radical group around the Ashurst family in London (the so-called 'Muswell Hill brigade') suggested. However, Mazzini clearly attached great importance to the Ashurst set with whom he had 'familiar' ties, and was prepared to break with Orsini rather than put this relationship at risk.

Though not contracted to the EIFC, Orsini nonetheless did speak on its platforms. When he lectured in Leeds, for instance, 'he was the man of the committee, and the produce of the lecture was sent to London'; in Liverpool, Orsini referred to the Italian fund.[48] The Italian Mazzinian press also presented his lectures as a means to collect funds for the EIFC, and Orsini's name, along with those of Saffi and White, appeared on a list of lecturers drawn up by the committee.[49] Saffi himself was anxious not to appear to be in competition with Orsini, whom he described as 'the great beast escaped from the Austrian cage'.[50] If Orsini's lectures were to an extent autonomous, in truth, they formed part of a larger co-ordinated campaign to promote the Italian cause in Britain (or at least in England and Scotland), although this did not stop Mazzini from criticizing Orsini for his refusal to express his adherence to the EIFC, or from complaining about Orsini's behaviour during the tour.[51]

Orsini's English and limited experience of public speaking were such that he was not – or did not feel – able to deliver his lectures off the cuff, so he 'read from the manuscript, and this, of course, made it less impressive than an extempore oration would have been'.[52] Orsini even asked for the 'indulgence of his hearers' and feared that he would not be understood.[53] Not surprisingly, then, although the lecture titles varied from one location to the next, the content and structure of his talks generally changed little. Orsini would begin by discussing the division of the Italian peninsula into different states and provide a historical sketch since the middle ages. He would then focus on Austrian and Papal rule in Italy, paying particular attention to arguments already discussed in his memories, such as spying systems, domiciliary visits, arrests, prisons and exceptional tribunals. Finally, he would refer to his personal experiences, taking care to link these to other instances of Austrian and/or Papal repression.[54] If he gave more than one lecture in the same town, he would split the material, adding some anecdotes. For his speeches, Orsini used material from his book and other sources dealing with the

Italian situation, such as Antonio Gallenga's *Italy, Past and Present*; on occasions he would quote from original documents and state papers.[55]

In terms of their organisation, the lectures likewise followed a well-established pattern. The platform, consisting of the event organisers and men and women of note, would call the Chair – usually a local dignitary – to present Orsini. After the speech, members of the platform would propose resolutions in favour of Italy. Motions would commonly express general support for the nationalist cause – the 'right of the Italian people to a national existence' – and sometimes link this to a call for subscriptions or signatures for a petition.[56] In Leeds, a subscription 'to be handed to the Italian National Committee' for assisting 'in the emancipation of their country', was proposed and approved.[57] In Liverpool, the chair took charge of 'any subscriptions which may be here or hereafter be offered for the emancipation of Italy, to be forwarded to Mazzini for this object'.[58] Collecting cards were also issued to those involved in the gathering of contributions.[59]

Petitions were very common in Britain as a way to express political ideas on foreign affairs, and had been a favourite tactic of the Society of the Friends of Italy in the early 1850s.[60] Orsini himself was 'filled with the belief that the English government could be prevailed upon by popular pressure to do something towards helping his national cause'.[61] The resolutions or petitions gathered at Orsini's lectures typically called for an end to the French and Austrian military occupations of Rome and the Papal States; but during some meetings it was also proposed to put pressure on the British government to uphold the principle of non-intervention in Italian affairs.[62] Meetings in different cities presented identical petitions, again suggesting that Orsini was willing to work with, if not for, the EIFC.[63]

Orsini, romantic narrative and political discourse

Lucy Riall has recently argued that the 'cult of Garibaldi' was the result of a deliberate 'political–rhetorical strategy' pursued by Mazzini, his supporters, and Garibaldi himself, to present Garibaldi 'as a romantic hero in his own drama of love, liberty and adventure', and as the 'personification of a virtuous resurgent Italy'.[64] In early accounts from the 1840s, she writes, Garibaldi was described as 'virile and attractive … of a "noble and lofty character", personally modest yet rebellious, and defiant in the face of defeat … exceptionally courageous and daring when it comes to upholding moral principles and defending the honour of the community … above all, a soldier, a military hero'.[65] After the Roman Republic and the death of his wife, Garibaldi also fulfilled the role of patriotic martyr.

Orsini's life story lent itself to similar refashioning in the mid-1850s. His imprisonment in 1844, his participation in the Italian revolutions of 1848–9, his incarceration by the Austrians in 1854 and his subsequent extraordinary escape – he was reported to have 'cut the bars of his window with a file, and let himself down by his sheets and bedclothes' – made him the embodiment of a 'living drama'.[66] As Jessie White wrote in her introduction to *Austrian Dungeons*, 'The lovers of marvel and hairbreadth escapes will find in this story ample food to their taste'.[67] After speaking in Newcastle in October 1856, the local *Newcastle Chronicle* portrayed Orsini in what we would now recognise as 'Garibaldian' terms: 'a firm, vigorous, well-set frame; a frank, soldier-like bearing; a determined, yet pleasing countenance, proclaim the man of resolution and action'.[68] Many years later, George Holyoake used similarly romantic–heroic language to describe Orsini, noting his 'fine figure and handsome resolute face', and his 'dark hair, bronzed features, and glance of fire'.[69]

While Mazzini and his followers assisted in the 'invention' of Orsini as a romantic hero (Orsini's Mazzini-inspired letter to the *Daily News*; White's introduction to and translation of *Austrian Dungeons*), Orsini – like Garibaldi – worked hard to shape his own image, no doubt conscious of 'the fashionable tastes for fictional heroes ... and the narrative demands of his public'.[70] In his lectures, Orsini demonstrated his virility (his 'strong constitution' had allowed him to survive the depredations of San Giorgio; in contrast, many other former inmates 'were never again the men they had been'). He displayed a hero's modesty (he was, he said, a 'simple' or 'insignificant' individual; in Liverpool, 'it was with the greatest difficulty he was prevailed on to lecture on his escape from the castle of Mantua, on the ground that in Italy such a thing would be regarded as a proof of vanity').[71] He stressed his own martyrdom. (He had 'consecrate[d] his life to Italy, the land to which he devoted his youth'; he had left 'every family affection, every tie, to engage in this great work'; he had passed 'the best years of his life' in exile or prison; 'I had accustomed myself to suffer'; 'it would be impossible for you to imagine what I endured in my various prisons'.)[72] He emphasised his rebelliousness, courage and unwavering commitment to the Italian cause. ('Much as he had himself suffered he was ready to endure everything, to pass through any trials and suffering, if he could by so doing hasten the downfall and assist in the overthrow of the oppressors of his country'. He was ready to risk his life 'in the firm hope of seeing at last every bloody foot-track of Austria cancelled from the soil of Italy'. 'He would never, never, lay down his revolutionary arms'.)[73] Finally, Orsini described himself as a soldier, as did some platform chairs

(in Newcastle, for example, the chair remarked that Orsini was 'more accustomed to use his voice on the field of battle than in addressing great audiences').[74]

Orsini's lectures (and written works) were more than simply exercises in self-aggrandisement; in Britain, they also served as a patriotic alternative to practical action. (Shortly before the publication of his English memoirs, Orsini wrote to a friend: 'in a month and a half a work will appear that I hope will bring great advantage to my country. Let us write if we cannot do anything else'.)[75] Orsini 'the hero' was only one character (albeit an important one) in a broader romantic-inspired narrative designed to lend legitimacy to the demands of Italian nationalists and to mobilise public support in Britain behind the Italian 'cause'. He was able to unite the romantic charm of the courageous and successful man with emotional narratives and with the appeal in the name of freedom and the devotion to the nation. Set against Orsini and the aspirations of 'hundreds and thousands of [other] noble-minded Italians', was the 'wanton cruelty and heartless tyranny' of Austria and the 'centre of slavery in Italy', the Papacy.[76] The 'black legend' of Austrian rule in Italy was already well-embedded within the British political imagination by the 1850s, due in no small measure to the propaganda efforts of Italian political exiles over recent decades.[77] Anti-Papal feeling, of course, had much deeper roots. Moreover, as the 'no Popery' panic of 1850 and Gavazzi's enormous popularity on the public lecture circuit amply demonstrated, it needed little to bring such sentiments out into the open.[78] In a sense, then, Orsini in his lectures was pushing at an already half-open door. The more difficult task was to convince British audiences that Italians were worthy of British sympathy and support, and capable of ruling themselves.[79] (As we have seen elsewhere in this collection, the stereotype of Italian decadence was enduring among foreigners.) To this end, Orsini took care to emphasise Italian agency. Italy, Orsini observed, had been deprived of her independence centuries ago, but the 'Italian nation' had 'at all times protested against the deprivation, and for the last sixty years no day had passed by that had not seen one of her noble sons sacrificed on the altar of external or of internal despotism'.[80] That Italy remained 'the slave of a nation so intellectually inferior' to herself was not, he argued, because of a lack of unity (or capacity) among Italians but the result of repeated foreign interventions. It was England's providential task to use its 'powerful influence' to prevent such interference in the future: 'the people of Italy only wanted to be left alone in their struggle with Austria and with the Pope, in which they hoped to crush for ever both material and spiritual despotism'.[81]

Orsini lectures also incorporated narratives of male honour and female virtue, key elements of mid-century national discourse.[82] Austrian troops, Orsini claimed, often made house searches without notice or reason and compelled all inhabitants to strip in front of the 'invaders'. In the Papal States, Austrian and clerical members of a secret sect dedicated to the destruction of all liberties, 'were not ashamed to touch … with their dirty and bloody hands the gentle forms of the fair sex'.[83] If a man remonstrated at such 'wanton outrage(s)', he might well 'pay the penalty of his *manliness* [my emphasis] by five years at the galleys'.[84] Meanwhile, 'brothers and fathers were denounced and consigned to the dungeons … because their daughters or sisters would not submit to the wishes of miscreant priests and police spies' – an illustration both of the depravity of Italy's oppressors and of the moral rectitude of Italian women.[85]

From a 'Bantian' perspective, Orsini's language in these instances is significant.[86] In Orsini's accounts, it is the family itself that is threatened by the 'invaders' – to the extent that the spy system 'tempt[ed] children to betray their parents, and wives their husbands' – and it is the father or brother (or husband) who defends the family's (and thus the nation's) honour – often at great personal cost. [87] Above all, the male figure(s) 'defend the heroines of the nation', who in turn 'demonstrate a respectable sexual behaviour … , the essential guarantee of a correct development of the genealogical lines, which structure the nation as a kinship community'.[88]

However, although Orsini employed what Banti calls 'deep images' – kinship, love/honour/virtue, sacrifice – he did not need to use them to 'invent' the Italian nation, as Banti argues in the Italian context, since British audiences already had an albeit ill-defined idea of what 'Italy' meant. Rather, Orsini's use of such images, together with his highly evocative language, his emphasis on moral values, and his contraposition of protagonists (Italians) and antagonists (Austria and the Papacy), was designed above all to have an emotional impact: to arouse moral indignation and to solicit the sympathy and compassion, and ultimately the material support, of his audiences. (Newspaper reports often commented upon the emotional resonance of Orsini's lectures. In a lecture in South Shields, for instance, the audience was said to have listened with 'painful interest'; in nearby Newcastle, Orsini 'drew a moving picture of the wrongs and oppressions of his country', which 'went straight to the hearts of those who heard him'.)[89]

Orsini's presence on the platform and his vivid, often first-hand, descriptions of life in Italy under Austrian occupation also helped to personalise

the distant and unfamiliar. Audiences could identify with Orsini: they could feel his pain, share his anger, and applaud his courage; through him, they could experience the horrors of the Austrian penal system. Moreover, as with *Austrian Dungeons*, Orsini's lectures spoke directly to Victorian notions of Britishness, not least the idea of Britain as a bastion of freedom. As the Reverend James Pringles said when seconding a resolution in support of Italy following a lecture by Orsini in Newcastle:

> [W]hilst it became Englishmen to be grateful for the exalted privileges which they enjoyed in their own country, he thought they were also called upon to express their sympathy with the inhabitants of a country suffering like Italy under a two-fold system of oppression.[90]

Similarly, Orsini appealed in Leeds: 'you, Englishmen, who in past time so nobly emancipated yourselves from the thrall of the Papacy, we trust and believe, that, instead of helping our oppressors, you will use your powerful influence in our behalf'.[91] To his audiences, Orsini presented Britain as a model for Italy to follow: in a war where 'the old principle was material strength, powerfully organised; and the new principle was public opinion', Britain embodied the latter; and it was towards that very same principle that Italy was now moving.[92]

Orsini's appeal to British pride did not prevent him from pointing out the shortcomings of British policy in regards to Italy: in 1848–9, although Britain had 'abided strictly by her doctrine of non-intervention', she had 'forgot[ten] to insist upon the principle being strictly observed by the despots'.[93] Orsini based his criticism on the dichotomy between government and public opinion: 'the people of England had a right to demand that their government should not ally themselves with the despotisms of Italy; and if they did, then must they [sic] be made to feel that the people of England were not with them'.[94]

When discussing the geopolitical condition of the peninsula, during the lectures Orsini refrained from endorsing particular political programmes, limiting himself to the view that 'Italy would be perfectly satisfied and happy if allowed the same degree of liberty that was given to the inhabitants of Piedmont, under the King of Sardinia' – even if 'its traditions and tendencies were republican'.[95] In this way, Orsini sought to roll back the spectre of republican nationalism, paper over the divisions within the Italian nationalist movement and reach out to 'respectable' moderate public opinion in Britain.[96] Even his disagreements with Mazzini were slightly expressed: in Liverpool in April 1857 Orsini said that 'he did not mean to become the blind instrument of a party or of an

individual', but the rude dispute between the two remained confined to pages of the *Italia del Popolo* and Orsini's Italian memoirs.[97]

Reception and impact

Lucy Riall has described Orsini's lecture tour as a 'sellout'.[98] Contemporary sources, however, suggest that this was not always the case. Although many of the venues where Orsini spoke were reported to be 'crowded in every part' as in Liverpool (February 1857), or filled by 'a large public' as in Brighton (October 1856), audiences on other occasions were said to be 'not numerous' (Preston, November 1856), 'not large' (Liverpool, April 1857), or 'thinly attended' (London, December 1856).[99] Nevertheless, Orsini was able to make a living from the ticket sales for his lectures.[100] Indeed, in a letter to his brother Leonida (June 1857), Orsini confidently predicted that in autumn would begin 'the season in which for three months I can deliver lectures that will provide me at least 1000 scudi'.[101] Ticket prices varied across the country: in Preston, for example, entry cost sixpence; in one London venue, seats started at one shilling in the gallery rising to two shillings and sixpence in the reserved section.[102]

Despite Orsini's self-confessed shortcomings as a public speaker, his lectures appear to have been well received by audiences. In his memoirs, Orsini recalled how his first talk in Brighton was 'received with great applause…when the lecture concluded the ladies surrounded and shook hands with me'. Similarly, after speaking in the North East, 'the workmen took my hand in their horny palms, and said, "We hope you will succeed in your good cause"'. His lectures in London and the South East likewise 'excited the same enthusiasm'.[103] Newspaper reports, too, reveal something of the reception given to Orsini, frequently noting the acclamations and exclamations of the audience (cries from the floor of 'hear, hear' and instances of 'applause', 'loud applause', 'vehement cheering', 'loud and protracted cheering', 'tremendous cheering', and so forth). A *Daily News* account of a 'numerous and influential meeting' held in Birmingham in June 1857 is indicative of much of the press coverage: according to the newspaper, Orsini was 'listened to with the warmest sympathy and was frequently interrupted by applause; and all the assembly rose with enthusiasm at the conclusion'.[104]

The above examples not only demonstrate that Orsini was able to elicit an emotional response from his audiences they also tell us something about the audiences themselves. Orsini's lectures attracted if not the 'great and the good' of society at least the influential and well-to-do; their presence bestowed on the lectures an air of respectability and a

sense of occasion.[105] Women attended (Orsini's account of his Brighton lecture suggests a large female middle-class presence). 'Workmen' – the working-class – also came to listen. Orsini's audiences, in other words, represented a broad spectrum of British society. As with Garibaldi in 1864, albeit on a much smaller scale, Orsini in 1856–7 – and more generally the philo-Italian platform – enjoyed cross-class, cross-gender appeal.

Beyond this, however, it is difficult to gauge the success of Orsini's propaganda. We do not know, for example, how much money his lectures raised for the Italian cause, nor the number of signatories to the petitions circulated at these events. (Of course, we also have no idea of the impact of these petitions on government policy regarding Italy, which was their purpose). Neither can we know how many converts, if any, Orsini 'brought' to the cause through his lectures (or, for that matter, through his books). Writing at the end of the nineteenth century, the Irish writer and nationalist politician Justin McCarthy – who had met Orsini in Liverpool in 1857 and had been 'much taken ... by the simplicity, sweetness and soldierlike (sic) straightforwardness of his demeanour' – claimed Orsini had 'had but a moderate success as a lecturer – a success of curiosity more even than of sentiment'.[106]

Nevertheless, it is fundamental to understand Orsini's aim: to mobilise British public opinion in favour of Italy. In a letter to Antonio Panizzi written while 'on tour' in February 1857, Orsini was sanguine about his impact: 'in these little towns they barely know of the existence of Italy. I do my utmost to extend and influence with the exposition of facts the opinion favourable to us: and it seems to work'.[107] The German revolutionary and Danish government informant Edgar Bauer concurred. Orsini, he reported in March 1857, had 'persuaded the English public that they can contribute to the Italian emancipation through their moral attitude'.[108]

Conclusion

On Thursday, 14 January 1858, Orsini, along with several accomplices, attempted to blow up Napoleon III in Paris. The attempt failed, although eight people were killed in the attack and dozens more injured. Orsini was arrested soon after. To begin with, the British press did not realize that Orsini was involved, first reports only referring to a 'Count Orsini' or 'Corsini' among the conspirators – 'all probably feigned names', according to *The Times*.[109] Within days, however, the newspapers began – tentatively at first – to make the connection (the *Morning Chronicle* on

18 January reported that the prisoner Orsini was 'said to have delivered a series of lectures on Republicanism, in London').[110] A feeling of incredulity dominated: 'surely ... it cannot be true that Felice Orsini has become a preacher and practiser of political assassination' commented the *Liverpool Mercury*; Orsini's acquaintances, reported the *Birmingham Daily Post*, were 'astounded to find a man of his stamp having even the remotest complicity in an undertaking so nefarious and abominable'.[111]

The British press universally condemned the attack, describing it as a 'cowardly transaction', a 'foul outrage', and a 'cruel and dastardly plot'. However, although one reader to the *Birmingham Daily Post* complained that Orsini was now being called '"cowardly" by those who [had until recently] fawned upon him and sneaked after him', only the *Illustrated London News* of the mass-circulation 'national' newspapers attacked Orsini's character, describing him as a 'ruffian'.[112] In fact, some, while not condoning Orsini's actions, sought to understand them: Orsini was 'no common, vulgar assassin', but rather a man 'maddened by oppression'; men like Orsini were 'to be pitied while they are condemned'.[113]

To the last, Orsini continued to construct his own image. On his arrest, when asked for his name, he reportedly said 'what matters? Our name is Legion'; there would be 'hundreds of his countrymen behind him equally resolute to sacrifice their lives'. In prison, he passed his last days 'noting down and scoring off, some old patriotic songs of Italy'.[114] At his execution (13 March), Orsini impressed the British reporters present with his calm and dignified manner: according to *The Times*' correspondent, as Orsini was being hooded for the execution he displayed 'the same *sangue froid* as if he were under the hands of a valet dressing for a party'. He died, reported the *Daily News*, 'with great firmness'.[115] Shortly after his death, several newspapers reprinted a letter written by Orsini to his daughters in 1854, published in Orsini's *Memoirs*, which emphasised his selfless, honourable and noble character ('I carry with me two thoughts – of you two children, and that of my country; and I trust that my sacrifices may be useful to both').[116] Finally, in early April, the Piedmontese press published a letter purportedly written by Orsini to Napoleon III on the eve of his execution, in which he renounced the assassination attempt. Although *Reynolds's Newspaper* dismissed the letter as a 'fraud and deception' perpetrated by the French emperor, most of the mainstream press accepted its provenance.[117] In remarkably similar editorials, first *The Times* and then *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper* used the letter to reaffirm the Orsini 'myth' that the British philo-Italian platform and Orsini himself had worked so hard to build over the previous two years. The letter showed that 'Orsini was, after all, no vulgar dealer in

revolutions. He had high and noble thoughts; he was an accomplished gentleman, and he fell into error, after long years of suffering – after oppression the most cruel'. 'Every act and word seem to denote a man who but for a fatal error might have lived in honour and fair repute'. 'In an evil moment he became an assassin, but he was not a coward': unlike Mazzini, Orsini 'had the courage to execute what he had the audacity to conceive', 'and teach a lesson in his own blood'. Crucially, 'he had the strength also to avow his error' and 'died like a gentleman … as a true penitent for his bloody deed'.[118] (In contrast to its treatment of Orsini, British press sympathy for Napoleon III after the assassination attempt was in short supply. French criticism of Britain's toleration of foreign political exiles and demands that the British government restrict the right of asylum, combined with a tightening of repression in France, prompted a strong response from British newspapers, keen to defend 'English' liberties from foreign tyranny.)[119]

After Orsini's death, philo-Italian radicals tried to take advantage of his fame, or reconsidered their attitudes towards him. 'M.[azzini] rather fancies the Orsini of Paris is *the* Orsini!', wrote Emilie Ashurst to Holyoake, 'If so, he is, in my eyes, redeemed utterly, and I will never say a word more depreciatory of him'.[120] The *attentat* – in contrast to Orsini's memoirs – was exactly the kind of action favoured by devout Mazzinians such as Ashurst: it served as a model of patriotic sacrifice, which, in Lucy Riall's words, 'could inspire admiration, excitement, and a mood of expectation, while the memory of what had happened could be written down, published, and endlessly recycled to form part of a new narrative of Italian suffering, courage and salvation'.[121] Holyoake delivered a funeral oration to Orsini in March and lectured in Newcastle the following month 'on the life and deeds of Orsini'. In June, Jessie White spoke in Manchester on the subject of 'Rome, Orsini and Louis Napoleon', in which she compared the 'selfish ambition' of the French emperor with the 'disinterested self-devotion' of the late Italian patriot, in the process bringing Orsini into the pantheon of Mazzinian martyrs.[122] Earlier, White had wanted to republish Orsini's *Austrian Dungeons* with the contribution of the Action party, although Mazzini 'strongly doubt[ed] [its] success'.[123]

Cheap biographies, pamphlets and poems were printed. Swinburne, Savage Landor, Hamilton King and other minor poets dedicated verses to him.[124] Shops displayed and sold his picture (this began immediately after the *attentat*: the young Hamilton King was taken to see Orsini's portrait before his execution).[125] Several babies, including Peter Stuart's newborn son, were christened Orsini. (In accordance with Orsini's will, Stuart also

took guardianship of Orsini's second daughter; another British radical, J. P. Hodge, became the guardian of his eldest daughter.)[126] Orsini's last months were even dramatised for the stage, albeit with mixed results:

> The action of the play opens with the regrets of the conspirators over the failure of [illegible] attempt, their conviction that the death of the Emperor is the necessary step in the regeneration of mankind so their consequent determination to compass it and solution by vote of Orsini for the task. Then follows the attempt, a long dialogue between the Emperor and Italy personified as a woman, the trial and the execution of Orsini and Pieri. The subject is so solemn that it forbids one to laugh, but there are scenes in it that are irresistible.[127]

Other businesses attempted to profit from Orsini's notoriety: in readiness for the Easter holiday crowds, Madame Tussaud's hurriedly added to its exhibits 'the atrocious assassin' Orsini, 'as he looked while lecturing in this country'. (The waxwork was still on display in the late 1880s, now standing alongside those of Cavour, Victor Emanuel II and Garibaldi.)[128]

The construction and success of the Orsini 'myth' undoubtedly paved the way for Garibaldi's later extraordinary reception in Britain, which was based on very similar foundations. The Orsini 'myth', though, was essentially part of, and influenced by, the wider context of British pro-Italian propaganda. Philo-Italian groups used Orsini's shocking, moving and heroic story, to sustain and develop popular interest in and sympathy towards the Italian nationalist cause; and they used well-established strategies, not least the public platform, to do this. During the lectures, sentiments of anger and empathy were rationalized in the name of values identified with British identity, in order to solicit sympathy.

Notes

1. I am very grateful to Nick Carter for comments that helped me clarify and improve the chapter.
2. H. Hamilton King (1912) *Letters and Recollections of Mazzini* (London: Longmans), pp. 4–5.
3. See L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale).
4. On the construction of the Orsini myth see M. Finelli (2012) 'Felice Orsini e l'internazionalizzazione della questione italiana', in R. Balzani and A. Varni (eds) *La Romagna nel Risorgimento. Politica, società e cultura al tempo dell'Unità* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), pp. 459–71. For a recent short biography of Orsini see R. Balzani (2013) 'Orsini, Felice', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 79, available at: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/felice-orsinI_(Dizionario-Biografico)/, accessed 22 January 2014.

5. E. Royle (1974) *Victorian Infidels. The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791–1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 2.
6. M. C. Finn (1993) *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 161–2; M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), pp. 57–92; R. Pesman (2006) 'Mazzini in esilio e le inglesi', in I. Porciani (ed.) *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento. Modelli, strategie, reti di relazioni* (Rome: Viella), pp. 55–82.
7. J. Vernon (1993) *Politics and the People. A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 281–2.
8. P. Hollis (ed.) (1974) *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London: Edward Arnold), p. viii.
9. On the pro-Italian platform in Britain see E. Bacchin (2011) 'Il Risorgimento oltremanica. Nazionalismo cosmopolita nei meeting britannici di metà Ottocento', *Contemporanea*, XVI, pp. 173–201.
10. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 July 1860.
11. *Illustrated London News*, 25 February 1854.
12. F. Orsini (1857) *Memoirs and Adventures, Written by Himself* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable), p. 182. See also F. Orsini (1858) *Memorie politiche scritte da lui medesimo e dedicate alla gioventù italiana* (Turin: Degiorgis), p. 306. The Italian version of this letter is different. Mazzini wrote: 'di queste e di certe altre cose che desidero sapere su te e altrui avremo campo a parlare ... aspetto con desiderio i particolari che tu dici stampare' (*Lettere edite e inedite di Felice Orsini, G. Mazzini, G. Garibaldi, e di F.D. Guerrazzi intorno alle cose d'Italia* (1861), vol. II (Milan: Sanvito), pp. 152–3). The idea to publish his story was probably already in Orsini's mind when he arrived in London, but Mazzini pushed him to do so.
13. E. F. Richards (ed.) (1922) *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family, 1855–1860*, vol. II (London: John Lane), p. 38, letter to Emilie Ashurst, 21 May 1856.
14. G. Mazzini (1930) *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVI (Imola: Galeati), p. 241, letter to William Shaen, 26 May 1856.
15. *Daily News*, 27 May 1856.
16. *The Times*, 26 June 1856.
17. 'Garibaldi's Englishman', performed in 1859, British Library, London, Add.M. 52988U.
18. G. J. Holyoake (1909) *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life*, vol. II (London: Fisher Unwin), p. 26.
19. A. M. Ghisalberti (ed.) (1936) *Lettere di Felice Orsini* (Rome: Vittoriano), p. 202, letter to Carlo Arrivabene, 10 June 1856; R. P. Onnis (1935) 'Battaglie democratiche e Risorgimento in una carteggio inedito di Giuseppe Mazzini e George Jacob Holyoake', *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, XXII, p. 901.
20. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, pp. 227–31 (p. 228), letter to the editor of *il Diritto*, 17 July 1857.
21. *Daily News*, 14 July 1856; C. Arrigoni (1951) 'La fortuna editoriale delle "memorie politiche" di Felice Orsini', *Risorgimento*, III, pp. 89–105, 98–9.
22. *Glasgow Herald*, 15 October 1856; E. A. Daniels (1977) *Posseduta dall'angelo. Jessie White Mario la rivoluzionaria del Risorgimento* (Milan: Mursia), pp. 55–7. A second edition was published in 1859.
23. *Derby Mercury*, 27 August 1856.

24. See for example the *Examiner*, 30 August 1856; *Daily News*, 4 September 1856.
25. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 10 August 1856.
26. *Derby Mercury*, 27 August 1856.
27. Holyoake, *Sixty Years*, vol. II, p. 27.
28. J. White Mario (1909) *The Birth of Modern Italy*, Litta Visconti-Arese (ed.) (London: Fisher), p. 256; Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, p. 203, letter to Arrivabene, 28 June 1856.
29. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, p. 203, letter to Arrivabene, 28 June 1856.
30. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, pp. 227–31, letter to the editor of *il Diritto*, 17 July 1857, and letters to Arrivabene, 28 June and 28 August 1856, pp. 203 and 208–9.
31. A. Arisi Rota and R. Balzani (2012) 'Discovering Politics: Action and Recollection in the First Mazzinian Generation', in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave), pp. 77–96 (pp. 87–9).
32. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVI, pp. 315–18 (p. 317), letter to Emilie Ashurst, 30 July 1856, and pp. 341–2, letter to Kate Craufurd, 4 August 1856.
33. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LX, pp. 367–8, letter to Stefano Siccoli, April 1858.
34. Originally reported in the *Daily News*, and subsequently republished in a number of provincial papers including the *Liverpool Mercury* and the *Glasgow Herald* (both 29 September 1856).
35. It is also possible that Orsini spoke in Carlisle. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVII, p. 127.
36. *Leeds Mercury*, 23 January 1858.
37. Orsini, *Memoirs and Adventures*, p. 187.
38. Orsini, *Memorie politiche*, p. 313; F. Venosta (1862) *Felice Orsini. Notizie storiche* (Milan: Barbini), p. 99.
39. *Leeds Mercury*, 23 January 1858.
40. Orsini, *Memorie politiche*, p. 315.
41. Orsini, *Memorie politiche*, p. 318. See also F. Moscheles (1899) *Fragments of an Autobiography* (New York: Harper), pp. 251–2.
42. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVIII, pp. 338–43 (p. 342), letter to Emilie Ashurst, 21 October 1857.
43. Orsini, *Memoirs and Adventures*, p. 189.
44. Orsini, *Memorie politiche*, p. 461, letter to Franchi, 2 November 1857. Orsini was in contact with, and received subsidies from, the Piedmontese minister in London, Emanuele D'Azeglio (A. Colombo (ed.) (1920) *Carteggi e documenti diplomatici, vol. II (1831–1854)* (Turin: Edizione fuori commercio), p. 169, letter to his mother, 20 January 1858). However, it is difficult to verify Denis Mack Smith's claim that Cavour gave secret service funds to Orsini as 'one of Mazzini's enemies', and not as part of a programme of general financial assistance to poor exiles. D. Mack Smith (2000) *Mazzini, L'uomo, il pensatore, il rivoluzionario* (Milan: Bur), p. 173.
45. *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856; Orsini, *Memoirs and Adventures*, pp. 25–7, 187.
46. Fondazione Feltrinelli, Milan, Fondo William James Linton, b. 2, f. 106/1, letter of Orsini, 13 December 1856.
47. Finelli, 'Felice Orsini', p. 467.

48. *Leeds Mercury*, 23 January 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 February 1857; *Italia e popolo*, 22 October 1856.
49. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVII, p. 127; Emilie Ashurst to George Holyoake, 13 December 1856, National Co-operative Archive, Manchester, George J. Holyoake Papers, n. 879.
50. Aurelio Saffi to Giorgina Saffi, 8 March 1857, Biblioteca Comunale Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Speciale Aurelio Saffi, b. 19, ms. 3.
51. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LVII, pp. 185–6, letter to Emilie Ashurst, 28 October 1856.
52. Report from the *Newcastle Chronicle*, republished in the *Daily News*, 24 October 1856.
53. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856. In fact, Orsini's English was reported to be 'remarkably good', and his pronunciation 'much more distinct and intelligible than might have been expected, considering how short a time he had been acquainted with our language' (*Daily News*, 24 October 1856).
54. *Daily News*, 15 October 1856; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
55. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, p. 204, letter to Arrivabene, 28 July 1856; *Liverpool Mercury*, 13 February 1857.
56. *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
57. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856.
58. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 1 March 1857.
59. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856.
60. *Morning Chronicle*, 16 December 1856. Signatures for petitions were collected through public meetings, among friends, or through circular letters sent to newspapers and associations.
61. J. McCarthy (1899) *Reminiscences. 'From the Table of my Memory'*, vol. I (London: Chatto and Windus), p. 118.
62. *Daily News*, 30 October 1856; *Morning Chronicle*, 8 November and 16 December 1856.
63. *Morning Chronicle*, 8 November 1856.
64. Riall, *Garibaldi*, pp. 13, 162; L. Riall (2008) 'The Politics of Italian Romanticism: Mazzini and the Making of a National Culture', in C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalization of Democratic Nationalism, 1830–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 183.
65. Riall, *Garibaldi*, p. 56.
66. *Liverpool Mercury*, 21 April 1856; Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, p. vii.
67. Orsini, *The Austrian Dungeons*, translator's introduction, p. iv.
68. *Newcastle Chronicle*, reported in the *Daily News*, 24 October 1856.
69. Holyoake, *Sixty Years*, vol. II, pp. 26, 29.
70. Riall, *Garibaldi*, p. 389. Riall is referring here to Garibaldi; Finelli 'Felice Orsini', p. 466.
71. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856; *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 May 1857, 30 January 1858.
72. *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 May 1857; *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Daily News*, 24 October 1856; *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856.
73. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Daily News*, 24 October 1856; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 30 November 1856; L. Riall, 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in Patriarca and Riall (eds) *Risorgimento Revisited*, pp. 152–70 (p. 153).

74. *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 April 1857; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
75. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, pp. 214–5, letter to Sormanni, 20 January 1857.
76. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
77. M. Isabella, 'Italian Exiles and British Politics Before and After 1848', in S. Freitag (ed.) (2003) *Exiles from European Revolutions, Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn), p. 62; M. Isabella (2009), *Risorgimento in Exile, Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
78. E. F. Biagini (2008) 'Mazzini and Anticlericalism: The English Exile', in Bayly and Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation*, pp. 145–66; L. Riall (2012) 'Anticattolicesimo e rinascita cattolica: la Gran Bretagna, l'Irlanda e gli Stati pontifici, 1850–1860', in Balzani and Varni (eds) *La Romagna nel Risorgimento*, pp. 5–23.
79. S. Patriarca (2005) 'Indolence and Regeneration: Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism', *American Historical Review*, 110, pp. 350–79; M. Petrusewicz (1998) *Come il Meridione divenne una Questione. Rappresentazioni del Sud prima e dopo il Quarantotto* (Soveria Manelli: Rubettino), pp. 142–58; E. Bacchin (2014) *Italofilia. Opinione pubblica britannica e Risorgimento italiano, 1847–1864* (Rome: Carocci).
80. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 December 1856.
81. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 14 December 1856; *Morning Chronicle*, 16 October 1856.
82. A. M. Banti (2008) 'Sacrality and the Aesthetics of Politics: Mazzini's Concept of the Nation', in Bayly and Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation*, pp. 72–3; A. M. Banti (2005) *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuale e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Turin: Einaudi).
83. *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 February 1857.
84. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856.
85. *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
86. A. M. Banti (2000), *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi); A. M. Banti (2008) 'Deep Images in Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Narrative', *Historein*, 8, p. 55.
87. *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856.
88. Banti, 'Deep Images', p. 56.
89. *Daily News*, 24 and 30 October 1856.
90. *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
91. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856.
92. *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 April 1857.
93. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 1 March 1857; *Daily News*, 11 December 1856.
94. *Leeds Mercury*, 18 October 1856.
95. *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856; *Newcastle Courant*, 24 October 1856.
96. Isabella, 'Italian Exiles and British Politics', p. 78.
97. *Liverpool Mercury*, 1 May 1857; *Lettere edite e inedite di Felice Orsini*, vol. II, pp. 159–182; G. U. Oxilia (1914) 'Lettere inedite di Felice Orsini', *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, III, p. 21; A. M. Ghisalberti (1955) *Orsini minore* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo), pp. 228–41; A. Luzio (1914) *Felice Orsini: saggio biografico con 10 illustrazioni* (Milan: Cogliati), pp. 4–6, 279.

98. Riall, *Garibaldi*, p. 143.
99. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 1 March 1857; *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856; *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 April 1857; *Daily News*, 11 December 1856.
100. *Vita e memorie di Felice Orsini precedute dalla storia dell'attentato e seguite dagli interogatorii e documenti del processo* (1864), vol. II (Florence: Martini), pp. 499–500.
101. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, pp. 225–6, letter to Leonida Orsini, 26 June 1857. The scudo was the coinage system used in the Papal States until 1866.
102. *Preston Guardian*, 15 November 1856; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 7 December 1856.
103. Orsini, *Memoirs and Adventures*, pp. 187–8.
104. *Daily News*, 13 June 1857.
105. C. Sorba (2006) 'To Please the Public: Composers and Audiences in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXXVI, pp. 595–614.
106. McCarthy, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 137–8. McCarthy's 'strong impression' was 'that the disappointment felt by Orsini from the results of his visit to England did much to drive him on the wild and desperate enterprise which doomed him to death and his memory to oblivion' (p. 137).
107. Ghisalberti, *Lettere di Felice Orsini*, pp. 218–9, letter to Panizzi, 7 February 1857.
108. E. Bauer (1989) *Konfidentenberichte über die europäiche Emigration in London 1852–1861. Herausgegeben von E. Gamby* (Trier: Karl-Marx Haus), p. 204, Bericht XII, vor dem 9 Maerz 1857.
109. *The Times*, 16 January 1858.
110. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 January 1858.
111. *Liverpool Mercury*, 19 January 1858; *Daily News*, 20 January 1858; *Birmingham Daily Post*, 20 January 1858. Orsini's involvement in the *attentat* also 'embarrassed' the Italophile William Gladstone, who had taken tea with Orsini in May 1857. Richard Shannon (2007) *Gladstone: God and Politics* (London: Continuum), p. 114. See also H. C. G. Matthew (ed.) (1978) *The Gladstone Diaries. Volume V: 1855–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 227; H. C. G. Matthew (1986) *Gladstone, 1809–1874* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 80–1; R. Shannon (1982) *Gladstone* (London: Hamish Hamilton), p. 326.
112. *Birmingham Daily Post*, 22 January 1858; *Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1858.
113. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 31 January and 7 March 1858.
114. *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 January 1858; *Hull Packet*, 22 January 1858; *Morning Chronicle*, 30 March 1858.
115. *The Times*, 15 March 1858; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 21 March 1858.
116. *The Times*, 17 March 1858; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 21 March 1858.
117. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 11 April 1858; *The Times*, 7 April 1858.
118. *The Times*, 7 April 1858; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 April 1858.
119. For more on these aspects of the Orsini affair see Finn, *After Chartism*, pp. 180–7; Porter, *The Refugee Question*, chapter 6.
120. Emilie Ashurst to Holyoake, undated [January/March 1858], University of Rochester Library, Rochester, Thomas Allsop papers, A.A44.

121. Riall, 'The Politics of Italian Romanticism', p. 175. See also Arisi Rota and Balzani, 'Discovering Politics'.
122. *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 April 1858; *Standard*, 29 March 1858; *Manchester Times*, 19 June 1858; L. Riall (2010) 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Modern History*, 82, pp. 255–87.
123. Mazzini, *Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. LX, pp. 330–3, letter to White Mario, March 1858.
124. H. W. Rudman (1940) *Italian Nationalism and English Letters*: *Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (London: George Allen), pp. 242–8; poem by William Kelly, March 1858, Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums, Newcastle, Joseph Cowen papers, A/594.
125. *The Times*, 28 January, 11 February 1858; *Liverpool Mercury*, 26 March 1858.
126. L. Finigan (ed.) (1920) *The Life of Peter Stuart, the 'Ditton Doctor'* (London: Books Limited), p. 34; Vernon, *Politics and the People*, pp. 256–8. A number of British newspapers printed Orsini's will in full. See, for example, the *Birmingham Daily Post*, 6 April 1858.
127. Emilie Ashurst to Holyoake, 28 July 1858, Museo del Risorgimento di Milano, Fondo Holyoake, folder 4, n.20.
128. *The Times*, 27 April 1858; *Morning Chronicle*, 6 April 1858; *Madame Tussaud & Sons' Biographical Catalogue of Distinguished Characters Historical Gallery* (1889) (London: F. W. Potter & Co.), p. 48.

4

‘An Italy Independent and One’: Giovanni (John) Ruffini, Britain and the Italian Risorgimento

Raffaella Antinucci

In a letter of April 28, 1859, Charles Dickens instructed William Henry Wills, the assistant editor of *All The Year Round*, to seek contributions from those novelists that Dickens regarded as the most suitable to write for his new journal: Frances and Anthony Trollope, George Eliot, John Ruffini and Elizabeth Gaskell.[1] The inclusion of a foreigner among the names of such celebrated Victorian authors is an indication of Ruffini’s literary status in Britain during the years of the Italian Risorgimento. In the mid-nineteenth century Giovanni (John) Ruffini (1807–81) was widely known to the British (and French) reading public as the author of the acclaimed *Lorenzo Benoni* (1853) and *Doctor Antonio* (1855), followed by four other novels, all composed in Paris but written in English: *The Paragreens* (1856), *Lavinia* (1861), *Vincenzo* (1863), and *A Quiet Nook in the Jura* (1869).[2] In Italy, his fame was mainly posthumous, peaking in the Fascist period and in the aftermath of the Second World War. The Italian ‘appropriation’ of Ruffini was effectively completed in 1955, when *Il dottor Antonio* became the first television drama to be broadcast by Rai, the Italian state broadcaster.[3]

Today, however, Ruffini is almost forgotten. His disappearance from both the British and the Italian literary canons can be imputed to the supposed ‘spurious’ nature of his works, which seem to occupy a liminal space where different cultures, languages and literary genres intersect. Only relatively recently have these very aspects of Ruffini’s novels become the focus of critical studies, thanks to scholars like Allan Conrad Christensen and Martino Marazzi.[4] In this respect, the present chapter aims to contribute to the ongoing process of critical reassessment, highlighting some neglected cultural aspects of Ruffini’s production

and political credo. As underscored by Christensen, the emphasis on multiculturalism and the extensive use of international settings account for the European flavour that pervades Ruffini's output, which, to a certain degree, both fulfilled and was influenced by Mazzini's notion of European literature.[5] Nevertheless, Ruffini's literary background and production can be deemed strictly Victorian in their style, themes and models. With the only exception of the Italian libretto he wrote for Donizetti's successful opera *Don Pasquale* in 1843, all his literary works were composed in English, despite the fact that, as Marazzi points out, in more than one way for Ruffini it was indeed the 'language of exile'.[6] Ruffini's autograph papers, held in the Risorgimento archive of the Mazzini Museum in Genoa, bear witness to his strenuous efforts to learn English as an adult through the adoption of a literary approach. As attested in his notebook, he started to learn English at the age of 30 on his arrival in England in January 1837[7] and carried on when he moved to Paris for good in 1841, after four years marked by the hardships of London life and the difficult cohabitation with his brother Agostino and Mazzini.[8] It is worth noting that English was Ruffini's second foreign language, since he used Italian (in its regional Sardinian version) in familiar speech and, like most of his social class, French in formal social occasions and in much of his correspondence. The idea of becoming a published author in English might have already occurred to him, inasmuch as he would typically record phrases and passages taken from newspapers, contemporary fiction and British classics, that he later used and re-adapted in his novels. These ranged from Shakespeare, Johnson, Radcliffe and Defoe to Thackeray, Scott, Ruskin and Dickens, the latter being by far his favourite author. It should be also taken into consideration that the Italian states lacked a common language and literature at the time.[9] Significantly, Ruffini's knowledge of Italian literature was far less comprehensive; from what we can glean from his letters and in the semi-autobiographical *Lorenzo Benoni*, the only Italian writers he was conversant with before moving to England were Dante, Foscolo, Manzoni and Leopardi, which he had studied thanks to Mazzini.

From a narrative point of view, the storylines of the four novels Ruffini set in the years of the Risorgimento – *Lorenzo Benoni*, *Doctor Antonio*, *Lavinia* and *Vincenzo* – chronicle the major political events that marked the Italian fight for independence from the late 1820s to the early 1860s.[10] However, the predominance of the patriotic component and political purpose – that of informing and winning the British public to the cause of Italian unity – also reveals the significant role Ruffini played as a cultural mediator between Italy and Britain in the 1850s. While

only partly championing the Mazzinian doctrine, his novels, and especially *Doctor Antonio*, testify to contemporary discourses on the Italians and more importantly shed light on the concurrent process of Victorian identity construction whose discussion intensified in the central years of the century. The fact that the peak of British enthusiasm for Italian independence corresponded with the heyday of Victorian renegotiations of the notions of 'Britishness' and 'gentlemanliness' demonstrates not only Britain's political contribution to the Risorgimento, but also the crucial place that Italy and Italians held in Victorian self-fashioning.[11]

This chapter first examines how Ruffini's books fit into this cultural dynamic. It will then focus on the literary tools used by Ruffini to 'persuade' his British readership about the justness of the Italian cause. Finally, it will consider the type of Risorgimento that Ruffini was trying to advocate.

Britain's 'two Italies'

Despite their cosmopolitan and European outlook, the majority of Ruffini's works revolve around relations between Italy and Britain, two countries long accustomed to an intense cultural exchange that nonetheless intensified in the mid-nineteenth century, when both peoples were experiencing a parallel process of identity re-negotiation. While the Italians were fighting for political independence, in the United Kingdom a new concept of 'Britishness' was being refashioned against foreign types and above all antitypes. Considering that, as Eric Hobsbawm argues, traditions were more frequently 'invented' at times of rapid social transformations, it is no wonder that in Victorian Britain national traditions were substantially re-constructed and re-imagined.[12] Without delving into the historical debate on the origins of Britishness,[13] it is fair to say that to a certain extent the emergence of some national virtues and values that today are still associated with 'Britishness' took place during the reign of Queen Victoria through a process of repression and transfer of antithetical attributes to other ethnic groups, first and foremost the Irish and the Italian.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the attitude towards Italy and especially the Italians in Britain was highly unstable, hovering between repulsion and desire, criticism and idealisation. If, culturally, Italy was already part of the Victorian experience, Britain's enduring relationship with the *Bel Paese* had long been governed by the trope of contrast between the country and its present day inhabitants, notably encapsulated by Shelley at the beginning of the century in the notion of 'two Italies':

> There are two Italies; one composed of the green earth & transparent sea and the mighty ruins of ancient times, and aerial mountains, &

> the warm and radiant atmosphere which is interfused through all things. The other consists of the Italians of the present day, their works and ways. The one is the most sublime & lovely contemplation that can be conceived by the imagination of man; the other the most degraded disgusting and odious.[14]

Annemarie McAllister has cogently argued that descriptions and illustrations of Italian scenes and landscapes in British newspapers, travelogues and magazines for the most part reproduced the image of Italy as the land of the pastoral that the Victorians had inherited from eighteenth-century Gothic fiction and Romantic poetry.[15] Far from indicating a realistic stance, the popularity of this construction rather reflects the symbolic use of Italy as an Arcadian dreamscape in which the Victorians could project their longing for an unspoilt and natural environment and gratify the need to escape their anxieties about industrialisation. It is not surprising that the pastoral trope was effectively exploited by Ruffini too, as is apparent in the first part of *Doctor Antonio* in which the narrator often lingers on detailed descriptions of beautiful and picturesque views of the Ligurian landscape surrounding Bordighera.

Primitivism and violence, on the other hand, strongly connoted the representations of Italians who, almost invariably depicted in bare feet or with a barrel organ in their hands, were seen as unworthy heirs to the ancient Roman civilisation and to a unique artistic heritage.[16] In the central decades of the nineteenth century a profusion of stock images of the typical Italian man appeared in the satirical cartoons of *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*, in novels with telling titles such as Anne Manning's *Selvaggio: A Tale of Italian Country Life* (1865), and in historical works like Anne Mitchell's *The Story of Italy* (1859) and *Italy Illustrated: A Complete History of the Past and Present Condition of the Italian States* (1860) by William C. Stafford and Charles Ball. Writing to his mother from Edinburgh in November 1841, Agostino Ruffini, Giovanni's brother, admitted sadly that 'our name is not very popular in this country ... there is a breed of Italians in London that is worthy of the vilification of all humankind'.[17] In line with current notions of race and ethnicity, the coarse and deceiving Italian – at best a savage, at worst a revolutionary – embodied in many ways the 'exotic' or, in Bhaba's and Said's terms, 'the Other', an absolute alterity that needed to be safely located outside Britain and thus 'controlled' within visual and verbal frameworks.[18] Although not a colony, Italy performed the function of a cultural signifier that activated many strategies of colonial discourse and power relations through which the middle-class self-consciousness and

the sense of superiority of the British race could be nurtured by a process of opposition and exclusion. Whether real or imagined, Italy never ceased equally to represent the site of many escapist fantasies, such as freedom from conventions and gender roles, authenticity and passions. However, what was implied in most travel accounts and novels was Britain's civilising mission, that is, a patronising attitude on the British part derived from an assumed ethnic hence moral supremacy supported by coeval sociological and anthropological theories.[19] Being aware of such presumptions, Ruffini continually albeit cautiously tries to subvert these conventional roles, by having his earnest Italian patriots playing the part of cultural mentors and moral guides for the English characters that people his books and, implicitly, for the British reading public.

In his literary endeavours Ruffini could also capitalise on another narrative sub-genre that was becoming very marketable in Britain in the 1840s and 1850s, namely the historical novel set in Italy.[20] Momentous events in the Italian peninsula – the 1820 insurrections in Sicily and Piedmont, the 1830 revolutionary movements in the Duchy of Modena and in the Papal States, the succeeding constitutions and revolts of 1848 – and the great influx of political refugees into England that followed the Austrian proscription of the Carbonari in 1820 contributed to inflame an already existing debate on the 'condition of Italy' that was fought in papers and novels alike. If major Victorian authors such as George Meredith, George Eliot and Thomas Adolphus Trollope turned to the historical novel set in Italy only in the 1860s (with the notable exception of Edward Bulwer-Lytton), in the previous two decades less known and anonymous writers had begun to pen popular stories unfolding in a more recent past and in some cases even in contemporary Italy. From their very titles, these novels clearly reflected the political turmoil that was rampaging through the Italian states: *Ernesto di Ripalta: A Tale of the Italian Revolution* (1849); *Angelo, A Romance of Modern Rome* (1854); *Modern Society in Rome. A Novel* (1856); *The Exiles of Italy* (1857); *Roccabella: A Tale of a Woman's Life* (1859); *Marco Griffi, The Italian Patriot* (1859); and *Angelo Sanmartino: A Tale of Lombardy in 1859* (1860), the latter by Cornelia Turner, Ruffini's lifelong partner.[21] Ruffini too rejects parallelism and the historical metaphor in favour of a more direct discussion of the ongoing movement towards Italian liberation, thereby moulding a narrative style that hovers between the historical novel and the 'memoir',[22] a genre made popular in Britain by Silvio Pellico's *My Prisons* (1832). At the same time, the coverage of Italian affairs in the British press and in Hansard is further proof of the extent to which the Italian question was being manipulated in order to discuss

and 'contain' domestic issues and fears, especially those connected with the anxiety about radical and Chartist uprisings, or with contemporary Protestant concerns over the threat that Irish Catholics posed to cohesive notions of nationhood.[23] Though accustomed to enjoying the splendours of Italian culture, since the time of the *Italianate Fashion* of the early Romanticism a significant part of informed British opinion on Italy had considered the possibility of Italian independence with some scepticism, as it was believed that the Italian people lacked the maturity to gain their freedom without foreign, especially British, help. Once the political situation began to change in the 1840s, Italy served as the political arena where the alleged British values of benevolence and democracy could be tested, to the point that the study of Italian language and Italian literature, already fashionable since the seventeenth century, as well as championship of Italian independence, were all the rage among several politicians too.[24] More importantly, thanks to the presence and to the talents of respected or charismatic exiles such as Antonio Panizzi, Gabriele Rossetti, Mazzini[25] and the Ruffini brothers among others, by degrees the Italian patriot began to be regarded as a model figure, almost a martyr suffering for the just cause of freedom and independence. Such a shift in the construction of 'Italianness' was both fostered by and reflected in the extraordinary popularity enjoyed by Mazzini, especially after the 1844 Post Office espionage scandal,[26] and later by Garibaldi, as well as magnified in the wealth of essays and literary works by Italians – which Maurizio Isabella has aptly termed the exiles' 'communication campaign' – aimed at correcting stereotypes and common preconceptions.[27] 'Italian', in short, came to signify a repository for contrasting stances that either way was integral to the Victorian process of self-understanding and self-fashioning.

'A good deed in English': Ruffini's fictional campaign

In this context, Ruffini's Risorgimento fiction is fully in tune with the view of other 'Anglo–Italian' writers like Antonio Gallenga who considered literature as a powerful means of cultural negotiation.[28] This transnational principle, which informs all of his literary production, was confirmed by Ruffini himself in a letter to Marina Carcano, the Italian translator of *Vincenzo*: 'it being my purpose to correct the scarcely favourable opinion of us [Italians] prevalent in France and England, it was natural that I should make use of the language of one of the two countries which I was addressing.'[29] In reasserting the educative function attached to literature in the nineteenth century (and while involuntarily

igniting an endless critical debate on his choice of language), Ruffini's statement in many ways accounts for the opinion that the Italian writer and journalist Edmondo De Amicis, among others, had of his novels. After a galvanising visit he paid to the Ligurian exile in his home in Paris in 1872, the young De Amicis wrote: 'Ruffini has done a good deed in English; and a good deed is always a good deed in any form it is done'.[30] With their emphasis on the 'instrumental' use of literature, De Amicis's words strikingly echo Ruffini's own praise of Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* (*The Betrothed*), a book Ruffini had defined in a letter to his mother as a masterpiece superior to any novel written by Walter Scott, 'not only an excellent book, but a good deed'.[31] From this perspective, Ruffini is without question a son of his time. In all his different personae – as a patriot, an exile, a writer and a diplomat – he always tried to advance the cause of Italian independence, implementing almost to the letter the Mazzinian maxim of 'Thought and Action'. In this regard, although his novels are not included in Banti's 'Risorgimento canon', Ruffini seems to be deeply aware of the 'inspirational', symbolic and political force that Banti attributes to literary and artistic texts of early-nineteenth century.[32]

In Ruffini's opinion, as we have seen, literature too was a 'deed' and a very important one; a book could be likened to an action, but not only in political terms. If De Amicis and many other scholars after him have offered a predominantly 'political' interpretation of Ruffini's work, its manifold cultural implications still remain to be investigated. It is true that when embarking on his literary career Ruffini was driven by a romantic–patriotic conception of literature that he had derived directly from Mazzini and Manzoni. Nevertheless, with respect to the centrality of the historic–political element in his fiction, two aspects need to be highlighted. First, the events described always transcend the function of mere historical context and are more integrated into the fictional discourse. Unlike other memoirs and historical novels of the period, Ruffini's stories, as Christensen argues, 'tend to dramatize the function of patriotic ideals as integral components of the moral and intellectual formation of the protagonists'.[33] Second, granted that contemporary political events deeply affect the semantic and narrative fabric of Ruffini's output, it cannot go unnoticed that an equally important part is played by the cultural dialogue staged in all of his novels and markedly focussed, if we bear in mind what he writes to Marina Carcano, on the Italian and British 'frames of mind'. In this respect, Ruffini's (partial) adoption of the historical novel proves true Richard Maxwell's argument that this highly unstable literary genre, modelled

on Scott's Scottish cycles, could be fruitfully used by writers from other ill-defined and marginalised countries 'as a means of self-enquiry and self-definition'.[34]

Underpinning the pages of Ruffini's novels, especially *Doctor Antonio*, is an implicit cultural inferiority complex on the Italians' part that the author strives to dispel, reviving Shelley's twofold conceptualisation. Ruffini frequently criticises foreigners for their hazy knowledge of Italy, based on novels and travelogues and confined to the natural and artistic beauties of the country, but utterly indifferent to its inhabitants and contemporary events. In *Lavinia*, for example, the eponymous heroine confesses to the Italian painter and patriot Paolo Mancini that 'our notions about Italy are rather misty, I must own', while in 'A Modest Celebrity', the last short story in *Carlino and Other Stories*, the Italian protagonist, Jean Maria Farina, tells the English narrator that 'no part of the world is more travelled by foreigners, and so little known'.[35] Ruffini's vantage point as an exile affords him the opportunity to deconstruct stereotypes about Italy and its people by making the most of his familiarity with British culture. Drawing from the British literary tradition of nineteenth-century historical and coming-of-age novels, Ruffini weaves tales in which the dialogism between the different voices – that of the narrator and those of the characters – is regularly adjusted in order to suit the work of 'persuasion' of the implied British reader. In general, the authorial voice, extra- and intra-diegetic, seeks to oppose the innate conservatism of the British. In *Doctor Antonio* both the eponymous protagonist and the narrator prove to be excellent mediators, well aware of the prevailing notions of Italianness, but also careful in stressing the fact that such a web of prejudices was simply due to the universal indifference for the local on the part of foreigners in general: '… that is almost universally the case with strangers. They come to Italy as they would to a convenient hostelry; and when a man goes to a hotel it is certainly not with the intention of interesting himself about the people of the house'.[36]

In the attempt to show the 'real' character of his contemporary countrymen and to counteract the process of 'feminisation' of the Italian male in the British cultural imagination, Ruffini repeatedly moulds idealised versions of humble men – such as peasants or fishermen – and valiant patriots alike, epitomised in their archetype, the gentle and unassuming Doctor Antonio.[37] Significantly, Antonio represents not only the paragon of the committed patriot – thus perpetuating the male hero cult of the Risorgimento and its 'revirilisation'[38] – but his abiding unselfishness, sense of honour, respect and honesty make him also the very

embodiment of British gentlemanliness and respectability, as explicitly sanctioned by the English characters in the novel. According to Doctor Yorke, 'Men like this doctor do not grow on every bush by the wayside. He might be an Englishmen: see how he speaks English. Yes, he ought to be an Englishman'[39]. Sir John Davenne, the father of the heroine Lucy, describes Antonio as 'quite a gentleman', while even Sir John's conceited son Aubrey concedes that he has 'seldom seen a more commanding figure than his [Antonio's], and he is very gentlemanlike, certainly. I wish he were an English duke'. Yet, Aubrey also tells his sister Lucy: 'If he were, young lady, you would make a handsome couple ... As it is I would rather see you dead and buried than married to that man'.[40] The book in fact exemplifies the structure of Ruffini's novels, typically framed around Anglo–Italian love stories, whereby very often the male, who is Italian and a patriot, in the course of narration literally 'instructs' his beloved Englishwoman, along with the other English characters in the book, about the customs, art, history and politics of his troubled country.[41] As Christensen points out, in several cases Ruffini's objective is to inform, rather than 'correct' misinformation.[42] In Chapter VII of *Doctor Antonio*, for instance, Lucy admits her complete ignorance over Italian issues: 'What you have just been saying gives me a glimpse of a state of things I never dreamed of before. You will be shocked at my ignorance ... [in Italy] we visited exclusively among the English'.[43] Indeed, one of the generally recognised merits of Ruffini's fiction, beyond any artistic value attributed to it, lies in its documentary nature. As noted by Enzo Bottasso, Ruffini's novels represented a rare source of historical information on Italian affairs not only for the foreign readers to whom they were addressed, but also for their contemporary Italian readers who lived in states dominated by censorship and repression.[44]

To this purpose, in the Risorgimento cycle Ruffini resorts to two literary devices. First, the so-called 'speechifying dialogue' whereby political ideas and historical facts are embedded in the exchanges between the characters:

> [Lucy] 'but pray, how many separate States are there in Italy?'
>
> 'So many', replied Antonio, 'that unless I reckon them on my fingers I am not sure of the number myself. Let me see, – there is Naples (including Sicily), Rome, Sardinia, Tuscany, Parma, Lucca, and Modena; the Lombardo-Venetian, under Austrian rule, makes the eighth.'
>
> 'And are all the governments alike?'

> 'All alike, each and all of them working on the grinding principle.'
>
> 'And the Pope, – is his as bad as the rest?'
>
> 'Fully, nay, if possible, still worse. I daresay it did not strike you as being so.'
>
> 'To tell the truth', said Lucy, with some little embarrassment, 'I did not think about the matter.'[45]

The second expedient is that of isolating historical digressions in 'objective' accounts, related by the omniscient narrator and which sometimes can cover a whole chapter. In *Doctor Antonio* the longest digressions occur at two different points: the first in chapter XIV, *Sicily*, the second in chapters XXV, *Vae Victis*, and XXVI, *Continuation*. *Sicily* is wholly devoted to an overview of the history of the island from the Norman conquest to the cholera epidemic of 1836. In keeping with Manzoni and Scott's historical novels, the sources of the information provided are usually specified in notes (for example, '*Memoire Historique sur les Droits Politiques de la Sicile*, par M. M. Benaccorsi et Lunia, *La Sicile et les Bourbons*, par M. Amari, Membre du Parlement Sicilien, *Gli Ultimi Rivolgimenti Italiani*, *Memorie Storiche* di F. A. Gualtiero, Vol. IV').[46] In *Doctor Antonio* this process of fictional 'authentication' is thoroughly set up by Ruffini, eager to exploit popular anti-Bourbon sentiment in Britain in the wake of Gladstone's famous letters to Lord Aberdeen (1851), in which the British minister had publicly denounced the Neapolitan legal and penal systems (in fact, Gladstone congratulated Ruffini on his novel).[47] In his account of the Sicilian history in chapter XIV, Antonio repeatedly stresses the similarities between Sicilian and British political institutions, while reminding Sir John – and the reader – of the crucial part Britain played in Sicilian politics at the time of the 1812 Constitution: 'And who helped us to consolidate our political edifice, I mean who assisted us in the framing of our Constitution of 1812 – the Constitution in the name of which Sicilians have been struggling and dying for the last eight-and-twenty years – but monarchical Great Britain?'[48]

Moreover, by dwelling on the ensuing subjugation of Sicily to the Kingdom of Naples, in chapter XIV Ruffini clearly appeals to the British detestation of the Bourbons, further fuelled in chapters XXV and XXVI, by an account of the failed Neapolitan insurrection of May 1848 and the harsh repression that followed. This is a typical Manzonian section, especially if one compares it to the *Storia della colonna infame* (*The Column of Infamy*) published as an appendix in the second edition of Manzoni's

I Promessi Sposi in 1840.[49] The trials of Settembrini, Poerio and Spaventa are re-constructed almost line by line from the official minutes of the hearings. Concomitantly, the narration becomes more impersonal and 'scientific'; the main characters appear to retreat behind the scenes, giving way to historical figures who often materialise in Ruffini's novels, albeit usually only fleetingly.[50]

Not surprisingly, the sources listed in the final chapters of *Doctor Antonio* include Gladstone's aforementioned letters to Aberdeen, correspondence published in Cavour's journal *Il Risorgimento* and the *Difesa di Luigi Settembrini scritta per gli uomini di buon senso, Dedicata alla G. Corte Criminale di Napoli*, a pamphlet of 1850 later included in Settembrini's *Ricordanze della mia vita* (1879).[51] With the same vehemence as Gladstone, the narrator details the cruelties to which the middle-class patriots were subjected by the Neapolitan government: those who opposed the regime were arbitrarily arrested and their property confiscated, with the result that moderate politicians were induced to embrace revolutionary positions. By telling the stories of brave young patriots, all members of the middle and upper classes of Naples and, thus, far from any fanaticism, Ruffini is trying to give respectability to the Risorgimento ideal in the eyes of his British readership, whose judgement is immediately called into play:

> What would you say, O English reader, to a charge of treason brought against some of your most eminent and respected statesmen, leading Members of your Houses of Parliament, judges, nobles, churchmen, and gentlemen? Well, the men whose names I have just written down [Poerio, Settembrini, Pironti, Nisco, Gualtieri, Braico], ... these men stand as high in the social scale of their country, rank as high to character and position, as any of your English statesmen, Members of Parliament, magistrates, nobles, and gentry.[52]

Ruffini's attempt to win over the British readers was surely successful judging by the number of enthusiastic comments and positive reviews that, notwithstanding the book's poor sales, this more 'historical' section of the novel received, including that from the prestigious *Athenaeum*: 'Constructed after the manner of Manzoni, there are certain lengthy details which might have been compressed, but the true and touching interest of the story would carry a reader through a much heavier medium'.[53] Undoubtedly, Ruffini borrowed from Manzoni the idea of a realist art that should be at the same time educational, interesting and representative of the truth. In spite of its many weaknesses – the 'flatness'

of some of his characters, a pervasive sentimentality, the use of stock situations and, in the case of *Doctor Antonio*, the imbalance between the first long 'idyllic' part and the second much shorter 'political–historical' section – Ruffini's prose is effective in giving credibility and verisimilitude to fictional events and characters. Writing to his mother in 1854, during the composition of *Doctor Antonio*, Ruffini specifies in unmistakable terms the difference in the representation of reality in history and in fiction. The latter, in his opinion, is not the realm of actuality but of authenticity, the expression of another form of factuality, 'Provided that the facts narrated are such as to have really occurred in that given country, in that particular period, no matter whether they have occurred or not. Art contents itself with the relative, possible, and not absolute, current truth'.[54]

Even so, when compared with Scott and especially Manzoni's fiction, Ruffini's works exhibit important differences that can be ascribed to his Victorian literary background. First of all, the historical and ideological digressions are integrated in a more harmonious way into the narrative fabric. Moreover, when they constitute independent parts of the diegesis, the historiographical *excursus* are signalled by appeals to the British readers often introduced with humorous, Dickensian touches – hence very distant from the committed and serious tone of memoir writers – as in the following passage from *Doctor Antonio*: '(The reader who objects to history in a work of fiction, has only to slip over the rest of the chapter)'.[55] Another distinguishing feature of Ruffini's style is the way in which the speechifying dialogue is fused into the 'educational' relationship between the characters, and presides over the relational dynamics – be it love or friendship – within the Anglo–Italian couples formed by Antonio/Lucy and Paolo/Lavinia, along with the male pairs Antonio/Sir John and Paolo/Thornton.

In fact, in *Doctor Antonio* the process of 'education' of the British reader is enacted not so much through the heroine, Lucy Davenne, but rather through the figure of her proud father, Sir John, in many ways the embodiment of the myopic and prejudiced attitudes of the typical British tourist who visited Italy. It is to the baronet that the narrator's ironic and cutting remarks are chiefly directed:

> For, the better to study the Italian character, habits, and manners, Sir John frequented only English families; had an English physician, English servants, even an English cook; ate English dinners, drank *soi-disant* English wines, and bought from English shops – in short, Sir John had realized in Rome a little London of his own.[56]

It must be noted that in the characterisation of Sir John, Ruffini exercises all his narrative skills to accomplish the difficult task of criticising the baronet's narrow-mindedness without giving offence to his British readership. Ruffini's model here is Dickens: as the preceding and following passage show, the narrator's tone is always amusing and sympathetic, while the motives behind the baronet's behaviour and notions are mainly ascribed to cultural misinformation and ingrained beliefs. In addition, the character of the aristocrat allows Ruffini to delineate and deconstruct through various humorous incidents the myth of Italy as a land of merciless *banditti* and especially the home of violent republicans, only recently included in the heterogeneous gallery of Italian types:

> Sir John had few but very decided notions about Italy and Italians. Italy, Sir John allowed, was a fine country, but scarcely habitable: a furnace in summer, a glacier in winter. … The Italians he pronounced to be a rapacious, shabby-looking, oily-tongued people, who never went out without a rosary in one pocket and a stiletto in the other. Every second man met with in the street was either a singer, or a bandit, or a ruined noble who lived by his wits; a catalogue of the constituent elements of the Italian social body, enriched of late by the fresh addition of the bloodthirsty republican conspirator, plotting for ever against his lawful sovereign – *a new variety of the species Italian*, of which Sir John had heard much during his stay in Rome.[57]

If on his arrival at the Osteria del Mattone ('the humble roadside inn' where Lucy spends her convalescence tended by Antonio) Sir John had felt as if he was among 'a tribe of Red Indians',[58] the use of a lexeme such as 'species' to refer to the Italians in the passage above further unearths the racial and colonial sub-text of the novel, revealing Ruffini's deep awareness of the British ethnic construction of 'Italianness'.

Ruffini's Risorgimento

Although his production has long been classed among the works of the so-called Mazzinian and 'democratic' school, by the 1850s Ruffini had moved away from Mazzini and his political creed, to the point that in 1848 he had sat as a deputy in the Piedmontese parliament and later accepted the post of plenipotentiary to France in Gioberti's short-lived moderate-conservative government.[59] In fact, as early as 1834 Ruffini had written to his mother that 'She [Mazzini] is not my ideal any more, as you already know, but I still love and worship her'.[60]

Moreover, Mazzini's popularity in Britain was rapidly declining following the failed Milan insurrection of 1853. With respect to the years of the first conspiracies, the political scene had radically changed. Although the revolts of 1848 had ended with the defeat of Novara, the struggles and the tragic death of many young patriots had not occurred in vain. Back in 1843 Gioberti had published the *Primato*, statutes were granted by Charles Albert and Pius IX (and elsewhere, albeit briefly), and even if traditional absolutism was soon restored in the Papal States, these concessions had certainly fostered the patriots' hopes. More importantly, the Italian cause had gained the support of a state, the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), with its parliament and its ministers Gioberti, D'Azeglio and Cavour. Above all, in liberal Britain, politicians like Palmerston and Gladstone had denounced Ferdinand II's illiberalism in Naples. Yet, even within the British parliament views on the Italian question varied considerably.[61] Overall, however, liberal and anti-papal sentiment was deeply rooted in the Victorian culture and this guaranteed British support to Piedmont.[62]

As a consequence, the 1850s saw the consolidation in Britain of the belief that the Italian crisis could be resolved by extending to the whole peninsula a constitutional regime modelled on that of Piedmont and, by extension, of Britain. Ruffini too embraced the Piedmontese solution, although he never renounced his republican past. Writing to his brother Agostino from Paris in April 1848, he discussed the burning dilemma between Piedmontese rule or a republic in Lombardy: '…all our antecedents are republican, all our friends and the Genoese youth are for the republic, but in our situation I could put up with Charles Albert as King of Lombardy but would never help him become one'.[63] In fact, it is not surprising that all of Ruffini's male protagonists are young patriots that take part in republican uprisings. Nevertheless, if *Lorenzo Benoni* is permeated by a conspiratorial atmosphere, in *Doctor Antonio* Ruffini openly advocates the moderate line, maybe not completely coincident with his personal views but more attuned to the liberal-monarchical sentiments of the British reading public.

In *Doctor Antonio*, the eponymous hero summarises for Lucy the events of 1848–9, but tellingly does not mention the role played by Mazzini and the republicans, emphasising, instead, the traditional targets of British public opinion – the Bourbons, the Pope, and the French and Austrian armies:

> The defeat of the Piedmontese at Novara, the subjugation of Sicily, effected by a Neapolitan army, the restoration of Pius the Ninth to

> despotism and the Vatican by French bayonets, the occupation of the Roman Legations and Tuscany by the Austrians, and, lastly, the fall of heroic Venice, are the salient points of the Iliad of evils which the space of a few months had heaped on the unfortunate Peninsula.[64]

In addressing liberal, anti-papal and anti-Bourbon Britain, Ruffini seems at all times very careful not to stir British ingrained horror of revolution and mob violence. Even when Antonio actively takes part in the 1848 uprising in Naples, the narrator remarks on the fact that the Sicilian hero is defending a revolutionary but 'legitimate' government, which took over from a despotic regime condemned in many parts in Europe. In chapter XIV Antonio retorts to Sir John, who accuses him of endorsing the republican faith, by drawing an implicit comparison between Sicily's monarchical past and Britain:

> 'Ultra-democratic party! Republics!' explained Antonio, in unfeigned amazement. 'Who ever dreamed of a republic in Sicily? ... The Sicilians are essentially monarchical people; their traditions, habits, and customs are deeply rooted in monarchy. We owe our free institution to kings, and through a long line of kings was Sicily respected and happy'.[65]

Despite his being a Sicilian, Antonio's words count for Italy too, since, as the narrator explains, '... when we say his country, we mean of course Italy, for Antonio's patriotism was not confined to the isle in which he was born, but embraced the whole of the motherland'.[66] In this respect, many a time Antonio's views seem to be predictive. In 1840, the setting for the first part of the book, the Kingdom of Sardinia was not yet involved in the process of unification, but Ruffini writes in 1855 – after the constitution granted by Charles Albert and the First War of Independence, when the idea of a unified Italy under the house of Savoy was gaining ground, even among the republican conspirators of the 1830s. This aspect accounts for the frequent eulogies of the kings of Sardinia written, one suspects, especially for the benefit of Ruffini's British readers. The following passage taken from chapter XXIV is a good example: 'Reaction rode rampant everywhere but in Piedmont. That country was, indeed, a bright exception; there the loyalty and good sense of the young sovereign, and the loyalty and good sense of the people, had succeeded in maintaining public liberty and private security'.[67]

At the same time, and notwithstanding his decision to support the Piedmontese constitutional monarchy, Ruffini never makes explicit his

separation from Mazzini and the republicans, whose emotional and deeply Romantic influence, from a literary point of view, can be traced in his exaltation of sacrifice and self-abnegation as the inevitable outcome of any political commitment. Unsurprisingly, Ruffini's novels often end in tragedy (with suicides, exile, imprisonments). In *Doctor Antonio*, for instance, Lucy dies while Antonio's figure is almost sacralised and thus given the status of a martyr, especially after his refusal to escape without his companions from the prison of Ischia, where he 'still suffers, prays, and hopes for his country'.[68]

It is in *Lavinia*, perhaps, that Ruffini's notion of patriotism is most overtly expressed, this time voiced by Daniele Manin, whom Paolo, the protagonist of the novel, briefly meets in Paris:

> I view Sardinia as a great national force. Is that a good or an evil? It is a fact – and this fact, moreover, is monarchic. Are we to render it hostile to the cause of emancipation because it is so, or are we to turn it to good account, taking it as it is? The question is not a question for me, at all events. I declare that for my part I am ready to accept of monarchy, if monarchy is to give us *an Italy independent and one*.[69]

Because of the political views expressed in his novels, and above all because of his involvement with Gioberti's government in 1848–9, many republicans considered Ruffini a 'traitor'.[70] A clue about his motives can be found in *Doctor Antonio*, in particular in chapter XXII when Antonio, as the author of an excellent memoir on the political situation in Sicily and Naples, is invited to the court of Ferdinand II:

> Antonio did not lose a day, but went to Naples. He knew very well to what this step laid him open. He knew very well that his intentions would be misconstrued by party spirit; that his name would be torn to pieces; that he would be branded as a runaway, a renegade, a traitor, but he did not care. So long as he had a hope of doing good to his country, he was not the man to be deterred by personal considerations.[71]

Antonio's feelings are likely to be an accurate fictional version of Ruffini's state of mind in the aftermath of his election, along with his brother Agostino, in the college of Taggia in 1848, when he faced the humiliation of taking an oath of allegiance to the same king who some years earlier had sentenced him to death and forced him to exile. Motivated only by his desire to advance the national cause, Ruffini

was well aware that in doing so he would be condemned as a turncoat. However, the moment he realised he could do very little for Italy as a deputy or an envoy, he resigned and decided to pursue his nationalist ideals through the pages of his books. In the end, his novels turned out to be far more effective weapons than the unsuccessful attempts at insurrection of the republicans or his own political–diplomatic efforts.

By writing about the lives of worthy Italian young patriots, showing how unlike the 'bloodthirsty conspirators' represented in part of the British press and literature they were, Ruffini was trying to make the idea of 'an Italy independent and one' not only practicable and desirable, but also respectable in the eyes of his moderate British readership. To this end, he played on the British values of liberty, self-determination, anti-Catholicism, and above all respectability, an ideal that lies at the very heart of the Victorian construction of Britishness and that further proves the valuable contribution Ruffini gave to the Italian Risorgimento with his work of cultural and literary negotiation.

Notes

1. Charles Dickens to W.H. Wills, 28 April 1859, in G. Store (ed.) (1997), *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, vol. 9 (1859–61) (Oxford: Clarendon Press), pp. 54–5.
2. *Lorenzo Benoni* sold well, not only in Britain, but also in Germany and France, where it was translated in 1854 and 1855 respectively. It was reviewed in the major literary journals of the day and – with the exception of the *Athenaeum*, whose anonymous reviewer lamented the book's unidiomatic language and 'mixed' genre – was widely praised for the vividness and truthfulness of its depiction of Italian life. *Lorenzo Benoni* was still popular at the end of the century, as testified by Nietzsche's enthusiastic reading of the book during his stay in Amalfi in 1877. *Doctor Antonio*, instead, was not so widely reviewed and despite the favourable criticism of the *Athenaeum*, which praised Ruffini's 'pure and flexible style', in 1856 its sales had not yet covered the expenses of the publication. Ruffini's later books, especially the Risorgimento stories of *Lavinia* and *Vincenzo*, were almost ignored by both the reading public and critics, mainly because the British interest in the political affairs of Italy rapidly withered after unification. Nevertheless, in the 1860s Ruffini's novels were popularised in Europe thanks to Tauchnitz, the prestigious German reprint house that included Ruffini's complete work in its renowned 'Collection of British and American Authors', started in 1841. On the reception of Ruffini's novels in Britain see A. Obertello (1931) 'L'opera di Giovanni Ruffini in Inghilterra', in *Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi tempi: Studi e ricerche* (Genoa: Il Comitato Regionale Ligure della Società Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento), pp. 420–81.

3. On this topic see C. Viazzi (2000) 'Il *dottor Antonio* in televisione', in F. De Nicola (ed.) *Giovanni Ruffini, patriota italiano, scrittore europeo (Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studi, Imperia, 5 dicembre 1998)* (Genoa: De Ferrari), pp. 76–82. The first cinematic adaptation of the novel was produced by Manderfilm in 1938 and directed by Enrico Guazzoni.
4. A. C. Christensen (1996) *A European Version of Victorian Fiction* (Amsterdam: Rodopi); M. Marazzi (1999) *Il romanzo risorgimentale di Giovanni Ruffini* (Florence: La Nuova Italia).
5. My reference is to Mazzini's essay 'On a European Literature' (1829), first published in Italian with the title 'D'una letteratura europea' (1829), in *Antologia*, XXXVI, 107–8, pp. 91–120.
6. Marazzi, *Il romanzo risorgimentale di Giovanni Ruffini*, p. 10.
7. As he writes in his journal, 'Le 2 Janvier 1837 à 10 heures du matin parti de Grange, le 12 Janvier 1837 arrivé a Londres à trois heures après midi. Commence la leçon d'anglais Lundi 23 Janvier 1837'. *Taccuini di Giovanni*, Archivio Storico del Risorgimento di Genova, n. 1931.
8. On Ruffini's years in England and his relationship with Mazzini see Obertello (1931) 'L'opera di Giovanni Ruffini in Inghilterra'; M. Wicks (1937) *The Italian Exiles in London 1816–1848* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); E. Morelli (1990) *L'esilio di Mazzini e dei fratelli Ruffini* (Rome: Alpha Print); F. Della Peruta (2000) 'I fratelli Ruffini e Mazzini: fine di un sodalizio', in De Nicola (ed.) *Giovanni Ruffini. Patriota italiano, scrittore europeo* (Genoa: De Ferrari), pp. 25–45.
9. This was a crucial obstacle to the creation of an Italian identity. On this topic see D. Laven (2006) 'The Idea of the Nation in the Risorgimento and Liberal Era', in T. Baycroft and M. Hewitson (eds) *What is a Nation? Europe, 1789–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 255–71.
10. From a literary point of view, *Vincenzo* remains Ruffini's masterpiece for the psychological depth of its characters, the balanced experimentation with different genres, and the modernity of the theme treated (the conflict between religious and liberal stances within the new Italian state as mirrored in Vincenzo's marital crisis).
11. On the Victorian debate on gentlemanliness see R. Gilmour (1981) *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London: Allen & Unwin); R. Antinucci (2009) *Sulle orme del gentiluomo: percorsi letterari ed episteme vittoriana* (Rome: Aracne).
12. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds) (2000) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); B. Anderson (1991) *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso Books). On this aspect see also M. J. Wiener (1985) *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
13. See L. Colley (1992) *Britons. Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); H. Brocklehurst and R. Phillips (eds) (2003) *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
14. Percy B. Shelley to Leigh Hunt, 20 [?] December 1818, in W. Kemp (1991) *The Desire of My Eyes: The Life and Work of John Ruskin* (London: Harper Collins), p. 152.
15. See A. McAllister (2007) *John Bull's Italian Snakes and Ladders. English Attitudes to Italy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing), especially pp. 131–159.

16. On this topic see L. Sponza (1988) *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Realities and Images* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
17. The letter is quoted in C. Cagnacci (ed.) (1893) *Giuseppe Mazzini e i fratelli Ruffini: lettere raccolte e annotate* (Porto Maurizio: Berio), p. 263. Agostino Ruffini (1810–55) followed his older brother Giovanni and Mazzini first to Switzerland and then to London. Friction with Mazzini, however, led Agostino to move to Edinburgh in 1840. Thanks to letters of introduction from Thomas and Jane Carlyle, he started teaching Italian and was much admired by a group of Scottish intellectuals as 'one of Italy's best, finest and gentle' men (D. Masson (1911) 'An Edinburgh Brotherhood – Agostino Ruffini', in *Memories of Two Cities* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) p. 125). He returned to Italy in 1848 upon his election, together with Giovanni, as representative of Taggia in the Piedmontese Parliament, but soon contracted a paralytic disease and died some years later. Apparently, his figure is adumbrated in the character of 'Signor Sperano' who tells the story of *The Poor Clare*, in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Round the Sofa* (1859).
18. See H. K. Bhabha (1994) *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge) and E. W. Said (1978) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
19. The most influential works in this respect were Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* (1851) and Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871).
20. See the seminal studies by H. W. Rudman (1940) *Italian Nationalism and English Letters: Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters* (London: Allen & Unwin); K. Churchill (1980) *Italy and English Literature 1764–1930* (London: Macmillan); J. Pemble (1987) *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
21. Ruffini met Cornelia de Boinville Turner (1795–1874), twelve years his senior, in Paris in 1846 and lived with her until her death. Well-educated, intelligent and pretty, Cornelia was an inspirational muse both to Ruffini and, in her youth, to the Romantic poet P. B. Shelley (on this latter aspect, see A. C. Christensen (1998) 'Cornelia Turner: un anello di congiunzione tra Shelley e il Risorgimento', in L. M. Crisafulli Jones (ed.) *Shelley e l'Italia* (Naples: Liguori), pp. 145–54). Together with Henrietta Jenkin (1807–85), another accomplished Scotswoman and supporter of the Italian liberals, she assisted Ruffini in the revision of his novels. Turner was the author of *Angelo Sanmartino* (1860), a novel inspired by the figure of Garibaldi, and *Charity: A Tale* (1862), while Henrietta Jenkin wrote four novels: *Who Breaks-Pays (Italian proverb)* (1861), *Skirmishing* (1863), *Once and Again* (1865), and *Within an Ace* (1869). On Ruffini's relationship and collaboration with both women see I. C. Cozzolino (1937) 'La donna nella vita di Giovanni Ruffini', in *Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi tempi*, pp. 334–418. On their role in the composition of *Doctor Antonio* see R. Antinucci (2002) 'L'officina linguistica di Giovanni Ruffini: alcune varianti di *Doctor Antonio*', *Merope*, XIV, 37, pp. 67–97. On Cornelia Turner's Risorgimento fiction see G. Sertoli (2013) 'I romanzi risorgimentali di Cornelia Turner', in Q. Marini, G. Sertoli, S. Verdino, L. Cavaglieri (eds) *L'officina letteraria e culturale dell'età mazziniana (1815–1870)* (Novi Ligure: Città del Silenzio), pp. 129–41. On Jenkin's novels see A. C. Christensen (2005) *Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Contagion: 'Our feverish contact'* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).

22. In memoirs, the events of a recent past, usually coincident with the youth of the first-person narrator, are fictionalised through the filter of memory. Although this type of narrative entails the presence of autobiographical elements, it lacks the immediacy and the confessional tone of the autobiography proper, which implies the identity of name between author, narrator and protagonist. *Lorenzo Benoni*, in this respect, represents a mixed genre, since it comprises features of the historical novel, memoir, autobiography and *Bildungroman*. As the reviewer of *The Dublin University Magazine* noted, 'It is not history – it is not biography – it is not romance; but it is more than all' (*The Dublin University Magazine*, XLII, CCXLVIII, August 1853, p. 158).
23. On the uses that the British liberal classes made of the Italian cause in the process of their own self-fashioning see M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (New York: St. Martin's Press), and G. Sacerdoti Mariani (2012) 'Il Risorgimento del dibattito parlamentare inglese', *Anglistica Pisana*, IX, 1–2, pp. 3–14.
24. 'Charles James Fox, Lord Holland, and Earl Grey of the Reform Bill spoke Italian and wrote it passably. So, later, did a succession of prime ministers in office for over thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign, and this was another remarkable fact that was not without importance in politics'. D. Mack Smith (2000) 'Britain and the Italian Risorgimento', in M. McLaughlin (ed.) *Britain and England from Romanticism to Modernism* (Oxford: Legenda), p. 14.
25. According to coeval accounts, many British men and women who personally met Mazzini were struck by his charisma, honesty and 'gentlemanliness'. This very opinion was expressed in 1849 by an anonymous journalist of the *Illustrated London News* who, after having praised Mazzini's 'noble expression', remarked that 'all who were fortunate enough to know him in England, loved him most enthusiastically' ('Mazzini, the Roman Triumvir', *Illustrated London News*, 19 May 1849, p. 312). Both Mazzini and Ruffini were frequent visitors at Thomas Carlyle's house in Chelsea, where they formed a close relationship with Jane Carlyle and made the acquaintance of other important Victorian intellectuals, such as John Stuart Mill, John Hunter, and the Toynbee brothers. Although Mazzini and Carlyle had divergent political ideas, when the letter-opening scandal broke out in 1844 the eminent Victorian 'prophet' famously wrote an impassioned letter to *The Times* on behalf of Mazzini, in his words, 'a man of genius and virtue; a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men, numerable unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr-souls; who, in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practice what is meant by that'. (Thomas Carlyle, 'To the editor of *The Times*', 18 June 1844).
26. The figure of Mazzini repeatedly features or is alluded to in several Victorian novels published in Britain up to the beginning of the twentieth century. On this topic see R. Antinucci (2013) '"He had the English manner": Mazzini tra le pagine dei romanzieri vittoriani', in Q. Marini, G. Sertoli, S. Verdino, L. Cavaglieri et al., *L'officina letteraria e culturale dell'età mazziniana*, pp. 113–28.
27. M. Isabella (2009) *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 203.

28. On the figure of Gallenga see T. Cerutti (1974) *Antonio Gallenga: An Italian Writer in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
29. Giovanni Ruffini to Marina Carcano, 26 January 1868, quoted in A. Linaker (1882) *Giovanni Ruffini* (Turin-Florence-Rome: Fratelli Bocca), p. 102.
30. E. De Amicis (1915) *Pagine sparse* (Piacenza: Rinfreschi), p. 279.
31. Giovanni Ruffini to Eleonora Curlo Ruffini, 11 January 1839 in Cagnacci, *Giuseppe Mazzini e i fratelli Ruffini*, p. 210.
32. A. M. Banti (2006) *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi).
33. Christensen, *A European Version of Victorian Fiction*, p. 67.
34. R. Maxwell (2012) 'The Historical Novel', in J. Kucick and J. Bourne Taylor (eds) *The Oxford History of the Novel in English. Volume 3. The Nineteenth-Century Novel 1820–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 60. On the historical novel in Italy see B. Hammett (2011) *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Representations of Reality in History & Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 147–69.
35. J. Ruffini (1861) *Lavinia* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz), I, p. 84; J. Ruffini (1872) *Carlino and Other Stories* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz), p. 280.
36. J. Ruffini (1861) *Doctor Antonio: A Tale of Italy* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz), p. 112.
37. For more on the 'feminisation' of the Italian male see M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, pp. 13–55; R. Casillo (2006) *The Empire of Stereotypes: Germaine de Staël and the Idea of Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); S. Gundle (2008) '"The 'Bella Italiana" and the "English Rose": Reflections on Two National Typologies of Feminine Beauty' in M. Pfister and R. Hertel (eds) *Performing National Identity: Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions. Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi), pp. 137–55.
38. As shown by Lucy Riall, war certainly provided a powerful means of 'revirilisation' of the Italian man. L. Riall (2012) 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 152–70.
39. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 84.
40. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, pp. 287–8.
41. Set against the backdrop of the Risorgimento, the novel has a bipartite structure, parallel to its temporal subdivision. Antonio, a fugitive Sicilian patriot, is the local doctor of Bordighera, a small town on the Western Riviera. On a sunny April morning in 1840, he rescues Sir John Davenne, an English baronet, and his daughter Lucy who is injured in the overturning of the carriage in which they were travelling from Rome to Nice. Lucy is treated in the *Osteria del Mattone*, where she spends a few weeks nursed by Antonio. She soon falls in love with the Italian doctor, but social conventions and the Davennes' sudden return to England bring the idyll to an end. After eight years, Lucy, now widow to Lord Cleverton, returns to Italy and tracks down Antonio in Naples. We are in the fateful year 1848. Antonio is injured and arrested during the uprisings that take place in the city in May and later condemned, along with Settembrini, Poerio and other renowned patriots, to languish in the Bourbon jail of Ischia. When Lucy devises a secret plan to

free him, he refuses to escape without his comrades. The novel ends with the death of the heroine and the removal of Antonio to another prison in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

42. Christensen, *A European Version of Victorian Fiction*, p. 67.
43. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, pp. 111–112.
44. E. Bottasso (1985) 'Successo e significato d'un romanzo ottocentesco. *Il dottor Antonio*', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, LIII, 2, p. 83.
45. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 110.
46. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 202.
47. Ruffini wrote to his mother, 'Mr. Gladstone, former English Minister, and author, if you recollect, of the two famous letters on the political processes of Naples, did convey his congratulations to me' (Giovanni Ruffini to Eleonora Curlo Ruffini, 2 November 1855, Genoa, Mazzini Archive, folder 29, insert 3408).
48. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 201.
49. On this aspect see A. Lombardinilo (2004) 'Giovanni Ruffini tra ideali patriottici e scrittura letteraria: il *Dottor Antonio*, romanzo dell'esilio', in G. Oliva (ed.) *Scrittori italiani in Inghilterra: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Chieti, 20–22 ottobre 2003* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane), pp. 209–34.
50. Many Risorgimento figures feature in the pages of Ruffini's books: Mazzini, Cavour, Gioberti, Victor Emanuel II, Settembrini, Manin, even Cardinal Antonelli. Among these, however, Mazzini alone, paradoxically the only one whose identity is hidden behind the pseudonym of 'Fantasio' in *Lorenzo Benoni*, rises to the rank of a character. The absence of Garibaldi, the most important figure in the history of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and no doubt the symbolic hero of the Italian Risorgimento, seems particularly striking, especially considering his extraordinary popularity in Britain. The strong moderate imprint he intended to give to his novels, however, can perhaps explain Ruffini's decision.
51. The first edition of Settembrini's *Ricordanze della mia vita* was published posthumously in Naples in 1879 with a preface by Francesco De Sanctis. See C. Klopp (1999) *Sentences: The Memoirs and Letters of Italian Political Prisoners from Benvenuto Cellini to Aldo Moro* (Toronto: Toronto University Press), pp. 87–105.
52. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, pp. 360–1.
53. *Athenaeum*, 1 December 1855, n. 1466, p. 1400.
54. Giovanni Ruffini to Eleonora Curlo Ruffini, 6 July 1854, in Cagnacci, *Giuseppe Mazzini e i fratelli Ruffini*, p. 385.
55. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, pp. 201–2.
56. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 58.
57. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 58 (my emphasis).
58. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 43.
59. In the speech he gave in the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies on 27th June 1848, however, Ruffini openly advocated the unification of all Italian states with Rome as capital, although he bitterly realised that the idea was almost non-existent in Turin. On Ruffini's brief political career see A. Linaker (1882) *Giovanni Ruffini*, pp. 37–49, and E. Vitale (1931) 'La missione diplomatica di Giovanni Ruffini a Parigi nel 1849', in *Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi tempi*, pp. 221–321.

60. Giovanni Ruffini to Eleonora Curlo Ruffini, 23 September 1834, in Cagnacci, *Giuseppe Mazzini e i fratelli Ruffini*, p. 44. The use of the feminine and of different women's names to allude to Mazzini was a device adopted in their correspondence in order to avoid censorship.
61. See D. Beales (1963) 'L'opinione pubblica inglese di fronte all'Unità Italiana', in *Atti del XL Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano (Torino, 26–30 ottobre 1961) vol. VIII* (Rome: Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano), pp. 77–91.
62. The 1840s and 1850s saw the publication of a number of novels that focused on the anti-Catholic religious controversy, especially after the so-called 'Papal aggression'. See, for example, Emma Robinson's *Caesar Borgia* (1846), John Richard Digby Beste's *The Pope* (1840) and *Isidora: Or the Adventures of a Neapolitan* (1841), and Catherine Sinclair's *Beatrice, or the Unknown Relatives* (1852). On this wide-ranging topic see, among others, E. R. Norman (1968) *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (London: Allen & Unwin); S. Griffin (2004) *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); and M. Wheeler (2006) *The Old Enemies: Catholic and Protestant in Nineteenth-Century English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
63. Giovanni Ruffini to Agostino Ruffini, 11 April 1848, in Cagnacci, *Giuseppe Mazzini e i fratelli Ruffini*, pp. 329–30. Ruffini's view in this respect is similar to the position of Mazzini at the time. See D. Mack Smith (1994) *Mazzini* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 57–9.
64. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 358.
65. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 201.
66. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 329. Antonio's declaration of love for 'patria' extending to all of Italy makes also clear the presence of several vital elements of Banti's Risorgimento canon in Ruffini's fiction, especially the representation of both selfless young patriots and Italian traitors dragging the country down (such as Jervolino, the Neapolitan hired spy).
67. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 358.
68. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, p. 392. On the figure of the martyr see L. Riall (2010) 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Modern History*, 82, 2, pp. 255–87.
69. J. Ruffini (1861) *Lavinia*, vol. II, p. 276, my emphasis.
70. A. Sarchi (1981) *Storia di un esule. Giovanni Ruffini, 1807–1881* (Sanremo: Casabianca), p. 84.
71. Ruffini, *Doctor Antonio*, pp. 334–5.

5

An Italian Inferno in Ireland: Alessandro Gavazzi and Religious Debate in the Nineteenth Century

Anne O'Connor

Alessandro Gavazzi (1809–89), the 'warrior-priest',[1] is a well-known figure in the history of the Risorgimento, famed for his patriotic oratory, his tireless support of the Italian nationalist cause, and – after Pope Pius IX's repudiation of Italian nationalism in 1848 – his virulent anti-Catholicism. Following the collapse of the 1848–9 revolutions in Italy, the former Barnabite monk spent much of his life abroad, preaching on Italian and anti-papal themes, first and principally in the United Kingdom, but also in North America. Gavazzi's lecture tours in England, Scotland, the United States and Canada have all been subject to scholarly scrutiny, particularly in relation to the 'Gavazzi riots' in Quebec and Montreal in 1853.[2] In contrast, nothing has been written on Gavazzi's Irish tours, despite their frequency – Gavazzi came to Ireland on at least 17 occasions; a single tour could contain upwards of a dozen lectures at venues across the country (see Appendix 1) – and his considerable impact on mid-century Irish sectarian relations and debates regarding the 'Italian Question'. Biographers of Gavazzi mention these visits only in passing.[3] Historians of nineteenth-century Ireland meanwhile rarely and only briefly mention the Italian, without fully comprehending the scope and range of his influence.[4] This essay seeks to fill that lacuna.

First contacts

Gavazzi arrived as an exile in London in the late summer of 1849. It was here that he probably first made contact with the Irish writer and journalist Francis Sylvester Mahony. Mahony, originally from Cork, had been ordained as a Catholic priest in Italy in 1832 but had quickly become

estranged from the Church on his return to Ireland and had subsequently moved to London, where in the mid-1830s he began writing for the Tory-oriented *Fraser's Magazine*. By the late 1840s, Mahony was the Rome correspondent for the liberal *Daily News* – and (following the pope's abandonment of the liberal–nationalist cause in Italy and the suppression of the Roman Republic) an advocate of Mazzinian republicanism.[5] It appears that Mahony sought out Gavazzi after reading (or possibly attending) the Italian's oration in memory of Ugo Bassi, the Italian patriot priest executed by Austrian soldiers in August 1849. Mahony subsequently organised a series of speaking engagements for Gavazzi in the capital (January–May 1851), during which Gavazzi 'electrified London audiences ... with his dramatic attacks on the Papacy'.[6] The Irishman translated the lectures for the *Daily News* and then published them in a collection that was to be the first of Gavazzi's many publications in English.[7] Mahony was Gavazzi's first and main point of contact with Ireland in the years between 1849 and 1852 and, given the evident affinity between the two men, it is reasonable to assume that Mahony's views on Ireland influenced those of Gavazzi.[8] Certainly, Mahony provided a link between Italy, England and Ireland for the recently arrived Italian emigrant and the linguistic and journalistic skills of the Irishman did much to promote Gavazzi as a figure of note in the 1850s, as the Italian gratefully acknowledged in his autobiography.[9]

From the outset, Gavazzi's London lectures and his subsequent tour of Britain in 1851 generated enormous interest within Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities, albeit for very different reasons. Archbishop Paul Cullen, who would go on to be Ireland's first cardinal and a major adversary of Gavazzi, was aware of the Italian's preaching as early as January 1851. In a letter to the rector of the Irish College in Rome, Cullen observed that Gavazzi was 'acting the devil' in London, adding the rather unchristian sentiment that it was a pity Gavazzi was not with Ugo Bassi when the latter was taken and executed by the Austrians.[10] In a further letter in March, Cullen said that Gavazzi was preaching 'truly diabolical things, and these are then put in all the newspapers to edify the public'.[11] In April 1851, the Catholic MP for Mayo, George Moore, raised questions about Gavazzi in the House of Commons – and received a taunting public letter in reply to these assertions, which mocked his learning and invited him to hear Gavazzi preach the following day.[12] It is quite possible, given the punning use of English in this letter, that Mahony was involved in writing this reply. From the other side of the sectarian divide, the *Belfast News-Letter* was equally assiduous but rather more positive in its coverage of Gavazzi, frequently dedicating columns

of newspaper space to the Italian (indeed, the *News-Letter* carried articles on Gavazzi on an almost weekly basis from January 1851).

Gavazzi, then, was a well-known, controversial and divisive figure in Ireland before he even set foot in the country. As we shall see, his frequent tours of Ireland from 1852 only served to heighten Irish interest in him and to polarise opinion still further. To understand why Gavazzi generated such passions in Ireland, we need to recognise some important contextual factors. Firstly, the events of the Risorgimento in Italy (relayed through the Irish press) generated huge interest in Ireland.[13] In the 1850s and 1860s, Italy was not perceived in Ireland as a distant country embroiled in internal upheaval; rather it was felt that Italian affairs were of particular relevance to the Irish people. In the wake of the Roman Republic, it was clear to Catholics in Ireland that the aspirations of the Italian nationalist movement threatened the pope's temporal authority in the peninsula. They perceived the threat to the pope's territories as a threat to themselves. Consequently, the Irish Catholic community was actively involved in fundraising for the pontiff and, in 1860, in sending an Irish Papal Brigade to Italy to help in the military defence of the Papal States.[14] Irish Protestants, on the other hand, for precisely the same reasons, supported the Italian nationalists, with many hoping for the complete erosion of papal power through Italian unification. Irish responses to the Italian situation thus divided along religious lines with domestic preoccupations dominating reactions to continental developments. In these circumstances, the arrival of Gavazzi was manna to many within the Irish Protestant community, especially since he was the only regular visitor to Ireland among the high-profile Italian nationalist exiles living in England (most, like Mazzini, never came at all). Equally, it was hardly surprising that Catholics should denounce Gavazzi's presence and activities in Ireland.

Secondly, Gavazzi's reception must be seen in the context of proselytism and evangelism in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. The Irish Church Missions had been set up by the evangelical Anglican minister Alexander Dallas in 1849 to convert Catholics in Ireland. The controversial Mission, which enjoyed substantial financial support from England, was particularly active in Connacht and garnered widespread publicity in both the Catholic and Protestant press in Ireland in the early 1850s for the alleged success of its programme.[15] The object of the evangelisers was to demonstrate the dangers and wrongs of Papal authority and to tempt Roman Catholics away from their Church by a variety of means (including in the case of the Mission, making food aid during the Famine conditional upon conversion). It was no coincidence that Gavazzi, with his visceral

hatred and denunciation of the Papacy, was especially welcomed by Irish evangelists. Gavazzi received particularly strong support in Ireland from Rev. Thomas Scott, John Ouseley Bonsall and a committee of Protestants, a core group who were all members of the Priests' Protection Society (itself chaired by Scott). The aims of this society were:

> FIRST, to protect Priests of good character, who consciously abandon the apostasy of Rome for the pure faith of the Gospel; SECOND, to afford protection and education to a class of young men originally intended for the priesthood in the Romish Church; THIRD, to disseminate throughout the world, by means of the pulpit and the press, Scriptural and Anti-Popish instruction; FOURTH, to reform Romish Priests throughout Great Britain, Ireland, and foreign countries.[16]

Proselytism in Ireland was, of course, a hugely contentious issue. Paul Cullen saw it as a serious threat to the Catholic Church and directed much of his energies in the 1850s towards combating the evangelists' efforts. Outraged by their attempts to 'pervert' Catholics from their religion, he situated Gavazzi's visits in this heated and polemical context, at the same time linking Protestant methods in Ireland to Mazzinian tactics in Italy. As he wrote in March 1852:

> [t]he Protestant ministers and other predicants are looking to incite their co-religionists against us, and every day they spread the most ridiculous and foolish slanders against the Church. The declamations of that madman Gavazzi are acclaimed as masterpieces of eloquence, and are distributed freely among the people. The Protestants here are employing all the same arts against Catholics that the followers of Mazzini and other sectarians used in Italy against the legitimate governments. The things that they do are incredible, and the amounts of money that they spend to poison the souls of Catholics are prodigious.[17]

In November 1852, shortly after the end of Gavazzi's first major Irish tour, Cullen observed:

> The fury of the Protestants everywhere is currently very great. They are doing nothing but preaching and inveighing against the Church. Gavazzi has made twenty or so tirades here in Dublin. He seems possessed by the devil, but he earns at least one hundred *scudi* per day

> with his nonsense. ... there are many other friars and apostates who are still endeavouring to promote Hell's cause'.[18]

Later that month, Cullen sent a report to Rome complaining that Protestants were spending huge amounts of money trying to 'eradicate the faith amongst our poor'.[19]

Press reports indicate that a great number of clergy of the Established Church, as well as dissenting ministers, attended Gavazzi's early lectures. However, not everyone within the Irish Protestant community welcomed Gavazzi's presence. For example, in November 1852, E. Tighe Gregory, the Rector and Vicar of Kilmore, Meath, complained to the *Daily Express* that it was a mistake:

> [w]hen foreign ecclesiastics, warm from constitution and irritated, perhaps by oppression, are invited to rail from the platform or the pulpit; and I confess my belief that the domestic crusade locally urged and encouraged in many places has done much to provoke the intolerant demonstration of the Roman Catholics, and little to gain true converts to our church.[20]

In fact, many Irish Protestants shared the Rector's dislike of the evangelicals' proselytising efforts, and for much the same reasons. Gavazzi must therefore be seen as a controversial figure both in the Catholic *and* the Protestant communities. Gavazzi repeatedly stated over the years that he was not a member of any one Protestant denomination because if he joined one it would displease others. He preferred to define himself as a 'Christian of the early centuries' and a Protestant because he 'protested' against Catholicism.[21] He also liked to say that he was a Roman Catholic of the time before Rome had either pope or popery. Nonetheless, he was a problematic Protestant who did not sit easily in a volatile Irish religious context.

Evangelism was not the only source of heightened religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants in mid-century Ireland.[22] The re-establishment of the English Catholic hierarchy (1850); the Synod of Thurles (1850); the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill (1851); the Madiai affair (1851–3) in Italy (where a Protestant husband and wife were jailed for proselytising in Tuscany); the Achilli-Newman libel case (1851–2); the declaration of the Doctrine of Immaculate conception (8 December 1854); and the Mortara case in 1858 were among some of the flashpoints which served to create a tense and charged context for Gavazzi's visits to Ireland. They were also the controversial issues that Gavazzi, who did not tiptoe around local sensibilities, readily incorporated into his lectures.

Lectures

Gavazzi was a regular lecturer in Ireland from 1852 and he travelled the country with his particular brand of incendiary oratory.[23] Gavazzi's dress for his public engagements was both visually striking and unusual: he wore the habit of a Barnabite monk, even though by the 1850s he was no longer associated with the order. The Catholic *Freemans Journal* described Gavazzi on his first visit to Dublin in February 1852 in the following terms:

> [He] seemed to be of a middle age, rather portly in person, and of a strongly marked Italian cast of countenance. He wore a black cassock, girt round with a broad black waistband, on which was embroidered the figure of the cross over the chest, and the like in lesser size over the left breast. Over this was thrown, in a style of rather classic drapery calculated to produce 'effect' a plain black cloak of some light cloth, the folds of which M. Gavazzi repeatedly adjusted during his discourse.[24]

This was to be Gavazzi's standard attire for all of his lectures, in Ireland and elsewhere.

Adding to Gavazzi's exoticness was the fact that, on his early tours at least, he spoke in Italian. When he had arrived in London in 1849, he had no knowledge of English and initially struggled with the language. Consequently, Gavazzi preferred to lecture in his native tongue and then have a member of the organising committee deliver a translated summary of what he had said. How much of the Italian was understood was debatable. The *Freeman's Journal* again:

> M. Gavazzi then came forward, and proceeded to deliver a long address in Italian, not one word of which was understood or intelligible to more than at the utmost a dozen of those present. Yet strange to say, at the conclusion of numerous passages, the delivery of which was marked with much animation, the audience applauded in the most vehement manner. A great number of elderly ladies in the boxes and younger ones in the 'body of the Hall' applauded heartily whenever the impassioned orator brought to a close one of his vehement sentences.[25]

Friendlier papers than the *Freeman's Journal* admitted that Gavazzi's early Irish lectures were not always easy to follow. The *Nenagh Guardian*,

for example, reported (30 October 1852) that Gavazzi had 'delivered an oration on the subject of the Pope, of which he subsequently gave a translation in English; but the latter was pronounced with a rapidity and an occasional indistinctness, which renders it impossible for us to present even an accurate epitome of the address'.[26] Not long after, however, the same paper reported a Gavazzi lecture in which he had spoken 'at great length in Italian, repeated observations in excellent English, and was fully comprehended and loudly cheered throughout'.[27] The paper made similar comments when Gavazzi lectured in Ireland in the spring of 1854: the audience, it claimed, had followed his sermon with intense concentration and comprehension; Gavazzi had spoken with his 'usual power and eloquence'.[28] Even then, though, Gavazzi apologised before a lecture for 'coming forward again with his poor broken English,' which he described as 'baby-like'.[29]

However limited his English might have been, Gavazzi was undoubtedly a demonstrative and passionate speaker. In February 1852, the *Freeman's Journal* observed, in rather condescending terms:

> The elocutionary powers of M. Gavazzi were manifestly of a high order; but his gesticulation was violent. It was, in many parts, what we should be disposed to call, without meaning offence, acting; and many of the attitudes and gestures of the lecturer struck us as being rather theatrical in their character.[30]

An editorial some days later was more scathing:

> There is no help for people who will go and vex themselves by listening to the ravings and looking at the frantic gesticulation of an Italian mountebank attired in the habit of a monk, who is said by his translators to be slandering the habit and blaspheming the cross he wears.[31]

For others, Gavazzi's 'frantic gesticulation' was a core part of his appeal. In September 1862, the Protestant *Irish Times* reported a lecture that Gavazzi had delivered in Italian and English 'and even to those who did not understand the former language, the lecturer's expressive action went far to convey his meaning and gave those present a very fair idea of the general tenor of his discourse'.[32] Certainly, Gavazzi's lectures seem to have attracted large crowds and, apart from sermons delivered on Sundays, the audience often paid quite substantial sums to listen to him. In later years, advertisements for Gavazzi's lectures in Ireland

stated that the admission costs would go towards the work of the Free Italian Church (established by Gavazzi in 1870). It is unclear, though, how Gavazzi spent the money raised in the 1850s and 1860s. Detractors such as Paul Cullen liked to suggest that Gavazzi was motivated to come to Ireland for financial reasons. Gavazzi, however, allegedly maintained his Barnabite vows of chastity and poverty until the end of his life.[33]

Many Italian exiles were present in the British Isles in the 1850s: Giuseppe Mazzini, Giovanni Achilli, Felice Orsini, Camillo Massei and numerous other Italians came to England where they were active in promoting the Italian nationalist cause.[34] Although these became famous figures and travelled throughout Britain, most did not come to Ireland. The apostate priests and Italian nationalists created a new high-profile community thus generating curiosity and interest in the Irish public who, however, had to be content with reading about these figures. Gavazzi's willingness to travel to the many corners of Ireland and to speak to the public about his direct experience of the events of the Italian Risorgimento marked him out as a novel figure and accentuated the interest he generated in Ireland. Interestingly, newspaper reports often remarked that much of Gavazzi's audience (particularly in the daytime lectures) consisted of women. This trend dovetails with a similar interest shown by women in England for the Italian hero of the Risorgimento, Giuseppe Garibaldi – women were central to organising events to fundraise on his behalf and were active promoters of his cause in Britain.[35] In Ireland, women became involved in fundraising for Gavazzi and their efforts resulted in the presentation of an 'Irish Ladies Printing Press for Gavazzi' in 1861 – the donations from various women towards this cause had been noted in the papers throughout the previous year.

We can glean the substance of Gavazzi's Irish lectures from the titles of his talks, from newspaper reports and from the publication of some of the lectures subsequent to his tours of Ireland.[36] In the 1850s and 1860s, the religious and the political concerns of the Italian sat side by side. Gavazzi could talk, for example, on a religious theme in the morning and on current events in Italy in the evening. For him there was no clear delineation between the two: the realisation of Italian unification and liberty required the destruction of the Papacy.

As was to be expected, Gavazzi regularly spoke on 'Popery in Ireland'. Ireland, he argued, was a sister to Italy in talent, courage and adversity, but both had suffered under the malign influence of the Papacy. Catholicism, he said, taught a trade of pauperism and propagated it wherever it went. This was evident in Italy, where there were many poor people, but even Italy 'did not equal the squalid poverty and miserable

huts' he had seen in Ireland. When he found among a people such ignorance, such poverty and such carelessness, he said there was something underground – something wrong on the part of the clergy.[37] In contrast stood Protestant Albion:

> Great Britain is really great, prosperous, happy, industrially and commercially rich, national, glorious and free. (Applause) She is so, not because she is a Roman Catholic country but because she is a Protestant country (Renewed applause). ... With Romanism – blindness, misery, prostration and slavery. With Protestantism – happiness, prosperity, glory and liberty. Here death, there life.[38]

Gavazzi's comments reveal a profound lack of understanding or empathy with Irish national sentiment. As he told an Irish audience in 1862, reminding them that French and Austrian troops still occupied Rome and Venice:

> If an Austrian garrison held Dublin, and a French garrison London and Plymouth, and if a Russian army were in possession of Edinburgh, would Britons consider themselves free and independent? ... If the motto 'England for the English' holds true, no less true is it that Italy should be for Italians. They all spoke one language, they were a homogeneous people, and therefore they should be free under one government.[39]

Not for the first time, Italian and Irish nationalists appeared to be engaged in a dialogue of the deaf. Irish liberty would be achieved through the destruction of the Papacy, not by the overthrow of British rule. Gavazzi's comments on the similarities between the Irish and Neapolitans are revealing in this regard (Gavazzi himself was from Bologna):

> The Neapolitans stand in the same relation to the Italians as the Irish people stand to England. My Saxon friends are ponderous and grave (hear and laughter) but my Celtic friends are, like the Neapolitans, vivacious and sparkling. I like to live in the midst of a people who have good hearts, but the Neapolitans have been badly guided by their priests (hear, hear).[40]

Gavazzi denounced the influence of the Catholic Church on Irish education, the role of priests in Irish society, the Jesuits and the Irish hierarchy, the use of miracles to influence the people in their religious beliefs,

and Irish religious superstitions such as the Purgatory of St. Patrick in the North and Patrick's Well in Downpatrick. Priests he often referred to as 'toads' and 'snails'; Maynooth was a 'cobra' that needed to be crushed; the pope himself was 'a senseless, perjured, godless murderer'.[41] Throughout the 1850s, Gavazzi repeatedly – but wrongly – blamed the Catholic priesthood for the persistence of the violent agrarian movement, Ribbonism. When Irish volunteers went to fight in defence of the Papal States in 1860, Gavazzi derided them as 'Popish Paddies'.[42]

Reactions

Gavazzi's Irish lectures incensed Catholic opinion and fanned sectarian tensions. The same week that Gavazzi spoke for the first time in Ireland, a lecture was organised in a Catholic church in Dublin to answer his 'unmitigated slander[s]' (Gavazzi had reportedly used language 'of a ... violent, abusive, and offensive character, denouncing several pontiffs by name as murderers, and many such and worse epithet[s]').[43] The *Freeman's Journal* meanwhile warned its readers that Gavazzi's presence was part of a plan cooked up by fanatical parties in the country who wished to encourage religious dissension. Later that year, the *Freeman's Journal* chastised the noted antiquarian Sir William Betham for chairing a meeting in which Gavazzi made comments that the paper considered 'abusive of the vast majority of the people of this country'.[44]

For the Irish hierarchy and Cullen in particular, Gavazzi was anathema. When Cullen returned to Ireland from Rome in 1849 to take up the Archbishopric of Armagh, he had immediately set to work to combat what he perceived as the insidious influence of evangelisers. Armed with an absolute belief in the urgent necessity for action, Cullen had launched counter-attacks against the missions, happily recounting his successes to his superiors in Rome. Gavazzi's arrival in Ireland, then, was deeply troubling to Cullen, since Gavazzi came with the express purpose of undoing Cullen's recent work. Cullen reported Gavazzi's first lecture thus:

> We currently have here Mr. Gavazzi whose exploits are known in Rome. He wears a habit like a Barnabite and a cross on his chest. The day before yesterday, he preached against the Pope in the most atrocious fashion, and then he described the Cardinals as Judases and traitors. Yesterday, he delivered an invective against confession, and described the most scandalous things. The Protestants spread these sermons around as much as they can, and in this way seek to

> poison the poor people. They have by now resorted to every despicable means to destroy the Catholic religion. If Mohammed came to preach against us, he would be welcomed with applause and would receive every assistance. Gavazzi is paid around fifty pounds sterling a day for his preaching.[45]

Moreover, in Gavazzi the Archbishop saw the marrying of twin evils, proselytism and nationalism. Cullen had witnessed the events of 1849 in Rome first hand and had been horrified and appalled by what he had seen. From then on (if not before) nationalism and anti-clerical Mazzinianism were forever linked in Cullen's mind. Irish nationalism was no exception and Cullen fought tooth and nail through the 1850s and 1860s to combat nationalist influence and activity in the country.[46] Despite Gavazzi's only passing interest in Irish nationalism, Cullen convinced himself to the contrary. In 1855, in one of his frequent attacks on the Irish nationalist leader Charles Gavan Duffy, Cullen wrote:

> It matters not what he [Duffy] is himself while he is put forward and acts as the life and soul of a most dangerous party, the Young Ireland faction, the clerical members of which are likely to fall into the party of Father Gavazzi and the lay members become disciples of Kossuth and Mazzini.[47]

Cullen's comments point to one further source of concern regarding Gavazzi: his influence on rebel priests and the damage that they could do to Cullen's attempts to 'Romanise' the Irish Catholic Church (that is, to bring it in line with the Church in Rome). As a former priest, Gavazzi was a threatening figure and it is interesting that Cullen conflated Gavazzi with rebellious priests who crossed his path in Ireland, particularly Father Patrick Lavelle.[48]

For his part, Gavazzi understood the importance of Cullen in the Irish Catholic Church and the primate became a favourite target for the Italian. In one lecture in Belfast, Gavazzi described the Archbishop as an 'impudent old man', who was neither learned nor pious, but rather a brazen-faced, strong-willed 'battering-ram' for the Catholic Church. Gavazzi (quite correctly) claimed that Cullen had dismantled the independence of the Irish Catholic Church and gave several examples of his activities. In another lecture, he warned that if the English had felt troubled by the agitation of O'Connell, this was nothing compared to the 'rebellious machination' of Cullen and his ilk.[49]

While Cullen fulminated against Gavazzi in his personal correspondence, the most visible demonstration of Gavazzi's impact on sectarian relations in mid-century Ireland was the rioting that accompanied his appearances in Galway (1859) and Tralee (1862). In the wake of earlier disturbances provoked by Gavazzi involving Irish Catholic emigrants in mainland Britain, the United States and Canada (where several people were killed when trouble flared in Montreal), the Irish press had already expressed concerns that Gavazzi's presence in Ireland might have similarly bloody consequences. The *Nation*, for example, commented in 1858 in advance of Gavazzi's arrival in Belfast:

> We declare that it is not safe for the public peace, in the face of the melancholy reciprocity of bitter feeling between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast, that such a man as Mr. Gavazzi should let off such inflammatory harangues as his, in such a place as Belfast. We do appeal to every lover of harmony, to every humane and rational citizen – to every sensible Protestant – and ask, What is likely to be the effect of Mr. Gavazzi's harangue on the mournful state of feeling existing between Catholic and Protestant in Belfast? Will it calm the fiery sea, or will it make the hell broth boil? Will it heal the wounds of past strife? Will it make neighbour meet neighbour, Catholic meet Protestant, and Protestant meet Catholic, as friends and fellow-Irishmen – or will it tend to embitterment, hatred, strife, riot and bloodshed? … unhappily, it may be a month hence, when [Gavazzi] is safe beyond the reach of explosion, that his infernal machine may set Belfast in a blaze.[50]

In the event, Belfast remained quiet. When Gavazzi lectured in staunchly Catholic Galway the following March, however, his entourage was 'hooted and pelted at with stones, sods of turf and every description of missiles'. Gavazzi's party attempted to flee, but were 'hotly pursued by the great body of the infuriated crowd'. Protestors also broke the windows and doors of the lecture venue and attacked several buildings in the city associated with Protestants. It took the intervention of 40 armed police to restore order.[51] Gavazzi cancelled all further lectures in Galway and immediately left for Athlone.[52] Despite the attacks on Protestant property – and *The Times*' portrayal of the disturbance as 'a disgraceful outbreak of religious fanaticism'[53] – the authorities concluded that the 'unfortunate riot … originated in no ill-will towards the Protestant inhabitants of Galway, but appears to have been a sudden outburst of popular indignation against a gentleman, who, it was believed,

intended to treat the religion of the majority of the inhabitants with disrespect'.[54] Proceedings against those arrested during the riots were quickly dropped.

In Tralee, the catalyst for the riot appears to have been remarks made by Gavazzi during an evening lecture at the Benner Hotel on 'Garibaldi and the present political state of Italy', in which he described Irish Papal Brigade volunteers as 'cowardly ragamuffins'. His comments aroused the passions of some of the Roman Catholics present and the police subsequently ejected them. In the commotion that ensued, protesters smashed eggs on the walls of the lecture room.[55] By the time the lecture had finished a mob had gathered outside the hotel and windows were broken. Gavazzi and his audience found themselves trapped in the building. The parish priest addressed the rioters, imploring them to go home, and the Riot Act was read, but the crowd still refused to disperse (in fact, some protestors went on to smash the windows of several houses belonging to local Protestants). Only in the early hours of the following morning did the demonstration finally break up, at which point those present in the hotel were able to leave; even then, some protestors continued to throw stones.

Although Gavazzi was certainly the trigger for the Galway and Tralee riots, both events must be set within the broader context of growing sectarian tensions in Ireland engendered by proselytism, and, more immediately, the heightening of those tensions due to events in Italy. The Galway riot of March 1859 took place as the Italian peninsula stood on the verge of a 'second war of independence' (war finally broke out in April). The Tralee riot of late September 1862 followed the debacle of Aspromonte (August 1862). The same weekend as the Tralee riot, London's Hyde Park was the scene of running battles between pro-Garibaldi demonstrators and hundreds of Irish Catholics based in the city.[56] The link between sectarian tensions and Italian affairs could not have been clearer. Paul Cullen noted (with some satisfaction) to his superiors in Rome:

> ...while Gavazzi was seeking to disturb us in Ireland, Garibaldi's friends carried out the same duty in England, and caused very serious trouble there. In London, the Garibaldini who had assembled in a park so as to honour Garibaldi and shout 'down with the pope', came into contact with Irish workers, and there were fierce battles on two successive Sundays, in which, however, the Garibaldini, in spite of their immense number, rising to twenty or thirty thousand, received an almighty beating.[57]

Whether the invitations to Gavazzi to lecture in Galway and Tralee were 'provocative' was a question that arose after both riots. In 1862, the Irish correspondent of *The Times* condemned the behaviour of the Tralee rioters as 'utterly inexcusable'. Nonetheless, he argued, Protestants should 'have before them a clear case of imperative duty when they adopt a course which has the inevitable effect of dangerously exciting religious animosity from one end of the kingdom to the other'.[58] Gavazzi, though, refused to accept responsibility, denouncing 'the flagrant conduct of the people of Galway', and claiming in the wake of the Tralee riot that where there was professional pauperism, there was always a source of rioting and disorder as the people had nothing to lose and everything to gain.[59] Nor did Gavazzi temper his subsequent rhetoric. After the Galway riot, he went out of his way to insult the city and its inhabitants. ('Never, never, have I seen such horrible hideousness in my life,' he told an audience in Liverpool, a city with a large Irish Catholic population, 'and, if Dante Allighieri were only living now to make some new scenes for his Hell, there is a pandemonium for him to describe. Oh, the dirtiness, the raggedness, the ugliness').[60] After Tralee, Gavazzi continued to refer to the Irish Papal volunteer force as 'a ragged, cowardly brigade'. In truth, Gavazzi seemed to relish such confrontations. On numerous occasions, he boasted of his physical prowess and his emergence unscathed from the encounters; in 1862, he declared that Tralee was not the first time he had said to a hostile Irish crowd: 'Take care not to approach too near to me because I am a Garibaldian'. He looked on the mob with, he said, a 'calm, philosophic and impartial eye, as a general looked over the field of victory'.[61] As in all his Irish confrontations, the Italian embraced controversy and conflict.

Inevitably, the debate surrounding Gavazzi provoked argument in Ireland over his right to speak, balanced against issues of public order and the sensibilities of Irish Catholics. For his part, Gavazzi vigorously defended his own position. After the Tralee riot, the *Irish Times* reported his claims that:

> He never went into a Catholic meeting or place of worship without conducting himself as a gentleman and a Christian, and therefore he had a right to be respected and unmolested in his own church and meeting when he met and spoke to Protestants… Dr. Cahill or Dr. Cullen could go and preach unmolested in England because Protestants know how to respect their rights, and Christian Protestants had a right to speak in this county without insult.[62]

Gavazzi denied that he had attacked Catholic liberties and claimed that he had never attacked the Reform Bill or the Emancipation Bill, nor

had he even spoken against the Maynooth Grant (these last statements were in fact untrue since he frequently *did* speak against them).[63] On a few occasions such as in Newry in 1862, just weeks after the riots in Tralee, Gavazzi's lectures were cancelled due to concerns regarding the likely reaction of local Catholics, something which greatly angered the Italian who claimed that such cancellations were 'a servile subserviency' to Cullen and an affront to his rights.

Those who opposed Gavazzi's right to speak did so because they felt that his orations were abusive, insulting and likely to stir up hatred. When in 1858, the *Northern Whig* proclaimed freedom of speech as Gavazzi's basic right, the following letter was sent to its editor:

> You say that '[Gavazzi's] right to lecture against the church in Rome is as indisputable as the right of Cardinal Wiseman or Dr. Cahill is to lecture in favour of the Church in Rome.' Perhaps it is. But if his lecturing in Belfast is likely to lead to a breach of the peace, or to create "factious disturbance" what becomes of his right then?[64]

Conclusion

Even in the mid-to-late 1870s, when much of the heat had gone out of the 'Italian question', Gavazzi was still able to draw large crowds to his lectures in Ireland – and generate press headlines and comment, both positive and negative.[65] While the *Irish Times*, for example, remarked favourably (and rather unimaginatively) on Gavazzi's preaching power, his fine physique, strong voice and dramatic style, the *Freeman's Journal* continued to warn its readers of the threat posed by the Italian:

> Father Gavazzi is but little altered since the time when he last appeared before us. He raves, he blusters, he bellows and screams with as much vigour as ever. His lungs are still sound and his nerves still as well strung. His bright Italian eye, his cunning Italian features, stand out in the same contrast with the plain, homely, florid Saxon visages by which he is surrounded.[66]

The audiences he attracted, the protests and outrage he provoked, and the voluminous column space he occupied in publications of all political and religious hues in Ireland from the 1850s to the 1870s, attest to Gavazzi's enormous impact on Irish sectarian relations in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Two final examples will suffice. Firstly, Colin Barr has recently shown how Gavazzi's visit to Carlow a

few weeks before the general election of 1859 led to rising Catholic anger against the favoured Protestant Tory candidate and the unlikely victory of the Catholic Liberal candidate Lord Acton, despite the fact that Acton had never set foot in the constituency.[67] Secondly, when in 1858 the committee of the Athenaeum in Cork city refused Gavazzi permission to speak at the venue, local Protestants united to fundraise for and build a Protestant Hall. The new hall opened in 1861. This development led to even greater sectarian segregation of assembly in the city. More generally, as Jennifer O'Brien has suggested, Gavazzi's fervent anti-papal oratory encouraged Irish Protestants to view the conflict between the papacy and the Risorgimento as an essentially religious struggle thus confirming the resolve of evangelical Protestants to fight papal influence in Ireland.[68] As had happened in New York, Quebec, Montreal and other places where he visited, Gavazzi's preaching in Ireland exacerbated local sentiments and entrenched religious opinion. In Ireland, this translated on the one hand into millenarian, evangelical Protestantism becoming ever more strident in its denunciations of the papacy, and on the other hand, an increasingly ultramontane strain of Catholicism. The perceived threat of apostate and/or rebel priests strengthened Paul Cullen's determination to fight deviations from Roman Catholic norms and galvanised his efforts throughout the country. As a result, Irish religious divisions in this period, following their interaction with the events in Italy, and in particular with Gavazzi, became more sectarian, more segregated and more hostile. Having poured much oil on the fire of Irish religious debate in the 1850s and 1860s, the incendiary Italian, with his unique brand of oratory and religious argumentation, left a legacy of igniting volatile Irish situations and exacerbating the burning religious issues of the day.

Appendix 1: Table of lectures by Alessandro Gavazzi in Ireland

Note: This table does not pretend to be in any manner comprehensive, but serves rather to give an indication, as much as has been possible, of Gavazzi's lecturing in Ireland. We know from his orations that he could give as many as 20 lectures on each visit to Ireland and that he visited towns such as Carlow and Waterford (which are not mentioned here). He generally visited the chief provincial towns during his visits but as the lectures in Dublin and Belfast attracted the largest amount of press interest, these feature more prominently in the table than the lectures given in provincial towns. The table should therefore be taken as an indication of Gavazzi's tours rather than a complete list of all his talks in Ireland.

Date	Location	Title	Details
16 February 1852	Music Hall, Dublin	'The Papacy'	Chair: Sir William Betham
25 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'The Pope'	Chair: Colonel Lewis
26 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Transubstantiation'	Chair: Rev. Dr. Urwick
27 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'The Papal System is Blindness'	Chair: Rev. Hugh E. Prior
28 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'The Papal System is Intolerance'	Chair: Colonel Lewis
29 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Mariolatry'	Chair: Sir William Betham. Morning Lecture
29 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Popish Processions'	Chair: P. J. Marjoribanks. Evening Lecture
30 October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'The Inquisition'	Chair: John Litton
1 November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Worship of Saints'	Chair: Rev. Hugh E. Prior
2 November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Purgatory'	Chair: Major Crawford Morning Lecture
2 November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Rome in England'	Chair: Rev. John Nash Griffen
3 November 1852	Belfast	'The Pope and the Bible'	
4 November 1852	Belfast	'The Inquisition'	
5 November 1852	Belfast	'Auricular Confession and Nuns'	
5 (?) November 1852	Belfast	'The Capital Errors of Rome and Their Supporters in These Countries'	
6 November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	'The Gunpowder Plot in 1605 and 1852'	Chair: C. M. Fleury
8 (?) February 1853	Exeter Hall	Farewell Lecture	Went from Ireland to America
10 (?) May 1854	York Street Chapel	'Nunneries are Anti-Scriptural, Anti-Christian, and Contrary to British Institutions'	Chair: Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Lewis
11 (?) May 1854	York Street Chapel	'The Bible and Education: The Only Safeguard Against the Pretensions of the Church in Rome in Great Britain'	Chair: Rev. George Tredennick/Wm Nesbitt
12 (?) May 1854	York Street Chapel	'The Papal Army in Great Britain and its Protestant Allies'	Chair: Major Boyce

(*Continued*)

Date	Location	Title	Details
12 (?) May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	'The Pretensions of Rome in Great Britain and Ireland'	Chair Rev. Dr. Drew
12 May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	'Popery in America'	One o'clock lecture
12 May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	'The Ireland of St Patrick and that of Dr. Cullen'	Evening Lecture. Tickets priced from 6d to 2s. Chair Rev. J. Macnaughtan
15 May 1854	Coleraine		Afternoon lecture
15 May 1854	Ballymena		Evening lecture
16 May 1854	Newry		
17 May 1854	Antrim		
17 May 1854	Tontine Rooms Armagh	'The Papal Army in Ireland and its Allies'	Chair Rev. J. R. McAlister
18 (?) May 1854	York Street Chapel	'The Romish Inquisition and the Claims of the Church of Rome to Toleration'	Chair: Rev. H. E. Prior
10 November 1858	Rotunda	'Martin Luther'	Chair: Col. Boyes. Gavazzi preached daily during this week
13 November 1858	Rotunda	'The Confessional'	Chair: Col. Boyes
Week of 10 November 1858	York St., Dublin	'Gavazzi versus Wiseman'	
16 November 1858	Music Hall, Belfast	'Martin Luther'	Chair: Dr. Cooke
16 November 1858	Belfast	'Papal tyranny and Errors of Popery'	Four lectures delivered
17 November 1858	May Street Church, Belfast	'Cromwell'	Rev. Dr. Bryce
23 November 1858	Cork		Series of lectures
21 March 1859	Round Room of the Rotunda	Public Breakfast for Signor Gavazzi	50th birthday celebrations for Gavazzi with speeches
March 1859	Merchants Road, Galway	'Italy and the Papacy'	
1 April 1859	Round Room of the Rotunda	'Reminiscences of Ireland'	Rev. Dr. Urwick presided. Parting address

17 July 1861	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Religious Reformation in Italy'	Chaired by Earl of Clancarty, Rev. Thomas Scott and John Ouseley Bonsall also presiding
18 July 1861	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Italy – its Social, Political and Religious Aspect'	Chair: Lieutenant Colonel Boyes
22 July 1861	Protestant Hall, Cork	'Evangelization of Italy'	
23 July 1861	Scots' Church, York St., Kingstown		Proceeds to the furtherance of the Italian Mission
31 August 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Romans, v.9,10	Morning sermon
31 August 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'The Conscience'	Afternoon sermon
1 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'The Progress of Christianity in Italy'	Evening Lecture. Chair: J. O. Bonsall
2 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Italy under Victor Emanuel'	Morning Lecture One o'clock. Admission between 1s 6d and 6d. Chair: Lord James Butler
2 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'The Pope, Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi'	Evening Lecture Eight o'clock. Admission between 1s 6d and 6d. Chair Colonel Warburton
3 September 1862	Grosvenor Road Church, Rathmines	'Italy: Its Present State and Future Prospects'	Admission 1 Shilling One o'clock
3 September 1862	Presbyterian Church, York Rd, Kingstown	'Italy and her Rulers'	Admission 1 Shilling Eight o'clock
25 September 1862	Benner Hotel, Tralee	'The Progress of Religion in Italy'	Afternoon lecture
25 September 1862	Benner Hotel, Tralee	'Garibaldi and the Present Political State of Italy'	Evening lecture
28 September 1862	Bray Presbyterian Church		Mention of Tralee riots
29 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'What Shall it Profit a Man if he Gain the Whole World and Lose his Own Soul, or What Shall a Man Give in Exchange for his Soul?'	Morning sermon

(*Continued*)

Date	Location	Title	Details
29 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Many are Called but Few are Chosen' Matt. 19–16	Evening sermon
30 September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Popery in Ireland'	Chair Colonel Boyce
8 October 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Farewell Lecture	Chair Colonel Boyce The Ladies' Printing Press presented to Gavazzi. Some disturbances outside Hall.
13 August 1865	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin		Sunday Preaching at 12, 3 and 7
14 August 1865	Wesleyan Chapel, Eglinton Rd, Bray	'Italy – its Evangelization'	Tickets 1 Shilling
14 August 1865	Lecture Rooms, Corrig Avenue, Kingstown	'Monks and Nuns'	Tickets 1 Shilling
15 August 1865	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'Confessional'	
15 August 1871	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Farewell Sermons	12 noon and 7 pm
13 October 1872	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin		Preach twice
14 October 1872	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	'The Condition of Religion in Italy and England'	Lecture
15 June 1873	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin		Special Sunday Service
16 June 1873	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin	'Decline of Popery in Italy'	Proceeds for the Free Italian Church
5 August 1874	Concert Hall of Exhibition Palace	'Ritualism'	Rev. T. Scott presided
6 August 1874	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin	'Ritualism'	Rev. T. Scott presided
8 August 1874	Assembly rooms, Corrig Avenue, Kingston		1 Shilling

9 August 1874	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin		Preach the Gospel, admission free
16 May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin	'Good News From Rome for the World'	Preaching at 12 noon and 7 pm
19 May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin	'Vaticanism'	
20 May 1875	Methodist Church, Blackrock		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
21 May 1875	Methodist Church, Charleston Rd, Rathmines		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
23 May 1875	Presbyterian Church, Bray		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
23 May 1875	Presbyterian Church, York Rd, Kingston		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
28 May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St., Dublin	'Vaticanism' and 'The Pope and Freemasonry'	Farewell Lecture. Rev. Thomas Scott presided
22 July 1877	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace	'The Bishop of Rome'	Collection made for 'The evangelization of Italy'
25 July 1877	Wesleyan Church, Wicklow Town		
7 July 1878	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace		Sunday Service, 12 noon and 7pm
10 July 1878	Rotunda		
11 July 1878	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace	Farewell Lecture	
14 July 1878	Belfast		

Notes

1. A. Gavazzi (1854) *The Lectures Complete of Father Gavazzi, as Delivered in New York* (New York: M. W. Dodd), p. iii.
2. M. Ambrose (2002) 'Four Italian Exiles in Edinburgh', *Bulletin of the Society for Italian Studies*, pp. 5–11; R. Sylvain (1962) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Clerc, Garibaldien, predicant des Deux Mondes* (Québec: Tours); V. Breton (2006) 'L'émeute Gavazzi: violence et liberté d'expression au milieu du XIXe siècle', *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, 14, 2, pp. 63–70; E. K. Senior (1981) *British Regulars in Montreal. An Imperial Garrison, 1834–1854* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), pp. 109–33; J. King (1857) *Alessandro Gavazzi: A Biography* (London: J. W. King).
3. Sylvain, *Gavazzi*; L. Santini (1955) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Aspetti del problema religioso del Risorgimento* (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese); M. Rughi (1944) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Italian Priest, Patriot and Reformer* (Dublin: Connellan Mission); King, *Gavazzi*.
4. B. Jenkins (2006) *Irish Nationalism and the British State* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press); D. Bowen (1995) *History and the Shaping of Irish Protestantism* (New York: Peter Lang).
5. F. Dunne (2009) '"Unfurling the Banner of Reform": Public Opinion, Nationalism, and Facts and Figures from Italy', *Irish Studies Review*, 17, 3, p. 327.
6. D. G. Paz (1992) *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), p. 28; B. Hall (1975) 'Alessandro Gavazzi: A Barnabite Friar and the Risorgimento', *Studies in Church History*, 12, pp. 303–56.
7. A. Gavazzi (1851) *Twelve Orations by Father Gavazzi on Papal Usurption and Intolerance* (Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy).
8. For more on Mahony's views on Irish and Italian affairs see Dunne, 'Unfurling the Banner of Reform'; F. S. Mahony (1847) *Facts and Figures from Italy* (London: Richard Bentley).
9. Sylvain, *Gavazzi*, p. 269. In a letter to his superiors, the Irish Archbishop, Paul Cullen, wrote warning the hierarchy in Rome about the dangerous possibilities presented by the two men. Cullen to Fransoni, 2 February 1852, Archives of Propaganda Fide (APF) SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 88 (r)–89 (v).
10. Cullen to Kirby, 20 January 1851, Pontifical Irish College Rome (PICR), KIR. NC.1.1851.5.
11. Cullen to Kirby, 18 March 1851, Bernard Smith Papers, Rome.
12. *Nation*, 5 April 1851.
13. C. Barr, M. Finelli, A. O'Connor (eds) (2013) *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).
14. A. O'Connor (2011) 'The Pope, the Prelate, the Soldiers and the Controversy: Paul Cullen and the Irish Papal Brigade', in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds) *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 329–49; C. O'Carroll (2008) 'The Papal Brigade of St. Patrick', in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds) *The Irish College, Rome and its World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 167–87.
15. D. Bowen (1978) *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800–1870* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan); J. H. Murphy (ed.) (2005) *Evangelicals and Catholics in*

Nineteenth-Century Ireland (Dublin: Four Courts Press); M. Moffitt (2008) *Soupers & Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara, 1848–1937* (Dublin: Nonsuch); M. Moffitt (2011) 'The Conversion of Connemara and Conflict between Paul Cullen and John MacHale', in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds) *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, pp. 231–42.

16. A. Gavazzi (1852) *The Orations of Father Gavazzi Delivered in Belfast on 3rd, 4th and 5th November 1852* (Belfast: William McComb). The Priests' Protection Society was behind the publication of the *Orations* and claimed in that volume to have aided and protected '25 reformed priests and 27 reformed Romish students'. The Society also claimed to have 'issued from the press 254,810 copies of Scriptural and Anti-Popish publications'. The Society was based in 23 Upper Sackville St., Dublin and at Rev. Scott's residence Richmond Hill, Rathmines.
17. Cullen to Barnabò, 26 March 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 124 (r)–125 (v).
18. Cullen to Kirby, 10 November 1852, PICR, KIR.NC.1.1852.58.
19. Cullen to Kirby, 16 November 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 291–292 (v).
20. Letter reproduced from the *Daily Express* in the *Freeman's Journal*, 9 November 1852. Further evidence of Gavazzi's divisiveness is seen in an article in the *Irish Times*, 3 July 1860, which reported that a majority of 22 against 12 councillors had decided that Mr. Ounsely Bonsall should not be elected Lord Mayor of Dublin because he entertained strong religious opinions. It was held against him that he had presided at a public meeting where Gavazzi spoke.
21. King, *Gavazzi*, pp. 57–8; Santini, *Gavazzi*, p. 111.
22. Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland*.
23. See Appendix 1 for details of the locations and topics of a sample of these lectures.
24. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.
25. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.
26. *Nenagh Guardian*, 30 October 1852.
27. *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 February 1853.
28. *Nenagh Guardian*, 13 May 1854.
29. *Nenagh Guardian*, 13 May 1854.
30. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.
31. *Freeman's Journal*, 21 February 1852.
32. *Irish Times*, 3 September 1862. See also descriptions of his orations and style in King, *Gavazzi*, pp. 50–3.
33. Hall, 'Gavazzi'.
34. E. Bacchin (2011) 'Il Risorgimento oltremanica. Nazionalismo cosmopolita nei meeting britannici di metà Ottocento', *Contemporanea*, 2, pp. 173–202; M. Isabella (2009) *Risorgimento in Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
35. L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: The Invention of a Hero* (Yale: Yale University Press).
36. A. Gavazzi (1852) *Father Gavazzi's Gift to the People of Ireland* (Dublin: s.n); A. Gavazzi (1851) *Twelve Orations* (Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy); Gavazzi, *The Orations of Father Gavazzi*; A. Gavazzi (1858) *Fourth Lecture, Gavazzi in Belfast, Pope Pius IX* (Belfast: s.n.). See also Appendix 1 for titles of lectures.
37. *Irish Times*, 1 October 1862.
38. Gavazzi, *Fourth Lecture*, p. 20.
39. *Irish Times*, 3 September 1862.

40. *Irish Times*, 19 July 1861.
41. *Nenagh Guardian*, 21 February 1852.
42. *Irish Times*, 19 July 1861.
43. *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.
44. *Freeman's Journal*, 9 November 1852.
45. Cullen to Fransoni, 19 February 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 103 (r)–104 (v).
46. C. Barr (2008) 'Lord Acton's Irish Elections', *Historical Journal*, 51, 1, pp. 87–114.
47. Cullen, 20 January 1855, quoted in D. Bowen (1983) *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 252.
48. For example in an undated letter, Cullen sarcastically compares the trials of the pope in dealing with rebel Italian priests to Cullen's own trials in dealing with such figures in Ireland. Cullen writes, 'The scenes that are taking place will be without doubt a cause of great harm to the clergy and the religion, but patience is required, and at the end of the day, if Italy has its Pantaleo, and Bassi, and Gavazzi, I do not know why we must not have the honour of producing the Lavelles, Kenyons and Vaughans'. Cullen to Kirby, date unknown, PICR, NK, 3, 1, 28.
49. *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 February 1853.
50. *Nation*, 13 November 1858.
51. *Vindicator*, quoted in *The Times*, 30 April 1859.
52. I am very grateful to Dr. John Cunningham, NUI Galway, who shared his lecture notes on the Gavazzi riot in Galway with me. To the best of my knowledge, he is the only person to have looked in detail at the Irish reaction to Gavazzi.
53. *The Times*, 1 April 1859.
54. *Irish Times*, 28 April 1859.
55. *Irish Times*, 27 September 1862.
56. S. Gilley (1973) 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *Historical Journal*, 16, 4, pp. 697–732.
57. Cullen to Barnabò, 2 November 1862, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 34, ff. 552 (r)–556 (r). In another letter to Rome, Cullen wrote, 'Let us hope that the Holy Father will no longer be harassed by Garibaldi. Here Fr. Gavazzi has caused uproar. In London also, there has been commotion between Catholics and Garibaldini, but naturally the Catholics will be punished, and the others, who are the cause of the ills, will go unpunished'. Cullen to Barnabò, 7 October 1862, APF SC, Irlanda, vol. 34, ff. 531 (r)–534 (v).
58. *The Times*, 30 September 1862.
59. *Irish Times*, 1 October 1862.
60. Gavazzi, lecture in Liverpool, April 1859. Reference supplied by John Cunningham. See also n. 52.
61. *Irish Times*, 31 September 1862.
62. *Irish Times*, 1 October 1862.
63. *Irish Times*, 8 October 1862.
64. *Nation,* 13 November 1858.
65. *Irish Times*, 17 May 1875, 23 July 1877.
66. *Freeman's Journal*, 23 June 1879.
67. Barr, 'Lord Acton's Irish Elections'.
68. J. O'Brien (2005) 'Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859–1860', *Irish Historical Studies*, 34, 135, pp. 289–305.

6

Conforming to the British Model? 'Official' British Perspectives on the New Italy

O. J. Wright[1]

Massimo D'Azeglio's famous declaration, 'We have made Italy: now we must make Italians', might perhaps have been apocryphal, but its significance was not lost on his British contemporaries. The efforts of Italian leaders to bridge the chasm that existed between the Cavourian state and the populations of the various territories which constituted the Kingdom of Italy might well have been 'wholly inadequate',[2] but they attracted considerable interest among the leaders and representatives of the country which was the first officially to recognise the new entity in 1861. Historians have written at length on British views and attitudes regarding Italy, Italians, and Italian nationalism prior to unification, but they have devoted surprisingly little attention to the critical period which followed the unified kingdom's creation. Making use of the official and private correspondence of British political leaders, diplomats and consuls, as well as newspaper articles and the accounts of Britons resident or travelling in the new kingdom, this chapter addresses the neglected subject of 'official' British perceptions of Italy during its first decade and a half of unity. As such, it covers a period in which Italian leaders struggled with the formidable challenges of asserting the authority of the new state and forging a sense of national identity in an extremely fragmented country. It focusses on particular British interests in the operation of government, on the difficulties posed by the 'Southern question', and on law, order, and the administration of justice in Italy, while placing British responses to events in the country within the context of the high expectations generated in Britain by the Risorgimento. It does this within the framework established by the widely accepted notion that the Victorians' ideas of their own superiority

were based very much upon their values, and how the optimism they derived from these beliefs led ultimately to their considerable frustration and disillusionment with the reality of the new Italy. At the same time, it suggests that the British failed properly to understand the country that emerged from the Risorgimento, and the magnitude of the difficulties that confronted it.

Maura O'Connor has identified how, in the decades before unification, Italy was viewed by the British as a land endowed with the 'fatal gift of beauty'; it 'seduced visitors and natives alike with its pleasurable delights but abandoned, in so doing, its duties and responsibilities'.[3] British supporters of Italian nationalism regarded independence and liberty as fundamentally important to Italy's prospects of future redemption and regeneration. After unification, Victorian observers looked to Italian political life for the first signs of resurgence. British politicians believed that the key to greatness for any state rested in its capability to manage its affairs through orderly and moderate representative government. As such, the creation of an Italy modelled on modern, constitutional and secular Piedmont appeared to promise much. The famous despatch with which the foreign secretary Lord John Russell announced his government's approval of the unification of northern and southern Italy on 27 October 1860 contained an emphatic reference to England's 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688; through its Whiggish interpretation of Italian affairs, it shows how British leaders believed that the country had taken an important step along a path of development already trodden by Britain.[4]

Throughout the 1860s, the makers of British foreign policy took an energetic and active interest in the affairs of the newly unified Italian state. In particular, Liberal foreign secretaries – Lords Russell (1859–65) and Clarendon (1865–6 and 1868–70) – frequently took it upon themselves to offer the Italian government corrective advice regarding its direction and policy. Such lectures were nothing new, as British diplomats in the states of pre-unification Italy had established quite a reputation for expounding upon the virtues of parliamentary government and offering unsolicited advice on how to make it work. In 1847, the Whig foreign secretary Lord Palmerston had despatched the Earl of Minto to Italy on a mission to recommend constitutional reforms to the autocratic rulers of Tuscany, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In 1859, the Tory foreign secretary Lord Malmesbury had sent Minto's son, Henry Elliot, on a similar mission to Naples.[5] On each occasion, the abortive British strategy was to see revolution averted through the implementation of peaceful reforms. After 1861, British priorities were quite different;

the main aim then was to see the new state survive. Russell regularly expressed his opinions on the Italian government's administration of Italy, and on occasion made sure that his representatives passed his words on to Italian ministers. For example, when Garibaldi was organising a volunteer expedition to secure the annexation of Venice and/or Rome in 1862, raising the prospect of a potentially disastrous Italian war against Austria, France and other Catholic powers, Russell pressed the Italian prime minister Rattazzi to 'keep his eye' on the volunteers and ensure that no transports were provided to enable them to invade other countries.[6] In 1866, when the Italian premier La Marmora made little secret of his country's intention to fight alongside Prussia in the forthcoming war against Austria, Clarendon attempted unsuccessfully to coerce Italy into remaining out of the conflict by warning of the likely consequences of defeat.[7] In 1869, in the belief that Italy was planning to join France in starting another European war, Clarendon declared that peace was 'indispensable for Italy and neutrality so clearly her right policy' at the same time as seeking to encourage the Italians to reduce the size and cost of their armed forces.[8] In 1870, when the Italian occupation of Rome threatened once again to bring Italy into conflict with foreign Catholic powers anxious over the future independence of the papacy, the British prime minister William Gladstone worked closely with his new foreign secretary Lord Granville to smooth the consolidation of Italian national unity. When it became apparent that the French government was to recall the garrison which it had maintained at Rome since 1849 on the premise of preserving the papal regime, Gladstone and Granville ordered the despatch of a Royal Navy warship to Civitavecchia. Their official justification was a perceived need to afford protection to British and Irish individuals and property in the event of revolution. At the same time, however, it was also made known to Pope Pius IX that the warship was offered as a place of refuge should he feel compelled to seek one. By affording effective protection to the pope, the British thereby removed the main incentive for interference by hostile Catholic states.[9] Although all of these examples of British intervention in the affairs of a united Italy were perpetrated by Liberal governments, it is worth noting that concern over the Italian kingdom's survival was not limited to such administrations. Even if the Conservatives had shown no enthusiasm for the prospect of a united Italy during the crucial events of 1859–60, the Derby and Disraeli governments of 1866–8 were apprehensive over the possibility of the new kingdom's collapse. When rumours to this effect began to circulate in 1867, the Conservative foreign secretary Lord Stanley pledged that, should any war break out between France

and Italy, British sympathies and diplomatic efforts 'would be warmly engaged on behalf of the weaker and younger Power in which from its creation England had taken a strong interest'.[10]

Besides these tendencies towards interventionism in Italian affairs, the extent of British leaders' interest in and concern for the health of the new state was also reflected in diplomatic appointments and an extensive re-organisation of the consular service in Italy, which took place soon after unification. The first British envoy extraordinary to Italy was Sir James Hudson, who had already served as the British envoy to Piedmont since 1852, was a close personal friend of Cavour and possessed a reputation for being staunchly pro-Italian.[11] When Hudson retired in 1863 he was replaced by Henry Elliot, whose appointment raised allegations of nepotism on account of his being the son-in-law of Lord Russell, but who was nonetheless an eminently appropriate appointee on the grounds of his time as minister at Naples during the revolutionary upheaval of 1860. When Elliot departed in 1867 he was replaced by Sir Augustus Paget, who was occasionally inclined to be brusque with his Italian hosts but who nonetheless enjoyed his lengthy tenure of the British mission to Italy, leaving only with the greatest reluctance in 1883. Both Hudson and Elliot had close connections to the pro-Italian Liberal elite in Britain, while Paget was a close friend of prominent Conservatives, yet all three can be described as sympathetic towards the new state.[12]

For information on events occurring elsewhere in the country, these men relied greatly on the hierarchy of British consular representatives based throughout the Italian peninsula and islands. During and after the unification of Italy, this ostensibly commercial organisation was manipulated for the primary purpose of gathering intelligence on political and social conditions throughout the country. To this end a consulate-general was opened at Milan in 1860, in the aftermath of its annexation from Austrian rule, and promptly closed again a year later when the focus of events shifted to the South. As the Italian government found itself faced with a full-scale war to establish control over its vast newly acquired provinces in southern and central Italy, the existing consular office at Naples was raised permanently to the status of a consulate-general. Likewise, the very sensitive political situation that existed in Turin following the transfer of the national capital from there to Florence in 1865 led the Foreign Office to open its consulate for the north of Italy in the Piedmontese city, rather than the more commercially important but more peaceful Milan. In addition to these alterations, in the immediate aftermath of Italian unification two junior diplomats, Dudley Saurin and Laurence Oliphant, were separately

despatched to the unruly Italian regions – including Romagna, Abruzzo and parts of Puglia – where there were few or no established British consular offices. At the same time, Lord Russell informally engaged the services of Peter Browne, a retired diplomat living in Naples, to keep him privately informed of developments in the former Bourbon capital as it was transferred to Savoyard rule.[13] Finally, throughout the period during which papal Rome remained an independent state prior to its incorporation within the Kingdom of Italy in 1870, the British government and its diplomatic representatives in Italy relied upon the services of the talented Odo Russell, and later briefly Harry Jervoise, for information on events in the eternal city. In short, the Foreign Office ensured that it was well equipped to monitor events unfolding in the newly unified Italy.

The aspect of the new state most closely monitored by British ministers in London and their representatives was its political life. The operation of constitutional government in the country attracted little positive comment from British officials, even if they were generally favourable towards the leading political figures of the *Destra storica*, the loose centre-right coalition that governed Italy from 1861 until 1876. The British had welcomed Italian unification under the auspices of Count Cavour's Piedmont largely because of its moderate and stable constitutional model of government, which was not unlike Britain's. Cavour's sudden and untimely death in June 1861, just months after the formal establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, initially prompted widespread fears over the survival of the fledgling state among British Italophiles. Sir James Hudson was said to have been inconsolable (the *Daily News* even reported that Cavour had died in Hudson's arms),[14] while J. T. Delane, the editor of *The Times*, considered it 'a terrible calamity for Italy and for Europe', to 'have lost literally the most valuable life to the world of all the ministers in existence'.[15] Such apocalyptic reactions notwithstanding, the new Italy possessed a worthy cohort of moderate and capable successors to Cavour in the likes of Bettino Ricasoli, Marco Minghetti, Giovanni Lanza, Quintino Sella and Emilio Visconti Venosta. But although these men of the *Destra storica* were well-intentioned individuals, British hopes that they might be able to provide Italy with efficient and effective parliamentary government were frequently undermined by the actions of King Vittorio Emanuele II.

As a constitutional monarchy, the Kingdom of Italy was one of the most liberal states in Europe. Nonetheless, the Piedmontese *Statuto* of 1848, the document which became the Italian constitution in 1861, can hardly be described as progressive. In enabled only a tiny proportion of the male population to vote, and gave considerable power to the

monarch, who had the right to appoint and dismiss prime ministers as he saw fit. This entitlement was a cause of some British disquiet on account of Vittorio Emanuele's frequent determination to make use of it. During the 1860s the king succeeded several times not only in undermining Italian parliamentary politics but also in threatening the peace of Europe. His replacement of Ricasoli – twice – with the more radical and (in British eyes) irresponsible Rattazzi resulted each time in the Italian government giving surreptitious encouragement to Garibaldi to attack Rome, before backtracking and precipitating the respective national humiliations of Aspromonte (1862) and Mentana (1867). On the former occasion, the sovereign brought about his prime minister's resignation by writing to Ricasoli that the country was being misgoverned. Hudson condemned the act privately as a 'thorough piece of buffoonery' and, far less discreetly, by suggesting that Vittorio Emanuele was leading both the country and his dynasty to ruin.[16] When the king obliged Ricasoli to make way for Rattazzi again five years later, the incumbent British chargé d'affaires, Edward Herries, commented that the country had been placed into the hands of nonentities. Among them he included Pompeo Di Campello, the new foreign minister, whom he deemed to be 'so entirely ignorant' of such matters that conversation with him was useless.[17] When Lord Clarendon visited Florence in 1867, he found that many Italian politicians considered Vittorio Emanuele to be 'an imbecile' and 'a dishonest man who lies to everyone'.[18] British confidence in the monarch was further dented when Vittorio Emanuele made his notorious and oft-quoted remark to Sir Augustus Paget that the Italians could only be governed 'by bayonets and bribery' and were 'quite unfit' for the constitutional system.[19]

One of the most frequent results of royal interference in parliamentary affairs during the 1860s was political crisis. During one particularly bad example of parliamentary paralysis in 1868, Paget reported wearily that 'the most probable result of the crisis just ended', would be 'the occurrence of another one'.[20] In 1869, though, after almost two years of political stagnation, the determined triumvirate of Lanza, Sella and Visconti Venosta succeeded in establishing a lasting government that was accountable to parliament. From this point onwards unified Italy was led more often than not by ministries accountable to the Italian parliament rather than by royal favourites, 'an auspicious symptom' of its 'growth in parliamentary experience'.[21] This administration succeeded in constraining the royal hand in politics, committed itself to balancing the country's financial books, and to pursuing a peaceful course in foreign affairs (even if it was not able to silence the king's

sabre-rattling rhetoric).[22] These developments greatly pleased Paget and the Foreign Office, although the turbulence that royal meddling had created in previous years ensured that British officials continued to express doubts about the Italian political model. Lord Clarendon lamented that 'the bright hopes entertained some time ago' of the Italians' fitness for representative government had disappeared, leading him to consider them at the same level as 'those masters of disorder the Spaniards'. Clarendon appeared to point his finger specifically at the ruling class rather than the populace, suggesting that the Italians were 'an easily governed people' who only wanted half a dozen 'honest men' to rule over them.[23] Paget agreed that due to the conduct of the country's political class thus far, the Italians had no right to be surprised at the 'low ebb' to which they had fallen in European estimates.[24] Even the usually sanguine Hudson, long retired but still a highly influential figure in Italy, despaired, complaining 'of the laches of all *Italian Administrations* since Cavour's death'. When his friend, the British Library's Antonio Panizzi, accused him of launching a 'furious onslaught' on the 'poor Italians' in a previous letter, Hudson replied by echoing Clarendon's view:

> I said that when a so styled Italian Statesman once obtained possession of that thing they call a Portfolio (in humble imitation of the French) that he at once forgot not only his friends and countrymen but the little common sense nature had provided him with.
>
> I said the Italians as a People are a warm hearted, sympathetic, quick witted, willing, Race – who when they give their confidence give it with both hands and give their hearts with it.
>
> I said that they had received in return a mass of verbiage – bosh – French imitations – gimcrack conceits – copied from Books – principally French, from which sources they 'cribbed' their laws too…
>
> But I never accused the Italian of any other crime than that of soft heartedness – a nation more easily governed does not exist…
>
> Italians *are* fitted for self-government… half a dozen sensible men who would attend to their business as administrators and not be constantly jobbing for a fractional support in the Chamber… could render this Country one of the best regulated of Bodies Politic in the world.[25]

Hudson's words reflected his sustained faith in the Italian national cause, but also revealed his disappointment at how so much of the country's polity reflected the strong influence over Italy of France rather than Britain.

Indeed, British concerns over the French influence upon Italy were profound, but tended to be strategic rather than administrative. The France of Napoleon III was viewed by British spectators as a predatory power which sought to dominate Italy, and his Second Empire naturally stirred memories of the First. Napoleon I's invasion of Italy in 1796, and the respective British campaigns to ensure that neither Sardinia nor Sicily fell into French hands, were still within living memory. The Piedmontese cession of Nice and Savoy to France in 1860 and subsequent rumours that Cavour was prepared similarly to cede Sardinia or Liguria (and its primary port of Genoa) led the Foreign Office to seek guarantees from him and his successor Ricasoli that no further Italian territory would be offered to the French.[26] British concern was so deep that this guarantee led Lord Russell to seek a further reassurance that Sardinia was included within Ricasoli's reference to 'Italian' territory.[27] The French garrison, maintained in Rome on the premise of protecting papal independence, was regarded with suspicion by the British who saw it as evidence of a French desire to control the Italian sphere. Even after its withdrawal during the Franco–Prussian war of 1870, Prime Minister Gladstone suggested that the French could not 'escape in principle from meddling in Italy'.[28] At the same time as hoping to prevent further French encroachment into Italy, it was also important to British interests that the country ceased to be a powder keg whose crises periodically threatened the rest of Europe. The British government had so eagerly welcomed Italian unification partly because the development promised to stabilise not only the country but also its potential to cause wars and unrest elsewhere. The wave of revolutions that had consumed the continent during 1848–9 had begun, of course, in Sicily. The unification of Italy had commenced with a secret pact between Piedmont and France and a deliberate war against Austria in 1859. The unresolved nature of the Venetian question led Italy to forge an aggressive alliance with Prussia against Austria in 1866, and the Roman question threatened on various occasions to precipitate war between Italy and France. Only the wiser resolve of the Lanza government, and in particular the foreign minister Visconti Venosta, prevented the king from leading his country into the Franco–Prussian war on the losing side in 1870.[29] The general view of British foreign secretaries and diplomats during the first decade of Italian unity was that only the completion of unification with the peaceful resolution of the Venetian and Roman questions would finally ensure that Italy would cease to be a danger to the rest of Europe.

To this end, the prompt stabilisation of Italy's internal situation was deemed essential during the immediate aftermath of Garibaldi's

successful expedition of 1860, and the Foreign Office eagerly sought to acquire information regarding conditions in the southern territories annexed to Piedmont. Unfortunately, the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy created a power vacuum in the South, which the new state struggled to fill. For the first half-decade of its existence, the Kingdom of Italy was seriously undermined by a virtual civil war. Garibaldi's dictatorship in Sicily and his subsequent overthrow of the Bourbons on the Italian mainland raised hopes that Italian unification would bring serious changes regarding land tenure, but instead the new Italian government imposed new methods of taxation and military conscription, worsening rather than improving the living conditions of millions of southerners. The new government disbanded Garibaldi's volunteer army and its Bourbon counterpart, creating unemployment and resentment. This discontent was exploited by an unlikely coalition of reactionaries loyal to the Bourbons and Mazzinian radicals united by their anti-liberal and anti-Piedmontese sentiments. Caught in the middle were thousands of apolitical peasants and released prisoners, who swelled the ranks of the forces opposing the new regime. Hence, the new state was faced by a formidable array of opponents, whom it had to suppress in a vast territory about which the Piedmontese knew little; the northerners were confronted by an often mountainous landscape, lack of roads, and incomprehensible local dialects, each of which provided severe impediments to the establishment of order. In this hostile environment the Piedmontese resorted to increasingly brutal repression, breeding lasting hatred of their rule and leading to the sensation that the South had been conquered by, rather than united with, the North.[30]

Before the chaos ensued, Henry Elliot, the last British envoy to an independent Naples, had made the prescient suggestion that 'it is by no means impossible that we must be worse before we are better'.[31] Similarly Odo Russell, the British minister in papal Rome, had warned that a combination of 'Mazzinians and Papalians' were preparing to resist Piedmontese efforts to realise the unification of the whole country.[32] When the Foreign Office was eager for information on the progress of Italian unification in the South after the official proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in March 1861, Edward Bonham, the British consul at Naples, was frustrated in his efforts to obtain accurate intelligence on account of what he described as the Neapolitan authorities' complete silence on such matters.[33] When the British legation in Turin despatched the young attaché Dudley Saurin to the southern provinces for reconnaissance purposes, he found that the local authorities were not keeping government officials in Naples informed, 'either through negligence or worse'.[34]

Saurin conducted an extensive tour of the rural South, travelling through Campania, northern Puglia and Abruzzo (including what is now Molise). On the basis of what he saw with his own eyes and what he was told by the people with whom he spoke en route, he reported that the former Bourbon territories were 'fast settling into a state of chronic anarchy'; nowhere did any government exist 'beyond that imposed by a present military force'. He found no supporters for the 'Piedmontisation' of the South and no confidence in rule from Turin.[35] Most southerners neither understood nor cared for the Italian national cause. The disorder was perpetrated mostly by brigands 'without any political colour whatever',[36] and resulted chiefly from the 'hopeless demoralization of the country', the corruption of the ruling classes and legal officials, the very limited numbers of carabinieri, and the great pressure placed upon the National Guard.[37] At various locations in Abruzzo, Saurin discovered that peasants had simply risen against their proprietors and local officials rather than against the new government, and attributed the disturbances to regional class conflict rather than national politics. Likewise, Consul Bonham reported from Naples that distant Calabria was 'infested' with brigandage, [38] and argued that the phenomenon was 'less a political movement than a system of agrarian outrage taken up as a profession by a portion of the old disbanded troops, both Bourbon and Garibaldian'.[39] Perhaps most worryingly of all, when a reactionary Bourbonist rising took place in Sicily John Goodwin, the British consul at Palermo, ominously predicted that the event would fail not on account of the Sicilians' devotion to the new Italy, but because of their preference for complete independence.[40] The general picture presented to the Foreign Office by British officials in the South was therefore one of radical and reactionary opposition to the Italian national cause, greatly worsened by the widespread political apathy and poverty of the general populace.

Despite the dire reports of conditions in southern Italy, British representatives were not without optimism. Bonham believed that many stories of reactionary plots and insurrections were spread deliberately with the intention of raising alarm and discontent, asserting that although they might have been true they were undoubtedly exaggerated.[41] Likewise Peter Browne, the retired diplomat resident in Naples, wrote privately to advise Lord Russell not to abandon hope that unified Italy might have a bright future:

> It is no matter of surprise that a Nation full of… intelligence – long kept down and crushed by reckless Tyranny – having succeeded in

> completely emancipating themselves, – should at first make indiscreet or even violent uses of their liberty and experience will soon correct. I still say without hesitation that taking into consideration the violent state of transition in which this Country is placed, and its present suffering from want of the means of existence, all is going on as well as could reasonably be expected, giving happy promise as to the future.[42]

British observers were certainly presented with plenty of evidence of the good intentions of Italy's new liberal government and its determination to realise them. When Sir James Hudson provided the Foreign Office with an extensive account of a speech given in the Chamber of Deputies by the southern politician Giuseppe Massari on the general condition of Italy, the pro-Italian diplomat observed that it was remarkable for its 'bold declaration of the evils which at present exist at Naples, and in the Neapolitan provinces', for the earnest attention paid to it by the other deputies, and for the calm discussion which followed. Massari's claims that the desire for unity in Italy was 'universal', that the endemic brigandage had 'no political signification', and that the people of southern Italy 'called loudly' upon Turin for good government and were 'not afraid of being Piedmontised' might have clashed with the evidence being presented by British representatives in the South, but Hudson did not acknowledge it. Instead, he listed the aspects of Massari's speech that the Foreign Office no doubt wanted to hear: that the anarchy in the South could not be prolonged 'without producing great evils'; that while the Bourbons kept the country devoid of roads, railways and other means of communication it was now Turin's responsibility to build them; that Italy's good administration of Lombardy showed the necessity of it possessing Venice; and that the good administration of the southern provinces would strengthen the country's claims to Rome.[43] Hudson reported that the Italian government was 'anxious' to remedy existing evils. He quoted the assurances of Marco Minghetti, the interior minister, who suggested that a period of disorder was 'inevitable' and that Piedmont's track record in bringing stability to other annexed regions demonstrated its capacity to bring order to the South. He also cited Ubaldino Peruzzi, the minister for public works, who emphasised that since 1860 the government had worked hard to realise the creation of a new national infrastructure for the country by the rapid improvement or establishment of road, rail and telegraphic communications.[44] British representatives watched keenly

as the Italian government set about realising its various public works schemes, aiming not only to improve communications with the South but also to reduce brigandage and opposition to the new kingdom by creating jobs and improving living conditions in the poorest and most remote parts of the country. In the autumn of 1861, British consuls in Sicily and Sardinia provided very positive reports from within their respective jurisdictions. From Sicily, Consul Goodwin recorded that signs of progress were 'very visible in Palermo, and the Environs', where the authorities were paving streets, rebuilding houses destroyed during the Garibaldian campaign, and installing gas lighting.[45] From Sardinia – a territory not new to Piedmontese rule – William Craig, the British consul at Cagliari, compiled an account in response to Lord Russell's haughty suggestion that the island had 'hitherto been greatly neglected by the Government of Turin', and that 'it would be good policy to conciliate the inhabitants' by introducing roads, bridges, and 'other arrangements of European civilization'.[46] Craig had resided in Cagliari for almost half a century, during which he had witnessed Sardinia enter into a political and legal fusion with Piedmont (1847). As if to encourage faith in the prospects of Sicily and southern Italy, Craig suggested that since the introduction of constitutional rule from Turin, the government had 'not been backward' in attempting to ameliorate Sardinia's moral and social condition, and that these efforts had brought benefits in such areas as road-building, commerce, agriculture, education, criminality and the administration of justice.[47]

Any British hopes that good government and modernisation through public works would quickly bring peace and order and lead quickly to the consolidation of an Italian national identity in Italy were, however, to be disappointed. Over the next few years, British representatives uncovered ample evidence of the unpopularity of the unification of the country, of 'Piedmontisation', and of centralised rule by the successors of Cavour. When the September Convention of 1864 led the Italian government to transfer the national capital from Turin to Florence, the announcement provided an opportunity for British consular staff to comment upon the reactions of different regions to the news, revealing the widespread unpopularity of the Piedmontese elsewhere in Italy.[48] In Naples the recently promoted Consul-General Bonham hoped that, although the Neapolitans were jealous that their city had not been considered a potential capital, the selection of Florence might at least relieve their animosity towards the Piedmontese.[49] From Livorno, Consul Macbean observed that many people in Tuscany approved of the move not on

account of the elevation of Florence, but of their disapproval of the way that Italy had been 'Piedmontised' rather than Italianised.[50] From Ancona, Vice-Consul Gaggiotti stated that the people had hitherto been 'anything but pleased' with the Piedmontese predominance.[51] Consul Craig suggested that although the Sardinians had 'never reciprocated any very friendly feeling' with the Piedmontese during a century and a half of their rule, he expressed their hope that the move might reverse Turin's appearance of having conquered Italy by showing 'Italy as having conquered Turin'.[52] Consul Goodwin reported that there was 'ill-blood' between the Turinese and the Palermitans, and that the change might result in a welcome change of government policy towards Sicily,[53] while Vice-Consul Rickards announced that it resulted in 'joyful demonstration' in Messina.[54] Not surprisingly, the one place where the news was received negatively was Turin itself, where several days of violence culminated in the carabinieri opening fire on the demonstrators in a confused and bloody massacre. Henry Elliot, who arrived on the scene shortly after the bloodbath, thereafter remained very conscious of the 'ill-humour' of the Turinese, who were 'sore' that the rest of the country 'so plainly … did not love them'.[55]

Probably the most dramatic single exhibition of discontent with government attempts to forge an Italian nation-state was the Palermo revolt of 1866. When an unlikely alliance of Mazzinian insurgents and clerical reactionaries, impoverished peasants, army deserters, former Bourbon employees and Sicilian autonomists took control of the city, the Ricasoli government was forced to mobilise a military response. Ricasoli attempted also to deny to everyone – his own officials as well as foreign observers – that this severe challenge to the new state's authority was political in nature.[56] But when Britain's Consul Goodwin was awoken one day by gunshots and witnessed armed bands marching through the town waving red flags and brandishing images of saints, as well as crying out various radical and reactionary slogans, he wrote to inform Elliot that the rising was a manifestation of the general hostility in Sicily to Italian rule.[57] Even though the rest of the island remained quiet throughout the disturbance in Palermo, Elliot understood the event to be the natural result of the 'injustice' and 'spoliation' forced on the island by the policy of 'Piedmontisation' irrespective of the wishes of the people. Interestingly, the episode inclined Elliot – irrespective of his close connections to the Liberal government which had so enthusiastically endorsed Italian unity – to express strong criticism of the manner in which it had been achieved. In a clear departure from the early optimism of other British representatives in Italy, Elliot criticised the Italian

government's policy of 'Piedmontisation' by making a direct reference to the British model:

> Local laws, customs, traditions or prejudices have all had to give way before the votes of a majority in the Chamber who neither appreciate nor understand them, and who would not believe that the work of unification was complete, if Naples or Sicily were allowed to enjoy their own laws in the way that Scotland has done since the Union with England.

Although the Scottish diplomat expressed a Whiggish faith that the Sicilians and all other Italians were in principle still attached to the national cause, he concluded that they remained Sicilian before they were Italian.[58]

The Italian government's efforts to pass off opposition to its rule as simple brigandage were no doubt intended to appear plausible on account of the level of criminality in unified Italy. The generally poor condition of many of the annexed regions left British observers with an impression of the country as a wild and unruly land that required taming. Soon after unification Sir James Hudson made it clear to the British government that the new kingdom's problems were not confined to the former Bourbon territories of the South, but also to wide swathes of central Italy. While regions such as Lombardy and Tuscany were prosperous, orderly, and inhabited by 'industrious' and 'intelligent' populations, Hudson warned that the southern mainland was 'as Rude as the back woods of America', with 'no bridges', 'no roads', and a population reduced to 'forced ignorance' by its erstwhile oppressors. In Sicily a similar state of 'impoverishment' prevailed. The region of Marche possessed no regular governmental administration and had perhaps been better off under papal rule, while in the provinces of Parma and Modena the loss of the ducal courts which had 'animated their streets and enlivened their trade' had led to 'considerable dissatisfaction'.[59] In 1868, after several years of constitutional rule, Sir Augustus Paget described Romagna as being 'the scene of assassination, robbery and every other infamy', and suggested that the region was 'a disgrace to this country'.[60] In 1870, Edward Walker, the new British consul at Cagliari, expressed his horror at conditions in Sardinia. When he reported that a young suspect had succeeded in breaking into a Nuoro courthouse and destroying evidence against him prior to trial, an indignant Italian government criticised the consul for exaggerating the state of the island's lawlessness.[61] But Walker continued to express concern over such issues as the Sardinians'

disregard for anti-firearms legislation, the frequency of murder 'for the sake of money or for revenge', and the reluctance of the populace to assist the police with criminal investigations.[62] In 1873, he was shocked when the director of a British mining company in the island received death threats, and on another occasion was robbed by brigands who shot his horse from underneath him.[63] *The Times* described Sardinia as 'not even semi-civilized', comparing its official murder rate of 33 cases per 100,000 inhabitants with Lombardy's rate of just four. The newspaper suggested that some parts of Italy were among the most dangerous regions of Europe, noting a direct correlation between high levels of violence and provinces where education, communications, industry, trade and affluence were 'at their lowest ebb'.[64]

Moreover, the British knew that violent crime in Italy was not an exclusively southern problem. In 1862, a British medic named George McCarthy was stabbed at his home in Pisa by a pair of baggage handlers who had followed him from the railway station, and who appear to have attempted extortion before resorting to murder.[65] McCarthy's death provoked outcry among the British community in Tuscany, for so long a favoured destination for British travellers and ex-patriots. A petition calling for greater efforts to improve security in the region was drawn up and presented to the British envoy, Sir James Hudson. Interestingly, the diplomat declined to present it to the Italian premier on account of it being addressed instead to the prefect of Florence,[66] although it is possible that this most pro-Italian of British envoys did not wish to offend or undermine the embattled Ricasoli administration. Similarly in 1867, on their first night together in Florence, the new British envoy Sir Augustus Paget and his wife overheard what they later discovered to have been the stabbing of a man by a jealous husband just outside their bedroom window.[67] Even Rome, once it had become the national capital in 1871, possessed a reputation as a dangerous city. Lady Paget recalled in her memoirs that a number of Italian dignitaries, including the serving prime minister Marco Minghetti, were subjected to attacks and robberies in the new capital, and that the embassy staff were required to exercise prudence (and carry big sticks) when walking the streets at night.[68]

For some years after unification, brigandage and vendetta – crimes strongly associated with Italy in the Victorian imagination – continued to be a particular problem. A number of occurrences involving British individuals served to highlight this fact. In 1861, John Rose, a member of a merchant family resident in Sicily and the acting British consul at Palermo, was accosted by brigands while travelling in the countryside outside the city. Rose secured his own release by offering his rather naïve

captors a gold watch and promising to pay his own ransom (which he never did).[69] In 1865, a pair of travellers named Moens and Aynsley were captured together near Salerno, and released after several months in captivity, during which they had been frustrated by the abortive rescue efforts of the Italian authorities. Even as late as 1876, James Rose, a relative of John, was abducted by brigands and held in captivity before being released upon payment of a ransom.[70] The British also gained first-hand experience of vendetta – another ubiquitous scourge of the rural South – in 1870 when Martino Zamponi, the Sardinian-born British vice-consul at Terranova (modern-day Olbia) became the target of a vendetta perpetrated by a rival family. Zamponi appears to have become embroiled in a dispute over some property, a woman, and his family's monopoly on the foreign consular offices in the town. When the local prefecture failed to take any action to resolve the matter, Consul Walker took matters into his own hands and summoned a Royal Navy gunboat to intimidate Zamponi's enemies. The mere appearance of the gunboat brought about the end of the feud, but the fact that Sir Augustus Paget had failed to notify the Italian government caused the Lanza administration to protest over Britain's treatment of Italy 'as the Barbary State, or some other uncivilized country'.[71]

Indeed, British leaders' faith in the noble intentions of the Italian ruling elite did not prevent them from criticising the Italians' apparent failure to adopt certain aspects of the British model. One of the most significant areas to which British spectators hoped the introduction of constitutional government throughout Italy would bring improvement was in the administration of justice. A strong perception of the need to rectify the appalling abuse of civil liberties, as the mid-Victorian generation understood them, had been one of the foundations of British support for Italian unification. After his famous visit to Naples in 1851, it had been the perversions of the Neapolitan penal system more than anything else that led William Gladstone to champion the Italian national cause in Britain. His description of the Bourbon regime as 'the negation of God erected into a system of government', and his denunciation of that administration's 'incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the Powers appointed to watch over and maintain it', became synonymous in the British imagination with arbitrary and despotic rule.[72] The draconian sentences and appalling conditions inflicted upon the inmates of the Neapolitan goals, and on political prisoners in particular, became for him a symbol of everything that was wrong with pre-unification Italy; it was chiefly his desire 'to do something for Italy' which led him to enter government with Lords Palmerston and Russell in 1859.[73]

Consequently, governments of which Gladstone was a part during the 1860s and 1870s watched the development of the Italian judicial system with considerable interest.

The severe disorder that followed unification provided an immediate test for the new state's legal system, and in this area the British perceived some inauspicious signs of continuity with the past. The scale of organised opposition to the new state during the early years of its existence was such that the Italian authorities showed themselves ready to compromise their liberal principles in the interests of asserting their authority and maintaining law and order. The state came to rely more upon the military carabinieri than the civilian state police to enforce the law outside urban areas, where the often mountainous nature of the countryside, poor communications infrastructure, and incomprehensibility of local dialects and conventions contrived to undermine government authority.[74] In 1865 a Law on Public Safety was introduced in reaction to the extent of Italy's lawlessness, and from that point onwards those charged with the enforcement of the law were awarded extensive and generally increasing powers.[75] Agents of the state were equipped with wide-ranging methods of surveillance and the power to arrest upon suspicion,[76] while governments could impose press censorship, restrict public meetings, and impose imprisonment or internal exile upon criminal suspects and revolutionaries.[77] The short-lived Cairoli government of 1878 was alone in proposing a policy of 'liberty within the law', and collapsed upon attempting to implement it.[78]

Perhaps predictably, British criticisms of apparent failings in the Italian legal system were never louder than when incidents involving British subjects drew attention to them. In 1862, a young Englishman by the name of James Bishop was arrested on the road from Rome to Naples while in possession of documents detailing plans of a reactionary conspiracy against the new government. Throughout the spring and summer of that year the Foreign Office, which did not question Bishop's guilt, made frequent representations to the Rattazzi government in the hope of seeing him brought promptly to trial. The constant delay in processing Bishop's case, news of his deteriorating health, and the onset of hot weather led Lord Russell to suggest that the matter was 'a case of humanity as well as of justice'. It also highlighted the fact that thousands of Italian political prisoners languished in similar imprisonment pending prosecution, causing the foreign secretary to observe that 'A speedy and fair Trial of accused persons is one of the greatest improvements, and one of the happiest innovations, the Italian Government can introduce in the Neapolitan Provinces'.[79] Bishop was eventually

tried in September, six months after his arrest; he was found guilty and sentenced to ten years' confinement. The Rattazzi government refused subsequent British requests to commute this sentence to one of banishment or to transfer him to healthier confines because, according to Sir James Hudson, it did not wish to undermine the authority of General La Marmora, its governor at Naples.[80] A change of ministry enabled the British to secure Bishop's transfer to the fairer climate of Alessandria in Piedmont early in 1863, as well as a promise that he would be pardoned at the earliest opportunity.[81] Bishop was eventually released under a general amnesty for political activists late in November that year, after serving just 18 months of his sentence.[82] In 1865, two Maltese (and therefore British) subjects at Catania in Sicily were arrested and imprisoned after a police house search had led to the discovery of a pistol. The two men were accused of involvement in anti-government conspiracy. One of the detained, Felice Attardi, claimed that the search of the house had been illegal, and even accused the Italian officials of obtaining a false confession 'by barbarous treatment and wicked acts'.[83] John Jeans, the British vice-consul at Catania, found no evidence to support this allegation, but he did consider the fact that Attardi was held in gaol for well over a year before being brought to trial and acquitted to be 'a legitimate subject of complaint'.[84] Attardi's case created consternation within the Maltese community in Italy, and even prompted a group of Maltese businessmen staying in papal Rome to petition the British legation on the grounds that they were afraid to return to Malta 'lest they should on their way be subjected to arrest and imprisonment upon accusation of having there [Rome] conspired against the Italian Government'. In response Henry Elliot, the British envoy, felt obliged to obtain from the Italian government a guarantee that the Maltese men would run 'no risk of being molested on their way back to Malta unless they had been conspiring in Italy'.[85] On neither of these occasions do British governments appear to have been preoccupied so much by the involvement of British subjects as by the degree of inertia that existed within the Italian system. Bishop's arrest had prompted Edward Bonham, the British consul at Naples, to provide a report on the efforts being made to improve the administration of justice in the former Bourbon territories. Bonham stated that although great changes were being made to the magistracy in southern Italy, these were limited because of the government's desire to avoid annoying the Neapolitans by imposing northern Italian appointees upon them. Significantly, he lamented that the old system of leaving prisoners in gaol for months without being brought to trial remained in place, and expressed concern that without intervention

by 'some energetic men from the North, it is not very clear how an improvement will be brought about by Judges brought up under, and accustomed to, the old system'.[86] Here the consul demonstrated clearly a British expectation that government from the North of Italy would have a civilising effect upon the South, if only it were allowed to prevail.

By the end of the decade, however, there is evidence to suggest that British officials were as disappointed with the Italian legal system as they were with the operation of Italian parliamentary politics. In 1869, the arrest and detention of the young revolutionary activist Joseph Nathan in connection with a Mazzinian conspiracy uncovered in Milan drew British attention back to the issue.[87] Nathan belonged to a British family, based near Como, which was known to be close to the exiled Mazzini, and he had a history of brushes with the law.[88] As in the previous cases, Nathan's guilt or innocence did not concern British officials so much as his imprisonment for several months without trial. At the time of Nathan's arrest there were some 184,851 prisoners on remand or awaiting trial in Italy, of whom some 93,444 were released without their case ever being heard; the majority of these spent a year or more in gaol.[89] An Italian government report published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* revealed that 2,226 prisoners arrested in connection with the *macinato* tax riots of January and February 1869 were still awaiting trial in October, a full ten months after the disturbances.[90] The fact that Nathan's arrest took place in Milan, and that the *macinato* riots occurred mostly in Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany, indicated that neither discontent with the new state nor inefficiency in its judicial system were problems confined to the South.

After Nathan was released under the terms of another general amnesty in November (enabling him to resume his subversive activities)[91] the replacement of the royal appointee Menabrea with the more progressive Lanza ministry in December was seized upon by the British government as an opportunity to urge improvement upon Italian leaders. Lord Clarendon, the foreign secretary in Gladstone's first Liberal government, wrote privately to advise Sir Augustus Paget that as bad accounts of the Neapolitan prisons continued to be heard, the diplomat ought 'to call the attention' of the Italian government to them in the hope of receiving some 'reliable promise of improvement'. His principal motive in raising the matter appears to have been pressure placed on the Liberal government on account of the role that Gladstone, now prime minister, had played in exposing the horrors of Neapolitan justice almost two decades before.[92] Under these instructions Paget confronted the new Italian government. He found the new prime minister, Giovanni Lanza,

to be in favour of granting prisoners an immediate preliminary trial in the hope of reducing waiting times,[93] but also that the Italian administration preferred to avoid any appearance of having been pressed to do so by the British.[94]

The Italian desire not to be lectured to by the British became something of an intermittent theme of relations between the two countries during the 1870s, when a sequence of events involving British residents and travellers in Italy raised questions over the nature of policing and law enforcement in the country. In 1872, a row with a ferryman over a boat fare led to one William Mercer becoming embroiled in a scuffle with an officer of the carabinieri, who handcuffed and detained him for a night in gaol near Salerno. Mercer was subsequently put on trial but acquitted. In 1873, a Dr Dempster became involved in a fracas with a municipal guard in Naples. Apparently, he had taken exception to the rough treatment being meted out by the officer to a pair of arrested criminal suspects, and his intervention enabled the two men to escape. Dempster then found himself under arrest, until an influential Neapolitan friend stepped in to secure his release. During 1875 and 1876 a succession of other British travellers were arrested respectively in Valle d'Aosta, Tuscany, Romagna and Campania on account of their confusion over the fact that, although British subjects in Italy were not required to be in possession of a passport, they were nonetheless expected to carry some form of official identity document at all times. In each case the Britons concerned displayed varying degrees of compliance or obstruction, yet all found themselves summarily locked up; one was even put on trial and fined.[95] Repeatedly, Sir Augustus Paget sought clarification over the precise rules for British subjects in Italy, and the Foreign Office ultimately resorted to advising Britons to ensure that they had a passport upon their person – even though it was not a legal requirement – when travelling the country. Incidents of this type led *The Times* to suggest that the Italian police were maybe 'too military' in character and 'not sufficiently drilled into respect for the public', the inference being that the British model of civilian policing set a better example.[96]

British advocates of civilian policing would presumably have been dismayed had they heard General Menabrea, the king's appointee as prime minister, remark to Paget in 1869 that the army was the instrument by which order, society and prosperity had to be maintained in Italy.[97] A more poignant observation came from Alexander Cruickshank, a Scottish priest who had been imprisoned without charge for a fortnight in 1867, after failing to provide evidence of his identity and lying to the carabinieri about how he had arrived in Tuscany. In a letter to the British

consul at Livorno, Cruickshank mused that: 'They talk or did talk about the prisons of Naples under the late King, but the free Kingdom of Italy is quite as bad'.[98] Although Cruickshank was clearly involved in some type of mischief, and his voice and view were hardly official ones, his words were enough to press the British chargé d'affaires, Edward Herries, into observing to the Italian interior ministry that suspicion alone was not sufficient to justify a man's detention in prison for a fortnight.[99] Matters really rose to a head a decade later, when a Reverend Giles – whose papers were in perfect order and who appears to have complied entirely with the authorities – was accosted while staying in rural Lazio in 1877. Giles was awoken in the middle of the night when two allegedly drunken carabinieri burst into his room demanding to see some identification. Even though he presented them with a valid passport, the officers imprisoned him until a magistrate ordered his release the following day. The episode sparked a row between London and Rome. Paget, now the British ambassador to Italy, suggested that relations between the two countries would suffer unless the Italian government did something to prevent further such occurrences. According to Paget, it was:

> perfectly intolerable that unoffending and respectable persons should, without having given the slightest provocation, or committed the smallest crime, be dragged out of bed in the dead of night, be conducted to prison, and then be paraded the next day through the public thoroughfares, escorted by the police, as though they were common malefactors or convicted felons.[100]

An angry and offended Italian government criticised the forceful nature of the ambassador's language.[101]

By this stage, however, British officials had been nothing less than horrified by what was perhaps the most outrageous demonstration of the failings of the new Italian system. In 1876, a British resident of Sicily named Paul Rainford was arrested along with a friend while enjoying a religious festival at Taormina. Although Rainford was a well-known inhabitant of the town, a group of carabinieri approached him and demanded he show identification. When he failed to do so, they arrested him – even though he had offered to go home to collect his documents. Rainford and his friend were confined to a dark and dirty cell for a night, and allegedly taunted by their captors, before being released. In a perversion of justice which quite defied the belief of each British representative whose attention was drawn to it, the men sued the Italian authorities for

compensation, only to find their claim turned against them. Rainford was tried, found guilty and fined for having insulted an officer of the law. George Dennis, the British consul who attended the trial, identified serious inconsistencies between the evidence and verdict. Dennis appears to have been instrumental in persuading the Foreign Office to fund two appeals, the second of which was successful after the first had failed, thereby securing Rainford's acquittal. An investigation undertaken by the local prefecture, apparently in response to British pressure, established that Rainford had been the victim of a local clique comprising the mayor, the magistrate, the court officials and the carabinieri concerned, who had all been 'under the influence of the priests'. Apparently, they resented the fact that Rainford, a Protestant, had purchased a former monastery sold off through the Italian state's sale of church lands.[102]

The British perspectives on and reactions to the realities of a unified Italy recounted here not only tell us a great deal about how the Victorians perceived their own country and its place in the world, but also how they failed to understand the Italy which emerged from the Risorgimento. It is quite clear from the type of advice offered to the Italian government, and sometimes from the tone in which it was tendered, that the British considered themselves to be speaking from a position of authority and experience. This applied – at the very least – to parliamentary politics, to foreign policy, to Italy's southern question, and to the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice. When in 1870 Paget dismissed the Italians as 'a nation of great children' for their obsession with making Rome their capital,[103] he was probably stereotyping them as emotional and theatrical, but his words might just as easily have referred to their inexperience in statesmanship.[104] The relationship between British diplomats and Italian foreign ministers was perceived on the British side as one between teachers and pupils; the British clearly believed that their systems and practices provided exemplary models to a new state with liberal aspirations. Far from following the British pattern of development – from the establishment of constitutional government to social stability and economic prosperity – the new Italy was viewed in British eyes as chaotic and stagnant in its domestic politics, as an aggressive (if impotent) troublemaker on the international stage, and as a primitive and violent society. The evidence suggested, as some British visitors to Italy remarked, that the Italians were quite incapable of making use of the progressive political institutions the Risorgimento had given them, and remained very much under the thumb of a strong and inherently reactionary church. The relative ease with which Britain had risen to its position of global

greatness, the zenith of which coincided roughly with the unification of Italy,[105] bred a natural arrogance and led to assumptions that improvements in Italian society would naturally follow those in politics. The impatience that British representatives sometimes demonstrated in their observations on conditions in Italy or in their exchanges with Italian statesmen was perhaps the inevitable corollary of the tremendous enthusiasm that the British had shown for Italian independence and unification during 1859–61; the new state was always going to struggle to meet British expectations. At the same time, it also suggests that the British struggled to comprehend the extent of the challenges faced by the new state. In their condemnation of the political class, they recognised that the crucial problem was the power awarded to the sovereign by the constitution, and the manner in which he made use of it. But in their criticisms of the way in which the Italian government struggled to assert its authority over the unruly parts of the peninsula during the 1860s, they underestimated the lack of enthusiasm for national unification in those parts, as well as the difficulties presented by the terrain, the poor communications infrastructure, and the pervasiveness of incomprehensible regional dialects. Both of liberal Italy's main political factions were genuinely committed to the liberalisation of their country,[106] but each found their efforts seriously compromised by economic crisis, a lack of popular legitimacy and security concerns. In fact, the leaders of the new state realised some considerable achievements in the face of great adversity. The *Destra storica* presided over the successful political and legal fusion of the country, monetary union, the standardisation of weights and measures, and the rapid construction of rail and telegraphic networks during the 1860s. The *Sinistra storica* which came to power in 1876 widened the electoral franchise, expanded state education and abolished capital punishment (which placed Italy almost a century ahead of Britain).[107] Yet even the most pro-Italian of British observers tended to watch and acknowledge events without offering much praise, showing little sympathy and demonstrating scant understanding of the extent of the new Italy's various difficulties.

Notes

1. I would like to thank Nick Carter for many suggestions and for several pieces of information that have been enormously useful in writing this chapter.
2. N. Carter (1996) 'Nation, Nationality, Nationalism and Internationalism in Italy from Cavour to Mussolini', *Historical Journal*, 39, 2, pp. 545–51 (p. 545).
3. M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), p. 145.

4. See 'Lord John Russell Recognizes the Garibaldian Revolution in Naples and Sicily, 27 October 1860', in H. Temperley and L. M. Penson (eds) (1966) *Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902)*, 1st edn, new impression (London: Frank Cass), pp. 222–5.
5. For the motives behind the Minto mission see E. Ashley (1879) *The Life and Correspondence of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston*, vol. 2 (London: R. Bentley & Son), p. 425. For those behind the Elliot mission see Henry G. Elliot (1922) *Some Revolutions and Other Diplomatic Experiences* (London: John Murray), pp. 4–5.
6. Lord Russell to Hudson, 7 May 1862, *British Foreign Office: Embassy and Consulate, Italy and Predecessor States: General Correspondence 1814–1962*, The National Archives [hereafter TNA], FO 170/100.
7. Clarendon to Elliot, 21 May 1866, Clarendon Papers [hereafter CP], Bodleian Library, MS. Clar. dep. c. 143. I am indebted to the current Lord Clarendon for his permission to quote from the Clarendon Papers.
8. Clarendon to Paget, 22 March 1869 and 5 April 1869, copies, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 475.
9. O. Wright (2012) 'British Foreign Policy and the Italian Occupation of Rome, 1870', *International History Review*, 34, 1, pp. 161–76.
10. Stanley to Paget, 23 October 1867, TNA, FO 170/144.
11. N. Carter (1997) 'Hudson, Malmesbury and Cavour: British Diplomacy and the Italian Question, February 1858 to June 1859', *Historical Journal*, 40, 2, pp. 389–413 (p. 390).
12. See O. J. Wright (2010) 'The "Pleasantest Post" in the Service? Contrasting British Diplomatic and Consular Experiences in Early Liberal Italy', in B. Schaff (ed.) *Exiles, Émigrés and Intermediaries: Anglo–Italian Cultural Transactions* (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi), pp. 141–57.
13. For details of all of these events see O. J. Wright (2008) 'British Representatives and the Surveillance of Italian Affairs, 1860–70', *Historical Journal*, 51, 3, pp. 669–87.*Historical Journal*
14. *Daily News*, 7 June 1861.
15. J. T. Delane to Antonio Panizzi, 6 June 1861, *Correspondence of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, vol. VIII, October 1860–October 1862, British Library [BL], Add. Ms. 36721. My thanks to Nick Carter for providing this quotation.
16. Hudson to Lord Russell, 1 March 1862, Russell Papers [RP], TNA, PRO 30/22/69.
17. Herries to Clarendon, 8 August 1867, cited in D. Mack Smith (1971) *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento* (London: Oxford University Press), p. 343.
18. D. Mack Smith (1989) *Italy and its Monarchy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press), p. 42.
19. Paget to Clarendon, 27 May 1869, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 488.
20. Paget to Clarendon, 6 January 1868, BL, Paget Papers, Add. Mss. 51208.
21. D. Mack Smith (1997) *Modern Italy: A Political History* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 88.
22. As late as 1876, by which time Venice and Rome had both been incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy and the country had no obvious motive for conflict with any foreign power, Lord Salisbury visited Rome to find that Vittorio Emanuele and his heir Prince Umberto were both 'for war'. See Mack Smith, *Italy and its Monarchy*, p. 60.

23. Clarendon to Paget, 13 December 1869, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 475.
24. Paget to Clarendon, 23 December 1869, copy, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 488.
25. Hudson to Panizzi, 21 December 1869, *Correspondence of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, vol. XII, 1869–1880, BL, Panizzi Papers, Add. Ms. 36725. I am grateful to Nick Carter for providing this quotation.
26. Hudson to Lord Russell, 30 May and 20 June 1861, *British Foreign Office: Political and Other Departments: General Correspondence before 1906, Italy 1861–1905*, TNA, FO 45/7.
27. Lord Russell to Hudson, 24 July 1861, *British Foreign Office: Legation, Sardinia, Kingdom of Italy (formerly Kingdom of Sardinia): General Correspondence 1814–1863*, TNA, FO 167/124, and Hudson to Lord Russell, 11 August 1861, TNA, FO 45/8.
28. Gladstone to Granville, 16 September 1870, quoted in A. Ramm (ed.) (1988) *The Gladstone-Granville Correspondence*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 128.
29. See S. W. Halperin (1963) *Diplomat Under Stress: Visconti-Venosta and the Crisis of July, 1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
30. The classic study on the *Grande Brigantaggio* is F. Molfese (1964) *Storia del brigantaggio dopo l'Unità* (Milan: Feltrinelli). See also L. J. Riall (1992) 'Liberal Policy and the Control of Public Order in Western Sicily 1860–1862', *Historical Journal*, 35, 2, pp. 345–68.
31. Elliot to Minto, 8 July 1860, Minto Papers [MP], National Library of Scotland [NLS], MS 12250.
32. Odo Russell to Lord Russell, 30 December 1860, quoted in N. Blakiston (ed.) (1962) *The Roman Question: Extracts from the Despatches of Odo Russell from Rome, 1858–1870* (London: Chapman and Hall) p. 146.
33. Bonham to Russell, 8 April 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, British Parliamentary Papers [BPP], 1861 LXVII 375, p. 3.
34. Saurin to Hudson, 27 April 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, pp. 7–8.
35. Saurin to Hudson, 6 April 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, pp. 1–2.
36. Saurin to Hudson 15 May 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, p. 14.
37. Saurin to Hudson, 12 June 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, pp. 25–7.
38. Bonham to Lord Russell, 18 April 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, p. 4.
39. Bonham to Lord Russell, 28 June 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, p. 29.
40. Hudson to Lord Russell, 30 March 1861, TNA, FO 45/5.
41. Bonham to Lord Russell, 6 April 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, p. 2.
42. Browne to Lord Russell, 11 May 1861, RP, PRO 30/22/72.
43. 'Summary of Signor Massari's Speech in the Italian Chamber of Deputies on the 2nd April, 1861', enclosed in Hudson to Lord Russell, 3 April 1861, *Papers Relating to the Affairs of Italy*, BPP, 1862 LXIII 347, pp. 4–5.
44. 'Summary of Debate in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, April 3, 1861, on Neapolitan Affairs', enclosed in Hudson to Lord Russell, 4 April 1861, in *Papers Relating to the Affairs of Italy*, BPP, 1862 LXIII 347, p. 4.

45. Goodwin to Hudson, 3 October 1861, copy in Hudson to Lord Russell, 11 October 1861, TNA, FO 45/9.
46. Lord Russell to Hudson, 10 June 1861, TNA, FO 167/123.
47. William Sanderson Craig, 'The Island of Sardinia Absolute and Constitutional Briefly Compared', 22 October 1861, in Hudson to Lord Russell, 2 November 1861, TNA, FO 45/9. Lord Russell's original instruction was dated 29 April 1861.
48. Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59.
49. Bonham to Elliot, 26 September 1864, copy in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59.
50. Macbean to Elliot, 27 September 1864, copy in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59.
51. Gaggiotti to Elliot, 26 September 1864, copy in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59
52. Craig to Elliot, 3 October 1864, copy in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59.
53. Goodwin to Elliot, 27 September 1864, copy in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, TNA, FO 45/59.
54. Rickards to Elliot, 24 September 1864, extract in Elliot to Russell, 4 October 1864, NA, FO 45/59.
55. Elliot to Minto, 24 November 1864, MP, NLS, MS 12250.
56. See L. Riall (1988) *Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power 1859–66* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 198–205.
57. John Goodwin, 'Seven Days of Disturbance in Palermo', 9 October 1866, copy in Elliot to Stanley, 13 October 1866, TNA, FO 45/90.
58. Elliot to Stanley, 22 September 1866, TNA, FO 45/89.
59. Hudson to Lord Russell, 29 March, 1861, TNA, FO 45/5.
60. Paget to Stanley, 6 June 1868, TNA, FO 45/126.
61. Walker to Paget, 7 February 1870, in Paget to Clarendon, 12 February 1870, TNA, FO 45/161.
62. Walker to Paget, 12 June 1870, TNA, FO 45/172.
63. Walker to Granville, 24 April 1871, TNA, FO 45/189; Walker to Granville, 18 February 1873, TNA, FO 45/225.
64. *The Times*, 6 September 1869, 16 December 1872 and 17 November 1877.
65. See *Papers Respecting the Assassination of Dr McCarthy at Pisa*, BPP, 1862 LXIII 465.
66. Hudson to Compton, 6 February 1862, *Papers Respecting the Assassination of Dr McCarthy at Pisa*, BPP, 1862 LXIII 465, p. 472.
67. W. Paget (1923) *Embassies of Other Days*, vol. I (London: Hutchinson), p. 225.
68. Paget, *Embassies of Other Days*, I, pp. 191–2.
69. Hudson to Lord John Russell, 18 June 1861, *Papers Respecting the Affairs of Southern Italy*, BPP, 1861 LXVII 375, pp. 27–8.
70. For these episodes, and similar events elsewhere, see M. Blinkhorn (2000) 'Liability, Responsibility and Blame: British Ransom Victims in the Mediterranean Periphery, 1860–81', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 46, 3, pp. 336–56.
71. O. J. Wright (2007) 'Sea and Sardinia: Pax Britannica versus Vendetta in the New Italy (1870)', *European History Quarterly*, 37, 3, pp. 398–416 (p. 404).

72. W. E. Gladstone (1851) *Two Letters to Lord Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government* (London: John Murray), p. 6.
73. R. Shannon (1982) *Gladstone, Vol. I, 1809–1865* (London: Methuen), pp. 228–32, 238–42, 388.
74. See J. C. Scott (1987) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
75. See R. B. Jensen (1991) *Liberty and Order: The Theory and Practice of Italian Public Security Policy, 1848 to the Crisis of the 1890s* (New York: Garland).
76. J. A. Davis (1988) *Conflict and Control: Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), pp. 227–8. See also D. Rizzo (2005) 'Liberal Decorum and Men in Conflict: Rome, 1871–90', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10, 3, pp. 281–96.
77. See M. Clark (1996) *Modern Italy*, 2nd edn (London: Longman), pp. 51–5; Mack Smith, *Modern Italy*, pp. 106–7; Davis, *Conflict and Control*, pp. 213–4, 223–6.
78. C. Seton-Watson (1969) *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism 1870–1925* (London: Methuen), pp. 76–7.
79. Lord Russell to Hudson, 9 June 1862, TNA, FO 170/100.
80. Hudson to Lord Russell, 20 September 1862, TNA, FO 45/26 and Hudson to Lord Russell, 4 November 1862, RP, PRO 30/22/29.
81. Hudson to Lord Russell, 1 March 1863, TNA, FO 45/41.
82. Elliot to Lord Russell, 17 and 19 November 1863, TNA, FO 45/44.
83. Attardi to British Minister in Italy, copy and translation, signed 13 September 1865, copy enclosed in Herries to Clarendon, 29 October 1865, TNA, FO 45/74.
84. Jeans to Herries, 15 October 1865, copy enclosed in Herries to Clarendon, 29 October 1865, TNA, FO 45/74.
85. Elliot to Lord Russell, 3 July 1865, TNA, FO 45/72.
86. Bonham to Lord Russell, 17 April 1862, *Papers Respecting Affairs of Southern Italy, Part II*, 1862 LXIII 369, pp. 374–5.
87. Paget to Clarendon, 21 April 1869, TNA, FO 45/140.
88. Elliot to Stanley, 12 October 1866, TNA, FO 45/89.
89. Davis (1988) *Conflict and Control*, p. 213.
90. Herries to Clarendon, 15 October 1869, TNA, FO 45/143.
91. Paget to Clarendon, 14 November 1869, TNA, FO 45/144.
92. Clarendon to Paget, 13 December 1869, copy, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 475.
93. Paget to Clarendon, 24 January 1870, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 488.
94. Paget to Clarendon, 23 December 1869, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 488.
95. See O. J. Wright (2010) 'Police "Outrages" Against British Residents and Travellers in Liberal Italy, 1867–77', *Crime, History and Societies*, 14, 1, pp. 51–72.
96. For example, see *The Times*, 10 December 1872 and 18 April 1873.
97. Paget to Clarendon, 13 March 1869, CP, MS. Clar. dep. c. 488.
98. Cruickshank to Macbean, 18 July 1867, copy enclosed in Herries to Stanley, 31 July 1867, TNA, FO 45/106.
99. Herries to Stanley, 31 July 1867, TNA, FO 45/106.
100. Paget to Melegari, 10 July 1877, enclosed in Paget to Derby, 10 July 1877, TNA, FO 425/107, quoted in Wright, 'Police "Outrages"', p. 61.

101. See Menabrea to Melegari, 1 August 1877 (1966–9) *I documenti diplomatici italiani seconda serie: 1870–1896* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato), IX, pp. 2–3.
102. Malet to Derby, 25 September 1876, *British Foreign Office: Confidential Print Western Europe, 'Italy. Police Outrages on British Subjects in Italy and on Italian Subjects in Great Britain. Correspondence 1873–78'*, TNA, FO 425/107.
103. Paget to Hammond, 29 September 1870, Hammond Papers, TNA, FO 391/23.
104. I am grateful to Martin Blinkhorn for this interpretation.
105. E. J. Evans (1996) *The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783–1870*, 2nd edn (London & New York: Longman), p. 373.
106. S. Cilibrizzi (1939–52) *Storia parlamentare, politica e diplomatica d'Italia, volume secondo (1870–1896)* (Milan, Rome and Naples: Società Dante Alighieri), pp. 92–3.
107. For the fusion see A. Aquarone (1960) *L'unificazione legislativa e i codici del 1865* (Milan: Giuffrè). For the challenges of monetary union see G. Candeloro (1968) *Storia dell'Italia moderna, vol. V: La costruzione dello Stato unitario* (Milan: Feltrinelli), pp. 235–9. For the construction of the rail network see A. Schram (1997) *Railways and the Formation of the Italian State in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

7

Italian Women in the Making: Re-reading the *Englishwoman's Review* (c.1871–1889)

Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe

> A soldier named Mariotti, of the 11th Battalion of the Italian Bersaglieri, though confined to the room by illness, refused to be carried to the hospital. Ultimately, on being forcibly removed thither, the soldier was discovered to be a woman. She joined the army during the war of 1866, to enable her brother to remain with his wife and six children. She had previously, being very strong, worked in the mines. At Custozza (*sic*) she won a medal of bravery. The king has now conferred on her a decoration and sent her home with a pension of 300 lire.[1]

In reporting this piece of news from Rome, the 'feminist' quarterly, the *Englishwoman's Review*, emphatically displayed its editorial policy of subverting contemporary female stereotypes, challenging conventional images of the domestic role played by Italian women in building the nation.[2] Cross-dressing during the Risorgimento was one of the most immediately available strategies for women to blur gender boundaries and enter the public space, and Mariotti was not unique.[3] Mariotti, however, even to the emancipated 'feminist' readers of the *Englishwoman's Review,* was clearly a most striking example of subversion.

The report was unusual not only in terms of its content but also in its choice of language. The way Mariotti was presented to the readers contrasted with the constructions of Italian Risorgimento rhetoric, which, as Laura Guidi has highlighted, drew attention to the 'virile', stoic *character* of the few women-in-arms rather than their 'masculine' *bodies*. The language employed to describe Mariotti was alien to the register used by Italian writers and early Risorgimento historians, whose concerns were

to salvage the Italian women-patriots from suspect 'masculine' attributes by cloaking their agency with the reassuring details of their 'feminine' nature, their domestic life or their subsequent role as mothers of the nation. 'Masculine' physical references, such as Mariotti's strength as a mine worker, were scrupulously avoided, as the Risorgimento rhetoric of the 'separate spheres' eschewed topics which might question the sexual identity of the nation's patriots and martyrs.[4] Conversely, the description of Mariotti's 'very strong' build in the *Englishwoman's Review* defied conventional associations between 'the body', 'culture' and 'Italy'. As Loredana Polezzi and Charlotte Ross have argued, the Italian 'body' was laden with cultural references: in the context of the aestheticised classical figure, the Renaissance painting, religious iconography or in the 'exoticized, and eroticized' 'catholic whore' depicted by travellers.[5] Mariotti, the working-class female miner, defied all these stereotypes.

Mariotti's decision to step into her brother's shoes was a further subversion of conventionally accepted family links. In Alberto Banti's cultural history of the Risorgimento, within the emotional familial ties (kinship) which linked the Italian genealogical community, 'motherhood', 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood' were displayed according to a non-negotiable patriotic 'canon'.[6] Yet, in the case of Mariotti, love for one's country and love of one's family and brother led her to make (or at least risk) the ultimate 'sacrifice' in person. As the brother remained home – in view, as implied, of his role and responsibilities as 'father' of a large family – conventional family relations between male and female members appeared to be reversed. This hinted at emotional bonds in the domestic sphere – 'masculinity' as 'fatherhood' – that possibly went beyond the public sphere within which the male breadwinner was ascribed.

The report in the *Englishwoman's Review* was also striking for the insight it gave into the official response to the *dénouement*. The article highlighted that not only had Mariotti as a fighting soldier gained the honour of a medal during the war later referred to as the Third War of Independence, but, when ultimately found to be a woman, she had also been granted by the king a token of the new nation's gratitude and a 300 lire pension. Indeed, as the account suggests, the honour had been granted despite the fact that cross-dressing might have dovetailed with Mariotti's own ambivalent sexuality. The new Italy had brought Mariotti a new identity, and rather than fall within the accepted code of woman-patriot turned 'mother', she had chosen cross-dressing as a way of life, preserving her male identity while serving in the Bersaglieri between 1866 and 1879.

Was Mariotti one of a number of patriots whose ambiguous sexuality drew them to mask their agency in the long Risorgimento and therefore remain 'hidden from history'?[7] Despite the rhetoric of the Risorgimento epic, patriotic practices had been blurred. As Lucy Riall has suggested, 'in Risorgimento Italy the distribution of male and female roles was not altogether inflexible'.[8] Moreover, as Chiara Beccalossi has argued, 'women who had helped the cause of unification had experienced men's life', and the Risorgimento had, in different ways, brought long-term 'personal consequences'.[9] Clearly, Mariotti's participation in the military action had given her the opportunity and resolve to reject her femininity while serving her country.

Indeed, the revelation of Mariotti's choice provides a glimpse into the different ways in which 'queer' Italian patriots may have contributed to the revolutionary and nation-building process, while shielding or repressing their sexual orientation. The trace of Mariotti's story in a foreign emancipationist paper suggests that women who were hidden from the official history of the Risorgimento in view of their suspect 'female inversion' might be vindicated, not only by works of historical fiction, as in the case of Maria Rosa Cutrufelli's *La Briganta*, but by the signs of their passage reported in the foreign press.[10] As Laura Schettini has highlighted, reports revealing episodes of cross-dressing and manifestations of homosexual identities in liberal Italy became more frequent in the years of the *fin de siècle* crisis, when these incidences could be read as symptoms of increasing changes in social behaviour, as well as ambiguous signs of the onset of modernity.[11] One final reflection, when attempting to trace any evidence of 'Sapphic' – or transgendered – Risorgimento patriots, is about chronology: 'coming out', or being discovered, may have taken years; signs of patriotic agency on the part of these transgendered lives may only have surfaced decades after the Risorgimento battles had ceased.

In the context of the 'feminist' perspective that the *Englishwoman's Review* assumed when constructing the narrative of liberal Italy, the revelation of Mariotti's sexual identity constitutes a noteworthy but unsurprisingly singular episode. Yet, the editor's choice to publish the story was in line with British emancipationist women's desire to break free from collective identities and stereotypes, presenting Italian women as active agents in the nation-building process.

Most cultural historians' revisionist interpretations that have sought to recast the study of Italian nationalism as discursive formation by reading the writings of foreign observers have not gone beyond 1860.[12] A notable exception is an article by Maura O'Connor, which focusses

on the *Englishwoman's Review* as the main source for its analysis. The postcolonial critique within which this interpretation is set, however, requires some revision. Anne Summers has recently raised pertinent questions on how transferable the model of superiority, which vitiated British women's relationship to their imperial sisters, actually is.[13] As Summers has argued, applying neo-orientalist readings beyond empire runs the risks of simplifying the world in which emancipationist women exercised their judgement on international causes.[14] In the case of the *Englishwoman's Review*, O'Connor's insistence on British women's 'imperial prerogative' risks effacing the broad editorial line that the emancipationist quarterly promoted when constructing the image of women in the new Italy.[15] Basing her reading on selected articles from the quarterly on the organisation of the Neapolitan schools set up by Julie Salis Schwabe, O'Connor argues that the correspondents of the *Englishwoman's Review* saw their role among Italian women as a 'civilising' one – and conflated the 'uncivilised' South with Italy.

In fact, the *Englishwoman's Review* had a much more sophisticated understanding of Italy's political–social context, as well as the practices through which Italian women were learning how to claim their role as 'women-citizens'.[16] Such insight was mainly due to the exchanges which grew out of a transnational network of Mazzinian women, a legacy of Mazzini's influence on British female emancipationists. The *Englishwoman's Review* published regular accounts on liberal Italy, concentrating on different topics and on different regions. A broader look at the paper provides a clearer idea of how it sought to construct the identity of the Italian women of the new nation. My analysis is based on scrutiny of articles on Italy published in the two decades following the establishment of Rome as the capital of the new Italian state in 1871.[17] The period concerned, 1871–89, also coincides with the years in which Caroline Ashurst Biggs, who died in 1889, co-edited the *Englishwoman's Review*.

In order to better evaluate the part played by the *Englishwoman's Review* in recasting the image of Italian women presented to British readers, it is useful to take a step back. The historiography has shown how the discourse on the morality of the 'women of Italy' had been central to the theme of Italy's political resurgence.[18] As Roberto Bizzocchi has shown, eighteenth-century travel accounts had been peppered with demonising descriptions of Italian women's sexual, immoral behaviour.[19] Famously, these traits had been highlighted in the early-nineteenth century in the immensely popular novel by Madame de Staël, *Corinne ou l'Italie* (1807) and subsequently in Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques italiennes du*

moyen age (1807–18), highly influential in Britain, which had made the connection between the moral degeneracy of Italian women and Italy's subjection to foreign domination.[20] In 1821, the publication of Lady Morgan's *L'Italie*, which arguably showed some sympathy with the early signs of burgeoning liberalism in Italy, still raised doubts about Italian women's morality. At this particular juncture, Italian nationalists began to counter such accusations: restoring the reputation of Italian women abroad was equated to vindicating the honour of the nation.[21]

Recasting the image of Italian women abroad and at home was fashioned as one of the cornerstones of Italy's resurgence. Women's role in making the nation would be carefully located by the Risorgimento rhetoric within the confines of the domestic sphere. During the convulsive years of war, the Risorgimento was mainly presented to the British public through the narrative of the exploits of its male heroes. There were some exceptions: the actions of Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso, a revolutionary aristocrat of European fame, and those of Countess Maria Martini Della Torre, who tended to the British Legion's soldiers in Sicily in 1860, were relatively well known in Britain.[22] Yet, Italian women did not figure highly in the glorious narrative of the Risorgimento presented to British readers. Anita Garibaldi, due to her husband's popularity, was the best-known figure, particularly in the 1850s, but she was Brazilian of Portuguese descent.[23]

A question therefore arises: who were the British readers interested in the role women played in building the Italian nation after 1870? A search of the British digitised nineteenth-century newspapers and periodicals (1866–90) indicates that the British press had scant appetite for the topic. In 1868, the *Pall Mall Gazette* referred to Italian women as 'indolent', unless they had a passion.[24] Late-nineteenth-century travellers' accounts perpetuated the idea that Italian women were generally little educated, excessively 'clerical' and overly religious. In 1889–90, the new, vigorously feminist and short-lived *Women's Penny Paper* (1888–90) dedicated some critical articles on Italian women's 'apathy' and 'lack of public spirit'.[25] A different kind of attention to the women of liberal Italy was brought by the international remit of Josephine Butler's campaign against the Anti-Contagious Diseases Act.[26] I will concentrate on aspects of women's political, social and educational struggles in liberal Italy, which, while ignored by the British mainstream press, were considered newsworthy by the *Englishwoman's Review*.

Founded in 1866 by a leading 'feminist', Emilia Jessie Boucherett, and co-edited – significantly – by Caroline Ashurst Biggs, the *Englishwoman's Review* had, admittedly, a limited readership, with circulation only

reaching 2000 by 1910. Yet, as the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* points out, the longevity of the publication was a clear mark that middle-class women had an 'ongoing interest in feminist activities'.[27] The issues that were debated within its pages spanned women's education, universal suffrage, divorce, legal rights and women's working opportunities. The quarterly took a 'global' interest in women's issues and – in its transnational comparative approach – mostly shunned the self-congratulating, condescending tones current in the conservative, and indeed, liberal literature, which saw Britain as the undisputed model for nations in the making. As the evidence here collected shows, to the editors of the *Englishwoman's Review*, Italy was not simply a 'mission field': now free, the new nation was not reliant on British women saving or 'civilising' her, but could count on the militant agency of Italian women in the making.[28] Gendered nation-building, however, came with its challenges, many of which were similar to those that emancipationist British women were experiencing at home. Indeed, the language of citizenship, gender and nation employed by British and Italian emancipationists was a common one, which radical Mazzinians shared across national boundaries.

As I have argued elsewhere, Mazzini's ideal of global democracy remained influential in Britain long after the exile's death.[29] British emancipationists contributing to the *Englishwoman's Review* were part of a larger group of late-Victorian Mazzinians – including radicals, diehard republicans, secularists, social-reformers and co-operators – whose writings, in the aftermath of Italian unification, aimed at highlighting the advances of democracy in the new nation. British Mazzinians were guided by their faith in the Italian exile's vision for Italy's future republican regeneration. As Eugenio Biagini has shown, Mazzini's British friends and followers were mostly Nonconformist Protestants who shared Mazzini's commitment to liberty, equality, humanity and duty.[30]

Mazzini's ideals resonated strongly with early women emancipationists, whose particular type of proto-feminism was laced with Protestant religious fervour: they were drawn to Mazzini's view which placed the extension of suffrage in a religious context, with duties, rather than rights, at its heart.[31] Addressing the question of the subjugation of women in the *Duties of Man*, Mazzini had shown his unreserved support for the enfranchisement of women, promoted by John Stuart Mill, as a fundamental building block for the construction of a democratic nation. Federica Falchi has recently highlighted how Mazzini's political views on women were shaped by his encounters, readings and friendships during his early years of exile in Britain. Mill and Mazzini shared the

view that women's political emancipation was central to the progress of humanity, and should not be procrastinated.[32]

Mazzini's philosophy of the moral regeneration of society had particular resonance among early British female advocates of 'Woman's Mission', who often embraced international causes as their own. As Ros Pesman has argued, however, in the course of his exile Mazzini's ideals and those of his British 'feminist' friends assumed more radical tones.[33] For British Mazzinian women – whose admiration for Mazzini bordered on religious devotion – embracing the female emancipationist cause in Italy signified sharing their common faith in Mazzini's vision of a new democratic nation.[34] The *Englishwoman's Review* offers important insights not only into how news of the advances of Italian women circulated through the transnational network of female Mazzinians but also illustrates the role emancipationist women played across national boundaries in the construction of Italy's national identity as a gendered nation.[35]

As Florence Davenport Hill wrote in the *Englishwoman's Review* on Caroline Ashurst Biggs's death, the paper had long been identified with its well-respected editor.[36] The connection between the emancipationist paper and Italy came through Ashurst Biggs's close friendship with Mazzini (whom she had first met when she was still a girl), and her familiarity with his writings. Indeed, the link between the British emancipationist periodical and Mazzini's vision for the new Italy may be synthesised in the steering role that Caroline Ashurst Biggs had in the editorial policy of the journal.

Caroline could claim to be a Mazzinian by birth. Her mother, Matilda Ashurst Biggs, an early campaigner for women's rights, had been a vocal supporter of Italian freedom, helping to keep alive the Italian question in the provincial northern press.[37] Her Unitarian, radical grandfather, William Ashurst, had been among Mazzini's early supporters in London. Her uncles, William and John Biggs, well-respected Unitarian businessmen in Leicester and powerful radical local politicians, had supported Mazzini, along with other continental revolutionary causes, in the 1850s. From her childhood, Caroline had received affectionate letters from Mazzini, who had become a close family friend: his last recorded letter to her dates from 1868.[38] As a young girl, she had also travelled frequently, including visits to Italy. After her mother's death in 1866, Caroline and her father had moved to London, very close to Peter and Clementia Taylor, loyal friends of Mazzini. In the late 1860s, Mazzini's ideas were still very influential among British emancipationists: it was 'no coincidence' that the group of women at the forefront

of the campaign against state-regulated prostitution 'also endorsed Mazzini's vision of a moral society'.[39] From 1871 to 1886, Emilie Ashurst Venturi – Caroline's aunt – regularly contributed articles to the *Shield*, the organ of the Anti-Contagious Diseases Act Associations.

In view of the family connections which existed between one of the editors of the *Englishwoman's Review* and one of the main contributors to the *Shield*, and due to the common emancipationist political agenda of the two 'feminist' papers, it is not surprising to find the *Englishwoman's Review* reporting news relating to the International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice. Yet Ashurst Biggs's paper went well beyond reporting on Butler's activities: it kept its readers abreast of the emancipationist struggles, advances and small victories that Italian women achieved, with the assistance of a handful of male allies, despite the conservative agenda of the governing *Destra storica*, which remained in power until 1876. In focussing on their political, social, educational and juridical progress, its reports were groundbreaking. While the paper commended British Mazzinian women such as Jessie White Mario and Georgina Craufurd Saffi who had 'adopted Italy as their second country', it was the 'courageous Italian ladies', who were 'working so hard for the advancement of their sisters', that the *Englishwoman's Review* particularly applauded as the protagonists of this gendered nation.[40]

British Mazzinian observers as a whole were keen to identify all signs of progress in the new Italy. Toynbee Hall travellers to Italy, chaperoned by Bolton King and Thomas Okey between 1888 and 1890, found plenty of evidence of improvements in the country's infrastructure and services – including a thriving democratic press.[41] Yet even these politically progressive travellers struggled to identify clear signs of progress among Italian women: they were deemed to be 'clerical' on account of their education being 'still much neglected'.[42] Indeed, an analysis of the social conditions of Italian women was conspicuously absent in the otherwise comprehensive social study of contemporary Italy by Bolton King and Okey published in 1901.[43]

On ordinary women's issues, it was the *Englishwoman's Review*'s reporters who had their ear to the ground. Through a transnational network of Mazzinian women, they mapped the geography of emancipationist progress in liberal Italy, eliciting the curiosity of the readers. In 1874, Anne Löhn-Seigel wrote: 'The Italian women are intensely patriotic: who will lead this patriotism into the right channels? ... On my return from Rome, Naples and Sicily, I will endeavour to recount all that I saw and heard respecting the culture and social progress of women'.[44] Rather than reinforce stereotypes around southern backwardness and

superstition, writers were keener to provide evidence of the progress of Italian women by contrasting the conditions of the present with those of the past.[45] Two lengthy articles, published in 1878, entitled *Past and Present Italian Women*, illustrated this point. In a prosopography dated from the Roman times, the *Englishwoman's Review* initially referred to the *past* 'Semi-Oriental mode of life of the South of Italy', and lamented the way women had been marginalised in education and penalised in juridical terms in ancient times.[46] A comparative analysis of the last five centuries between Italian women and their sisters in France, Spain and Germany showed, however, that there was hardly an Italian city that had not counted the name of some 'celebrated woman amongst its brilliant citizens': the Milanese scholar Maria Agnesi had been appointed to the honorary chair of mathematics in Bologna in 1750; at the same university, Laura Bassi had been made Professor of Philosophy and Clotilde Tambroni Professor of Greek in 1794. While these examples were luminary exceptions, female access to academia in Victorian Britain was still exceedingly poor.[47] When moving to the present day, the article focussed on three emancipationist publications: *La donna e i rapporti sociali* (1864), the impassioned 'feminist' pamphlet by Anna Maria Mozzoni (Milan, 1864); *Mogli e Mariti* by Malvina Franck (Venice, 1872); and *La Donna e la Scienza* by Salvatore Morelli, first published in Naples in 1861, which had anticipated by eight years John Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Women*. Mozzoni's pamphlet was a critique of the post-unification Italian legal code, modelled on the Napoleonic Code, which sanctioned the subordination of married women and, on occasions, revoked rights that Italian women had enjoyed in some pre-unification states. Written in 1864, when, as the *Englishwoman's Review* clarified, 'the Italian Civil Code was under revision', the pamphlet had provided the spark for the ensuing 'feminist' critique of Italian family law.[48] Mozzoni's writings, the paper reported, were appearing in democratic papers.[49] Mozzoni was also reported to be one of a number of Italian women campaigning for universal suffrage.[50]

Reflecting on the possible causes which had brought about the calls for progress in women's conditions in liberal Italy, the *Englishwoman's Review* contributor commented:

> It would be interesting to know to what Italian women owe the sudden growth in popular opinion on their behalf. A large influence, we think, must be attributed to the writings of Mazzini. The works of the great Italian apostle, though so little known in England, have been like household words through the length and breadth of Italy.

> There is not a single town in the Peninsula in which some Association does not meet reverently to discuss his writings.[51]

Mazzini's works, in fact, were well known in Britain, often thanks to the intense activity of translation and dissemination operated by British women.[52] Nevertheless, as a long review of Mazzini's work by Emile Ashurst Venturi in 1875 suggested, the *Englishwoman's Review* was keen for Mazzini's writings to reach the widest possible audience.[53]

A transnational network of Mazzinian women provided a valuable source of information for the emancipationist British paper. Sara Nathan, who, as a Jewish Italian bourgeois, belonged to one of the most progressive groups of Italian society, and Georgina Craufurd Saffi, who was married to the prominent Italian Mazzinian Aurelio Saffi, were the bridgehead of the connection between Italian associations and the British reporters.[54] The *Englishwoman's Review* was therefore able to give a detailed account of the spread and nature of Mazzinian associations:

> It would be difficult to overestimate the effect that [Mazzini's teachings on the emancipation of women] have had in the last twenty years in all the associations which in Italy correspond to our Mechanics' Institutes, Working Men's Unions and Free Schools. In these, succeeding writers, patriots and philanthropists, have echoed Mazzini's words, and taught according to their ability the equal duties, rights and responsibilities of women and men till it is becoming a portion of the creed which the party of progress in Italy has adopted from its great leader.[55]

Indeed, Ashurst Biggs's paper was keen to show its readers that, despite the sidelining of Mazzini by the new Italian state, his spiritual connection with Italian workers – men *and* women – was still strong. In 1877, on the fifth anniversary of Mazzini's death, the paper reported that demonstrations in honour and memory of the 'apostle' had been held 'in every town' by working men's societies, while working women's associations had paid tribute to Mazzini, acknowledging that the 'freedom of women, politically, socially and civilly' was 'as necessary a part of the national emancipation as the freedom of men'.[56] The connection between women's franchise and nationalism – bringing together nation, citizenship and gender as one whole – was typically Mazzinian, and one that the British radicals understood.

As the *Englishwoman's Review* noted, the dissemination of Mazzini's ideas was the work of 'a noble and devoted band of sisters, second to

none of any nation'.[57] Aurelia Cimino Folliero de Luna, the editor of the 'feminist' paper *Cornelia* in Florence, was one of these. The paper, founded in 1872, had a very small circulation, reaching 600 copies. Although it ran until 1880, it struggled all along to establish its name among women readers, and Cimino Folliero de Luna lamented that many of its supporters were men.[58] Women editors, however, exchanged journals across national boundaries, often supporting each other's causes. For example, Miss Johnston, the British editor of the Geneva paper, *Esperance* (founded in 1871), met with Cimino Folliero de Luna in Florence in 1876 to talk about their 'common work'. The Italian editor, complaining about the small number of local subscribers, sought advertisers and subscriptions from 'English ladies', something which was promptly reported by the *Englishwoman's Review*.[59]

While *Cornelia* struggled financially, the *Englishwoman's Review* was keen to report on any positive signs of emancipationist progress and remarked that 'an increasing number' of women were taking part 'by pen and by speech to this onward movement'.[60] Indeed, deprived of equal rights and equal education by the Italian state, Italian women *did* increasingly voice their demands through the press. *La Donna* (1868–91), founded and edited by Gualberta Alaide Beccari, was a particularly good example. 'Entirely written by ladies', and 'devoted to subjects of education and morality', the periodical had spread all over Italy.[61] The *Englishwoman's Review* listed among its contributors Georgina Craufurd Saffi, Anna Maria Mozzoni, Malvina Franck, Giglioli and Signora Malliani. As the *Englishwoman's Review*'s correspondent commented, the education of women was being 'heroically advocated by this little paper'.[62]

Beccari was a Mazzinian nationalist turned emancipationist.[63] Liviana Gazzetta has drawn an accurate picture of the connection which linked Italian Mazzinian women, who had been active participants in the Risorgimento, with the emancipationist cause which they embraced in liberal Italy. They had moved seamlessly from the battle for country to the battle for women's citizenship believing that emancipation would foster national regeneration.[64] Indeed, as the *Englishwoman's Review* explained to its readers some years later, it was the national struggle and the 'revolution of the people that had drawn the women as part of the people'. Quoting Emilia Mariani, the paper wrote: 'These heroines were, without knowing it, the first women workers for Italy, for it was they, for the first time interested themselves in a mass in the affairs of the country.'[65] The agency of the Risorgimento 'heroines' had found new expression in liberal Italy's 'women workers'.

The *Englishwoman's Review* noted other examples of emancipationist activity in Italy beyond the feminist press. The paper displayed a sophisticated knowledge of the dissemination channels for Mazzini's writings in liberal Italy. It was known that adult evening classes, set up by Mazzini's followers, were the best vehicles for educating Italian workers to the concepts of 'duty' and 'citizenship'. Regional differences in the spread of evening classes and educational associations – which had a leopard-skin distribution – were also highlighted, as these impacted directly on the uneven distribution of Mazzinian literature.[66] In 1873, the paper reported on the proliferation of 'Mazzini Schools', highlighting how, according to the wishes of the Mazzinian Ernesto Nathan, they were to be regarded as 'monuments to the great master (Mazzini), believing as his disciples do, that to instruct the people would be far more pleasing to the man that they wish to honour, than busts and statues of bronze and marble'.[67] In 1878, the paper reported that Signora Giulietta Pezzi, who was known to read out to workers 'extracts from that golden book, "The Duties of Man"', had founded a Mazzinian School in Milan.[68] It was there that Vincenzo Brusco Onnis, a republican Mazzinian of unquestionable credentials, had given a lecture on the topic, 'Woman in the Family and Nation', in which he had affirmed the revolutionary role of Italian mothers within the moral regeneration of the nation.[69] In another instance, this time in Rome, the jurist Attilio Brunialti had called for the abolition of laws which excluded women from public life and had 'described the noble share that women took in the regeneration of Italy, and the useful control they have often exercised in affairs of State', although what he meant by the latter was not clarified.

'Progress' was a recurring theme in the journal's articles on Italian women. It would be inaccurate, however, to infer that the *Englishwoman's Review* editors measured the Italian women's progress in relation to their own perceived superiority, confident that Britain in general – and British women in particular – were ahead of their Italian sisters. Indeed, while Italians did often believe this, the British emancipationist paper was more sceptical:

> It may be gratifying to our national pride to find the high opinion that Italians entertain of English women's acquirements, though we may wish that this estimate were founded on firmer facts… Let us hope… that the Englishwomen of a few years hence… come nearer to the ideal towards which their Italian sisters have so steadily set themselves to work.[70]

This was not pure rhetoric. In many ways, women across national borders were struggling to achieve similar recognitions. In juridical terms – for example in marriage laws – a comparative European study carried out by the *Englishwoman's Review* in 1875 showed that Britain had 'something to learn in almost every particular' from other countries.[71] In Britain, the quarterly stressed, a woman was considered 'incompetent, except under special circumstances, to make a will', while according to the Civil Code of the new Kingdom of Italy, as well as according to the laws in France and in the United States, both women and men were allowed to make a will. On the guardianship of children, the law in Britain made 'no mention of women'; in Italy, by contrast, from 1866, on the death of the father, the mother became the sole guardian of their children.[72] On the 'duties of marriage' the *Englishwoman's Review* noted that in Britain '*Husband and wife form but one person, and that person is the husband*'; under Italian law, however, 'Matrimony imposes on the contracting parties reciprocal obligation of cohabitation, fidelity and mutual assistance'.[73] In fact, societal habits meant that, while the Italian law was fairly liberal in some specific cases, practices were not. The *Englishwoman's Review* did admit that in Britain 'social opinion, though not law' was 'fairer' to women.[74] Yet, even when taking this into account, the paper keenly avoided stereotypes. When comparing practices observed in both countries it backed the view of *Cornelia* that brutal husbands were no worse in Italy than elsewhere, remarking that on the topic of domestic violence, 'our English Sessions could match any of the Italian examples'.[75]

For the *Englishwoman's Review*, 'one sure sign of progress' in Italy was the fact that parliament was at least discussing – and sometimes legislating – on the issue of women's rights.[76] Much of the credit for this, the *Englishwoman's Review* acknowledged, went to the southern deputy Salvatore Morelli, whose 'eloquent appeals to the Italian parliament' on behalf of Italian women had resulted in several changes to the civil code.[77] According to the *Englishwoman's Review* in 1878, the fact that these improvements in the laws were being passed 'by respectable majorities' showed 'that a liberal feeling toward the progress of women is prevailing even amongst those who have not come prominently forward'.[78] These were the heady first years following the 1876 'parliamentary revolution' (*rivoluzione parlamentare*), which had seen the northern parliamentary contingent composing the *Destra storica* – responsible for institutionalising the unequal treatment of men and women in education – give way to the government of the *Sinistra storica*.[79] The *Englishwoman's Review* eagerly reported on signs of change: 'Signor Zanardelli, Minister

of Public Works, warmly approved of women being telegraph clerks', wrote the paper in 1878.[80]

The victory of the Left, composed of a majority of southern parliamentarians, coincided in Italy with a new sensibility towards the southern problem. Indeed, as Fulvio Cammarano has indicated, it was not by chance that the emergence of the 'southern question' (*questione meridionale*) surfaced at this moment as a fundamental trait of Italy's national consciousness, crucially contributing towards redrawing the new 'geography of the nation'.[81] The association of the South with backwardness had been common prior to Italy's unification; the Milanese patriot Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso, for example, had regarded the backwardness of the South as a serious impediment to Italy's unity. However, parliamentarians' political sensitivities had been sharpened in the mid-1870s with the publication of Pasquale Villari's *Lettere meridionali* (1875).

Nelson Moe has remarked on how Villari exercised a powerful influence in liberal Italy: already in 1872 he had called upon writers to visit the Neapolitan slums, 'describe them minutely, depict the life and moral conditions of those people, and denounce them to the civilized world as an Italian crime'.[82] Moe has underlined how representations of the Mezzogiorno as the 'deepest' South were 'more forcefully expressed in the Italian texts of the 1870s' than in many foreigners' accounts.[83] Discourses around the 'southern question' intensified following Sydney Sonnino and Leopoldo Franchetti's investigation in Sicily in 1877, which contributed to frame the question of the South as a national question. Villari then encouraged the Mazzinian Jessie White Mario to carry out a survey of the slums of Naples. Their correspondence is evidence both of their long friendship and their common agenda.[84] Published in 1877, White Mario's *La miseria di Napoli* painted an alarming portrait of the 'backwardness' of the inhabitants, their poverty and the poor hygiene of their dwellings. On the back of her investigation, she also published articles on the Naples slums, which the *Englishwoman's Review* reproduced in January 1878.[85] As a Mazzinian and a friend of Villari, White Mario was mirroring the anxieties of Italians: her descriptions of Naples were not a display of imperial prerogatives, but rather an indication of how deeply steeped she was in the internal, polarised, 'moral geography' of the 'Two Italies'.

It is in this context, more than in the British imperial spirit, that the articles published in the *Englishwoman's Review* describing Julie Salis Schwabe's Neapolitan schools are best understood.[86] Indeed, the article that announced the establishment of Schwabe's first 'ragged school'

in Naples quoted Villari's 'abundant testimony' of the 'cruel exposure and overwork suffered by children' in another part of southern Italy, Sicily.[87] Rather than evidence of women reporters' imperial prerogatives, as argued by O'Connor, the articles published by the *Englishwoman's Review* responded to a call from a southern intellectual who worked closely with a British Mazzinian woman. However, the narrative which emerged from those articles was not without nuance and differences of opinion. Indeed, when publishing the accounts on Schwabe's school, the paper's editors clarified that they were 'not responsible for the opinions of Correspondents'.[88] In December 1876, in the aftermath of the Italian elections, Ellen C. Clayton was keen to underline that both the national government and the municipality of Naples were making small contributions to the school's upkeep. Pointedly, the correspondent remarked:

> The support of the National Government proves that Mrs Schwabe's work is in harmony with Italian feelings and is appreciated by the intelligent among the Italian people, both points which I had heard disputed by travellers whose interest I had besought for these schools.[89]

The commentary suggested that Clayton intended to counter superior, 'orientalist' attitudes towards the Italians, and underline that 'the intelligent among the Italians' – possibly Villari's followers – were at one with the initiative.

As historians have highlighted, education and the Italians' 'incivilimento' (civilising process) were considered the new nation's most urgent imperatives: liberal Italy had the task of making the Italians.[90] Yet, it was particularly the process of making the Italian women ('*fare le italiane*') which liberal Italy had neglected during the years of the *Destra storica*: it was this that the *Englishwoman's Review* was keen to monitor and present to its readers.[91] The education and training of Italian women were regarded by the paper as the yardstick of the nation's progress. Despite the difficulties, encouraging news continued to trickle in. At a time when the importance of technical training was increasingly being stressed by educationalists in Britain, where the 'technology and education' campaign was well under way, the opening of technical schools for girls in Italy was welcomed by the *Englishwoman's Review*.[92] In Italy, like in Britain, France and Germany, 'the new order of things' was being recognised: 'women as well as men must be trained to honourable self-support'.[93] According to the quarterly, by the late 1870s the first Women's Professional School in Turin was already securing good jobs

for its pupils across Piedmont, while Signora Mantegazza's Professional School for Women in Milan had proved that girls could be very competent at bookkeeping and telegraphy. Another school, the telegraphic school, had also attracted many girls, 20 of whom had already found 'well-paid situations, not only in Milan, but in Magenta, Soresina and other towns'.[94]

Apart from vocational training colleges, Italian girls were increasingly being offered the option of acquiring a liberal education. As the paper reported in 1878, thanks to the exertions of the recently deceased Erminia Fuà Fusinato, high schools for girls had opened in all the major Italian cities, including the Scuola Superiore Femminile in Rome. Fuà Fusinato was reported to have pressed for her girls to be admitted to lectures on Natural Philosophy within the university walls in Rome. A series of lectures for women on moral and social questions had also been established there. Schools such as Fuà Fusinato's were 'of real national importance', the *Englishwoman's Review* commented.[95] When subscriptions opened in Italy for a monument in memory of Fuà Fusinato – arguably a sign of the tribute of the Italians to her contribution to the nation – the *Englishwoman's Review* suggested, in line with the Mazzinian principle of putting education first, that 'the most lasting tribute would be the foundation of a college for the better education of women'.[96]

In Florence, a high school for girls had opened in 1873. A Gymnasium, which would enable girls' access to universities, was established 1878.[97] The *Englishwoman's Review* noted that discussions were under way in Pisa for a new college for women, which would be the equivalent of Girton College in Cambridge. Courses of lectures for ladies were being given by 'some of the most distinguished statesmen and professors'.[98] Parliament was in the midst of debating the establishment of superior normal schools for women.

Having secured access to higher education, and aiming to pursue careers in traditionally male professions, a small but determined handful of young women embarked on degree courses at universities across Italy. During the 1870s, the debate around women's access to higher education developed in parallel ways in Britain and Italy. As James Stuart was delivering the first series of lectures for women in the north of England in 1869, the monthly *MacMillan's Magazine* drew its readers' attention to the fact that 'In Italy too, a very strong desire for higher education' had 'lately been shown by many Italian ladies', who believed that their country needed above all things a social renovation, 'which the gross ignorance of Italian women renders at present impossible'.[99] In 1876, a state decree formally opened all 15 Italian universities to women. Britain

was barely ahead: campaigners Barbara Bodichon and Emilie Davies, both contributors to the *Englishwoman's Review*, had only succeeded in opening the doors of Girton College, Cambridge, to women for the first time in 1873. Alfred Marshall's famous *Lectures to Women* also dated from that year.[100]

While universities in Italy had always been open to women in principle, the lack of preliminary female education had precluded access to the vast majority of young Italian women. At a time when British women's sensitivities regarding female access to higher education were heightened, as the University of London was the first British university to admit women to degrees in 1878, the *Englishwoman's Review* kept a close eye on developments in liberal Italy.

The *Englishwoman's Review* closely monitored the progress of these Italian 'sisters', eagerly reporting news of their achievements. While Elisabeth Garrett Anderson, after obtaining a medical degree in Paris in 1870, had founded the London School for Medicine for Women in 1874, Maria Valleda Farne, a young Italian lady from a 'distinguished family in Bologna', was studying to become a doctor in Turin, and would soon become the first woman to gain a degree in medicine, surgery and obstetrics in the newly unified state.[101] It was a promising start, although by 1890 only five Italian women had received a medical degree. Other women students obtained degrees in these years in physics, chemistry, botany and philological studies: although the numbers were admittedly few, the degrees crossed disciplinary boundaries.[102]

In the opinion of the *Englishwoman's Review*, the educational achievements of these young women raised Italy to the level of other progressive, liberal European nations. Yet, despite the considerable educational advances heralded by a minority of committed female students, women's acceptance within 'male' professions in Italy remained a serious challenge. Not all of them practised as professionals: Valleda Farne, despite support from Queen Margherita, struggled to attract clients in her private practice.[103] On 15 September 1883, the *Englishwoman's Review* reported an incident that showed how controversial this issue could be:

> We learn that the Italian lady, Signorina Lidia Poet, has been admitted to the dignity of Doctor of Laws, and has asked to be called to the Bar in Turin. The Application has been acceded to by the Order of Advocates, presided over by Signor Vigezzi, with great courtesy and approbation, but not altogether without dissent, the vote being eight against four. Two eminent advocates, Chiaves and Spiantigati (*sic*)

> have withdrawn from the Council in consequence of the innovation. Their friend and brother, D'Arcais, has however attempted to convert them, and has addressed a long letter on the subject in an Italian journal.[104]

In fact, the Court of Appeal in Turin blocked Poet's admission to the bar. Subsequent appeals by Lidia Poet's supporters claiming her right to enter the legal profession were also repeatedly quashed. Poet became a contributor to *La Donna* and her struggle to secure women's access to the bar would become one of the defining battles of the growing feminist movement in Italy. It took another 35 years for Lidia Poet to be admitted to the bar (the prohibition on women lawyers lasted until 1919 when the law was eventually changed) and her case became a *cause célèbre* in Italy. In most European countries, however, women who had earned law degrees were also denied the right to practise for many years, due to the social fear of women entering public spaces. As Linda Clark has argued, the motivations for women's exclusion from the courts across nations were similar to those used to deny them the vote.[105]

The rhetoric employed by the *Englishwoman's Review*, however, suggested that the emancipationist argument had made inroads the length and breadth of Italy. Italian women had found a voice. They were now not only ready to speak for themselves, but they were also determined to speak for others. In 1875, the *Englishwoman's Review* reported on a meeting in Florence called to protest against capital punishment. The Founder of the *Società Cosmo-Umanitaria*, Signora Atenaide Zaira Pieromaldi, who was one of the speakers, had presented her case, holding the listeners 'in almost breathless silence'.[106] In 1876, the *Englishwoman's Review* also reported on how a woman activist, Matilda Caselli, had been 'one of the chief speakers' at a meeting in Naples convened to denounce the recent 'Bulgarian atrocities' committed by Turkish forces in the Ottoman empire.[107] She was said 'to have spoken admirably' and had received 'tremendous applause' when declaring that 'To express one's own sentiments' on behalf of a 'noble cause, is not, nor ought it to be, the monopoly of men'. Resonating Mazzinian arguments on humanitarian internationalism and pacifism in the context of global order, she had claimed to speak 'in the name of the Italian women against the maintenance of the present state of things'.[108]

Such insights into Italian women's public lives showed that from Florence to Naples Italian women-activists were sometimes speaking publicly on behalf of national and international causes: it was through

occasional reports like these that the *Englishwoman's Review* helped to construct an image of the new Italy which defied stereotypes of Italian women. In fact, at the time of Ashurst Biggs' death in 1889, the Italian feminist movement was about to enter a new phase: Italian emancipationists, rather than turn to Mazzini's writings for inspiration and spiritual guidance, now increasingly looked to socialism. Reporting on the women's movement in Italy in 1897, the *Englishwoman's Review* commented on an address delivered by Emilia Mariani with mixed feelings:

> Whether the hope Signora Mariani seems to entertain of furtherance from the Socialist party be well founded it is not for us to judge, for it is no doubt true of Socialists that many are better than their impractical creed. But much as one might fear that such hope might prove delusive, there is solid encouragement in the closing sentence of this most interesting paper. 'In Italy women study, write, work, quite as much, perhaps more, than other women in other countries, and the day will come when all will rise up, to claim equality of condition with men. If they are late, they will only be the more strongly prepared, and better equipped against foundering in their attempts'.[109]

The *Englishwoman's Review*'s reference to the 'impractical creed' of Socialism indicated that Italian women might take a path that traditional emancipationist British Mazzinians did not wish to follow. The latter remained loyal to Mazzini's vision for the national regeneration of Italian men and women, which vehemently condemned socialism. Yet, even if the paths of Italian and British emancipationists might part in the future, the British feminist quarterly had done much to increase the transnational visibility of Italian women's struggles and victories during the nation-building phase. Indeed, under Ashurst Biggs's leadership the *Englishwoman's Review* had succeeded in constructing an image of Italy where Italian women in the making were shown to have entered the public space and played a little-acknowledged yet important role in shaping the new nation. At a time when even an enlightened social reformer and public historian such as Bolton King struggled to identify women's agency in making the Italian nation, the insight given by the *Englishwoman's Review* into the progresses of emancipationist women in liberal Italy was remarkable.

Indeed, the English paper helped its readers to imagine Italy not as an 'orientalised', 'southern' country, or as a missionary field, but as a nation where Italian women, like their 'sisters' elsewhere in Europe, and each in

their separate way, took up the challenge of negotiating past traditions with the opportunities for emancipation which lay ahead of them.

Notes

1. *Englishwoman's Review* (hereafter *ER*), 15 November 1879.
2. The word 'feminist' was only introduced in the 1880s. In Italy, the term 'femminismo' dates from the 1890s.
3. See L. Guidi (2000) 'Patriottismo femminile e travestimenti sulla scena risorgimentale', *Studi storici*, 41, 2, pp. 571–87. On cross-dressing see also L. Schettini (2011) *Il gioco delle parti: travestimenti e paure sociali tra ottocento e novecento* (Florence: Le Monnier). Women bearing arms were less unusual in the 1848 revolutions; a small number of them also fought with Garibaldi in 1860. See S. Soldani (2008) 'Il campo dell'onore. Donne e guerrra nel Risorgimento italiano', in M. Isnenghi and E. Cecchinato (eds) *Gli italiani in guerra: Conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, vol. 1 (Turin: UTET) pp. 135–45; S. Soldani (2007) 'Il Risorgimento delle donne', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds) *Il Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi) pp. 183–224; M. Schwegman (2010) 'Amazons for Garibaldi: Women Warriors and the Making of the Hero of the Two Worlds', *Modern Italy*, 25, 4, pp. 417–32; B. Gennaro (2014) 'Donne in armi e Risorgimento', in L. Guidi and M. R. Pellizzari (eds) *Nuove frontiere per la storia di genere*, vol. 1 (Salerno: Università degli Studi) pp. 229–34.
4. Guidi, 'Patriottismo femminile'. For a discussion of gender identity as performative, play of signs see Judith Butler (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge).
5. L. Polezzi and C. Ross (2007) *In Corpore: Bodies in Post-Unification Italy* (Madison and Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson University Press), p. 10.
6. A. M. Banti (2000) *La Nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore all'origine dell'Italia unita* (Turin: Einaudi).
7. The reference is to S. Rowbotham (1973) *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against it* (London: Pluto Press). The term 'Sapphic' was in use in the nineteenth century.
8. L. Riall (2012) 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 162.
9. C. Beccalossi (2012) *Female Sexual Inversion: Same-Sex Desires in Italian and British Sexology, c. 1870–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 34.
10. On Cutrufelli's feminist historicism and the reinvention of Risorgimento androgynous women's lives see M. Rossi (1999) 'Transgression in Maria Rosa Cutrufelli's "La Briganta"', in M. Marotti and G. Brooke (eds) *Gendering Italian Fiction: Feminist Revisions of Italian History* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press) pp. 202–22; C. Di Giulio (2005) 'Travesties of Risorgimento in Maria Rosa Cutrufelli's "La Briganta"', in N. Bouchard (ed.) *Risorgimento in Modern Italian Culture: Re-visiting the Nineteenth Century Past in History, Narrative and Cinema* (Rosemont: Massachusetts) pp. 133–50. Sylvia Mariotti's name was also mentioned within an article on women fighters,

published on 27 March 1881 in the *New York Times* and in another article, published in *Young England* on 28 May 1881.

11. Schettini, *Il gioco delle parti*, p. 7.
12. S. Patriarca (2005) 'Indolence and Regeneration. Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism', *American Historical Review*, 110, pp. 380–408; M. O'Connor (1998) *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* (Basingstoke: Macmillan). For the earlier period see R. Bizzocchi (2007) 'Una nuova morale per la donna e la famiglia', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds) *Storia d'Italia*, pp. 69–96.
13. This interpretation is based on the original study by A. Burton (1994) *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press).
14. A. Summers (2011) 'British Women and Cultures of Internationalism, c.1815–1914', in D. Feldman and J. Lawrence (eds) *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 187–209.
15. M. O'Connor (2003) 'Civilizing Southern Italy: British and Italian Women and the Cultural Politics of European Nation Building', *Women's Writing*, 10, 2, pp. 253–68.
16. For the wider discussions of the relation between gender and citizenship see K. Canning (2006) *Gender History in Practice. Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship* (London: Cornell University Press); L. Kerber (1997) 'The Meanings of Citizenship', *Journal of American History*, 84, 3, pp. 833–54.
17. The first issue of the *Englishwoman's Review* was published on 1 October 1866.
18. The quote is from the famous article by U. Foscolo (1826) 'The Women of Italy', *The London Magazine*, 6, 22, p. 24.
19. Bizzocchi, 'Una nuova morale'.
20. A. Lyttleton (2011) 'Sismondi, il mondo britannico e l'Italia del Risorgimento tra passato e presente', in L. Pagliai and F. Sofia (eds) *Sismondi e La Nuova Italia* (Florence: Polistampa) especially pp. 162–80.
21. Bizzocchi, 'Una nuova morale'.
22. A. S. Bucknell (1861) *In the Track of the Garibaldians: Through Italy and Sicily* (London: Manwaring), p. 61. M. P. Sutcliffe (2013) 'British Red Shirts: A History of the Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)', in N. Airelli and B. Collins (eds) *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 202–19.
23. For the presence of Anita Garibaldi in British novels see L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 152–3.
24. 'A Working Frenchwoman', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 April 1868.
25. 'Italian Women', *Women's Penny Paper*, 13 July 1889.
26. B. P. F. Wanrooij (2008) 'Josephine Butler and Regulated Prostitution in Italy', *Women's Review*, 17, 2, pp. 157–71.
27. B. Palmer (2009) 'Englishwoman's Review', in L. Brake and Marysa Dempor (eds) *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (Gent-London: Academia Press) p. 206.
28. I borrow the term 'mission field' from R. Pesman (2011) 'Mazzini and/in Love', in Patriarca and Riall, *The Risorgimento Revisited*, p. 101.

29. M. P. Sutcliffe (2014) *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (Woodbridge UK-Rochester NY: Boydell & Brewer).
30. E. F. Biagini (2008) 'Mazzini and Anticlericalism: The English Exile', in C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds) *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism 1830–1920* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press), pp. 146–65.
31. See K. Gleadle (1995) *The Early Feminists: Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement, 1831–51* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
32. F. Falchi (2012) 'Democracy and the Rights of Women in the Thinking of Giuseppe Mazzini', *Modern Italy*, 17, 1, pp. 15–30.
33. R. Pesman (2006) 'Mazzini in esilio e le inglesi', in I. Porciani (ed.) *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo ottocento italiano: Modelli strategie, reti di relazioni* (Rome: Viella), p. 82.
34. Emilie Ashurst Venturi considered Mazzinianism her religion. See Pesman, 'Mazzini in esilio', p. 73.
35. See I. Blom, K. Hagemann and C. Hall (eds) (2000) *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford-New York: Berg).
36. *ER*, 14 September 1889.
37. K. Gleadle (2000) '"Our Several Spheres": Middle-Class Women and the Feminisms of Early Victorian Radical Politics', in K. Gleadle and S. Richardson (eds) *Women in British Politics, 1760–1860: The Power of the Petticoat* (London-New York: Macmillan), pp. 144, 151, fn. 61.
38. There are 37 collected letters from Mazzini to Caroline Ashurst Biggs, written between August 1847 and December 1868. See G. Mazzini (1961) *Scritti Editi e inediti* – Indice, vol.1 (Imola: Galeati), pp. 100–1. A photo of Caroline Ashurst Biggs as a child and a record of the Mazzinian memorabilia which she cherished – including an Italian tricoloured cockade bearing the words 'Ora e sempre' sported by Caroline Ashurst Biggs at emancipationist rallies – are included in G. Pioli (1914) 'Istituzioni e amici superstiti di G. Mazzini a Londra', *Rassegna Nazionale*, 197, 4, pp. 501–3.
39. Summers, 'British Women and Cultures', pp. 194–5.
40. My interpretation here differs from the one suggested by O'Connor, 'Civilizing Southern Italy', p. 261. For a recent interpretation of the role played by English Mazzinian women see F. Falchi, (2015) 'Beyond national borders; "Italian" patriots united in the name of Giuseppe Mazzini: Emilie Ashurst, Margaret Fuller and Jessie White Mario', *Women's History Review*, 24, 1, pp. 23–36.
41. Established in 1885, Toynbee Hall was a university settlement set up by Oxford academics in the East End of London. Inspired by the idealist T. H. Green and by the teachings of Arnold Toynbee, it was an experiment in achieving cross-class fellowship through sharing a liberal education.
42. M. P. Sutcliffe (2013) 'The Toynbee Travellers' Club and the Transnational Education of Citizens (1888–90)', *History Workshop Journal*, 76, pp. 137–59; 'Logbook of the Expedition to Florence', 1888, London Metropolitan Archives, Corporation of London, A/TOY/12/1, p. 141.
43. B. King and T. Okey (1901) *Italy Today* (London: Nisbet). Although the last chapter on 'Literature' (pp. 322–52) contains some pages on Matilde Serao and Ada Negri, there is no mention of social groups of women, not even in the chapter devoted to 'Education' (pp. 233–50).

44. 'From Italy', *ER*, 1 January 1874. Translated from the *Neue Bahnen*.
45. Fascination with Italian women of the past was a literary trope. Thomas Adolphus Trollope used Italian women histories and biographies to flatter its Victorian readership for its presumed moral superiority and lack of superstition: T. A. Trollope (1859) *A Decade of Italian Women*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman & Hall). I am indebted to Alison Booth for providing me with the insight into Trollope's writings.
46. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
47. Ibid; K. Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 143.
48. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878. On Mozzoni's arguments against the civil code see L. Re (2001) 'Passion and Sexual Difference: The Risorgimento and the Gendering of Writing in Nineteenth Century Italy', in A. Russell Ascoli and K. Von Hennenberg (eds) *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity in the Risorgimento* (Berg: Oxford), pp. 155–202 (p. 161).
49. *ER*, 1 July 1871.
50. 'An Italian's View of Women's Suffrage', *ER*, 15 September 1870.
51. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
52. Pesman, 'Mazzini in esilio', p. 76.
53. 'Joseph Mazzini: a Memoir by E.A.V.', *ER*, 1 February 1875.
54. On Italian emancipationists in liberal Italy see T. Catalan (2009) 'Percorsi di emancipazione delle donne italiane in età liberale', in M. Isnenghi and L. Sullam (eds), *Gli Italiani in Guerra*, vol. 2 (Turin: UTET), pp. 170–81.
55. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
56. 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 14 April 1877.
57. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
58. Guidi, 'Scritture Femminili', p. 132 fn. 36.
59. 'Women's Work in Florence', *ER*, 1 February 1876.
60. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
61. Ibid.; 'Paragraphs', *ER*, 1 April 1875.
62. 'Women's Papers', *ER*, 15 October 1878.
63. On *La Donna* see L. Gazzetta (2006) 'Figure e correnti dell'emancipazionismo postunitario', in N. M. Filippini, L. Gazzetta, N. Pannocchia, T. Plebani and M. Sega (eds) *Donne sulla Scena Pubblica: Società e Politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento* (Milan: Franco Angeli). See also M. Schwegman (1996) *Gualberta Alaide Beccari, emancipazionista e scrittrice* (Pisa: Domus Mazziniana).
64. Gazzetta, 'Figure e correnti dell'emancipazionismo postunitario', pp. 142–3.
65. 'The Women's Movement in Italy', *ER*, 15 October 1897.
66. 'Women's Work in Florence', *ER*, 1 February 1876.
67. 'Italy – Schools in memory of Mazzini', *ER*, 1 January 1873.
68. Ibid.; 'Italy', *ER*, 15 April 1878.
69. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 June 1878. On Brusco Onnis see G. Monsagrati, 'Vincenzo Brusco Onnis', available at: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-brusco-onnis_(Dizionario-Biografico)/, accessed 22 January 2013.
70. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 June 1878.
71. 'Principal Marriage Laws of England Compared with other Countries', *ER*, 1 December 1875.

72. 'Paragraphs: The Rights of Mothers in Italy', *ER*, 1 March 1875.
73. Italics in the original text.
74. 'Reviews of Pamphlets', *ER*, 1 September 1877.
75. 'Paragraphs', *ER*, 1 March 1875.
76. *ER*, 1 November 1875.
77. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 June 1878.
78. Ibid.
79. L. Re, 'Passion and Sexual Difference'.
80. 'Past and Present Italian Women' *ER*, 15 June 1878.
81. F. Cammarano (2011) *Storia dell'Italia liberale* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), p. 99.
82. P. Villari, *Le Lettere meridionali*, p. 173, quoted in Nelson Moe (2002) *The View from Vesuvius*: *Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley: University of California), p. 225.
83. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius*, p. 42.
84. R. Certini (1998) *Jessie White Mario una giornalista educatrice tra liberalismo inglese e democrazia italiana* (Florence: Le Lettere), p. 63. The Appendix also contains transcripts of the correspondence between Pasquale Villari and Jessie White Mario, found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana repository.
85. *ER*, 15 January 1878.
86. On the schools see James C. Albisetti (2006) 'Education for the Poor Neapolitan Children: Julie Schwabe's Nineteenth Century Secular Mission', *History of Education*, 35, 6, pp. 632–52.
87. 'Italy', *ER*, 1 May 1875.
88. E. C. Clayton, 'Correspondence', *ER*, 15 December 1876.
89. Ibid.
90. See for example the discussion on the term 'incivilimento' as referred to the Italians in R. Grew (2000) 'Culture and Society, 1796–1896', in J. A. Davis (ed.) *Italy in the Nineteenth-Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 224; and M. Roggero (1999) *L'Alfabeto conquistato: apprendere e insegnare nell'Italia tra Settecento e Ottocento* (Bologna: Il Mulino), p. 322.
91. The famous expression 'fare le italiane' is borrowed from F. P. Bortolotti (1975) *Alle origini del movimento femminile in Italia: 1848–1892* (Turin: Einaudi).
92. R. G. William (1998) 'Technical and Scientific education in London', in R. Floud and S. Glynn (eds) *London Higher* (London: Athlone Press), pp. 247–63.
93. 'Italian Industrial Schools', *ER*, 1 December 1875.
94. 'Italian Industrial Schools', *ER*, 1 December 1875; 'How Workwomen are Trained Abroad' *ER*, 1 January 1880.
95. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 May 1878.
96. Ibid. On Fuà Fusinato see also 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 November 1876; 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 January 1877; 'The Municipal Schools of Rome', 15 August 1879; 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 February 1888.
97. 'Past and Present Italian Women', *ER*, 15 June 1878.
98. Ibid.
99. F. W. H. Myers, 'Local Lectures for Women', quoted in *ER*, 1 January 1869.
100. E. Biagini, R. McWilliams Tullberg, T. Raffaelli (eds) (1995) *Alfred Marshall's Lectures to Women: Some Economic Questions Directly Connected with the Welfare of the Labourer* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar).

101. 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 October 1878.
102. 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 September 1879; 15 January 1880; 15 August 1881.
103. L. Clark (2008) *Women and Achievement in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 220. The *Englishwoman's Review* reported regularly on Queen Margherita's support for women's causes in general. Readers knew the 'cultivated and intelligent' Queen Margherita as a shareholder in the emancipationist paper *Cornelia*. *ER*, 1 February 1876; *ER*, 15 February 1878.
104. 'Foreign Notes and News', *ER*, 15 September 1883.
105. Clark, *Women and Achievement*, p. 224.
106. 'Italy', *ER*, 1 June 1875.
107. The news of the negligence and corruption of the Turkish administration and the intelligence of the atrocities being carried out with impunity by agents of the Turkish government had initiated a debate on the need for British intervention. See 'The Bulgarian Atrocities', *The Times*, 4 September 1876.
108. 'Italy', *ER*, 14 October 1876.
109. 'The Women's Movement in Italy', *ER*, 15 October 1897.

8

Italy and the 'Irish Risorgimento': Italian Perspectives on the Irish War of Independence, 1919–1921

Chiara Chini

In the aftermath of the First World War, the Irish question became one of the 'hot topics' in the international press. On 21 January 1919, the Dáil Éireann, the self-proclaimed parliament of an independent Irish republic, met for the first time in the Mansion House in Dublin. The establishment of the Dáil and the murder on the same day of two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in County Tipperary by members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) marked the beginning of the Irish War of Independence. The nationalist guerilla insurgency against British rule ended in December 1921 with the signing of the Anglo–Irish treaty and the creation of a self-governing Irish Free State.

From the outset, the Irish rising attracted a lot of attention in the western media, including in Italy. Italian newspapers published frequent updates on the developments of the Anglo–Irish war and many in-depth analyses were written by commentators and experts on British affairs. Although the brutality of the conflict and its impact on the British system of imperial dominance were the most debated aspects of the war, the Irish *vexata questio* was also used by the Italian press to discuss the direction of Italian foreign policy and unresolved national issues.

In part, Italian interest in the Irish question was a product of contemporary international developments. The Dáil's declaration of independence coincided with the opening of the Paris peace conference. Here, Italian territorial claims to Fiume (based on the Wilsonian principle of nationality) and Dalmatia (under the terms of the 1915 Treaty of London with Britain, France and Russia) were rejected by the major powers. In protest, the Italian delegation led by the prime minister, Orlando, withdrew from the conference (April 1919) – before returning to Paris

(without having secured any new concessions) to sign the final treaty (June 1919). The outcome enraged not just Italian nationalists: popular attitudes in Italy turned against the allies, not least the British, for their perceived betrayal of the London treaty and Italian national interests. In this context, it was hardly surprising that the rising tide of anti-British sentiment should translate into support for the Irish revolution.

Anti-British, pro-Irish sentiment in Italy was fanned by Irish republicans, who pursued a vigorous propaganda campaign in the country with the aim of bringing popular pressure to bear on the Italian government. The campaign was part of a wider strategy carried out by the Dublin government to keep the Irish question '*continually hot*'[1] before international public opinion at a time when traditional diplomatic channels remained closed to it.[2] In mid-1920, a Dáil report on foreign affairs commented approvingly that Irish agents in Italy had 'done a very large amount of propagandist work in the Italian press'.[3] The same month, the Sinn Féin envoy in Rome, Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, reported that 'we have already got practically all the important papers on our side. The moment is propitious for Italy – like France – is most anti-English and growing more so every day'.[4]

The attention Ireland gained in Italy in these years also reflected specific political dynamics that appeared in Italian post-war politics. The First World War had destroyed the Italian economy, radicalised and fractured society and undermined the authority and legitimacy of the liberal state. In the post-war period, it was no coincidence that support for Irish independence came mainly from those political forces ranged against Italian liberalism – such as the nationalists, Fascists, Catholics, socialists, and republicans – who demanded fundamental (in some cases, revolutionary) change in Italy and a break with traditional domestic and foreign policy. For these different groups, the Irish War of Independence stood for several different things: for the nationalists and Fascists, it was a nationalist struggle; for Catholics, the insurgency had religious significance; for the socialists, it was a revolution against the oppressive power of capitalist–imperialist Britain; for Italian republicans it was a war against monarchy. For all groups, though, it represented a fight against the traditional international order and the status quo. The Irish question became therefore the subject of an ongoing process of political appropriation in the immediate post-war years. This process was mainly accomplished by emphasising the common cultural-religious ties extant between the two countries, or by highlighting the similarities between the Italian and Irish experiences of nation-building, in order to create a bond of empathy.

In particular, the chapter focusses on the development of a 'Risorgimental' interpretation of the Irish question and on the adoption of Risorgimento tropes to portray the Irish nationalist struggle against British rule. To this end, it examines newspapers linked to some political groups (namely the nationalists, Fascists and republicans) that attached particular importance to the revival and appropriation of the ideals and myths of the Risorgimento in the post-war period.

The chapter argues that the 'Risorgimentalisation' of the Irish question in Italy served two key functions. First, it allowed nationalists and Fascists to exploit anti-British sentiment in post-war Italy to their domestic political advantage. Second, it was a means by which nationalists, Fascists and republicans could lay claim to the ideals and mythology of the Risorgimento in order to assert their own political legitimacy and to promote their political goals. The chapter further suggests that the identification of the Irish nationalist struggle with the Italian Risorgimento was to influence the way Italians perceived Ireland beyond the period 1919–21.

Nationalists, Fascists and the oppressed Irish people

Italian nationalistic frustrations with the peace settlement soon began to be directed towards the possibility of collaborating with defeated or 'oppressed' peoples in an anti-imperialist stance.[5] The nationalists portrayed Italy as a 'proletarian' nation, whose task was to oppose the 'plutocratic' powers, becoming at the same time the reference point for all 'minor' nations.[6]

Emblematic in this regard was the project elaborated by Gabriele D'Annunzio during the nationalist leader's military occupation of Fiume (September 1919–December 1920) for the creation of a League of the Oppressed Peoples or League of Fiume.[7] D'Annunzio envisaged the League as a counter-League of Nations, a co-ordinating body for all forms of opposition against the tyranny of the old Powers. 'The invincible Irish Sinn Féin' was one of the movements that he intended to involve in the League.[8] In early 1920, D'Annunzio even offered to supply the IRA with much-needed munitions, if the republicans signed up to the League. Nothing came of the offer and the League quickly collapsed, but D'Annunzio remained deeply interested in the Irish republican struggle. In fact, after the fall of Fiume, D'Annunzio appears to have considered travelling to Ireland in support of the republican cause. It was also through D'Annunzio's good offices that Sean O'Ceallaigh first met Mussolini in the summer of 1920.[9]

The nationalists were particularly interested in the post-war upheavals within the British empire, which they perceived as a symptom of the imminent collapse of the old imperialist powers. For the nationalists, the British empire was the model *par excellence* of 'voracious' imperialism: the way that Great Britain had thrust 'on Ireland, Egypt and India a cruel and unjust yoke has made it unworthy of the esteem and trust of civilized peoples, *more than any other state charged with military crimes* [italics in the original]'.[10] In these circumstances, it was inevitable that the nationalist press should embrace the Irish struggle.

The Irish question served the interests of Italian nationalists in a number of ways. First, they could exploit it to fuel popular resentment against the peace settlement, taking advantage of the strong anti-British (and anti-American) feeling of Italian public opinion. Nationalists denounced Wilson's and Lloyd George's inconsistent application of the principle of national self-determination. In particular, they questioned why the American and British leaders had become champions of the principle of nationality in the case of Fiume (but in favour of the Yugoslavs) while at the same time they had forgotten to apply this principle in the case of Ireland.[11] The Irish question was thus associated with the post-war Italian *leitmotiv* of the *vittoria mutilata* (mutilated victory) and the central issues of Italian post-war foreign policy.[12] Second, Ireland offered nationalists the opportunity to criticise Britain *in toto*, by questioning the traditional image of the British empire as a model of good governance and well-ordered progress. We see this, for example, in a series of articles written by Marcello Sammarco for *L'Ardito* in May 1919.[13] According to Sammarco, the way the British authorities had handled recent disturbances in the empire demonstrated that the British form of imperialist domination, apparently based on a liberal-democratic approach to colonial governance, did not, in fact, differ substantially from that of the 'autocratic' empires, such as the recently defunct Austrian empire, since both were violent and illegitimate. Sammarco also drew a comparison between Irish nationalists, hanged 'without ceremony' by the British authorities, and the patriots of the Italian Risorgimento who had suffered terribly fighting to overthrow Habsburg domination: 'Did not these things also happen in the time of the much despised Austria? Did not a certain Ciro Menotti die on the gallows, guilty of not being too favourable to a foreign domination? Of course, it was a sheer coincidence: the British Empire is so liberal!'[14] Significantly, by making the comparison with the Risorgimento, Sammarco was not only criticising British imperialism; he was also presenting a mythical and 'martyrological' vision of the Irish struggle. At the same time, the glorification of

the Irish fight for independence helped to confirm the greatness of the values of the Risorgimento, which represented an important landmark for Italian nationalists.[15]

The Irish question resonated too with the fledgling Fascist movement, launched by Mussolini in Milan in March 1919. That it should was not surprising: Fascism borrowed extensively from the nationalists. The Fascist view of international relations clearly reflected the complex and contradictory mix Italian nationalism had elaborated, combining an expansive idea of foreign policy with anti-imperialist and internationalist claims.[16] Deeply influenced by the nationalist's position on the Irish question, Mussolini quickly became a champion of Irish independence in Italy. Even before the creation of the first *Fascio di combattimento* in March, Mussolini's newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, had already expressed strong support for Sinn Féin. In an article of 24 January 1919, a few days after the proclamation of the Irish republic, the paper described *The Ethics of Sinn Féin* (a short pamphlet published in 1917, which set out the moral duties of party members) as 'a little book … totally inspired by the purest Mazzinian doctrines'.[17] Far from being a gang of fanatics and criminals, as was frequently alleged, the pamphlet demonstrated that the Irish nationalists shared the high-minded ideals of the great Italian nationalist leader.

Il Popolo d'Italia frequently returned to the topic of Ireland over the next two years, its coverage peaking in the summer–autumn of 1920 with the hunger strike – and eventual death – of Terence MacSwiney, the Sinn Féin Mayor of Cork, following his arrest and imprisonment by the British in August. (MacSwiney's protest generated huge international press attention on the Irish question.) In a passionate editorial published soon after MacSwiney began his hunger strike, Mussolini himself set out the reasons why Italy should support the Irish cause. Under the heading 'MacSwiney agonizza … Viva la Repubblica irlandese!' ('MacSwiney is dying … Long live the Irish Republic!'), Mussolini announced it was incumbent on Italians to support the Irish not only 'on the grounds of justice and interest', but also because of the similarities between the Irish revolution and Italy's own fight for independence. 'The struggle that the Irish maintain against England has an extraordinary affinity with that endured by the patriots of our Risorgimento against the Habsburgs, with its exiles, prisons and gallows. The Italians … cannot deny their solidarity with the Irish.'[18]

The perception of the justness of the Irish cause and the idea that it bore close resemblance to the Risorgimento experience was deeply entrenched in the Fascist imagery of Ireland. The Irish patriots' behaviour (MacSwiney

a perfect example) embodied the Fascist 'heroic spirit of martyrdom',[19] a concept derived from Mazzinian theory.[20] For the Fascists, the Irish struggle was worthy of praise since the Irish nation, like that of Italy, was above all the result of the aspirations of the Irish people and their spiritual strength rather than of international agreements.[21]

Arguably, Fascist support for Irish independence and Mussolini's insistence on the 'extraordinary affinity' between the Irish conflict and the Risorgimento was functional to some aspects of Mussolini's own political strategy. Since Ireland represented one of the main problems of the British empire and Mussolini had decided to engage in an open struggle against the war allies from the columns of his newspaper, the future Duce could not miss the opportunity to use the Irish cause 'as a stick against the British'.[22] Like the nationalists, Mussolini was convinced that to pique the Allies could be the main instrument of Italian revenge for the betrayal of its expectations.[23]

The lengths to which Mussolini was prepared to go in his support of Irish republicanism became clear in a meeting in Milan with Sean O'Ceallaigh and the Anglo-Italian novelist and Sinn Féin activist Annie Vivanti in the summer of 1920. On this occasion, Mussolini not only promised to use his newspaper to give the fullest support possible to the Irish rebellion, but he also agreed (as suggested by D'Annunzio) to arrange a meeting with senior military personnel to discuss a possible arms deal.[24] Mussolini even promised to pay for the weapons if a deal were struck. As it turned out, Mussolini could not, would not, or was not asked to pay the £10,000 demanded by the Italians for the agreed shipment of 20,000 rifles, 500 machine guns and five million rounds of ammunition. The mission was ultimately aborted by the Irish government in early 1921 when it became clear that the British had been alerted to the venture.[25]

Despite his reputation as a 'thoroughgoing friend and supporter'[26] of Irish republicanism at this time, Mussolini nonetheless displayed a certain flexibility in its stance on the Irish question, sometimes tempering his support for Irish nationalism with the publication in *Il Popolo d'Italia* of pro-British, anti-Irish articles.[27] Such an approach was typical of Mussolini's style – and of Fascist foreign policy for much of the *ventennio* – which continuously oscillated between political pragmatism and attempts to subvert the existing international order.[28]

For Mazzini's sake: Italian and Irish republicans

Republican newspapers undoubtedly represent the main sources for detecting traces of a Risorgimental interpretation of the Irish struggle

for independence. This is not surprising considering the profile of the movement as the political heir and custodian of Risorgimental republicanism and of the Mazzinian political tradition.

Unlike the nationalist and Fascist press, the spread of anti-British sentiments barely influenced the Italian republicans' reading of the Irish question: they based their support for Irish independence almost entirely on ideological grounds. This explains why the republicans had backed the Irish cause during the First World War, notwithstanding their interventionist and pro-Entente position.[29] Subsequently, from the beginning of the War of Independence, the importance that Italian republicans attached to the principles of nationality and self-determination as cornerstones of the new international order meant they remained passionate advocates of the Irish cause.[30]

The perceived similarities with the historical experience of the Italian nation, together with the common republican ideal shared with Sinn Féin, represented the main reasons for the sympathy of the Italian republican press for Ireland. The Irish cause, moreover, could easily arouse feelings of solidarity among its readers, steeped as they were in the myths and passions of the Italian Risorgimento. The republican press fuelled these sentiments by encouraging the growth of a Risorgimental mythology around the Irish War of Independence. It was no coincidence that the distinguishing feature of republican press coverage was its characterisation of the Irish nationalist struggle as an epic saga.

An article published in the republican newspaper *Lucifero* in January 1920, entitled *Irlanda eroica* ('Heroic Ireland'), clearly underlines this point. The article drew a parallel between British rule in Ireland and the violent methods earlier used by the Austrians to 'enslave' the Italian people. By making this link and by claiming that Italian opposition to Habsburg and papal rule during the Risorgimento had been justified, the newspaper effectively declared the legitimacy of the Irish armed struggle. The comparisons drawn between the Italian and Irish struggles for national independence also enabled the paper to frame the Irish rebellion in martyrological terms. Referring to the recent death of Martin Savage, an Irish volunteer killed in a failed ambush on Lord John French in December 1919, the article predicted that, 'just like the names of Agesilao Milano, Francesco Carra, Pianori, Orsini, Sciesa, Oberdan are remembered and venerated by all the [Italian] people, so tomorrow Ireland, finally free, will consecrate to history the obscure Dublin grocer who died in the tragic attempt against the British Military Governor'.[31]

Republican newspapers depicted Irish revolutionaries according to the ideal-type of romantic heroism: brave young men, devoted to a cause

that 'bathed by martyrdom, full of sacrifice, creates around their army a halo of glory which will inevitably bear fruit in the near future';[32] 'The valour, the spirit of sacrifice of these knights of the ideal, of these indefatigable patriots is no less than that shown by our Fathers in the conspiracies of the Risorgimento'.[33] According to *La Voce Repubblicana*, Sinn Féiners were paradigmatic examples of self-abnegation for the cause of republicanism, a source of inspiration for young republicans all over the world.[34]

For the republican press, no one fitted the role of romantic hero better than Terence MacSwiney. MacSwiney's willingness to sacrifice his life for his country was proof of the constancy of Mazzini's ideals:

> The Irish rebel let himself die a little more every day with a stoicism greater than any moral energy; and while his body languished, his spirit towered in the consciousness of all mankind. So there is something necessary, great, beautiful, beyond material achievements, beyond derivations of economic determinism: there is the freedom of the spirit, there is the political freedom of the peoples, there is a religion that is called, in the purest, in the highest and in the deepest sense, Homeland. His suicide for the love of his Irish Homeland has once more reconsecrated, in [the midst of] the complete triumph of Marxist materialism, the faith and the thought of Mazzini.[35]

Undoubtedly, this reflection – albeit in this case applied to an Irish 'martyr' – is also indicative of a broader trend, highlighted by Massimo Baioni, to use the Risorgimento experience as a means to promote and defend idealism against the rapid spread of materialistic theories in post-war Italy.[36]

The emphasis put on the spiritual character of the republican cause and its connections with Mazzinianism was another distinguishing mark of the Risorgimental representation of the Irish War of Independence adopted by the republican press. Italian republicans promoted the idea that Mazzinianism had been a source of inspiration for Irish republicanism from the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s to Sinn Féin, in order to demonstrate the common roots of Italian and Irish republican traditions. After the signing of the Anglo–Irish treaty in December 1921, the new national organ of the Italian Republican party, *La Voce Repubblicana*, returned to this theme. In an article entitled 'The Mazzinian principle of nationality (apropos of Irish independence)', the paper celebrated Irish independence as a victory for Mazzinian ideas; Ireland was a concrete example of how the unity of the state was the

result of spiritual collective activity, and how national sentiment, seen in terms of a great psycho-social force, represented the organising force of the modern state. The republican press continued to discuss Irish affairs through the filter of Mazzinianism well beyond the end of the Anglo–Irish conflict. Notwithstanding the sudden change in the Irish political scenario with the outbreak of the civil war in 1922, *La Voce Repubblicana* persisted in its heroic descriptions of Irish republicanism, or at least that part of the Irish republican movement opposed to the Anglo–Irish treaty (the newspaper was in fact firmly anti-treaty).[37]

The exploitation of Risorgimento mythology as a means to link Italian and Irish republicanism was nonetheless problematic for a lay and strongly anti-clerical political force such as the Italian republican movement. Ireland was a deeply Catholic country and Catholicism was a defining element of Irish national identity, a fact that not even Italian republicans could always ignore, albeit while restating their support for the Irish revolution:

> Glory to Ireland! Educated to Mazzini's idealism, we are far from that religion in whose name it has fought and sacrificed herself; but higher to all faiths is for us the faith in freedom and for this – regardless of race, party or church – we are always ready to raise our happy and bold word in defence of all oppressed against all oppressors.[38]

A contradiction certainly, but by embracing the Irish cause in this manner, Italian republicans were able to exalt the role of republicans everywhere who were fighting foreign 'invaders'.[39] Above all, though, it allowed them to argue that, despite different national conditions, the republican project could be the solution to the general crisis of the post-war period, not only in Ireland but also in Italy and across Europe.

From political interest to cultural understanding: the Risorgimento legacy and Irish struggle for freedom after the War of Independence

The Italian press broadly welcomed the Anglo–Irish peace treaty, regarding it as a satisfactory solution to a centuries-old dispute. However, the emergence of a split between pro- and anti-Treaty factions within Sinn Féin and the subsequent onset of civil war in Ireland greatly diminished the credibility of the Irish nationalist movement in Italian eyes. For most Italian observers, a civil war was a very disappointing epilogue to Ireland's struggle for independence.[40] While *La Voce Repubblicana*

enthusiastically supported the cause of the anti-treaty republicans under Eamon De Valera (the only paper to do so), *Il Popolo d'Italia* openly criticised the split within Irish republican ranks and held the civil war to be evidence of the Irish people's incapacity to govern themselves and to deserve freedom.[41] This was quite a turnaround considering the newspaper's pro-Irish stance in recent years. Italian press interest in and coverage of the 'Irish question' diminished from this point on.

That Ireland should cease to occupy the Italian print media is not surprising. First, the signing of the treaty inevitably meant international interest in the Irish question declined. Second, the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in the mid-1920s meant the end to an independent press in Italy (*La Voce Repubblicana*, for example, was among the newspapers closed by the regime). From now on, the demands and shifts of Fascist foreign policy shaped Italian newspaper coverage of Ireland – and during the 1920s and early 1930s, Mussolini was often prepared, if only for the sake of expediency, to put aside his earlier anti-British rhetoric.[42]

In fact, Fascist Italy's political relations with Britain conditioned decisively its relations with Ireland in the inter-war period. Although the regime occasionally expressed its deep attachment to Ireland and the Irish (for example, when high-ranking officials of the Irish Free State visited Italy to mark the thirteenth centenary of Saint Columbanus in Bobbio (September 1923), and in 1934, when Fascist representatives met with the leadership of the quasi-Fascist Irish Blueshirt movement),[43] formal political relations eventually stabilised in a position of reciprocal 'detached sympathy'. The Italian government waited until 1937 to raise its consulate in Dublin to the status of legation, while the Irish Free State did not establish its own diplomatic representation at the Quirinale until 1939.

Although Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s did not attract the attention in Italy that it had during the War of Independence, it did not entirely disappear from view: in intellectual circles at least, Ireland remained an important issue – and the Risorgimento continued to be the prism through which Italian intellectuals interpreted its recent history.[44] This was the case, for example, in an article published in 1932 in the popular review *Nuova Antologia* by the literary and art critic Mario Praz. The piece, detailing the author's impressions on Dublin, concluded with a critical reflection on Irish paroxysmal nationalism: 'The Irish are right, as we were right against Austria in the past', Praz wrote, 'But in this late and dark hour for Europe, is the centrifugal nationalism of small nations not a luxury?'[45] In the same year, the well-known journalist and

anti-Fascist Mario Borsa – who was also an expert on British politics – published a study in Italy of the Irish revolutionary Roger Casement, executed for treason in 1916 for his involvement in the Easter Rising.[46] Borsa described the Rising in the following terms:

> At first, the revolt was considered crazy and almost criminal by the majority of the Irish people. The facts have demonstrated that it was not in vain, in the same way as some uprisings of our own Risorgimento which, although hopeless, were not fruitless, whatever some 'priggish persons' may have said at that time.[47]

Borsa then compared the clash between pro- and anti-treaty Sinn Féiners to the conflict between Mazzini's supporters and Cavour's moderates.[48]

Mazzini continued to be a frequent point of comparison in inter-war Italian studies of contemporary Irish politics. So, for example, the eminent scholar and philosopher Mario Manlio Rossi, recounting his recent tour of Ireland (during which he met James Joyce for the first time and established a long-lasting friendship)[49] described Eamon De Valera as the Irish Mazzini, 'burning with an apostle's fire', and 'with similar merits and deficiencies'.[50]

Not only Italian intellectuals continued to draw historical analogies between the two countries: Italian diplomats in Dublin also were mindful of the connections, some even suggesting that such ties could and should be exploited for political purposes. As the Italian consul in Dublin, Alessandro Mariani, wrote in 1932:

> The [Irish] friendly disregard for us could turn into active sympathy, especially considering the not scant affinities of character and temperament and not forgetting that Ireland – a country of martyrs for the national cause and of renegades, as defined by an Irish politician – recently wrote and is still writing pages that remind us not a little of those of our Risorgimento.[51]

Romano Lodi Fè and Vincenzo Berardis, Italian diplomatic representatives in Dublin from 1934 to 1938 and from 1938 to 1945 respectively, likewise emphasised the strong historical associations between Italy and Ireland, based on their common faith in freedom and independence.[52] According to Berardis, Irish public opinion particularly appreciated such comparisons because they were understood to imply that Italy supported the Irish nationalist goal of a united Ireland.[53] In reality, the Italian government continued to show little interest in Irish politics or

in the pleas from Italian diplomats in Dublin for a more pro-active Irish policy.

In the early 1940s, despite the fact that Italy was now at war and Ireland had declared itself a neutral country, Italian writers continued to reflect on the parallels between Italian and Irish history. This was the case in a collection of essays edited by Pier Fausto Palumbo and Carlo Linati and published in September 1940. The volume contained contributions from some of the main Italian experts on Irish culture – including Linati, at the time the most important Italian translator of Irish literature. The aim of the volume, as revealed in Palumbo's preface, was 'to provide a comprehensive view of the Ireland of today and yesterday', and 'to interest Italians in Irish life and history. The Northern Island – whose well known and little known relations connect [it], more closely than one might suppose, to our Italy – is, for its past and present, worthy of it'.[54] The opening essay, by Linati, then outlined the similarities between the Italians and the Irish, noting their rural character, their common religion and their physical resemblance to each other. This was not all, though. According to Linati:

> [A]lso historically they [the Irish] seem companions. We [Italians] have also had long decades of servitude from which we have freed ourselves through odysseys of painful sacrifices, then with our revolts, our popular risings, with our heroes. The liberation of Ireland is more recent, its total independence is of yesterday. Ireland has gone through terrible trials, but the tenacity of its people, its fierce spirit, the deep sense of its physical and moral rebirth eventually had the right of its opponents.[55]

Even though Linati made no direct reference to the Risorgimento, his words clearly evoked the idea of a moral and spiritual resurgence-risorgimento, in Ireland as in Italy, as a parallel process to the political resurgence-risorgimento of the nation.

Similar sentiments to Linati's were expressed in a work written shortly afterwards (in 1941) by the Fascist historian and propagandist Luigi Villari:

> Italy could not see without satisfaction the progress and the prosperity of the Irish people, for whom it has always had a sentiment of deep sympathy… Italy and Ireland have in common the Catholic religion… [and] a very keen sense of nationality and a deep attachment to spiritual values.[56]

The common 'spiritual' aspect of both the Italian and Irish nation-building processes evidently continued to shape Italian perspectives on the Irish struggle for freedom and Italian sympathy for Ireland during the war years.

Conclusion

It was, perhaps, predictable that Italians should draw comparisons between the post-war situation in Ireland and their own Risorgimento. Ireland had been under foreign rule for centuries and was engaged in a long and complex struggle for national independence; it did not require much imagination to read this in Risorgimental terms. Furthermore, the original idea of the Risorgimento, considered as a process of cultural, political and social resurrection and regeneration of a once great nation, seemed particularly apposite in the Irish case.[57] As James Joyce had told an audience in 'unredeemed' Trieste in 1907:

> [E]ven a superficial review shows us that the claim of the Irish nation to create its own civilization is not so much the claim of a young nation that wants to be at the head of the European concert as the claim of an ancient nation to renew, under new forms, the glories of a past civilization.

It would be interesting to see', Joyce continued, 'what would be the possible consequences to our civilization of a risorgimento of this [the Irish] people'.[58]

Even some British officials recognised the existence of a strong affinity between the Risorgimento and the Irish struggle. For example, Sir John Maffey, the first British political representative to the Irish republic, admitted that his studies on the Italian Risorgimento had helped him to understand some aspects of the Irish problem.[59]

The above quotes from Joyce and Maffey indicate two things. First, it was not only Italians who understood Italian and Irish nation-building as analogous processes. Second, the correlation of the Irish national struggle with the Italian Risorgimento developed before, and lasted beyond, the years of the Irish War of Independence. If in the years of the Risorgimento Italian nationalists had often been ambivalent towards – or even critical of – Irish nationalism, by the beginning of the twentieth century and, more evidently, from the War of Independence, Italians viewed the Irish fight for independence in an increasingly positive light.[60] As we have seen, British–Italian tensions at the time of the

War of Independence fed pro-Irish sentiment in Italy. Nonetheless, we can identify a common perception within Italy during the inter-war years that the two countries were in many ways very similar; this sense of 'alikeness' undoubtedly contributed to the sense of empathy that Italians felt for Ireland at this time.

The similarities drawn between Italy and Ireland were by no means always positive. Italians observers often felt Ireland to be a place cut off from contemporary reality and projected in a nineteenth-century (if not medieval) dimension. Indeed, Italians often considered Ireland a nineteenth-century 'Italietta'. Several elements constituted the basis for this comparison: a common sense of inferiority and marginality with respect to European political power plays;[61] similar economic weaknesses (both economies were predominantly agrarian, dysfunctional and unbalanced); and similarly problematic social dynamics. (From the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Italian press frequently commented on the similarities between the economic and social conditions in Ireland and those in backward southern Italy. In some cases, the conditions of Ireland became almost a model for the elaboration of reform drafts for the Mezzogiorno, which was defined as the 'Ireland of Italy'.)[62]

Mazzini represented the focus in the political and ideological analogies made between the two countries. The prominence attached to Mazzinianism in interpreting the Irish War of Independence was certainly conditioned by the widespread belief that Mazzini's theories had influenced the Young Irelanders, generally considered the main source of inspiration for future generations of Irish nationalists up to and including the Sinn Féiners.[63] The recurrent references to Mazzini can also be partly ascribed to the revival that his myth had in the post-war years, becoming a dominant feature in Italian patriotic discourse.[64] We can also suppose that the reiterated appeal to the figure of Mazzini, considered the "apostle" of the ideals of the nation, mirrors a wider tendency of early twentieth-century European culture to the development of the theme of 'rebel heroism'. This tendency, highly conditioned by the powerful fascination of the myth of Nietzsche's 'Super-man' and by the background of the Great War, stimulated the revival of a Romantic conception and representation of national movements (already deeply embedded in Risorgimento culture) and offered a connection to a general revival of idealism.[65] The sacralisation of the Irish struggle thus reflects the celebratory and mythopoeic function often attributed to the Risorgimento in the post-war years, when a general trend towards a reappraisal of the mythology

of national unification appears against the background of the crisis of the liberal state. In the turmoil of post-war Italy, references to the Risorgimento experience, and to its political and symbolic resonances, became synonymous with territorial revisionism and patriotic calls for national unity.[66] In drawing an analogy between the Risorgimento and the nation-building process of a peripheral country such as Ireland, the Italian press sought thus to demonstrate that the mythology and values of the Risorgimento remained valid for the present time and for other countries. Furthermore, the permanence of references to the Italian nation-building in examining the Irish fight for independence after the years of the Irish War of Independence and during the Fascist period could be read as a desire to claim the role of ideological beacon for all the 'minor' nations.

In conclusion, this essay clearly reveals that the idea of a deep resemblance between the Irish fight for independence and the Risorgimento represented a keystone in Italian (and not only Italian) views of Ireland. Beyond political opportunism that might have induced diverse political groups to support the new Irish nation, the perception of a similarity in the nation-building processes of the two countries reflected a more general sympathy of Italians for Ireland. As Carlo Linati wrote, albeit with obvious exaggeration, 'There is more difference between a man from Como and a Neapolitan than between a Milanese and an Irishman from Connaught'.[67] Even if Italians such as Linati did not always fully grasp the historical and political intricacies of the Irish question, they nonetheless felt that Ireland was a friendly country and a nation worthy of admiration.

Notes

1. Eamon De Valera to Irish Delegation (Paris), 19 May 1919, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Department of Foreign Affairs, Early Series, Paris 1919.
2. On Irish foreign policy in those years see D. Keogh (1988) *Ireland and Europe, 1919–1948* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan); D. Keogh (1982) 'The Origins of the Irish Foreign Service in Europe', *Études Irlandaises*, 7, pp. 145–64; M. Kennedy and J. M. Skelly (eds) (2000) *Irish Foreign Policy, 1916–66. From Independence to Internationalism* (Dublin: Four Courts); P. Keatinge (1973) *The Formulation of Irish Foreign Policy* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration); M. Kennedy (1998) '"Publishing a Secret History": The Documents on Irish Foreign Policy Project', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 9, pp. 103–17.
3. Dáil Éireann Report on Foreign Affairs, June 1920, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Dáil Éireann, archival reference no. 4/1/3.
4. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh to Arthur Griffith, 18 June 1920, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Department of Foreign Affairs, Early Series, Paris 1920.

5. These proposals were shared by several nationalistic currents, such as *Arditismo*, which included in its foreign policy the establishment of political and commercial relations with the 'oppressed peoples', the *Sindacalismo rivoluzionario*, as well as the *Fiumanesimo*. See E. Gentile (1996) *Le origini dell'ideologia fascista (1918–1925)* (Bologna: Il Mulino), pp. 147–8; 'Postulati politici dell'Associazione Nazionale Arditi d'Italia', quoted in G. Rumi (1968) *Alle origini della politica estera fascista (1918–1923)* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), p. 16.
6. G. Pécout (1999) *Il lungo Risorgimento: la nascita dell'Italia contemporanea, 1770–1922* (Milan: Mondadori), pp. 396–7.
7. Contacts between D'Annunzio's followers and the foreign nationalist movements started at the beginning of 1920. The League of Fiume was officially established in April 1920 but the project was soon abandoned. See M. A. Ledeen (1975) *D'Annunzio a Fiume* (Rome-Bari: Laterza); R. De Felice (1973) *La Carta del Carnaro nei testi di Alceste De Ambris e di Gabriele D'Annunzio* (Bologna: Il Mulino); G. Salotti (1991) 'La politica estera del Comando fiumano: dall' "antimperialismo" agli "intrighi balcanici"', in E. Ledda and G. Salotti (eds) *Un capitolo di storia: Fiume e D'Annunzio. Atti del Convegno, Gardone Riviera-San Pelagio il 27–28 ottobre 1989* (Rome: Lucarini); M. Cuzzi (2007) 'Tra autodeterminazione ed imperialismo: la Lega di Fiume', in R. H. Rainero and S. B. Galli (eds) *L'Italia e la 'Grande Vigilia': Gabriele D'Annunzio nella politica italiana prima del fascismo* (Milan: Franco Angeli); F. Gerra (1966) *L'impresa di Fiume* (Milan: Longanesi); L. Kochnitzky (1922) *La quinta stagione o i centauri di Fiume* (Bologna: Zanichelli).
8. D'Annunzio, 'Italia e Vita', speech delivered in Fiume, 24 October 1919. G. D'Annunzio (1974) *La penultima ventura* (Milan: Mondadori), pp. 144–57.
9. M. Phelan (2013) 'Gabriele D'Annunzio and the Irish Republic, 1919–21', *History Ireland*, 21, 5, pp. 44–50, available at: http://www.historyireland.com/18th-19th-century-history/gabriele-dannunzio-irish-republic-1919–21, accessed 23 July 2014.
10. *La Vedetta d'Italia*, 4 February 1920.
11. See C. Giachetti 'Il loro "principio di nazionalità". La dominazione inglese in Irlanda. Intervista a Gavan Duffy', in *L'Ardito*, 19 June 1919. See also Scottus [J. Hagan] (May 1919), 'Notes from Rome', *Catholic Bulletin*, 9, 5, pp. 226–7, in which Hagan cites a passage from an article published in the liberal-nationalist newspaper *Il Tempo*. On the anti-British and anti-American orientation of public opinion in post-war Italy see R. Vivarelli (1991) *Storia delle origini del fascismo: l'Italia dalla Grande Guerra alla Marcia su Roma* (Bologna: Il Mulino).
12. It is not surprising that the Irish question, even if it did not pertain directly to issues of Italian foreign policy, could be correlated to the Fiume question and the *vittoria mutilata*. The Italian press, nationalist and otherwise, used every opportunity to remind readers of the unjust behaviour of the Allies regarding Italian territorial aspirations. In particular, as Barbara Bracco has written, 'the Adriatic question represented the main link between the Italian nation and post-war European politics'. B. Bracco (1998) *Storici italiani e politica estera. Tra Salvemini e Volpe, 1917–1925* (Milan: Franco Angeli), p. 143.
13. *L'Ardito*, 18, 24, and 31 May 1919.
14. *L'Ardito*, 31 May 1919.
15. Pécout, *Il lungo Risorgimento*, p. 399.

16. Fascism aimed at proposing a new model of imperialism based on co-operation among peoples and on spreading Italian civilisation worldwide. An interesting reflection on the 'pacifist' character of Italian expansionism and on its anti-British orientation was made by the Fascist *gerarca* Giuseppe Bottai. According to Bottai, Italian expansionism was 'fiercely and desperately anti-British', not only because of a problem of conflicting interests, but also from an 'ideological' point of view. It was intimately opposed to the nature of British colonialism, which was 'chilly, measured, scientific … cynical and bloody, profiteering and anti-libertarian'. G. Bottai (1941) *Pagine di Critica Fascista (1915–1926)* (Florence: Le Monnier), pp. 138–9. See also Gentile, *Le origini dell'ideologia fascista*, p. 208.
17. *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 24 January 1919.
18. *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 29 August 1920.
19. G. Gentile (1990) *Politica e cultura*, vol. 1 (Florence: Le Lettere), p. 137.
20. On the influence of Mazzinianism on Fascism see S. Levis Sullum (2010) *L'apostolo a brandelli: L'eredità di Mazzini tra Risorgimento e fascismo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), pp. 57 and ff.; P. Benedetti (2007) 'Mazzini in "camicia nera"', *Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa*, 22, pp. 163–206; E. Gentile (1993) *Il culto del littorio* (Rome-Bari: Laterza).
21. See the speech by Alberto De Stefani on the signing of the Anglo–Irish treaty. *L'Idea Nazionale*, 9 December 1921.
22. O'Malley Papers, University College of Dublin Archive, P 17b/117.
23. E. Di Nolfo (1960) *Mussolini e la politica estera italiana, 1919–1933* (Padua: CEDAM), p. 15. Mussolini often wrote provocative articles against the Allies – and Britain in particular – threatening an Italian 'rebellion' against them, if they ignored Italy's interests. For example, he wrote in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 20 April 1920, 'Italy … tomorrow could blow up the Asian–African British Empire … Ireland is far away, but Egypt is a few hours sailing. I hope that Italy will see its right consecrated'.
24. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh to Diarmuid O'Hegarty, 16 September 1920, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Department of Foreign Affairs, Early Series, Paris 1920.
25. Phelan, 'Gabriele D'Annunzio and the Irish Republic'.
26. Sean T. O'Ceallaigh to Diarmuid O'Hegarty, 16 September 1920, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Department of Foreign Affairs, Early Series, Paris 1920.
27. See in particular the articles written by *Oxoniensis*, which were deeply critical of Irish independence. *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 3 April 1920, 4 August 1920, 30 July 1921.
28. E. Collotti (2000) *Fascismo e politica di potenza. Politica estera 1922–1939* (Milan: La Nuova Italia), p. 9.
29. See, for example, *Lucifero*, 7 May and 18 June 1916.
30. On the political orientation of Italian republicans see also S. Fedele (1983) *I repubblicani di fronte al fascismo 1919–1926* (Florence: Le Monnier) and M. Tesoro (1996) *Democrazia in azione: il progetto repubblicano da Ghisleri a Zuccarini* (Milan: Franco Angeli). Republicans also expressed their support for Irish independence during the party congresses of October 1920 and December 1922. See *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 10 October 1920; *La Voce Repubblicana*, 19 December 1922.

31. *Lucifero*, 26 January 1920. Agesilao Milano, Giovanni Pianori and Felice Orsini were nineteenth-century Italian revolutionaries who were sentenced to death for assassination attempts on Ferdinand II of Naples (Milano, 1856) and Napoleon III of France (Pianori, 1855; Orsini, 1858). Guglielmo Oberdan was executed after admitting voluntarily to having plotted the assassination of the Emperor Franz Ferdinand in Trieste (1882). Amatore Sciesa was hanged in Milan by the Habsburg authorities for subversive propaganda (1851). Antonio (not Francesco) Carra killed Charles III of Parma in 1854, but cleverly escaped the death penalty and fled to South America.
32. See *La Voce Repubblicana*, 6 January 1923.
33. *Lucifero*, 18 April 1920.
34. *La Voce Repubblicana*, 12 January 1923.
35. *L'Iniziativa*, 30 October 1920.
36. Baioni, *Risorgimento in camicia nera*, p. 36.
37. For example, the paper described De Valera in 1923 as 'a leader so brave and bold, as to frighten the Free State government and to induce it to hatch, according to the newspaper, a plot for his murder', *La Voce Repubblicana*, 11 March 1923. See also *La Voce Repubblicana*, 13 December 1921; 1 July, 2 July, 1 December, 5 December 1922; 6 January, 12 January, 8 February 1923; P. Moretti (1924) 'Il Movimento Repubblicano in Irlanda', *Almanacco Repubblicano*, 3, pp. 92–100.
38. *La Voce Repubblicana*, 12 July 1921.
39. *Il Popolo*, 12 September 1920. (*Il Popolo* was the mouthpiece of the republican movement in Umbria).
40. Patrick O'Byrne to George Gavan Duffy, 23 February 1922, National Archives of Ireland (Dublin), Department of Foreign Affairs, Early Series, Rome 1921–23.
41. See for example *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 14 February 1922 and C. Pellizzi, 'Cose d'Irlanda e d'altrove', *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 6 January 1923.
42. See in particular C. Pellizzi, 'Pro e contro una alleanza italo-inglese', *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 7 June 1922. This article shows Mussolini began to court Britain even before he came to power. On this point see Di Nolfo, *Mussolini*, pp. 33 and ff.
43. See N. Pascazio (1934) *La rivoluzione d'Irlanda e l'Impero Britannico* (Rome: Nuova Europa). In 1934, the same year of publication of his book, Pascazio carried out a mission in Ireland on behalf of the Fascist regime to establish contacts with the Blueshirts and their leader Eoin O'Duffy.
44. This is borne out by the substantial number of publications on Irish history, culture and literature printed mainly in the 1930s and 1940s. Among others see M. Borsa (1932) *La tragica impresa di Sir Roger Casement* (Milan: Mondadori); M. M. Rossi (1932) *Viaggio in Irlanda* (Milan: Doxa); N. Pascazio (1934) *La rivoluzione d'Irlanda e l'Impero Britannico* (Rome: Nuova Europa); P. Valera (1933) *L'Inghilterra che ammazza un popolo* (Milan: La Folla); C. Baiocchi (1934) *La separazione della Chiesa d'Irlanda dallo Stato* (Pavia: Libreria Internazionale Fratelli Treves); Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale (1938) *Irlanda* (Milan: ISPI); P. Biscaretti di Ruffìa (1940) *Irlanda* (Rome: Studium Urbis); C. Linati and P. F. Palumbo (eds) (1940) *Irlanda* (Rome: Edizioni Roma); L. Villari (1941) *L'Irlanda e la Gran Bretagna* (Rome: Tosi); A. A. Bernardy (1942) *Irlanda e Roma* (Rome: IRCE). Together with these volumes, it should be added Italian translations of foreign books on the topic: Y. M. Goblet [L. Tréguiz]

(1923) *L'Irlanda nella crisi universale: 1914–1920* (Rome: Libreria di scienze e lettere); W. Schaffer (1940) *Il despotismo dell'Inghilterra in Irlanda: relazione documentata* (Berlin: Centro tedesco di informazioni).

45. M. Praz, 'Isola del Nord', *Nuova Antologia*, 16 October 1932, p. 545.
46. For several years, Borsa was the London correspondent for the important newspaper *Il Secolo* and Italian correspondent for *The Times*. L. Lotti (1971) 'Borsa, Mario' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 13.
47. Borsa, *La tragica impresa di Sir Roger Casement*, p. 17.
48. Ibid., p. 267.
49. See F. Fantaccini (2005) '"An Italian philosopher". William Butler Yeats e Mario Manlio Rossi', in B. Bini (ed.) *Esercizi di lettura. Scritti in onore di Mirella Billi* (Viterbo: Sette Città), p. 11.
50. Rossi, *Viaggio in Irlanda*, p. 118.
51. Alessandro Mariani to the Ministry of External Affairs, 28 March 1932, Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Roma), serie Affari Politici, 1931–45, Irlanda, b. 1, f. 1932, sf rapporti politici.
52. Romano Lodi Fé to the Ministry of External Affairs, 28 July 1937, Archivio Storico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Roma), archivio del personale, f. Romano Lodi Fé.
53. V. Berardis (1950) *Neutralità e indipendenza dell'Eire* (Rome: Istituto grafico tiberino), pp. 12–13.
54. P. F. Palumbo (1940) 'Premessa', in Linati and Palumbo, *Irlanda*, p. 7.
55. C. Linati (1940) 'Irlanda e Italia' in Linati and Palumbo, *Irlanda*, p. 10
56. Villari, *L'Irlanda e la Gran Bretagna*, p. 76.
57. On the origins of the term Risorgimento see A. M. Banti (2004) *Il Risorgimento italiano* (Rome-Bari: Laterza), pp. VIII–XI.
58. G. Corsini and G. Melchiori (eds) (1979) *Scritti italiani* (Milan: Mondadori), pp. 101 and 123. It is noteworthy that Joyce's sojourn in Trieste persuaded the Irish writer of the existence of a close resemblance between the Irish colonial fight for independence and Triestine irredentism and that for this reason he had tried to draw the interest of Triestine public opinion to the Irish question by focussing attention on this parallel. See J. McCourt (2005) *James Joyce: gli anni di Bloom* (Milan: Mondadori); S. Pappalardo (2011) 'Waking Europa: Joyce, Ferrero and the Metamorphosis of Irish History', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 34, 2, pp. 154–77.
59. Keogh, *Ireland and Europe*, p. 115.
60. An exception to this trend were the years of the First World War when the Easter Rising created some concerns in Italy because of its potential impact on the British (and wider Allied) war effort.
61. On Italy's inferiority complex in international affairs see B. Vigezzi (1985) 'Mussolini, Ciano, la diplomazia italiana e la percezione della "politica di potenza" all'inizio della Seconda Guerra Mondiale', in E. Di Nolfo, R. H. Rainero, B. Vigezzi (eds) *L'Italia e la politica di potenza, 1938–40* (Milan: Marzorati), p. 3.
62. A. Pittaluga (1894) *La questione agraria in Irlanda. Studio storico-economico* (Rome: Loescher); A. Necco 'La questione irlandese e il nostro problema meridionale', *Giornale degli economisti*, 1 March 1915; G. Borgatta (1914) 'Il problema della rinascenza irlandese e la nostra questione meridionale', *Riforma sociale*, 21; F. Dell'Erba, 'L'Irlanda d'Italia. Per non creare nuove

illusioni', *Il Giornale d'Italia*, 11 November 1922. See also C. M. Pellizzi (2011) '"Ibernia fabulosa": per una storia delle immagini dell'Irlanda in Italia', *Studi Irlandesi. A Journal of Irish Studies*, 1, p. 56.

63. On Mazzini's influence on Young Ireland see Michael Huggins' contribution to this volume.
64. G. Sabbatucci (1995) 'La Grande Guerra e i miti del Risorgimento', *Il Risorgimento*, 47, pp. 1–2.
65. C. Duggan (2011) 'Il culto dell'Uno dal Risorgimento al fascismo', *Passato e Presente*, issue 83, p. 92. On the relevance that Romantic imagery and ideas had in the Risorgimento see in particular the essays of Paul Ginsborg and Adrian Lyttleton in S. Patriarca and L. Riall (eds) (2012) *The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan). See also A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (2007) 'Per una nuova storia del Risorgimento', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds) *Il Risorgimento* (Turin: Einaudi), pp. xxviii–xxxiv; K. Von Henneberg and A. R. Ascoli (2001) 'Nationalism and the Uses of the Risorgimento Culture', in K. Von Henneberg and A. R. Ascoli (eds) *Making and Remaking Italy. The Cultivation of National Identity Around the Risorgimento* (Oxford and New York: Berg).
66. Pécout, *Il lungo Risorgimento*, p. 412; L. Riall (2007) *Il Risorgimento: storia e interpretazioni* (Rome: Donzelli), p. 34; Baioni, *Risorgimento in camicia nera*, pp. 25–6.
67. C. Linati (1919) *Sulle orme di Renzo. Pagine di fedeltà lombarda* (Rome: La Voce), pp. 25–6.

Index