This book examines the transnational scope of the Italian Risorgimento from a British perspective. It considers British (expatriate) women's poetry from the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the role of the British press and the serial publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy, a London-based radical nationalist group founded by Giuseppe Mazzini, as essential for the creation of a British Risorgimento narrative and examines each group's methods and influence in three case studies. This literary and cultural studies approach to the Italian national movement is particularly interested in the ways in which the ongoing movement for Italian unification influenced mid-nineteenth-century British literature and popular culture and it identifies and analyses a particular rhetorical repertoire that was coined in the mid-nineteenth century and redeployed by later generations for the British women's movement throughout and beyond the nineteenth century.

Universität Regensburg
UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK

ISBN 978-3-88246-509-9

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Eine Publikation der
Universitätsbibliothek Regensburg

“The Italian Risorgimento in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Popular Culture”

Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Fakultät für Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften der Universität Regensburg

Vorgelegt von Madeline Sporer
aus Regensburg
2023

Die Arbeit entstand in gemeinsamer Betreuung durch die Fakultät für Sprach-, Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften der Universität Regensburg und die Fakultät für Philosophie, Kunst-, Geschichts- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften der Universität Regensburg.

Regensburg
2023

Erstgutachterin (Betreuerin): Prof. Dr. Anne-Julia Zwierlein

Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Rainer Liedtke

Tag der Prüfung: 17. April 2024

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie. Detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet unter http://dnb.dnb.de abrufbar.

ISBN (Print): 978-3-88246-509-9

ISBN (PDF): 978-3-88246-510-5

DOI: 10.5283/epub.58346

Link zur Online-Version: https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/58346

Satz und Layout: Madeline Sporer

Titelbild: Garibaldi's Visit to London, Arrival at Charing-Cross. Illustration for The Illustrated London News, 23 April 1864.

Umschlaggestaltung: Peter Brünsteiner

Herstellung: Universitätsbibliothek Regensburg

Erscheinungsort: Regensburg, 2024

Druck und Bindung: Digital Print Group o. Schimek GmbH, Nürnberg

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The Italian Risorgimento in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Popular Culture

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. Dr Anne-Julia Zwierlein for pointing me towards the Italian Risorgimento and for inspiring me to investigate its nation-transcending links to Britain as well as its resonances in mid-nineteenth-century British literature and popular culture. Her enthusiasm for – among various other fields of research – British women's writing has sparked and captured my interest in the topic throughout the past ten years, which is the reason why the role of women in national movements is also one major focus of this book. Prof. Zwierlein's thoughtful guidance, comments, and criticisms are greatly appreciated. Thanks to Prof. Dr Rainer Liedtke, this project was also supported by the History department of the University of Regensburg. Furthermore, his insights into European history inspired my transnational interpretation of the Italian national movement from a literary and cultural studies point of view. I am grateful for the opportunity to have presented my project at both departments, namely English and American Studies and History, at different stages. The feedback and critical questions that were obtained during these presentations were essential for the development of the arguments on which this book is based.

Furthermore, the research trips that were undertaken for this project were generously supported by the University of Regensburg's women's officer in 2018, 2019, and 2020. The research stays at Cambridge University (2018), Oxford University (2019), and Newcastle University (2020) granted me access to valuable primary sources on the Italian Risorgimento such as the original publications of The Society of the Friends of Italy and some of Mazzini's letters, which are kept at the Cowen Tracts that form part of the Robinson Library's Special Collections

at the University of Newcastle. I am also grateful for the friendly assistance of the librarians and staff at Regensburg, Cambridge, Oxford, and Newcastle University libraries and to Dr Cassandra Louw, Korrektur + Lektorat Kelly GmbH, for the thorough proofreading of my manuscript.

Finally, my greatest gratitude belongs to my family and friends, including my colleagues at Regensburg University, as well as to those that I have lost but still carry in my heart. Your love and support have kept my motivation high during this process, and for this I sincerely thank you.

1. Introduction: Nationalism Beyond Borders

The nineteenth century marks a period in history when the British empire reached its largest extent, which secured Britain's position as a global and naval power in the framework of international politics. Moreover, the century is characterised by significant social changes such as the 1838 People's Charter, which aimed at the establishment of a more democratic political system and – as one visible effect of the women's rights movement – the Married Women's Property Act from 1882, which gave married women the right to possess and control property in their own right. Apart from these social advancements, Britain also witnessed major scientific and technological progress throughout the nineteenth century, including the publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), the implementation of the first electric telegraph (1837), the opening of the first modern steam-powered railroad connecting London and Birmingham (1838), and the progressive industrialisation throughout the country. Additionally, this period witnessed the invention of the printing machine, which commenced the evolution of mass-print journals and newspapers and made the production of books and other print media both cheaper and more efficient. However, despite all the advantages involved, Britain's close connections to the rest of the globe also brought various international issues to the fore. The British ways of thinking were challenged by debates concerning national or gender identity as well as re-interpretations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism inspired by the ongoing political events in continental Europe.

This book examines the ways in which British popular culture re-negotiated the Italian national movement in expatriate British women's poetry, the British periodical press, and the publications of the Society of

the Friends of Italy, a transnational[1] political organisation based in London, in the mid-nineteenth century. All these literary genres reflect aspects of the Italian Risorgimento,[2] which characterised the nineteenth century in Italy as an era of constant political and social struggle, active fighting, and social insecurity and thereby necessitated a re-definition of nation-making. These reflections resulted in a repertoire of rhetorical strategies and potent images that were used throughout the nineteenth century, as this book will demonstrate.

To comprehend the subsequent analysis more fully, it is important to note that the Italian Risorgimento grew out of the long tradition of foreign rulership in Italy, which made it a scattered country and nation. Apart from the oppression by Austrian rulers, the reforms introduced by the French in northern Italy from the aftermath of the French Revolution (1796) to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1813-1815 also triggered discontent among the Italians and fostered the Francophobia that was

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[1] Throughout this book, the term 'transnational' is used in accordance with the definition of 'transnational history' provided by Oliver Janz and Lucy Riall in a special issue of *Modern Italy* called "The Italian Risorgimento: transnational perspectives" (CUP, February 2014). According to Janz and Riall, 'transnational' is often used as a synonym for 'international, comparative, world or global' and "seeks to overcome a historiography focused on the nation and to displace the focus on the nation-state by studying non-governmental institutions, civil associations, informal groups and/or individual actors" (1). When studying 'transnational history' or, as in this case, transnational movements, the term 'transnational' puts "an emphasis on movement, interaction and interpenetration between and across different groups, societies and political units" (Janz and Riall 1). Moreover, the spatial movement of particular social groups and/or individuals becomes visible in their transnational relations and networks (Janz and Riall 1). This is visible in the analyses of this book which focus on three British groups and their ways of remediating the Italian national movement in various literary genres and showcase that the resulting poems, newspaper articles, and political records also serve as a map of their transnational networks and mirror their personal experiences of the Italian Risorgimento from a British perspective.

[2] Throughout my book, I will use the terms Italian Risorgimento, Risorgimento, and Italian national movement interchangeably. All terms equally refer to the Italian national movement.

traditionally shared by the British. According to Feldbauer, Napoleon III was not only perceived as an intruder by the Italian people but also as the representative of the revolution, the proclaimer of its basic laws, and the destroyer of the traditional feudal society, which mirrors the political ideology of Friedrich Engels (13). Under the reign of Napoleon, several northern Italian states were consolidated as republics of the French empire from 1805 until Napoleon's defeat in 1815, after which the states in question were restored to their former rulership. As a result, Lombardy and Venetia returned to Austrian rulership, and the king of Sardinia commenced ruling over Nizza, Savoy, and Genoa again, while Britain acquired Malta and the Ionian Islands as two strategically important colonies (Feldbauer 15). The consensus of the 1815 Congress of Vienna was that the successful suppression of the French attempt to revolutionize the traditional composition of Italy, namely that of independent feudal states, eliminated all tendencies of social and political change after the French example (Feldbauer 14). However, by this point in time, the seed of the Risorgimento was already planted and the first small secret organisations, which later developed into the driving forces fighting for a united Italian nation and liberal politics, began to form.

The most famous and also most influential of these organisations was *Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy, which was founded by the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini in 1831. It was the first official national group whose "goal was to unify Italy as a republic by education and insurrection" (Sarti 77). By the time Young Italy was established, Mazzini lived in Marseilles as a voluntary expatriate who went abroad after he was arrested for supposedly being a member of a secret revolutionary group (Sarti 80). "In France, Mazzini discovered the heady pleasures of free intellectual discourse, gaining familiarity with the most advanced and exciting

theories of social change", while he encountered a large group of Italian exiles in Marseilles and decided that the city's geographical location and naval connection to Italy made it a suitable base for his new national enterprise, Young Italy (Sarti 81-82). Thus, Mazzini's personal experience in France was similar to that of the aforementioned early secret organisations that were in favour of a unified Italian nation, as he drew his motivation for a social and political revolution in Italy from ideas rooted in the French Revolution, which added a transnational aspect to the Italian national movement and provided him with an opportunity to contribute to Italian nation-making from abroad.[3] These aims were also taken up by later political organisations and parties closely connected to Mazzini, such as the National Italian party, also known as the Italian National Association, which arose from the dissolving *Giovine Italia* after 1848 and the London-based Society of the Friends of Italy Mazzini founded in 1851. From 1837 onwards, London became Mazzini's chosen home, and it was from there that he disseminated his political ideas on nation-formation on a transnational scale. The inherent transnational agenda of the Italian national movement and Mazzini's approach to it is also noted by Roland Sarti, who argues: "For Mazzini, the cause of Italian unity was part of the larger struggle for the emancipation of all oppressed nationalities and groups, particularly women, serfs, and slaves" (74). Mazzini's statement reflects the aim of this book which is to study expatriate British women's poetry and the radicalisation of the British working class via mediations of the Risorgimento in the British newspaper press and through transnational political organisations in three case studies in order to showcase that the Italian Risorgimento ran

[3] For theories on nation-making from abroad, see: Gabaccia (2001), MacAllister (2007), Pécout (2009), Pellegrino Sutcliffe (2012 and 2014), and Shankland (2014).

alongside the movements for emancipation of different social groups. Mazzini's political ideas as an Italian exile in Britain inspired Maurizio Isabella to position him within the lineage of impactful Italian patriots, whose theories and actions profoundly shaped the development of the Italian nation and its corresponding state from the nineteenth century onwards (495).

In Risorgimento research, Mazzini is remembered alongside Count Cavour, the first Italian prime minister, who was characterised by his liberal aims and diplomatic politics, and Giuseppe Garibaldi, who was also a member of Young Italy and became known for his effective military techniques in guerrilla warfare and his passion for the Risorgimento which transcended the boundaries of social classes and entire nations (Mack Smith, *Mazzini* 1). As Lucy Riall demonstrated in her ground-breaking monograph, *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero* (2007), Garibaldi is the most celebrated individual of the Italian national movement, who is remembered for his military genius, lived solidarity, and Italian patriotism. Additionally, he also largely shaped the vision of masculinity of the time. However, despite his profound impact on Italian history, the image of Garibaldi as an Italian patriot is initially rather surprising since he was French by birth, albeit certainly Italian at heart. Garibaldi was born in Nice in 1807, which, by then, was "under Napoleonic rule, and spent much of his youth travelling as a merchant sailor through the Mediterranean from Nice to the Black Sea" and to South America where he lived between 1836 and 1848 (Riall, *Garibaldi* 1). His travels shaped Garibaldi's political awareness and fuelled his desire to fight for a better standing of the marginalized and suppressed groups of society – no matter to which nation they belonged – which becomes evident when Denis Mack Smith quotes Garibaldi himself stating: "[I]f Italy ever in her

turn threatened the independence of neighbor [*sic*] states, I should regretfully but surely be on the side of the oppressed" (qtd. in *Garibaldi* 137). This perspective explains why he fought for the liberation of Rio Grande do Sul from the Brazilian Empire in Brazil and alongside the Uruguayan navy against the Argentinian dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas. It is also the reason why, after returning to Italy in 1848, he devoted himself to the cause of the Italian Risorgimento. During his travels across the Mediterranean, Garibaldi met political exiles from various countries and became acquainted with the ideas of revolutionary conspirators such as Giuseppe Mazzini, whose nationalist group Garibaldi began to support from 1834 onwards until the end of the Risorgimento in 1861 (Riall, *Garibaldi* 1). Garibaldi's most significant contribution to the Risorgimento was during the battle of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860 when he and his international volunteer corps freed the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule and thereby settled the last territorial conquest before the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 under the rule of the Piedmontese King, Victor Emmanuel II (Feldbauer 41). This volunteer army of international citizen soldiers is known as Garibaldi's Thousand and included the 800-man-strong British Legion, which draws another strong transnational parallel between Britain and Italy in the mid-nineteenth century in addition to highlighting a research gap that this book attempts to narrow (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 202).

Looking at the life and exploits of Garibaldi, it becomes evident how he was appropriated into a heroic symbol of the Italian national movement that became a prominent part of mid-nineteenth-century British popular culture. Especially the success of recruiting 800 British subjects for his volunteer army in 1860 through the British press and

transnational networks indicates that he had become the embodiment of Italian identity and the cause of the Italian nation for the British. This felt presence of Garibaldi is certainly one reason why the inseparability of person and message was even developed into a kind of lifestyle referred to as Garibaldimania,[4] which reached Britain shortly before he visited London in 1864. Four years after the glorious success of Garibaldi's Thousand in 1860, Garibaldi came to London to "thank the British people for the support they had given to the Italian national movement" (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Garibaldi in London" 43). Mack Smith describes Garibaldi's visit as a huge public event:

> When Garibaldi left for London, it was in a special train. At a rough estimate there were half a million people lining the streets of the capital, and the crowds had been waiting all morning. Nothing like it had ever been seen before, and it was certainly a more triumphant welcome than any other visitor to England had ever received. The carriage took six hours to make the three-mile tour from the station to the Duke of Sutherland's house, where he (Garibaldi) was to stay. Friendly societies, temperance societies, radical politicians, trade unions, and the Working Men's Garibaldi Demonstration Committee all helped to make up [the] procession, along with the Duke's private fire brigade (140).

Mack Smith also highlighted the nationwide interest in the Italian Risorgimento and the enthusiasm for Garibaldi among the members of all social classes (140).[5] Lucy Riall examines the dimensions of the Garibaldimania surrounding Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864 in closer

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[4] This term is used by Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe in her 2014 article "Garibaldi in London".

[5] The class-transcending interest in Italy's political situation in the nineteenth century and Giuseppe Garibaldi is also visible in the poetry composed by the British elites, such as the Latin poetry of Walter Savage Landor, who believed that the accounts of such political struggle could only be adequately captured in Latin. Dana Sutton collected all his Latin poetry (1795-1863), including the English translations thereof, in the *Complete Poetry of Walter Savage Landor,* Vol. II, Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 1998. Even though such elitist approaches to the Italian Risorgimento and its impactful individuals transcend the scope of this book, they are nevertheless acknowledged as being significant in the creation of a class-transcending Risorgimento narrative in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

detail in her monograph. For example, she names Staffordshire figures, i.e. small figurines made of porcelain, Garibaldi-inspired sheet music, and red shirts[6] worn by men and women to show their admiration for and support of Garibaldi as some visible examples of Garibaldimania which appeared immediately before his visit to London (Riall, *Garibaldi* 335). To this list, Denis Mack Smith adds "[a] musical show on Garibaldi", the famous Garibaldi biscuits, 'Garibaldies', and the British press-advertised lectures, theatre plays, concerts, and panoramas inspired by the great Italian hero, such as the Bianco panorama called "The Heroic Life & Career of Garibaldi" (*Garibaldi* 137, "Philharmonic Hall. Mr. Mason Jones" 1, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 135-137).[7] Moreover, the British weekly, *Punch, or London Charivari,* frequently published cartoons of the Italian general in 1860, which addressed the Italian question in the British press, promoted Garibaldi's fame and ensured that his face was known to large parts of the British society.[8]

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[6] In 1843, Garibaldi took over the lead of the Italian Legion at Montevideo, Uruguay, which became known as the first Red Shirts, i.e. a group of people wearing red shirts to show their close connection to and support of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Garibaldi became associated with this symbol of the red shirt from this moment onwards and the "red-shirt uniform became associated with human slaughter and the bloody shirt of revolutionary martyrdom after the crushing of the Roman Republic" (Billington 331). Originally, the red shirts that were later appropriated as the uniform of Garibaldi's men "were […] designed for workers in the slaughterhouses of Buenos Aires" (Billington 331).

[7] Regarding the circulation of and enthusiasm for Garibaldi panoramas in Britain, see also: Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Marketing 'Garibaldi Panoramas' in Britain (1860-1864)". *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* Vol. 18, No. 2, 232-243.

[8] The following examples illustrate the central role *Punch* ascribes to Garibaldi in the process of Italian nation-making: "Garibaldi The Liberator: Or, The Modern Perseus". *Punch,* 16 June 1860, 243; "The Hero and the Saint". *Punch,* 22 September 1860, 115; "A Good Offer. Garibaldi: 'Take To This Cap, Papa Pius. You Will Find It More Comfortable Than Your Own'". *Punch,* 29 September 1860, 125; "The Man in Possession". *Punch,* 6 October 1860, 135; "The Rub". *Punch,* 27 October 1860, 165; "Right Leg in the Boot at Last. Garibaldi, If It Won't Go On, Sire, Try A Little More Powder". *Punch,* 17 November 1860, 195. Riall and McAllister interpreted the cartoon of "Garibaldi the Liberator" as foregrounding Garibaldi's heroic role in which many sources of the time depicted him

The British literary landscape also regularly reflected on the Italian national movement and its 'Great Men'.[9] For example, in Anthony Trollope's 1869 novel *He Knew He Was Right,*[10] which is a study of a disastrous marriage, female courage, and male madness, the protagonist's son Louey is given a "regiment of Garibaldian soldiers, all with red shirts, and a drum" to play with while in Alfred Lord Tennyson's poems "Garibaldi" (1864) and "To Ulysses" (1889), both celebrate "[t]he warrior of Caprera" for his military genius and heroic virtues.[11] Moreover, Tamara Wagner's article, "Fighting Another's War: Imperialist Projections on the Victorian Novel's Continent" argues that the reflection on foreign wars "is part of a renegotiation of cultural and literary

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(Riall, *Garibaldi* 250 and McAllister 10). Furthermore, Riall's monograph also offers an interpretation of "The Hero and the Saint", which was published in Britain and the United States (US) and mirrored the anti-Catholic attitude of many supporters of the Italian Risorgimento (*Garibaldi* 257). The critical attitude towards Catholicism and the Pope is also apparent in "A Good Offer". In general, all of the above-mentioned cartoons depict Garibaldi in a powerful role, either as a mediator in politics and the Church, or as an active warrior who fights for Italy's liberty and unity.

[9] This term was coined by Thomas Carlyle in his famous 1841 monograph *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* to refer to certain crucial individuals who are remembered as heroes in history. See: Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History.* John Wiley, 1859, 2.

[10] Trollope, Anthony. *He Knew He Was Right.* Oxford UP, 2009. 177.

[11] After Tennyson invited Garibaldi to his home on the Isle of Wight in 1864, he dedicated the short poem "Garibaldi" (1864) to him and also addressed him again in his later poem "To Ulysses" (1889). "Garibaldi" was published in *The Annual of the Association for Documentary Editing,* Vol. 34 (2013), eds. Elizabeth Lorang and R. J. Weir, n.p., and "To Ulysses" is part of the poem collection *The Poems of Tennyson,* ed. Christopher Ricks, Longmans, 1969, 1396-1398. Claudia Capancioni elaborates on the first meeting of Garibaldi and Tennyson in "A Meeting of Two Remarkable Men: Garibaldi at Farringford" (*Tennyson Research Bulletin,* Vol. 11, No. 1 (November 2017), 40-51). Moreover, Frederick Van Dam investigates Trollope's role within the Italian national movement in his 2018 article "Anthony Trollope and the Risorgimento" published in *English Literary History* (Vol. 85, No. 1, 171-189). Lastly, Matthew Reynolds examines the impact of Tennyson and Garibaldi's conversations on British nineteenth-century poetry, viewing this genre as a tool that influenced nation-building on a transnational scale in *The Realms of Verse (1830-1870: English Poetry in a Time of Nation-Building* (Oxford UP, 2000).

discourses on [c]ontinental politics in Britain", which is observed in nineteenth-century British novels such as Charles Dickens's *Little Dorrit* (1855-1857), Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860), George Meredith's *Emilia in England* (1862) and *Vittoria* (1866), and Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Black Band* (1861-1862) and *Run to Earth* (1868) (n.p.). Examining how these novels deal with certain aspects of the Italian Risorgimento or model particular characters in accordance with the contemporary British vision of the Italians, Wagner notices that "[t]he representation of war abroad in nineteenth-century popular culture was necessarily fraught with ambiguities" (n.p.). These innate ruptures and contradictions concerning the Italian Risorgimento were also noticed by Patricia Cove in her 2019 monograph *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* which, like Wagner's study, examines renegotiations of the Italian national movement in the British novels *Lorenzo Benoni* and *Doctor Antonio* by Giovanni Ruffini, Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*, and Lady Morgan's poem *Italy,* Mary Shelley's *Valperga,* and *Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Poems Before Congress and Last Poems.* Cove's analyses show that the cultural reproduction of the Italian Risorgimento mirrored the controversial political discussions and errors that led up to Italy's unification (89).

The complex creation of a British Risorgimento narrative is also visible in Dickens's *Little Dorrit,* which makes the reader sympathize with the Italian character Cavaletto, a Genoese smuggler who merges with the British working class in the novel. In contrast to this, Collins's Count Fosco, the Italian spy and criminal in *The Woman in White* mirrors the threat Italian exiles and refugees possibly posed to the British (Wagner n.p.). Hence, Wagner takes up one of the key aspects of the transnational Italian Risorgimento, which is based on spatial mobility and exile. This

theme reoccurs in Dickens's *Little Dorrit* when Little Dorrit confuses images of British and Italian city landscapes in her daydreams, which alludes to the re-negotiation of nationality and cosmopolitanism as part of the political poetry of the expatriate British poetesses from Barrett Browning's circle and the overall political debate of the time (Wagner n.p.).

Apart from these accounts, spatial mobility was also viewed in the context of transnational volunteering and political activism for the Italian cause, for example in Tighe Hopkins's serial novel *Phayre Phenton: Side Scenes of the Garibaldian Revolution,* published in the *Leisure Hour* throughout 1887, and Edith Zangwill's semi-biographical novel *The Call* (1924) about Ursula Winfield, a female scientist and suffragette, whose character is modelled after Zangwill's grandmother. In *The Call*, Ursula meets the leader of the women's movement, who encourages her to remain a supporter of the women's movement by quoting from Garibaldi: "Come with me. I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, and death. Let him who loves his country in his heart, and not with his lips only follow me" (Zangwill 247). Additional related works include Millicent Garrett Fawcett's autobiography *What I Remember* (1924) and Ray Strachey's historiography *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (1924). Especially the latter three literary examples positioned the Italian Risorgimento within the context and debates of the British women's movement by drawing a parallel between military battles and the fight for women's emancipation in the contemporary international political debates centring on independence, emancipation,

and education which prevailed beyond the mid-nineteenth century.[12] Hence, Wagner resumes, "[t]he Italian Question caused a renegotiation not only of British attitudes towards the [c]ontinent and [c]ontinental rivals (France as well as Austria in particular), but much more disconcertingly […] of nationalist and imperialist ideologies at large" (n.p.). Following Wagner's approach, this book focuses on literary genres other than the popular nineteenth-century novel to examine how particular rhetorical strategies and images coined in the context of the Italian Risorgimento shaped contemporary British popular culture. Furthermore, the following chapters will examine the transnational dynamics of the Italian national movement within British society by focusing on three social groups in particular: British women, the British working class, and the Society of the Friends of Italy, an Italo-British network in favour of Italian unification. My analysis will narrow a research gap concerning the transnational scope of the Italian national movement that was identified by Janz and Riall in 2014 (1).

1.1 The Historiography of the Risorgimento and Contemporary Popular Culture – Towards a Democratic Multimedia Landscape

From 1920 onwards, the amount of archival material on the Risorgimento steadily increased as "Italian libraries and state archives have been

[12] Strachey's *The Cause* is particularly intriguing when it comes to women's education, "trac[ing] the development of the organized movement for women's education […] back to 1848 and 1849, when Queen's College and Bedford College for Ladies had been opened" as precursors of "the North London Collegiate School, founded by Miss Buss in 1850" and "Cheltenham College, founded in 1854" and the co-educational reform school by Barbara Leigh Smith, viewing all of these institutions as "dangerous schools" bringing about new possibilities of education for girls and women (124-130). In this context, Strachey's historiography mentions that Garibaldi's sons once were among Leigh Smith's pupils "and all that group of Radicals which included Mill, Carlyle, and Mazzini knew of and discussed its plans", again adopting a conservative point of view in contrast to Mazzini, who promoted education as part of his political agenda (130).

greatly enriched by accessions of material" and new initiatives focused on the further acquisition and reprinting of original documents and sources on the Risorgimento (Roberts Greenfield 49-50). As a result of these tendencies towards the restoration of sources on the Risorgimento, Roberts Greenfield argues that the "publications added to those in the series *Le assemble del Risorgimento* make the printed documentation of the legislative history of the Risorgimento practically complete" (51). It is equally important to mention that the documentation of the lives and actions of the 'Great Men' of the Risorgimento was also further completed by the publication of the "monumental edition of the writings of Mazzini, being published in chronological order" which include "his political writings [...] through 1859 and his correspondence through November 26, 1858, and the publication of the *Protocollo della Giovine Italia*," in addition to "the letter-book of that society kept at Paris from 1840 through April, 1848" (Roberts Greenfield 51-52). An Italian edition of Garibaldi's writing was published in 1872 called *Edizione nazionale degli scritti di Giuseppe Garibaldi*[13] and the correspondence of Cavour was also made accessible to the public in several editions under national authority.[14] Naturally, this valuable increase in the original material on the Risorgimento was not only limited to written sources but also included all kinds of visual arts, with the consequence that the collections of Italian museums also received new pieces of art depicting scenes from

[13] The title is translated as: National edition of the writings of Giuseppe Garibaldi.

[14] Contemporary Italian editions on Cavour are: "*Il carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861.* Vol I, *Plombières;* Vol. II, *La campagna diplomatica e militare del 1859*; Vol. III, *La cession di Nizza e Caoia e le annessioni dell'Italia centrale;* Vol. IV, *La liberazione del Mezzogiorno* (Bologna, 1926-29); *La questione romana negli anni 1860-1861. Carteggio del Conte di Cavour con D. Panteleoni, C. Passaglia, O. Vimercati* (2 vols., Bologna, 1929); *Cavour e l'Inghilterra. Carteggio con V.E. d'Azeglio.* Vol. I, *Il congress di Parigi;* Vol. II (in two parts), *I conflitti diplomatici del 1856-1861* (Bologna, 1933)" (Roberts Greenfield 52).

the national movement (Roberts Greenfield 49). All these original sources on the Risorgimento were actively gathered, reprinted, and restored in Italy from 1920 onwards, which significantly contributed to the development of a multimedia[15] historiography of the Risorgimento in Italy. Historiography is the key to a better understanding of the Risorgimento as a transnational historical and popular cultural[16] phenomenon that had a remarkable impact on Italian politics and society and was significantly influenced by the historical and socio-political progress of other European countries.

Richard T. Vann defines historiography as "the writing of history, especially the writing of history based on the critical examination of sources, the selection of particular details from the authentic material in those sources and the synthesis of those details into a narrative that stands the test of critical examination" (Vann n.p.). My line of argumentation follows Vann's definition as it considers non-fictional, semi-fictional and fictional sources on the Risorgimento as being equally important in and for the historiography of the Risorgimento as the transnational movement of Italian unification. An enhanced understanding of the non-fictional sources on the Risorgimento as a historical and popular cultural period is achieved by focusing on certain particularly significant aspects of the national movement. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy was divided into several independent states that were characterised by different rulers, typical local cultures, and diverse languages and regional dialects. This situation persisted throughout the

[15] The Cambridge Dictionary defines the term 'multimedia' as "the use of many different types of media to communicate and share information" (dictionary.cambridge.org).

[16] The Collins Dictionary defines 'popular culture' as "the general culture of a society, including ideas, music, books, and the mass media, as opposed to high culture" ("Popular Culture" n.p.).

Renaissance period, which marked an important point in Italian history. From the Renaissance onwards, Italy was known as the "unique center of European cultural and spiritual life" especially when it comes to iconic artistic, musical, and literary masterpieces (Salomone 165). In combination with the beauty of the Italian landscape and the simplicity and silence of the country's rural areas, these masterpieces in the areas of art, music, and literature also inspired foreign artists and common people to travel to Italy, spend some time living there, and incorporate aspects of Italy into their creative works. In his article "Statecraft and Ideology in the Risorgimento. Reflections on the Italian National Revolution", A. William Salomone summarizes that from the Renaissance to the Risorgimento, "Italy was transformed from a […] geoeconomic frontier-region to re-emerge at last as a political entity within a new complex of European national forces" (165). With this statement, Salomone already positions the Italian national movement within the wider context of European history. The French Revolution was one of the major driving forces of the Italian Risorgimento, as Salomone and Laura Di Fiore – in addition to numerous other scholars – argue. Di Fiore defines the French Revolution as "a historical process that had the power to shape a global moment, understood as a shared temporal framework during which events, effects, and transformations contemporaneously happened/spread/were performed" (203). Di Fiore's definition and Napoleon Bonaparte's rulership over several northern-Italian states in the aftermath of the French Revolution highlight the profound effects of the French Revolution on Europe at large and on Italy in particular. Concentrating on Italy, it is crucial to point out that

> [t]he French Revolution, with its principles of juridical egalitarianism and centralization of public power in national sovereignty, led to the transition from a fragmented and heterogeneous space characteristic of the jurisdictional and

> institutional pluralism of [the] Ancien Régime to a homogeneous, plain space reflecting the new kind of relationships between equal citizens and the unique state power focused on state territory. This new spatial framework was the central element of the Napoleonic administrative state. (Di Fiore 203-4)

Once introduced to Italian society, these core concepts and ideals of the French Revolution did not cease to exist in people's minds with the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815, as the political life and agenda of Giuseppe Mazzini show. In this context, S.C. Mitchell recalls:

> One Sunday in April in 1821, when he [Mazzini] was walking home from church with his mother in Genoa, a tall man with an energetic countenance and fiery glance held out a white handkerchief to him, merely saying, 'For the refugees of Italy.' The man who had taken part in a patriotic insurrection against the despotic king of Sardinia, was now fleeing for his life through Genoa to a far land. (371)

Mitchell thus creates a myth about the origins of Mazzini's radicalisation for the Italian Risorgimento. According to this belief, the instance quoted above was the moment in which Mazzini began to realize that the fight for Italian unification required time, passion, and the unlimited willingness to do everything for the success of the cause. This chance experience from 1821 may have been one reason that motivated Mazzini to become a renowned politician and ideologist who is both known and appreciated to the present day and it inspired him to write *The Duties of Man* (1862), which neatly outlines the liberal and nationalist politics of a unified Italy and to found the nationalist group Giovine Italia in 1831. The fact that he was a thinker is alluded to by his statement "[g]reat ideas […] must precede great actions" (qtd. in Mitchell).

The second-most important politician of the Risorgimento is Cavour, who like Mazzini, followed the lines of liberal and nationalist politics. In general, nationalist politics are portrayed as the driving force behind the Risorgimento in scholarly historical and political sources. While Mazzini's and Cavour's political ideas are mostly used to attribute this approach to the Italian national movement, this view was significantly modified

during the 1950 and early 1960s when “a new realist orthodoxy emerged in Risorgimento history, which rejected completely the glorious mythologies so dear to Italian nationalists” (Riall, *Risorgimento* 118). One of the most popular historians to challenge this perception was Denis Mack Smith, who argued that political leaders such as Cavour were “inept and inconsistent” in their political aims and that “the creation of a united Italy in 1861 reflected the political rivalries rather than […] nationalist aspirations” of the time (Riall, *Risorgimento* 118). Hence, the examination of the nationalist politics of the Risorgimento is a controversial undertaking including scholarly voices denying nationalism as the driving force of the national movement and approaches by liberal historians who used the newly available primary sources on the Risorgimento for the analysis of specific episodes of the movement and, in conclusion, reject Mack Smith’s “negative judgement on the Risorgimento” (Riall, *Risorgimento* 119). The nationalist politics of Mazzini, Cavour, and others were of crucial importance for the success of the Italian national movement. The passionate action of Giuseppe Garibaldi ties into this way of thinking as he swore allegiance to Mazzini’s Giovine Italia in 1832 and became a war hero throughout the Risorgimento. His most memorable battle occurred during the unification of the Two Sicilies in 1860, which Garibaldi and his transnational volunteer army called Garibaldi’s Thousand or The Thousand won decisively. This success caused a real ‘fan culture’ to emerge around Garibaldi from 1860 onwards, which made people buy items associated with his persona, tell and listen to stories about the Italian war hero, and identify with his pro-Risorgimento spirit. This enthusiasm for Garibaldi can also be seen as a form of hero-worship as Lucy Riall describes in her monograph *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero.* However, according to my

work, Garibaldi's greatest contribution to the Risorgimento is not the cult that has emerged around his person but rather his ability to motivate and inspire so many people around the world to believe in the success of the Italian cause and to follow him onto the battlefields, which illustrates a particular rhetorical repertoire. This capability is also indicated by the fact that 800 of Garibaldi's Thousand were of British descent, not to mention all the Italian soldiers who fought beside him in numerous other battles fought for Italian unification. Moreover, half a million British people came to see Garibaldi on his visit to London in 1864 and almost every Italian city has named a street or square after him. The battle of Garibaldi's Thousand is the most important phase of the Risorgimento before the establishment of the kingdom of Italy in 1870 as it settled the last territorial conquest in the country itself on the one hand, and because it demonstrates the transnational dimension of the Italian national movement on the other hand.

This rather brief historiography of the Italian Risorgimento has touched upon certain problematic aspects of the Italian national movement such as the fact that the term nationalism could not easily and uniformly be applied to pre-unified Italy and that Italy's situation had to be re-mediated abroad as a part of European politics and culture. Thus, "Risorgimento nationalism was increasingly seen as a movement of (primarily urban, middle-class) elites with no interest in the poorer members of society and no basis for establishing support in the countryside" as Lucy Riall argues in her monograph *Risorgimento – The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-State* (119). The fact that the elites were more strongly involved in the movement than the working class was determined by the political and socio-economic aspects of the Risorgimento, which included the "rise of industrial capitalism and the

growth of the nation states" from which the elites could profit more than the working class of society (Riall, *Risorgimento* 119). Additionally, Italy's past as a country consisting of independent states mostly under foreign rule contributed to the lack of empathy of the elites towards the working classes and, most importantly, it is the reason for the absence of a feeling of unity between the members of various social classes and inhabitants of different regions of the country. These insights form the basis of 1980s revisionist thought, which rejected all notions of nationalism put forth in the Risorgimento-discourse so far, believed in the "'accidental character' of national unification" and, thus, regarded the formation of the kingdom of Italy in 1870 "as only one possible outcome" (Riall, *Risorgimento* 121). For revisionists, the fragmentation of Italy on all levels including the territorial, political, and linguistic disunity of the country and the ignorance of the elites concerning the living conditions of the working social classes, signified the death of the "grand narrative of nationalism as the origin of the nation-state" and opened up the "debate on national identity" (Riall, *Risorgimento* 121).

National identity is thus another challenging term in the context of the Italian Risorgimento. Its problematic character is again rooted in the disunity of pre-Risorgimento Italy through its independent states per se and the "extra-Italian focus of the politics of some of the rulers: half the states were governed by kings or dukes who already occupied, or hoped soon to inherit, the thrones of non-Italian countries" (Beales 15). This situation brought forth a "rich, varied and complex picture of changing societies, whose politics and identities were unaffected by any notion of the national" (Riall, *Risorgimento* 120). Hence, the regional concepts of identity that the inhabitants of certain local areas adhered to dominated Italy in pre-Risorgimento times, and a vision of one over-arching national

identity did not exist. “Apparently it was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the word *patria* (fatherland) began to be applied to Italy as a whole, rather than to the city states and regional kingdoms” (Beales 69). Beales’s statement concerning the perception of Italy as one country united under the term ‘fatherland’ draws on the fact that the concept of ‘patria’ was already first mentioned in a famous Italian Enlightenment periodical called *Il Caffé* by the end of the eighteenth century (69-70). This marked the starting point for the formation of a national Italian identity, which was only developed into a systematic, unifying, and strengthening concept through the Italian national movement. Hence, the central ideas of patriotism and nationhood derived from the French Revolution and the aims and actions of the Italian Risorgimento significantly contributed to the consolidation of an Italian national identity, which became the foundation of a unified Italy. Until the end of the Risorgimento, the idea of an Italian national identity was to link to the country’s greater past in the Romantic period, when it was known as the intellectual and cultural centre of Europe. Lucy Riall explains that this way of thinking about an Italian national identity, which she calls “‘Italian-ness’ (italianatà) prevailed among a small educated elite long before” the Risorgimento (*Risorgimento* 122). She argues that:

> Culture, and not politics or economics, was the real sign of Italian identity. In the eighteenth century, this identity was expressed in the intellectual interests and associational life of elites throughout the peninsula, and in their language, literature, music and visual arts, and it was further shaped by the presence of the Catholic Church and by opposition to it. In Enlightenment thinking, moreover, the meaning of the word ‘nation’ came to be identified not just with ‘birthplace’ and a shared territory but also with this Italian cultural community which possessed a common language and literature. (Riall, *Risorgimento* 122)

Riall considers a multimedia approach to Italian national identity as the most suitable for defining all the facets of this rather new concept. Following this approach, Riall, for example, points to the work of the

Italian historian, writer, and journalist Alberto Banti, who "has identified what he calls a 'Risorgimento canon', that is, some forty texts through which, as he puts it, the future young patriots of Italy 'discover the nation, and 'understand that it is necessary to fight for her'" (qtd. in Riall, *Risorgimento* 123). From this collection of literary works on the Risorgimento, Banti derives a definition of the nation and describes it as "a voluntary pact amongst a free and equal fraternity; and organic community; and extended family; and a shared historical identity" (Riall, *Risorgimento* 124). His definition largely echoes the ideals of the French Revolution, and it remodels the vision of an Italian national identity which once only existed in the minds of a small Italian elite into a way of thinking of the masses. The fact that the Risorgimento was a transnational mass movement was already shown earlier in this work and is most evident when it comes to the Battle of the Thousand in 1860 and Garibaldi's welcoming in London in 1864. However, the smaller battles fought for Italian unification in all possible ways including discussions with family members and friends about the future of the Italian nation, educational reforms, and political and military action, together with all means belonging to the greater realm of contemporary popular culture contributed to the composition of a nineteenth-century Italian vision of Italian nationalism and Italian national identity. Lastly, the Italian Risorgimento contributed to the development of an Italian national identity to such an extent that it affected the entire nation geographically, socially, culturally, and politically on the one hand, and it united the Italian people in favour of or in opposition to the national movement on the other. Such personal experiences of the Italian people were often represented in the arts and literature of the time of the Risorgimento,

which again manifests another way of shaping the Italian national identity during this period.

While Riall focuses on Italian writers and artists such as Alessandro Manzoni, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, and Ugo Foscolo in her 2009 monograph *Risorgimento – The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-State,* Harry W. Rudman uses a similar approach to examine the depiction of Italian nationalism and Italian national identity in the British literature of the Victorian era. He provides a nineteenth-century British understanding of this return to past greatness and describes it as a "powerful spell of a kind of nostalgia for an ancient civilization, of which the modern Italians were the titular heirs, regarded her [Italy] as the theatre of the Roman world, the centre of culture during times past" (Rudman 12). For Rudman, this aspect, together with the fact that many British people – mostly young British gentlemen – undertook journeys to Italy in the nineteenth century and earlier, was the reason for the frequent depiction of the development of Italian nationalism and Italian national identity "in the work of a great many British writers" of whom he exemplarily lists "Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Thomas Moore, Landon, Hazlitt, Clough, Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, Arnold, Meredith and Swinburne" (11-12). It is also important to note that Rudman highlights the broad variety of literary genres that feature accounts of Italian nationalism by mentioning "pamphlets, novels, poems, plays, travel accounts, etc." (12). Hence, Rudman foregrounds the importance of consulting many different literary genres to be able to compose a thorough overview of the development of Italian nationalism, Italian national identity and, lastly, the Risorgimento. My book adopts this approach and further develops it by considering the writings of several nineteenth-century British authors from various literary genres as

Rudman recommended and, additionally, incorporating non-fictional, semi-fictional and fictional sources written by female British authors and those British supporters of the Italian national movement who gathered around and belonged to the networks of Italian exiles in Britain in the nineteenth century. Moreover, relevant paintings, photographs, and the Garibaldi panorama, which has been digitized by the Brown University[17] in 2007 and combines acoustic and visual forms of media as a forerunner of the cinema, are also integrated into my analysis to demonstrate the multimedia dimension of the Italian Risorgimento drawn from the greater realm of contemporary British popular culture.

This book assigns a high significance to the term 'popular culture' as part of its title and a central aspect of its research on the Italian Risorgimento. Hence, the following definition by Denis Denisoff will explain how my approach understands the term:

> The term 'popular culture' is widely understood today to refer to those beliefs, practices and forms of entertainment and leisure activity that are common to the general population, and not specific to any single class field. Within the Victorian context, scholars see these as including mainstream, everyday activities and objects of pleasure and leisure such as street ballads, broadsides, melodrama and music halls. Popular culture is also understood to include other perhaps less obvious phenomena. (136)

In this quotation, Denisoff characterises popular culture as an inclusive type of culture that is not limited to a particular social class, like high culture would be, but is favoured by people from all social classes of Victorian society. This characteristic is not entirely unproblematic, as the "distance between the London middle class and those beneath them increased dramatically" during the first half of the nineteenth century as the British historian Gareth Stedman Jones indicates in his chapter

[17] For detailed information on the digitization process and to view the panorama, please visit library.brown.edu/cds/garibaldi/.

"Working-class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class" (149). This was both a social reaction to political events such as the French Revolution, in combination with the impact of new inventions and the developing consumerism that only a certain portion of Victorian society could profit from and, lastly, it was also a reflection of the attitude of the upper towards the working classes, which spread from the metropolis of London throughout the entire country. In his monograph *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City*, Peter Bailey elaborates on the evolution of leisure culture as part of the larger realm of popular culture and leisure activities of the Victorian middle classes. His findings underpin Stedman Jones's statement on the growing distance between the upper and working classes when he argues that only the upper and middle classes experienced this new phenomenon of leisure culture whereas the working class created "an independent working-class culture with its own patterns of behavioural consistency and homogeneity, a culture with a tangential rather than an emulative relationship to that of the middle class" (Bailey 44).

Bailey and Stedman Jones both foreground the volatile coexistence of the different social classes in Victorian Britain, which shows that different social classes found their own ways to contribute to Victorian popular culture. This applies to the middle classes who enjoyed a "new range of consumer goods, services and institutions" as aspects of their leisure time and leisure culture, and the working class with its lack of luxury and highly robust working-class culture that was attuned to the hardships of everyday life. These differences between the social classes also resulted in a vast variety of different literary formats that became part of nineteenth-century British popular culture. The novel, for

example, was very expensive and, therefore, also a rather prestigious reading object. It was purchased by the wealthy upper classes and served as a sign of intellectual accomplishment among its readers. In the nineteenth century, a particular form of novel gained momentum, namely the 'three-decker novel', which referred to a novel published in three volumes. This publication format was also dedicated to a rather wealthy readership. As mentioned earlier, the invention of the Victorian printing press and the evolution of mass print enabled cheaper forms of publication to enter the market. As a result, shorter excerpts of novels than those in the form of a three-decker novel began to be published and the idea of the serialized novel was born. Many of the ever-increasing numbers of newspapers and magazines featured the serialized novel, among them, for example, Dickens's *Household Words.* The publication of serialized novels catapulted Victorian authors to fame and secured a constant readership for every part of their novels published in the weekly or monthly editions of newspapers and magazines. Charles Dickens's *Bleak House,* for example, was first published as a serialized novel between March 1852 and September 1853 just as Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* first appeared in a serialized form in *The Graphic* between July and November 1891. Dickens and Hardy were both among the most well-known novelists of the Victorian era and the fact that some of their novels appeared in serialized form in newspapers and magazines secured their success among a broad readership including people from all social classes. This increased interest in fiction and the easier access to print media for all social classes turned the Victorians into a reading society as Agnes Repplier notes in an account from 1891:

> The clerks and artisans, shopgirls, dressmakers and milliners, who pour into London every morning by the early trains, have, each and every one, a choice specimen of penny fiction with which to beguile the short journey, and perhaps

> the few spare minutes of a busy day. The workingman who slouches up and down the platform, waiting for the moment of departure, is absorbed in some crumpled bit of pink-covered romance. The girl who lounges opposite to us in the carriage, and who would be a very pretty girl in any other conceivable hat, sucks mysterious sticky lozenges, and reads a story called "Marriage à la Mode, or Getting into Society". (209)

Hence, reading became a part of the everyday life of Victorian society and the production and format of print media were adjusted according to the needs of the average Victorian individual. This development also caused a greater demand for other forms of short fiction than serialized novels to be published in newspapers and magazines. Especially the last two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by the success of British short fiction, and the short story in particular, as almost two thousand short stories were published in *The Strand, The Yellow Book,* and *The Black and White* during this time (Chan xi). Naturally, newspapers and magazines did not only publish serialized novels and short fiction but also non-fictional articles and accounts concerning contemporary events and thus these print media served as a source of information for the Victorian public which also connected its readers with the rest of the world. Another early invention of the Victorian era was the telegraph (1837), which facilitated the rapid international exchange of news and messages for the first time. Victorians greatly profited from this invention as it connected the insular setting of Britain with the rest of the world. In this context, it is important to note that Victorian newspapers not only focused on political content but

> offered a greater variety of subject matter than its antecedents. Moving away from an emphasis on political and parliamentary news, newspapers began offering a diverse array of subjects to please a wide range of readers and increasingly emphasized sports, crime and human interest stories. (Korda 28)

Consequently, the development of newspapers during the Victorian era was characterised by a shift in focus from political topics only to a broader

variety of subjects drawn from the field of popular culture. Newspapers thus wrote about whatever interested their readers. While the *Illustrated London News* was one of the first newspapers to adapt to this shift, numerous other newspapers and magazines rapidly followed its example (Korda 19).

The approach taken by the *Illustrated London News* represents a marked transition to the second subcategory of 'popular' media that I would like to focus on, namely that of visual media. In fact, the *Illustrated London News* shows that the three subcategories introduced earlier in this section do not exist in strict isolation but that the boundaries between the subcategories are often blurred and thus the *Illustrated London News* made use of both visual and textual media to be even more interesting and appealing to its nineteenth-century readership. In his chapter on "Visual Culture" published in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1830-1914,* John Plunkett examines the significance of visuality in Victorian media. He argues that "[t]he expanding field of nineteenth-century visuality was fostered by a proliferation of new technologies for capturing, recording, projecting, enlarging and disseminating images, and the widespread popular interest in them" ("Visual Culture" 223). The increased interest in visual media must undoubtedly be linked to new inventions centred on visuality such as the solar microscope, the camera obsucra, or the cinematograph because people became acquainted with the existence of such new technologies by reading about them and seeing pictures of them in print media (Plunkett, "Visual Culture" 223-225). Visuals were also attractive to Victorian readers as they addressed their viewer's imagination, and this is particularly evident when it comes to dioramas and panoramas. Panoramas were large painted rolls of paper that were unrolled before

the eyes of the viewer and showed an ongoing scene while a narrator told a story about the events gradually appearing and disappearing from the field of vision of those watching. Travelling panoramas were very typical for the Victorian era and toured through almost every larger British city. In panoramas, visual and oral media coincide as the narrator tells a story that accompanies the pictures shown in the painted panorama. The spectator can only derive the intended impression of a panorama when he/she simultaneously experiences the oral and visual presentation of the panorama. The combination of visual and oral media created a new and more complex experience for the spectator in itself or, as Katherine Newey expresses it metaphorically:

> In Victorian popular culture, there are paintings which want to become actions or scenes, stage tableaux which want to be paintings; speech which was characterized as music or sound; and spectacle which wished to replicate the 'real thing' so intensely, yet was not the 'real thing' itself". (667)

This is also true when it comes to the experience of theatre performances whose message can only be understood when the verbal and non-verbal components of the performance are perceived simultaneously. The view that oral culture must be acknowledged as "a mass culture in its own right" is elaborated by Anne-Julia Zwierlein in "Victorian Oral Cultures: Introduction" published in a special issue on Victorian oral cultures of the *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*. There, Zwierlein enlists "storytelling, political speeches, sermons, penny readings, public lectures, courtroom trials, stage versions of books, and the reading aloud of poetry, novels, newspapers and periodicals, at home or at work" as examples of the manifestations of oral culture in Victorian Britain (1). The fact that these oral performances attracted large audiences supports Zwierlein's argumentation and all these examples of

a vivid oral culture in Victorian Britain must be seen as a subcategory of mass culture in itself (1).

The previous sections have demonstrated that print, visual, and oral media appeared in a large variety of formats and genres in Victorian Britain and all of them contributed to the shaping of the popular culture of their time and place. The preceding overview also showed that all social classes of Victorian society contributed to the formation of contemporary popular culture in terms of its content and the forms of popular media favoured by the various social classes. The development of Victorian popular culture and popular media was, thus, an inclusive enterprise which did not exclude particular social classes, sexes, or other marginalized groups. On the contrary, apart from the role played by nineteenth-century innovations in technology, the large variety of social groups contributing to the creation of Victorian popular culture was also decisively responsible for its multimedia landscape.

The corpus of this book concentrates on the poetry of British expatriate women writers, the British periodical press, and the publications of a London-based Italo-British political organisation in favour of the unification of Italy as three examples of nineteenth-century popular media written by or about individuals or collectives mediating their British experience of the Italian Risorgimento. Using this approach, my book democratises the multimedia landscape of nineteenth-century British popular culture by prioritising accounts by and about marginalized social groups as opposed to focusing on the 'Great Men'. In this way, the importance of lesser-acknowledged examples of fictional, semi-fictional and non-fictional popular media is also foregrounded. The approach taken, and the results derived significantly contribute to the research on the Italian Risorgimento which is still dominated by a strong

influence of the ‘Great Men’ who arose from the more powerful social groups, and their impact on the Italian national movement. In contrast to previous studies, this dissertation presents a literary and cultural studies analysis of how British females, working-class members, and British supporters of Italian exiles in Britain helped the Risorgimento to succeed, on the one hand, and it perceives the Italian Risorgimento as a transnational undertaking on the other hand. Moreover, the strategies of networking of the individual groups will be analysed as a decisive factor in the success of this venture as certain British groups undertook the task of co-editing the writing of Italian national history and rhetorical strategies. Furthermore, potent images that helped to re-negotiate the concepts of nationalism, cosmopolitanism and transnational solidarity at home and abroad will be examined. As a result, this book aims to demonstrate how, and by which means, large groups of British society have contributed to the political debates on Italian nation-making in their non-fictional, semi-fictional and fictional writing on the Italian Risorgimento in the mid-nineteenth century.

1.2 The ‘Experientiality’ of History in the Context of the Italian Risorgimento and Its British Repercussions

All the primary and secondary sources dealt with in this book remediate experiences of the Italian Risorgimento from a British perspective. Therefore, it is of crucial importance to shed light on the ‘experientiality’ of history in the context of the Italian Risorgimento and its British supporters. This section introduces theories from various scholarly disciplines focusing on ‘experientiality’ from their perspectives and examines how, according to these ideas, history can be experienced, which core factors are decisive for such an experience, and how

experience can be (re)mediated in non-fictional, semi-fictional and fictional historical writing.[18] These theories facilitate an understanding of the transnational experience of the Italian national movement, especially when it comes to questions related to (national) identity, nationalism, transnational solidarity, and cosmopolitanism addressed in their mid-nineteenth-century British repercussions. As an introduction to the scholarly research on 'experientiality', Monika Fludernik's theories on experience and 'experientiality' in historical narratology explain the importance of experience in historical writing. Additionally, Michael Pickering presents a cultural studies approach concerning the ways in which twenty-first-century readers engage with history in which he argues that humans need comparative strategies to perceive the differences between the past and present. Together, these theories on experience and 'experientiality' can be woven into a transdisciplinary approach suitable to examine the role of experience and 'experientiality' in the context of the Italian Risorgimento and its British witnesses.

Taking into account Hayden White's idea about "history as a construct that bears only a tangential relation to historical reality", which can therefore "only be (re)constructed, in fact invented, in close reliance on the available sources" and agreeing with Dorrit Cohn's definition of the historian as a narrator, who "produces a discourse" from the initial story, which subsequently becomes a literary fiction based on historical facts, Fludernik identifies two different ways of experiencing history: 'contemporary historical experience' and 'past historical experience' (Fludernik, "Experience" 40-41). The two types of historical experience

[18] Historical writing refers to non-fictional and (semi-)fictional pieces of writing from every literary genre covering aspects of a historical event, period, or subject in the context of this book.

are distinguished by different levels of time in which the experience takes place as is further elaborated in the following.

Fludernik differentiates between "our present-day experiencing of the Afghan War or, in history, of the Elizabethans' experience of the war in Ireland" (Fludernik, "Experience" 42). She names the first means of experiencing history 'contemporary historical experience' and explains that this way of experiencing history does not only apply to the small group of people physically participating in a historical event such as a war being fought as this type of experience also applies to all kinds of witnesses of these events ("Experience" 42). Nevertheless, the most direct kind of 'contemporary historical experience' is bodily experience gathered by, for example, soldiers fighting in a war, although a reduction of 'contemporary historical experience' to this rather small group would unjustly exclude other contemporaries (Fludernik "Experience" 42). Hence, Fludernik argues, "that for contemporary experience to have any general meaning at all, such direct involvement cannot be required as a precondition, since this would tend to narrow down historical experience to physical immersion" ("Experience" 42). Other ways of experiencing such as emotional and cognitive experience must thus also be considered a valid part of 'contemporary historical experience'. Returning to the example of soldiers fighting in a war, the soldiers' families experience war emotionally as they face the profound fear of losing a family member in battle and the emotional aspect of historical experience also applies to the soldiers themselves as the two following examples will demonstrate.

One of Garibaldi's Thousand was the Italian writer Ippolito Nievo who wrote to his cousin after the landing of the Thousand in Marsala:

> We, the first to land in Marsala, actually brought with us the news of the revolution which had put us all at risk of drowning – In Lombardy it was said and it was written: *Garibaldi has touched dry land: the expedition is assured, Sicily is free.*

> Instead we all said to each other – *We didn't die at sea, but ridding ourselves of that uncertainty, we have gained the certainty of dying on dry land*. (qtd. in Riall, "Garibaldi" 208-209)

This first-hand account of Nievo's 'contemporary historical experience' of the venture to free the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule provides insight into the fears and anxieties the volunteer soldiers were facing. The quote does not depict the Italian soldiers as emotionless war machines but as humans seeking a way to cope with their fears and thereby attributes an emotional aspect to their 'contemporary historical experience'. Another volunteer soldier among Garibaldi's Thousand was Giuseppe Cesare Abba of whom not much is known except for the fact that he was 22 years old in 1860 and that he wanted "to strike a blow for the new Italy and to write the epic poem of the Sicilian expedition" as E.R. Vincent mentions in the translated version of Abba's diary under the title of *The Diary of One of Garibaldi's Thousand* (vii). Abba describes the atmosphere among his small group of volunteers on the evening before the expedition set out as follows:

> Four of us dined together. We were rather thoughtful as we sat at table, each with his own thought far away. We weren't exactly sad, but we were hardly gay. All of a sudden Dr. Bandini sitting opposite me sprang up with his eyes fixed on the wall above my head. There was a portrait there. Pisacane. I read aloud the verses of the poem *The Girl Gleaner of Sapri* [*sic*] printed beneath. Dr. Bandini chimed in with his powerful voice as I read the refrain:
> They were three hundred, young and strong,
> And now they're all dead, all dead!
> We fell silent once more.[19] (6)

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[19] The original, Italian version of the poem called "La spigolatrice di Sapri" was written by Luigi Mercantini in 1858. Its English title is "The Gleaner of Sapri", which is mistakenly referred to as "The Girl Gleaner of Sapri" in the quote, presumably due to the female version of *spigolatore,* i.e. gleaner, in the original title. The poem is written from the first-person perspective of a woman working in the fields of Sapri who witnessed the approaching ship of Carlo Pisacane and his 300 men who set out from Genoa to free Naples from Bourbon rule in 1857. While the undertaking turned into a disastrous failure, it was a precursor to Garibaldi's successful invasion in 1860.

Similar to the quotation from Ippolito Nievo, Abba's account of the dinner with his fellow soldiers is marked by a strong emotionality. Whereas fear dominated in Nievo's statement, Abba's experience is characterised by the overwhelming feeling of uncertainty the volunteer soldiers faced on that evening. Abba describes, "[w]e weren't exactly sad, but we were hardly gay" referring to the uncertainty about what to feel in a situation one has never experienced before. His statement evokes a feeling of mutiny among the soldiers and in the reader of this passage who encounters the protagonists in the extraordinary situation of war in which none of them knows what to expect. Only a few pages later, Abba describes his comrades in greater detail by mentioning that "One hears all the various dialects of north Italy, but it seems that the Genoese and Milanese predominate" among his fellow volunteers travelling to Sicily on the steamship Lombardo (10). He also notices cultivated people on board, mostly young men, but also grey-haired "disabled; certainly old patriots who have taken part in all the revolutionary movements of the last thirty years" (Abba 10). The marked differences between the soldiers concerning their local and social backgrounds as well as their age that Abba refers to here demonstrate that volunteers from all Italian regions, social classes, and age groups fought in unity for the success of the Risorgimento on the one hand, and also shows that all of them experienced such feelings of mutiny and uncertainty described earlier. Alberto Mario, the future husband of Jessie White Mario, one of Garibaldi's British supporters, also expresses his experience as an 1860 volunteer in his retrospective memoir, *The Red Shirt: Episodes* from 1865.[20] As Patricia Cove summarizes, Mario's account varies between optimism related to his belief in Garibaldi and disillusionment, which

[20] See: Mario, Alberto. *The Red Shirt: Episodes*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1865.

positions his experience alongside Nievo's and Abba's, who both recall the inner division of their lives as Garibaldi volunteers (1).[21] Hence, accounts such as Nievo's and Abba's inherit a high degree of 'experientiality' according to Fludernik's theory which is due to the linguistic structure that includes numerous emotional references to which the reader can relate. This high degree of 'experientiality' enables the reader to re-experience the original experience of the Italian soldiers of Garibaldi's Thousand to the extent that their empathy allows, and it evokes the notions of fear, mutiny, and insecurity these men must have experienced. This ability of 'experientiality' to recreate the original experience or emotion through a particular rhetoric will be significant for the analyses in chapters 4. "Let Italy be made a free nation" and 5. "[F]it to be free" of this book when it comes to the experience of Italian exiles in Britain and the personal encounters with Garibaldi of later generations of British women.

Apart from physical and emotional ways of experiencing history, however, a historical event can also be experienced cognitively by those living in close proximity to the battlefields and who hear the ongoing fights and see the damage inflicted on the landscape, together with the wounded and the dead fighters. All these kinds of emotional and cognitive experiences must also be considered as direct ways of 'contemporary historical experience' just as an actual bodily experience. Ultimately, Fludernik asks her readers to keep in mind that "those *directly* involved are often *witnesses* of events, whereas those experiencing them as contemporaries often have merely a 'feel' for events, in fact already

[21] For a detailed interpretation of Mario's retrospective memoir, please consult Patricia Cove's "Introduction: Italian Unity and International Alliances" in *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019, 1-28.

recognize these occurrences as part of momentous chances or incisive moments in present-day history" ("Experience" 43). With this warning, Fludernik alludes to the fact that most people cannot assess the significance of a historical event in the very moment that it is happening, and that it is only in hindsight that it can be perceived how important a past historical event was for the creation of people's lived presence.

The importance of the past is also at the core of the second way of experiencing history, which Fludernik calls 'past historical experience' ("Experience" 43) and which "corresponds to our present-day experience of historicity when encountering representations of historical subjects and/or periods" which is "*always* mediated" (Fludernik, "Experience" 43). Referring to the different levels of time, which initially distinguished Fludernik's two ways of experiencing history, it must be mentioned that 'past historical experience' is situated further away in time from the historical event experienced. It thus refers to the "experience of something as *history*" as "a historical experience of the second order, a reflexive and mediated type of experience which can only be characterised in contrast or opposition to our contemporary experience" (Fludernik, "Experience" 44). From this understanding, Frank Ankersmit concludes that 'past historical experience' "can only be perceived as such on the background of the difference of the past from the present" (Fludernik, "Experience" 44). Furthermore, Ankersmit explains that we need the present to understand the past by claiming that "we cannot have experience or experiential knowledge of the past itself for the simple but decisive reason that the past could not possibly be an object of experience because it no longer exists" (qtd. in Fludernik, "Experience" 44). His theory is based on the assumption that we need the present as a status quo with which to compare and contrast the past to understand how

different things used to be on the one hand, and, to get a glimpse of how people must have experienced certain aspects of life back then on the other hand. However, readers of historical texts do not approach the texts neutrally but are influenced by what they have previously learned about history, including particular ideologies, myths about certain historical subjects, or stereotypes of particular ethnic groups. All this previous knowledge flows into the reader's interpretation of a given historical text, wherefore Ankersmit acknowledges that "when we read a (historical) text, the meaning of that text is not *in the text* itself but arises from, or rather during, our *experience or reading it*" (qtd. in Fludernik, "Experience" 45). The act of reading itself constitutes a way of experiencing history by enriching the historical source read with the pre-knowledge of the reader, who thereby creates a personal experience of the past. Michael Pickering highlights the individuality of the resulting experience by stating: "[T]he specific experiences we have are always in some degree different and individual to us, as are the ways we derive meaning and significance from experience or draw on our experience to contest other cultural definitions put upon experience, particularly by those in positions of power, authority and control" ("Experience and the Social World" 17-18). Ankersmit additionally reminds us "that it would [not] under all circumstances be impossible to scrape off the crust of interpretation sedimented on the great work of art and to experience it as if a whole civilization saw it for the first time" but admits that it would need great efforts to encounter a (historical) source unbiased by all kinds of pre-knowledge. In fact, according to Ankersmit's statement, many historical sources attempt to rewrite history and try to create a first-time experience for the reader that is free from former interpretations, ideologies, and experiences. The modern mass media offer an especially

fruitful ground for such rewritings of history and "have begun to occupy the pole position in our perception of contemporary reality" in contrast to the past (Fludernik, "Experience" 45). The significance of mass media for the creation of 'contemporary historical experience' and 'past historical experience' is not a twenty-first-century phenomenon but was already prevalent in Britain in the nineteenth century when mass print first flooded the literary market.

As indicated up to this point, historical experience, both 'contemporary' and 'past', is not only gained through physical involvement in a historical event, physical presence in a given historical period, or physical interaction with a historical subject. Instead, it can also have more passive forms such as the witnessing of events, periods and subjects, or effects and impressions of such, in conjunction with the reading or observing of historical sources, which in itself constitutes a way of experiencing the past. Hence, the Italian Risorgimento can also be viewed as a historical source that was experienced by British subjects as part of their 'contemporary historical experience' and remediated in diverse literary genres. To be able to measure to which degree the narratology[22] of a non-fictional or (semi-)fictional (historical) source manages to (re-)create an experience for the reader, Monika Fludernik introduced the term 'experientiality'. It "was coined to characterize that quality of narrative which links the tellable on the one hand with the point of the story on the other" and "includes experience in its affectivity and

[22] In the *Handbook of Narratology*, Jan Christoph Meister defines the term narratology as "a humanities discipline dedicated to the study of the logic, principles, and practices of narrative representation. Dominated by structuralist approaches at its beginning, narratology has developed into a variety of theories, concepts, and analytic procedures. Its concepts and models are widely used as heuristic tools, and narratological theorems play a central role in the exploration and modelling of our ability to produce and process narratives in a multitude of forms, media, contexts, and communicative practices" (329).

immediacy and at the same time brings in its rational, didactic and explanatory reworking. The dynamics between these two elements constitutes experientiality" (Fludernik, "Experience" 49-50). The starting point of this method of ascribing a degree of 'experientiality' to a (historical) source is the awareness of its typical structure as defined by Edward Branigan (1992):

> A *simple narrative* is a series of episodes collected as a focused chain. Not only are the parts themselves in each episode linked by cause and effect, but the continuing center is allowed to develop, progress and interact from episode to episode. A narrative ends when its cause and effect chains are judged to be totally delineated. There is a reversibility in that the ending situation can be traced back to the beginning; or, to state it another way, the ending is seemingly entailed by the beginning. This feature or narrative is often referred to as *closure*". (qtd. in Fludernik, "'Natural' Narratology" 20)

Hence, although the structure of a narrative as consisting of causally linked events constitutes the basis of Fludernik's theory, chronology alone cannot fully describe its scope as certain content patterns that increase the degree of 'experientiality' of non-fictional or (semi-)fictional (historical) sources – such as the use of protagonists and their perspectives – also have to be considered. This especially applies if "[f]ictional narratives clearly put a premium on seeing the world through the eyes of a character and hence on centrally focusing on their experience" (Fludernik, "Experience" 50-51). However, also in non-, semi-, and fictional narratives

> historical protagonists are of course […] perceived as ordinary human agents who have goals, harbour unacknowledged intentions, evince weaknesses of character, engage in duplicitous dealing, etc.; what their personal *experience* was like (their hopes and fears, their loves and hates, their suffering) becomes noteworthy only in so far as it relates to the historical plot. (Fludernik, "'Natural' Narrative" 24)

The protagonists of non-fictional, semi-fictional and fictional (historical) sources share a close proximity to the historical plot and are able to make the reader re-experience their original experience. Consequently,

Fludernik concludes that "there can be no narrative without experience since experience structures the pre-narrative material that narration transfers into the narrative discourse" ("Experience" 51). The higher the density of experience in the pre-narrative material and the better the linguistic and semantic methods of weaving this experience into a narrative discourse, the greater the degree of 'experientiality' of the resulting narrative.

The 'experientiality' of a narrative cannot only be experienced by the individual reader or observer but also by a larger group of readers or viewers in the form of a group experience. Such a shared experience is pre-conditioned by a certain mindset shared by the group of readers or viewers analysed. In his chapter entitled "Engaging with History", Michael Pickering describes a historical cultural studies approach concerning the ways in which humans living in the twenty-first century engage with history. In this study, he perceives "history as both [a] topic and tool. It conceives of history as a broad set of resources for studying everyday cultures in the past and as a broad set of techniques and strategies for thinking about historical experience and representation in the present" (Pickering, "Engaging with History" 194). Pickering's view aligns with Fludernik's concept of 'past historical experience' in the sense that he also acknowledges the active interrelation between 'now' and 'then' as the basis of his study ("Engaging with History" 194). Like Fludernik, Pickering argues that we can only understand the past if we perceive it in contrast to – and in comparison with – the present. However, what radically differentiates Pickering's approach from others is its cultural dimension. Whereas Fludernik focuses on the narrative aspects of historical texts and the ways in which experience can be (re-)mediated

through them, Pickering concentrates on how 'past historical experience' influences particular facets of culture and vice versa. He thus argues that:

> Some of the most important work in cultural studies has been informed by thinking in historical terms, whether this has been manifest in tracing the lineaments of social criticism, the realisation of popular resistance and creativity in the past, the long-term linkages between media development, democracy and structures of power, the recurrent waves of social fears and anxieties among the middle classes, or the bearing that imperial social relations have had on the development of national identity. (Pickering, "Engaging with History" 193)

This quotation enlists several of the possible influences that 'past historical experience' may have on the development of culture, according to Pickering, and it names the media as the major means through which 'past historical experience' finds its way into the formation of culture. To examine the influence of history on culture, Pickering's theory suggests that a cultural studies approach to history must fulfil two tasks:

> [D]oing cultural history in a way that is informed by general theoretical and hermeneutical issues, including those informing cultural studies; and developing [a] critical analysis of contemporary uses and manifestations of the past in contemporary culture, including media representation of the past and versions of the past in the vernacular traditions and conventions of everyday life". ("Engaging with History" 194)

Thus, in Pickering's theory, history and cultural studies are equally important for the development of contemporary culture, and the study of media representations of the past is a vital part of his historical cultural studies approach. His theory logically links Fludernik's concept of 'past historical experience' to the formation of contemporary culture and thereby depicts historical experience as a group experience. Culture is always shared by a larger group of people, such as an ethnic group or a nation, and Pickering's theory thus examines how the culture of a particular group is influenced by its historical past. Additionally, he considers media development as crucially important for the (re-)mediation of the past in the present, which is an aspect that my book

strongly supports by taking nineteenth-century popular media as a pool of sources on which to build its analysis. By elaborating on cultural phenomena such as "social fears and anxieties among the middle classes"[23] and "the bearing that imperial social relations have had on the development of national identity", Pickering addresses significant cultural issues that have made their way into the collective memory and identity of a particular cultural group ("Engaging with History" 193).

The emotional character of experience unites Fludernik's narratological approach to historical experience, whether contemporary or past, Pickering's cultural historical approach to experience, and J.P. Leff's psychological approach to experience, which adds an important angle to the two theories previously introduced. In his 2018 article "Culture and the Differentiation of Emotional States", Leff explains that "[t]he experience of another person is never directly available to us, just as our own experiences cannot be directly experienced by other people". He highlights empathy as the greatest of all human possibilities to (re-)experience what another human being goes through and subsequently analyses the differences between how different cultural groups identify and deal with emotions by taking the theories of Charles Darwin, Ekman and Friesen, and Grant into account (299). Leff's article shows that when it comes to a given situation or event, people generally are only able to experience what another person experiences if they have already personally been through a similar situation, such as the loss of a close

[23] These aspects are also addressed by Deborah Wynne in chapter two of her monograph *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* entitled "Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* in *All the Year Round"* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, 38-41) and Sally Shuttleworth in her chapter "'Preaching to the Nerves': Psychological Disorder in Sensation Fiction" published in *A Question of identity – Women, Science, and Literature,* ed. Marina Benjamin (Rutgers University Press, 1993, 212).

relative (299). In many other situations, people have to rely on their empathy to imagine how another person might feel. Significantly, Leff states the imagination of and the reaction to the emotional experiences of another person also "vary from culture to culture and from individual to individual" (299). Hence, like Pickering's cultural historical approach to experience, Leff's psychological account of the emotionality of experience applies to both individual and group experiences. Additionally, Leff agrees with Pickering concerning the point that we can never exactly (re-)experience the experiences of other people, whether in the present or in the past, which Leff highlights when quoting Tennessee Williams: "'We're all of us sentenced to solitary confinement inside our own skins'" (qtd. in Leff 299), while Pickering points out that:

> We study the past in a radically altered fashion to the ways in which it was lived, for in looking back we select particular features from the past and subject them to scrutiny from a changed perspective. Our own historicity ensures that we experience and understand the past differently to the way it was historically experienced and understood. But it is also because we are historical that we can appreciate how others in the past have been historically formed and conditioned, and so gain some measure of the historical character of their experience, mentality and identity, with the scope of that measure marking out and giving identity to the generic distinction between historical experience and historical understanding as well as the inevitable distance between 'then' and 'now'. ("Engaging with History" 208)

Both scholars indicate that people, whether individually or as cultural groups, cannot fully (re-)experience the emotional experiences of other human beings in the present or past. Leff implicates the limits of human empathy as a reason for this while Pickering refers to the temporal distance with which we approach the 'past historical experience' of other individuals or cultural groups as another reason that makes the exact (re-)experience of past experience impossible. Pickering's theory values the significance of the remediation of history in media, which is a strong parallel to Fludernik's analysis of the 'experientiality' of narrated history

and marks another nodal point of their theories as Fludernik also suggests that, in narrating experience, whether contemporary or past, "[a]ll experience is […] stored as emotionally charged remembrance, and it is reproduced in narrative form because it was memorable, funny, scary, or exciting" ("'Natural' Narratology" 29). Subsequently, also Fludernik acknowledges the emotional aspect of experiencing and uses it in her theory as a necessary component for the creation of a high level of 'experientiality' of narratives. According to her, "[e]xperiencing, just like telling, viewing or thinking, are holistic schemata, known from real life and therefore can be used as building stones for the mimetic evocation of a narrative" ("'Natural' Narratology" 28).

In light of these findings, this book considers the role of experience and 'experientiality' in relation to the Italian Risorgimento as crucial for the creation of a mid-nineteenth-century British Risorgimento narrative. The theories of Fludernik, Pickering, and Leff will be crucial for my analyses of Italian exiles in Britain in chapter 4. "Let Italy be made a free nation" and the significance of the personal encounter with Garibaldi for the political writing of a later generation of British women examined in chapter 5. "[F]it to be free" of this book. Furthermore, all case studies analysed in the following concentrate on one particular British social group that remediates its impression of the Italian national movement, beginning with British expatriate women who settled in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century to move to the core of the revolution. This circle of women gathers around Elizabeth Barrett Browning and renegotiates its experience of the facets of the Italian Risorgimento in its poetry, which is most clearly visible in the use of recurring rhetorical strategies and images. These strategies and potent images together shape a multi-facetted narrative of the Risorgimento written by the circle of British

women in mid-nineteenth-century Florence. Similar to these women's poetry, the British press of the time also shaped a narrative of the Risorgimento that calls on the British working class as possible supporters of and volunteers for the wars fought in Italy. As the second case study demonstrates, large parts of the British working class became supporters of the Italian national movement and saw it as a possibility of transporting their experience as a newly formed social group onto the Italians seeking unification and liberty. The spatial mobility that was decisive for the British working-class volunteers who went to Italy to fight for Italian unification is also visible in the Italian refugees and exiles coming to Britain throughout the nineteenth century to seek a safe space to live away from home. Many educated middle-class Italians such as the Rossetti family or Giuseppe Mazzini were quickly incorporated into British circles where they remediated their version of the Italian national movement. From his position as a member of the British middle-class, Mazzini founded, among other political societies, the Society of the Friends of Italy, a transnational political society promoting Italian unification from London and distributing ideas on Italian nation-making from abroad. A reading of the Society's publications constitutes the third and last case study of this book. I will thus use the definitions of and distinction between 'contemporary' and 'past historical experience' and 'experientiality' according to Fludernik as the foundation for the understanding and interpretation of experience and 'experientiality' in my analysis, by elaborating on rhetorical strategies and potent images as the decisive narratological aspects of the narrative.

1.3 The Networks of British Italophilia

As indicated earlier, the nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of a whole array of new technologies such as the telegraph and an increase in demand for and supply of mass-print media. These innovations, together with higher literacy rates, contributed to the faster and wider spread of news and print media throughout the entire British society and thus became part of nineteenth-century British popular culture. This chapter demonstrates that popular culture was used by British women, workers, and supporters of Italian exiles in Britain to disseminate information about the Italian Risorgimento in various ways and with different effects and that these effects in turn influenced British popular culture. In general, all three groups under review used print media as a means of contemporary popular culture to reach out to the members of their networks and/or the general public. Readers of the *Englishwoman's Review* or *The Lady's Newspaper*, for example, built a network interested in the same topic as did members of workingmen's societies or The Society of the Friends of Italy, whose tracts were also published in the *Leader and Saturday Analyst.* By the mid-nineteenth century, prominent newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News* had reached a circulation of 123,000 while smaller newspapers such as *The Times* or *Punch* had a circulation of 40,000 to 50,000 (Riall, *Garibaldi* 129). By this time, most British newspapers published articles on the Italian Risorgimento that mostly concentrated on the 'Great Men', Garibaldi and Mazzini, although information concerning the situation of Italian women and workers in pre-unified Italy and the extensive press coverage of these topics also reached a large British readership comprising members of all social classes and both sexes in the rural and urban areas of the country (Riall, *Garibaldi* 129). It is worth noting that the social networks of British

readers interested in the Italian cause were also very likely to overlap. A combination between the ongoing political and social debate and personal motifs motivated British women, workers, and the networks established around Italian exiles in Britain to support the Italian Risorgimento. Moreover, contemporary print media facilitated the cooperation of these social networks and helped them acquire greater support from the British general public. This section of my book examines how British popular culture, by means of the circulating popular discourses of nineteenth-century Britain, and through print media, enhanced the networking among the supporters of the Italian national movement. It will approach the use of contemporary popular culture – particularly print media – as not merely a means of publishing the agenda of the individual social network but also as a possibility for mass communication among the different social networks and British society as a whole.

My use of the terms 'network' and 'networking' is derived from Bruno Latour's definitions of 'social network theory' and what he calls 'actor-network-theory'. Latour defines social networks not as a stable phenomenon but as something fluid and likely to change (32-34). Furthermore, he describes social networks "as a fluid visible *only* when new associations are being made", thereby highlighting the necessity of social networks to act and attract attention to be perceived, for example, in print media (Latour 79). In such texts, the actors of the social networks appear as mediators giving insight into the ways of thinking and understanding that characterise the network (Latour 128). Latour's theory is particularly suitable for my approach to the social networks in Britain that emerged in support of the Italian Risorgimento as when it comes to their members, these networks can only very seldom be

precisely defined in terms of names and numbers and because this support could not be made public, such networks tended to disappear and reappear in different forms or under a different name. Additionally, like social networks, the actual means of print media used appeared and disappeared due to social and political reasons and networks grew in size and shrank again throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In this context, other scholarly approaches to networks in the nineteenth century also add helpful characteristics to define the networks under review more closely. For example, in his study, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, Friedrich A. Kittler highlights the equal importance of material and discursive aspects such as print media and discourse for the understanding of networks. Lastly, networks are also defined as geographical phenomena by scholars such as Stuart Aitken and Gill Valentine and others in their anthology *Approaches to Human Geography.* Together, these theories on networks form a suitable approach, which takes into account the flexibility of social networks according to Latour, the equal significance of material and discursive aspects for the identification of networks according to Kitter, and the geographical aspect of networks according to Aitken, Valentine, and others. Thus, the terms 'networks' and 'networking' used in this book must be understood as critical terms viewing British women, workers, and friends of Italian exiles in Britain in support of the Italian Risorgimento as performative social networks united by shared discourses, customs, and popular cultural print media mostly situated in Britain. This chapter aims to analyse how popular cultural print media and popular cultural discourses were used by the three identified groups of supporters of the Italian national movement in Britain to reach out to other members of their respective networks or the general public.

In terms of British women supporting the Italian Risorgimento, different social networks can be identified. Firstly, the constant migration of Italian exiles to Britain brought women from abroad who were interested in the Italian national movement. Among the early migrants was the Rossetti family, who moved to London in 1824 and whose (grand-)daughter, Christina Rossetti published the poem "Goblin Market" in 1862, in which she reflected on some crucial aspects of the Italian national movement in relation to women's position in society and international politics. Secondly, as mentioned, a group of British women writers around Elizabeth Barrett Browning moved to Florence in the mid-nineteenth century to experience the ongoing events in Italy from the very place of action and to remediate them in their political poetry. Thirdly, the British women's rights movement of the second half of the nineteenth century yielded several female British supporters of the Italian national movement. Emilia Ashurst Venturi, for example, who was a close friend of Giuseppe Mazzini and also wrote his memoirs supported Josephine Butler's enterprise concerning the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act.[24] While Ashurst Venturi also edited the feminist paper *The Shield* (1871-1886), her sister Caroline Ashurst Biggs co-edited *The Englishwoman's Review* (1871-1889) and used her co-editorship to publish reports about the Italian national movement and the emancipation of Italian women (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Victorian Radicals" 195). This interest in the Italian cause remained visible in British

[24] The Contagious Diseases Act was implemented as a law to prevent prostitution and reduce the spread of sexual diseases. It was first passed in 1864, extended in 1866 and 1869, and repealed in 1886. The Ladies' National Association founded by Josephine Butler successfully advocated for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act as it, according to their proto-feminist view, "led to the unjust treatment of women" ("The Contagious Diseases Act" n.p.). This repeal had wide-reaching implications for the entire feminist cause in nineteenth-century Britain.

women's periodicals until the end of the century when the prominent suffragette, journalist, and author Florence Fenwick-Miller used to publish the "Ladies' Column" as a fixed feature in the *Illustrated London News.* The issue from 15 June 1895, for example, centres on Mr Stansfeld stepping down from Parliament and identifies him as an ardent supporter of both the women's rights movement and the movement for Italian independence, including Mazzini's politics and the rights of Italian exiles in Britain.[25] This example from Miller's "Ladies' Column" depicts the merging of both movements for liberation in Britain and Italy, which is also visible in the biographies of the Ashurst sisters. Both Ashurst sisters supported Josephine Butler's campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, which received further support from the prominent suffragists and suffragettes Millicent Fawcett, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Pankhursts. Elizabeth Barrett Browning was an admirer of Mary Wollstonecraft and her assessment of the emancipation of British women, and she was a friend of the influential feminist writer, Anna Jameson, who spent some years of her life in Italy and accompanied Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her husband from Paris to Pisa. Both Barrett Browning and Jameson wrote about the Italian national movement and advocated for increased women's rights in their works.

These findings indicate that some members of the British women's rights movement, itself a social network, also belonged to a social network of British women supporting the cause of the Italian national movement. When publishing articles, poems, or novels on the Risorgimento in Britain or Italy, these women reused the practices of publication they already knew from the British women's rights movement in their shared pursuit of supporting the Italian Risorgimento.

[25] Fenwick-Miller, Florence. "Ladies' Column". *ILN,* 15 June 1895, 750.

However, whereas the British women supporting the national women's rights movement were largely situated in Britain, some of those supporting the Italian national movement also migrated to Italy to be closer to the country's fight for democracy. Alison Chapman's monograph called *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1870* elaborates in great detail on a small group of British poetesses who migrated to Florence and supported the Italian unification. Her analysis focuses on the lives and poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Isa Blagden, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Eliza Ogilvy, Elizabeth Clementine Kinney, and Sophie May Eckley and the constant political threat they faced from their native country for supporting a national movement other than their own. Hence, this group of expatriate British poetesses living and publishing in Italy forms another social network of British women in support of the Italian Risorgimento. Elizabeth Barrett Browning is a perfect example of Latour's statement concerning the fluidity of social networks and the probability that social networks may overlap as she was part of all three networks, namely that supporting the British women's rights movement, the network of British females supporting the Italian national movement and, from 1847 onwards, the social network of British females in Florence who wrote in favour of the Italian national movement. Among the outputs of this small circle of expatriate British women who moved to Florence, Barrett Browning's poems are the most popular and widely known. Her poem *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) gives a thorough overview of the feelings of optimism that prevailed throughout the earlier period of the Italian Risorgimento which subsequently changes into disillusionment and insecurity towards the end of the poem. Whereas a lightness of tone and the depictions of Florence as a beautiful place dominate the first part of

the poem, the beauty subsequently vanishes and all that remains is a dark setting ruled by political insecurity. Barrett Browning's later long poem *Aurora Leigh* (1857) features a strong and emancipated female protagonist who grows up in Italy, educates herself, and rejects a marriage proposal. The poem advocates for female emancipation and democracy and is regarded as an example of the ongoing political and social struggles in Britain and Italy. Even though Barrett Browning's poetry reached high levels of popularity, it must not be forgotten that her life and work were largely inspired by the other expatriate British women with whom she lived in Florence, including Isa Blagden, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, and Eliza Ogilvy. Similar to the British feminist newspapers *The Shield* and *The Englishwoman's Review,* these women's poetry contributed to the success and promotion of the Italian Risorgimento in Britain as literary fictional and non-fictional contributions to Italian unification and thereby functioned as sources of education and inspiration for other, mostly female, British readers.

Furthermore, a small network of British women can be identified who were actively engaged in the Italian national movement, whereby Jessie White Mario is the most prominent British woman from this network. She was a close friend of Giuseppe Garibaldi[26] and published the feminist periodical *Eliza Cook's Journal*, which represents her connection to the British women's rights movement and, according to Latour, demonstrates another overlap of social networks. White Mario "took the political fight to the battlefields as a nurse, was a propagandist lecturer and fundraiser, and served as an agent in radical underground

[26] In her dissertation titled *Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890* Diana Moore mentions that White Mario became friends with Emma Roberts while studying in Paris. Through this friendship, White Mario was introduced to Garibaldi by Roberts in 1845 (Moore 52).

operations" for Giuseppe Mazzini (Chapman xxxi). Despite her undoubtedly important role, only a few secondary works on White Mario's life and deeds can be found and even fewer sources shed light on the participation of Giorgina Crawford Saffi and Mary Elizabeth Chambers who, together with White Mario, formed this small social network of British women actively politically fighting for Italian unification. Fortunately for researchers in transnational Risorgimento studies, Diana Moore's dissertation *Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890* published in 2018 has taken up the effort of elaborating on the lives and actions of these brave British women and argues "that the cultivation of female followers was a vital part of their [Mazzini's and Garibaldi's] political strategies" (11).[27] This quotation alludes to the romantic aspect that is commonly attributed to the aura of the 'Great Men' of the Risorgimento, Garibaldi and Mazzini,

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[27] In her monograph *Revolutionary Domesticity in the Italian Risorgimento – Transnational Victorian Feminism, 1850-1890,* Diana Moore examines how the lives and actions of Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Saffi, Sara Nathan, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Chambers intersected with the Italian Risorgimento (20). She thereby examines their activity in revolutionary campaigns including charitable and philanthropic work and elaborates on the aspect of transnational identities in the context of the Italian national movement (20). Additionally, Moore highlights the parallels between the Italian Risorgimento and the British women's movement in the context of the *Italian Mediterranean Colloquium* of Columbia University, New York (25 April 2019), where she spoke about "British Women in the Italian Risorgimento: An Orientalist Civilizing Mission?", again focusing on the lives and literary careers of Jessie White Mario (1832-1906), Julia Salis Schwabe (1819-1896), and Mary Chaers (c. 1823-1881). The co-moderator of the colloquium, Konstantina Zanou, commented on Moore's presentation "that the voluntary, transnational movement of women in this era of empires does not receive nearly as much attention in scholarship as it should", which identifies a similar a research gap that this book attempts to address ("Recap" n.p.). For detailed information on Moore's presentation, see: "Recap: 'British Women in the Italian Risorgimento: An Orientalist Civilizing Mission?'" *Columbia University in the City of New York, European Institute.* https://europe. Columbia.edu/news/recap-british-women-italian-risorgimento-orientalist-civilizing-mission, Accessed: 27 December 2022.

namely the fact that women tended to admire them for their authority and bravery. It is known that White Mario and Garibaldi were close friends, and it cannot be excluded that romantic aspirations might have motivated one or the other of these women to actively support the Italian national movement. It is, however, known that both Garibaldi and Mazzini viewed women as a vital part of the Italian national movement, regardless of whether they were Italian or not and both leading figures of the Risorgimento perceived women's emancipation and education as part of the key principles of the new Italian nation. In her monograph *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero,* Riall shares this impression by stating: "No one else, except perhaps Mazzini before him, made political use of British women in quite this way at this time" as did Garibaldi (343). The ways in which British women contributed to the success of the Italian national movement were versatile, ranging from publishing to reading pro-Risorgimento fictional, semi-fictional and non-fictional literature, the collection of donations and the raising of funds, and active participation on the battlefields to the general education and recruitment of new supporters of the Italian cause. Garibaldi and Mazzini appreciated the "maternal capacities" of women and supported the equality of men and women (Moore 59, 55). Like my book, Moore's dissertation concentrates on the importance of networks instead of individuals for the success of the Italian unification and highlights the fact that networks had a larger impact on the outcome of the Risorgimento. This chapter has already shown how different networks of British women in favour of the Italian national movement used contemporary print media, such as newspapers or poetry, to address other possible supporters – also internationally – and thereby transformed the Italian national movement into a popular cultural discourse of mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

The focus will now shift away from British women supporting the Italian Risorgimento to the significance of British workers for the success of the cause. Here, too, different networks can be identified. It is characteristic of this group of British supporters of the Italian Risorgimento that workers organised themselves into associations and societies and used local meetings and print media to distribute popular cultural discourses such as those in support of the Italian national movement among their members. British workingmen's associations and organisations supporting the Italian national movement are, thus, the most prominent sources to define the social networks of British working-class men contributing to and promoting the success of the Risorgimento. Several reasons for this working-class support can be identified. Firstly, since the British press had reported about Garibaldi's defence of the Roman Republic in 1849, his name and reputation became known to practically every British citizen from all social classes (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203) and even though he was not perceived as a war hero and inspiring leader by all members of society, especially the British working-class developed strong sympathies for Garibaldi and his mission. During his visit to London in spring 1864, the British working-class press took up an excerpt from one of Garibaldi's speeches "in which he identified himself as working class" and turned it into a symbol of identification and unification of the British working class and Garibaldi's enterprise (Riall, *Garibaldi* 338). During his stay in London, Garibaldi visited several industrial towns such as Manchester, Newcastle, and Glasgow to speak to the workingmen there (Riall, *Garibaldi* 338). His visits to working-class towns established a feeling of proximity between the British workers and Garibaldi and his enthusiastic speeches kindled the old motivation to stand up for change in his listeners. Lucy Riall and

Margot Finn both state that Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864 caused a comeback of British radicalism.[28] Arguably, while the emergence of British radicalism cannot strictly be limited to 1864, Garibaldi's visit serves as a useful benchmark for the reawakening of working-class radicalism in Britain on a transnational scale. Garibaldi's enthusiasm mobilised working-class men from all over the country to reunite according to the Chartist principles from the earlier nineteenth century and fight for "an extension of the franchise which was to culminate in the Second Reform Act of 1867" as well as female suffrage (Riall, *Garibaldi* 339). Additionally, this new network of British workingmen united under the spirit of the earlier Chartist movement[29] revived British radicalism and remodelled the ideas of nationalism, national identity, and a sense of belonging according to their purposes (Riall, *Garibaldi* 339). Thus, once the seed of revolution was planted in the British workingmen's minds, it developed into a radical working-class movement calling for increased workers' rights at home, an extension of the franchise, a redefinition of nationalism including anti-Catholicism and, even though one would not consider female suffrage a typical concern of the working class, it also became one of its aims.

Intriguingly, Garibaldi's enthusiasm not only catalysed a radical national working-class movement but "British radicalism had found a new focus in foreign causes" (Finn qtd. in Arielli and Collins 203). Thus, the interest of the radical working-class movement of the 1860s also lay

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[28] In: Riall, Lucy. *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero.* Yale UP, 2008, 339. Finn, Margot C. *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874.* Cambridge UP, 1993, 142-225.

[29] For detailed information on Chartism, see: Yeo, Eileen. "Some Practices and Problems of Chartist Democracy". *Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class, Radicalism and Culture, 1830-60.* eds. James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson, Macmillan Press LTD, 1982, 345-380.

in the support of the Italian national movement. In this context, British radicalism manifested in various forms such as the *Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots* of 1862 which were caused by the latest events of the Italian national movement that threatened the Papacy (Neal 90). As many of the Irishmen living in England favoured Catholicism and the Papacy, this news from the Italian national movement caused dissatisfaction among them and motivated them to attack the English supporters of the Italian national movement in Birkenhead, Liverpool, in 1862. F. Neal describes the initial riot as follows:

> In the event, 50 Garibaldi supporters turned up and they were attacked by a group of Irishmen estimated at something between 150 and 500. A crowd of onlookers had gathered in the park [...] and about 200 people, led by some off-duty Guardsmen, attacked the Irish. Fierce fights broke out and after several attacks and counter attacks, which caused great consternation among the onlookers, order was eventually restored. (92)

This first fight between pro-Papacy Irishmen and anti-Catholic Englishmen was followed by various other quarrels between supporters of the aforementioned groups throughout the day and coincided with a planned meeting of the *Workingmen's Garibaldi Committee*, which was cancelled due to the unrest (Neal 92). While gaining widespread public interest, as Neal's description has shown, the *Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots* also received significant attention in the British press, whereby most British newspapers aligned with the viewpoint of the Englishmen involved in the riots and reported from an anti-Irish and anti-Catholic angle (Neal 93). Due to the extensive press coverage, the *Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots* inspired the topic for a debate of the *British Parliamentary Debating Society* one week after the riots, called "Garibaldi and Italy", which formed part of a workingmen's college (Neal 93). In hindsight, the *Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots* from 1862 was a source of unintended support for the Italian national movement as the widespread press coverage of

the riots with a mostly anti-Irish, and hence, anti-Catholic focus presented the English as being on Garibaldi's side and thereby as supporters of the Risorgimento. The public attention directly generated by the *Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots* among the British working class was immediately redirected towards the Italian national movement. As a result, the members of the *Workingmen's Garibaldi Committee*, the onlookers that joined the riot on the anti-Catholic side, and the working-class readers who were inspired by the reports on the Birkenhead Garibaldi Riots to support the Italian national movement formed a social network of pro-Risorgimento British workingmen. However, despite their evident impact, the riots were not the only reason for the widespread working-class support of the Italian cause. Workingmen's associations such as the already-mentioned *Workingmen's Garibaldi Committee*, the *Trades Union Manhood Suffrage*, the *Vote by the Ballot Association*, the *Universal League for the Improvement of the Working Classes*, and the British branches of the *International Working Men's Association* founded in 1864 frequently debated about the Italian national movement and actively contributed to its success by bringing forth volunteer soldiers, organising excursions to Italy to enable other British citizens to get into closer contact with the actual situation in Italy, and building large networks of workingmen united under the aim of increased workers' rights at home and abroad.[30]

The British volunteers actively fighting in the battles of the Italian Risorgimento comprise another social network. These volunteer soldiers were characterised as "hard-drinking roughs from the slums of London and Glasgow" by John Pemble in his 1987 study *The Mediterranean*

[30] For detailed information on the trade unions mentioned in the text, please consult: Bell, Aldon D. "Administration and Finance of the Reform League, 1865-1867". *International Review of Societal History.* ed. Aad Blok, Vol. 10, No. 3, December 1965, 385-409.

Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South (11). Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe traces the roots of Pemble's statement to G.M. Trevelyan's 1911 monograph *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy,* in which Trevelyan already referred to the volunteers as "roughs from London and Glasgow" (qtd. in Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203). The fact that these definitions do not do justice to the group of British volunteers is highlighted in an article in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* from 21 November 1860*,* which clarifies that such definitions only applied to a minority of the volunteers and identified other volunteers as "old soldiers, volunteers and general enthusiasts", which shows that the reporting on the Garibaldian soldiers was inherently controversial (qtd. in Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203).

The early British volunteers fighting for the success of the Italian national movements already set out in 1821 and the spirit of transnational solidarity revived in the 1860s together with the resurgence of British radicalism so that the most prominent group of British volunteers formed the *British Legion*, who fought in the battle for the unification of the Two Sicilies as a vital part of Garibaldi's Thousand in 1860. Among the early volunteers, there were also radical workers from Newcastle, and the fact that Garibaldi's visit to several industrial British towns in 1854 aroused great enthusiasm among the British working class gave rise to the supposition that workers from industrial towns such as Newcastle, Birmingham, or Leeds also volunteered for later expeditions (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 210-12). The Leeds working-class society *Redemption* should be mentioned here to illustrate that not all British working-class supporters of the Italian Risorgimento were male as the following excerpt from Holyoake's description of the audience of the society's first meeting indicates: "the audience assembled

appeared to be about five hundred, a fair portion of them females" (qtd. in Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Victorian Radicals" 50). Thus, whenever I speak of workingmen, the term must be understood as including both men and women from the British working class. Additionally, many working-class men subscribed to the *Garibaldi Fund* of the *Central Committee of the Garibaldi Fund*, which was another way of supporting the Italian national movement (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 205). Even though the financial support of British workingmen was supposedly rather modest when measured by the individual subscriptions, the vast numbers of working-class men financially supporting the Italian cause nevertheless yielded very large sums of money. The strength of the British workingmen was their tendency towards radicalism, which culminated in their willingness to physically engage in the Italian national movement, and their struggle for the aims of British workingmen which was followed at home was subsequently also manifested abroad. The fact that masses of British workingmen secretly signed up as volunteer soldiers, organised themselves in workingmen's societies and associations, and subscribed to funds supporting the Italian national movement further strengthens my focus on the importance of social networks rather than individuals for the success of the Risorgimento. Again, these social networks of British workingmen were likely to overlap, as Latour already pointed to the general tendency of social networks to overlap, and they widened the geographical aspect of social networks described by Aitken, Valentine, and other scholars beyond national boundaries. Transnational solidarity and shared aims thus characterised these networks of British radical workingmen in support of the Italian national movement.

However, the urge to bring about change in Italy was not the only reason that motivated British workers to join the movement, as the fact that the British press often assigned the attributes of an English gentleman to Garibaldi and linked his honourable aim of bringing about the unification of Italy to the British sense of superiority rooted in Britain's position as a world power in the nineteenth century also generated additional support.[31] In contrast to this approach suggested by Lucy Riall, Annemarie McAllister argues that the British interest in the Italian national movement of the 1860s led to a "fascinating series of developments in the construction of national identity and masculinity, intersecting with culture and class identity" that created "an English/Italian opposition" (1). In her study, *John Bull's Italian Snakes and Ladders – English Attitudes to Italy in the mid-nineteenth Century,* McAllister examines how the English defined themselves in contrast to the Italians. She uses Antony Easthope's approach to nationalism and masculinity and his interpretation of Said's (post-)colonial concept of the Other to apply the following hetero-stereotypes to the Italians and characterise them as "(1) unstable, constantly varying in shape and outline; (2) a false appearance; (3) an organization made up from different bits and pieces; (4) irrational and animal. All this is on the outside and 'we' must defend ourselves against it constantly" (qtd. in McAllister 2). In contrast to this, Easthope assigns the English positive auto-stereotypes and describes them as "(1) single and undivided in body and ego; (2) true and real; (3) unified and solid, the same all the way through; (4) rational, subject to reason and law" (qtd. in McAllister 2).

[31] See: Riall, Lucy. *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero.* Yale UP, 2008, 335-337. O'Connor, Maura. *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination.* Palgrave Macmillan, 1998, 152-160.

McAllister follows an approach that shows how national identity and a vision of masculinity are constructed in language via binary oppositions of the Self against the Other, which is a convincing approach that is mirrored in several of the primary sources analysed in the following case studies.

Whereas such (post-)colonial approaches doom the Other to eternal inferiority and keep them at a distance, the argumentation of this book aligns with the findings of Gilles Pécout, Elena Bacchin, and Pellegrino Sutcliffe who highlight transnational solidarity and feelings of brotherhood as strong driving forces for British volunteer soldiers to fight in the Italian Risorgimento (Pécout 414, Bacchin "Brothers of Liberty" 828 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203). Based on their findings, I propose that the definition of national identity and masculinity of mid-nineteenth-century British workers and volunteers in the Risorgimento did not rely on binary oppositions between themselves and the Italians but were based on the understanding of British superiority in the sense that British workers and women had, by that time, already gained increased rights in comparison to their Italian brothers and sisters and saw the Italian national movement as the chance to help the Italians to increase the scope of workers' and women's rights according to their own British example. In this context, it is worth noting that the members of the British working class had a particular sense of affiliation with their Italian brothers and sisters, as the following example of the *Toynbee Travellers* will show. In the nineteenth century, the British bourgeoisie and upper class preferred not to come into contact with the Italians, as indicated by Frederic Harrison's description from 1887: "We go abroad, but we travel no longer. We see nothing really of the people among whom we sojourn. We never touch their lives. They are not even

our caterers or our servants. We lodge in sham Grand Hotels" (qtd. in Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Toynbee Travellers' Club" 152). From this statement and other sources, it is evident that the higher social classes were imbued with a sense of superiority and viewed the Italians as inferior and unworthy of close interaction. In contrast, the working-class *Toynbee Travellers* were genuinely interested in the lives and work, social struggle, and progress of the Italians, as a result of which strong ties between the British and Italian workers could be built that further strengthened and increased the support of the British workers for the Italian cause (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Toynbee Travellers' Club" 153). In her 2013 article "The Toynbee Travellers' club and the Transnational Education of Citizens, 1888-90", Pellegrino Sutcliffe concludes that the British working-class travellers encountered the Italians "with the realism of the *Macchiaioli* painters rather than the voyeurism of the orientalist gaze" as the British upper classes did (153). Thus, organised journeys to Italy facilitated by agencies such as the *Toynbee Traveller's Club* were another means of contemporary popular culture that contributed to the education of British workers, enabled them to visit Italy and get to know their fellow workers from there, and showed them reasons to support the Italian national movement. Instead of seeing binary oppositions between the Self and the Other that cannot be overcome, the British workers and volunteers created closer proximity between themselves and the Italians in the nineteenth century by introducing the discourse of the Italian Risorgimento to various social networks of workingmen societies, associations, and colleges that debated about the Italian cause, published papers including articles on the Italian enterprise, collected funds for its success, organised journeys to Italy and, lastly, provided volunteer soldiers.

Similar principles of transnational solidarity and feelings of brotherhood can be identified in the third group of British supporters of the Italian national movement, namely those British upper- and middle-class citizens who cooperated with Italian exiles in Britain. Although a relatively small number of Italians migrated to other European and non-European countries since the advent of the Italian national movement, in the 1860s the numbers swelled to 100,000 Italians leaving their home country annually (Gabaccia 21). As a result, by the mid-nineteenth century, a large population of Italian exiles had also settled in and around London, most of whom were revolutionaries and followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini (Gabaccia 29-30). Britain had already known Italian exiles since the 1820s "as an elite, cultured people that included the circle of poets gathered around Ugo Foscolo. Even prominent military officers – such as Carlo Beolchi, Luigi Gambini, Giuseppe Cimara, and Evasio Radice moved to London". However, by the middle of the century, not only the Italian elite but also poor Italian workers settled in and around London (Gabaccia 30) and these were the people attracted by Mazzini's call for action and support of the Italian national movement. Significantly, not only Italian exiles in Britain turned into supporters of Mazzini's attempts in favour of the Risorgimento, but also many upper- and middle-class British men joined the cause. The list of the members of the council of Mazzini's *Society of the Friends of Italy* published together with Mazzini's lecture delivered at the *First Conversazione* of the Friends of Italy in 1852 provides the names of 156 Englishmen who were members of the *Society of the Friends of Italy.*[32] Those listed include William Ashurst, Joseph Cowen, George Jacob Holyoake, Rev. Palmer, and Arthur Trevelyan, all of

[32] See second page of: "Tract No. IV." *Tracts of the Society of the Friends of Italy*, 1852. Cowen Tracts, University of Newcastle.

whom were British middle-class men who used their position in society, financial means, and private companies to support the Italian Risorgimento. According to several articles published in the *Daily News* in November 1860,[33] William Ashurst, for example, claimed to have single-handedly collected more than 5,000 pounds to finance the military equipment of the British legion (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 213). Even though William Ashurst's particular example seems to suggest an increased importance of individual support among the group of British supporters of Italian exiles in Britain, this is not an accurate reflection as here too, the aid of social networks was most important. The *Daily News* was a radical paper that frequently published articles on and by supporters of Italian exiles and friends, and thus George Jacob Holyoake also published an article on his frustration concerning the use of the money from the *Garibaldi Fund* on 17 December 1860 (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 214). Hence, the social network of British middle-class men who were members of Mazzini's *Society of the Friends of Italy* used newspapers such as the *Daily News* or the *Reasoner* to distribute articles on their actions in support of the Italian Risorgimento. Despite the significant social influence and financial resources of some of these British men, the feelings of affiliation and brotherhood among them, as a social network organised in societies or committees, were needed to generate the greatest possible support for their Italian brothers and sisters. Moreover, a small group of Mazzini's British supporters, among them Joseph Cowen and George Jacob Holyoake, joined Garibaldi's British supporters to form the *Central Committee of the Garibaldi Fund*

[33] See "Colonel Pead and the finances of the British Legion" published in the *Daily News* on 6 November 1860; "Captain Sarsfield and the British Legion" published in the *Daily News* on 28 November 1860.

(Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 205). The *Garibaldi Fund* received subscriptions from members of the working class and larger donations from the middle classes to support the equipment and organization of the *British Legion*. Together with the *Emancipation of Italy Fund*, the *Garibaldi Fund* raised approximately 30,000 pounds between 1856 and 1860[34] and more donations were made by prominent Victorians such as Florence Nightingale or Charles Dickens and by upper-class societies such as the London gentlemen's club, *Athenaeum* (Riall, *Garibaldi* 295).

Up to this point, the examples that were provided concentrated on British middle- and upper-class men who formed societies and committees in favour of the Italian national movement, and the role played by the Italian exiles living in and around London was not addressed. Within this group, Aurelio Saffi is one of the most prominent examples of an Italian exile in Britain. A close friend of Mazzini, Saffi was incorporated into the circles of a group of Italian exiles supporting the Risorgimento in London in 1851 and soon functioned as a "spokesm[a]n for Italian[s] abroad" (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Victorian Radicals" 87 and Gabaccia 22) and he soon befriended George Jacob Holyoake and the Ashurst family, all of whom were British supporters of the Italian national movement. Once he was included in this London network of British middle-class men in support of the Italian cause, Saffi moved to Oxford in 1853 to teach Italian at the university (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Victorian Radicals" 87-88). He integrated education about the Italian social and political struggles into his teaching and soon a small group of pro-Italian

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[34] Riall, Lucy. *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero.* Yale UP, 2008, 295; O'Connor, Maura. *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination,* Palgrave Macmillan, 1998, 90; Finn, Marion C. *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874.* Cambridge UP, 1993, 206-207.

students gathered around him (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 88). Among these students was Algernon C. Swinburne, who was inspired by Saffi's euphoria for the Italian national movement and expressed his support for the unification of Italy in his later poems "Song of Italy" (1867) and "Songs before Sunrise" (1871). Fellow academics from Oxford University such as Arnold Toynbee and Bolton King, known as the organiser of early journeys to Italy facilitated by the *Toynbee Travellers' Club*, also gathered around Saffi in support of the Italian cause (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 88). Saffi's personal history shows how fluid social networks are and which strategies were used to expand social networks both geographically and in terms of the scope of their agenda and the number of members they acquired. The strategies that Saffi and the British supporters of Italian exiles around him used to broaden and strengthen their networks were intrinsically similar. They made use of elements of British popular culture such as print media, most prominently newspapers such as the *Daily News*, while debates and lectures such as the series of lectures on the situation in Italy by Saffi in 1857 were also frequently held (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 91). These occasions were used to collect donations for certain funds administered by British middle-class supporters of Italian exiles and the Italian national movement including the *Garibaldi Fund*, the *Emancipation of Italy Fund*, or similar measures of financial support for the Italians' cause.

By using popular practices common to British men and women, the supporters of the Italian national movement managed to permeate familiar situations and social events with the agenda of their social networks. Thus, information on and enthusiasm for the Italian national movement was spread among the members of their networks and beyond

and increasing numbers of British middle- and upper-class men and women contributed to the success of the Italian Risorgimento, mostly by making generous donations but also by using their social position and personal commitment to help Italian exiles and the British networks that had been established around them. For example, Joseph Cowen, a British middle-class man and close friend of Mazzini, sold 23 portraits of Mazzini to Tyneside workers to raise money for the *Emancipation of Italy Fund* on the one hand, while on the other hand, he ensured the radical working-class support for the Italian cause in England's North-East (Pellegrino-Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 94). In 1855, Cowen, Holyoake, and others founded the *Republican Brotherhood*, a republican society with links to Italian democrats from all social classes (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 95). One year later, "Genoese workers had sent, thought Jessie White [Mario], an Address to the Working Men of England.[35] This had reached Holyoake with an accompanying letter from the worker Antonio Casareto – one of the Genoese Committee"[36] (Pellegrino-Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 95). Holyoake and Cowen spread the message from the Genoese workers among the British Newcastle workers which received great resonance as more than 6,000 workingmen attended a public meeting and declared their support for their 'Genoese brothers and sisters' (Pellegrino-Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 96). This example demonstrates that all three groups of British supporters of the Italian national movements contributed significantly to its success and are thus worth analysing in greater detail. Furthermore, all three groups organised themselves into social networks to become stronger, more

[35] 'Printed circular from the working men of Genoa on the Emancipation of Italy Fund', CP, TWAS, A469.

[36] See A.G. Remedi, 'Antonio Casareto', *DBDI.* The other members of the committee were Giacomo Medici, Agostino Gnecco, Angelo Magnini, and Antonio Mosto.

influential, and more visible. These social networks, as Latour defined the general nature of social networks, were likely to overlap as was outlined earlier in this section. Lastly, the example of the Genoese workers writing to their English fellow workers, whose letter was delivered by Jessie White Mario to George Jacob Holyoake, a member of the committees of the *Republican Brotherhood* and the *Society of the Friends of Italy*, clearly shows that the commitment to the Italian cause had reached a dimension in Britain that united British women, working-class men, and the upper- and middle-class supporters of Italian exiles in Britain under the shared aim of helping the Italians to establish a unified Italian nation. This aim overshadowed the existing class and gender struggles that might otherwise have hindered the cooperation of the three groups of British Italophiles. Hence, a new popular discourse was created based on the class- and gender- and nation-transcending cooperative networking of all three groups of British supporters of the Italian national movement united under the shared aims of Italian unification and liberation.

2. "Waking the Sleeping Female": The Italian Risorgimento in Mid- to Late-Nineteenth-Century British Women's Poetry

This chapter analyses how the Italian Risorgimento is depicted in the political poetry of female British authors Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Christina Rossetti, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy.[37] My literary examination

[37] Those interested in additional expatriate British women in Italy in the mid- to late nineteenth century will find it helpful to consult Giorgia Alù's enlightening monograph *Beyond the Traveller's Gaze – Expatriate Ladies Writing in Sicily (1848-1910)* (Peter Lang, 2018). She elaborates on the literary careers of a group of English women who came to permanently reside in Sicily during the time of the Italian Risorgimento. Alù's examination focuses on travel writing and is based on an analysis of letters, travel

concentrates on the aspects of the Italian Risorgimento that the selected British women writers chose to re-negotiate and manifest as pro-feminist motifs. In this respect, my chapter differs from Patricia Cove's dissertation, which, among other transnational aspects of the Italian Risorgimento, examines the depiction of trauma in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Poems before Congress* and *Last Poems.*[38] Additionally, the analysis shows how British women writers used the Italian Risorgimento to define a visible position for themselves and women in general in nineteenth-century political poetry. Thus, this section argues that the aforementioned British female authors contributed to the success of the Italian Risorgimento with their political writing which aimed at the creation of a unified Italian republic and advocated for a redefinition of gendered nineteenth-century stereotypes such as the 'Angel in the House' or the 'Fallen Woman' as well as womanhood in general.

The group of women writers is arranged in the order of their biographical ties to Italy, beginning with Mary Elizabeth Braddon, who is one of the best-known and most famous English authors and has no biographical connection to Italy. She published the commissioned poem "Garibaldi" in 1860 which appeared together with "Si and No" among other pieces in the poem collection *Garibaldi and Other Poems,* first published in 1861. Braddon is followed by Christina Rossetti, another well-known nineteenth-century woman poet, who has biographical connections to Italy as her family escaped to London in 1824 when her father, Gabriel Rossetti, was forced into exile because he supported the early revolutionary movement for Italian unification. Furthermore,

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journals, and longer publications of travel literature by Mary Charlton Pasqualino, Louise Hamilton Caico, and Tina Whitaker Scalia.

[38] See: Cove, Patricia. *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019.

Rossetti's maternal grandfather was also an Italian exile in London (Ling 2). Lastly, I examine a small group of expatriate British poetesses, who settled in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century. This expatriate circle consisted of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who became the most prominent of the British woman writers in Florence, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, who was Anthony Trollope's sister-in-law, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy. To demonstrate their personal commitment to the Italian Risorgimento, these British women migrated to the centre of the ongoing national movement to develop their political ideas on the Italian Risorgimento at the very centre of the action. Despite their enthusiasm and political agenda, all British women writers were heavily influenced – and subsequently limited – by the writing traditions of nineteenth-century narrative poetry, especially those focusing on women's writing as patriotic, romantic, domestic, and aesthetic. However, the following analysis will show how the British poetesses transcended the limits of the female writing tradition of the time to generate a new space for their redefined versions of women's place in literature and society.

At the time in question, women's literature was positioned in a web of socio-cultural and political restrictions predefined by Britain's patriarchal societal system. While the pre-installed gender roles assigned women to their place in the domestic sphere and particular duties restricted to household chores and raising children, they were also regarded as the moral educators of society and 'female virtues' were thought to secure the moral purity of future generations. As Sarah Stickney Ellis argues in her chapter "The Declining Character of the Women of England and How it Might Be Rectified" which was published in *The Women of England* in 1838, women's education and personal aims should focus on domestic skills and caring for the family rather than

higher education and aspiring to a more influential position in the public sphere. Stickney Ellis maintains that such wrong "notions of refinement are rendering them [women] less influential, less useful, and less happy than they were" (350). Instead, she proposes that women should celebrate their domestic role as caring mothers which they were assigned by traditional gender roles (Stickney Ellis 353). This conservative attitude towards a woman's place in society is echoed in Catherine Napier's conduct book for women, *Woman's Rights and Duties, Considered with Relation to Their Influence on Society and on Her Own Condition* published in the same year (1838) as Stickney Ellis's monograph. Napier especially defends the exclusion of women from politics as she supposes that women are not strong enough to participate in politics and that they are dependent on male guidance, which she uses as arguments against the franchise for women (358). According to Napier,

> [t]he business of life would be far worse conducted, when the division of labour so clearly pointed out by nature was done away [with]: and the just influence which women ought to have, would be destroyed by breaking down the barrier of opinion, which consigns them to the duties of a domestic and private station, and preserves them from the contamination of gross and contentious scenes. (359)

With conservative statements such as this, Napier strengthens the traditional gender divide according to the 'separate spheres' concept, which assigned the domestic sphere to women and the public sphere to men in nineteenth-century Britain and she maintained female stereotypes such as the 'Angel in the House' and the 'Fallen Woman' even though by the early nineteenth century these strict divides already proved to be more permeable than Napier suggested. Still, Napier supports the traditional patriarchal ideologies that portray women as the weaker sex that must restrict their attention to household and family duties according to Coventry Patmore's ideal of the 'Angel in the House' (1854). As the contemporary accounts by Stickney Ellis and Napier have

shown, not all Victorian women supported the early women's movement in Britain.

However, for example, the English novelist Dinah Mulock advocated for a critical questioning of the traditional gender roles in Britain in her monograph *A Woman's Thoughts about Women* first published in 1858.[39] Even though Mulock herself found her luck in a happy marriage, she questions in her monograph whether marriage is the only option for a young lady, and she criticises contemporary gender conventions of pushing young women into marriage and not permitting them other, more emancipated, ways of life (361). Patricia Cove establishes a lineage of women's emancipation in her 2019 monograph, where she quotes Angela Keane[40] on the challenges of romantic women writers (40). Keane argues that women needed a place in the public sphere to become full citizens of a nation and that their confinement to the domestic sphere would make them exiles within their own countries (Keane qtd. in Cove 40). Adding to this statement, Cove mentions Anne K. Mellor, who perceives "some women writers deliberately frame[ing] themselves as arbiters of British national culture in the public sphere", like Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her expatriate female circle, who contribute to the creation of a British Risorgimento narrative with their political poetry (130). Thus, Cove, Keane, and Mellor share the viewpoint that while women are vital for the formation of a nation, they

[39] The publication year of Mulock's monograph coincides with the founding date of the *English Woman's Journal,* which had its offices at Langham Place, London. The journal became known as the root of organized British feminism and its employees and supporters formed the Langham Place Circle, which derived its name from the journal's address and heavily promoted increased women's rights. For more detailed information, see: Herstein, Sheila. "The Langham Place Circle and Feminist Periodicals of the 1860s". *Victorian Periodicals,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 24-27.

[40] See: Keane, Angela. *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s.* Cambridge UP, 2001.

undoubtedly need a more visible space therein (Cove 40-41 and 130). Additionally, Cove, who investigates the representation of the Italian Risorgimento in selected nineteenth-century British novels and poems, traces this significance of women in society in "familial, intergenerational and maternal metaphors", which project women's multi-faceted roles as mothers and sisters onto the (re-)construction of Italy and even go so far as to feminize the entire country (36, 38 and 130). The following chapters will demonstrate how British women writers manifested their visible place within the transnational negotiation of the Italian Risorgimento in the mid-nineteenth century.

Hence, Mulock's monograph posed new questions that demanded a redefinition of woman's place in literature and society – redefinitions that were to be proposed with increased energy, visibility, and vocality by New Women writers towards the end of the nineteenth century. Such questions are taken up critically by contemporary British women writers, who, as Cove and Alison Chapman have already argued in their monographs, have "revised and challenged the traditional domestic remit of the poetess" and women in general with their political poetry (Chapman xxiviii). This section of my book draws on Cove and Chapman's arguments by supposing that by using the Italian Risorgimento as a vehicle, the political poetry of Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Christina Rossetti, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy renegotiated the limits imposed on Victorian woman writers and women in general and, thus, created a space for more emancipated and politically active versions of femininity on a transnational scale.

2.1 Women Entering the Political Stage: Mary Elizabeth Braddon's "Garibaldi" and "Si and No" (1861)

Mary Elizabeth Braddon's poetry will first be analysed with a view of the methods and motifs she used in her mid-nineteenth-century political poetry on the Italian Risorgimento to also redefine notions of femininity and female writing traditions. Moreover, my examination demonstrates that the female poetesses were bound to certain traditions and limitations defined by nineteenth-century patriarchal ideologies and politics. Braddon's poem "Garibaldi" was commissioned by her early mentor, Yorkshire squire John Gilby of Beverly, in 1860 and it first appeared in the poem collection *Garibaldi and Other Poems* in 1861. As a commissioned poem, "Garibaldi" idealizes Giuseppe Garibaldi as one of the 'Great Men' of the Risorgimento and as a war hero in accordance with Carlyle's ideas. In *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History,* the Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle summarized his ideas on heroism that were derived from a series of six lectures on historical figures delivered in May 1840. In this work, he coins the term 'Great Men', which he applies to certain individuals who he believes have entered the annals of history as heroes (2). Carlyle's perception of heroism is based on an understanding of societies as organisms, which need a certain level of guidance to evolve through time, which is found in capable individuals with the ability to accustom themselves and subsequently react to the challenges of their time. Following these ideas, entire stanzas of Braddon's commissioned poem describe Garibaldi as the saviour of the pre-unified Italian nation, who came to bring back hope to the Italian people, and whose

> […] woes
> Were doubled by their struggles, since it seemed
> Their efforts changed mere tyrants into foes,
> When, as of old some war-god GARIBALDI rose!

11

We wait for such men, - Born of what? The hour!
The incarnation of a people's prayer,
They come at last – Invincible! With power
Wide as our want, and great as our despair, -
Born to uphold the burden of our care,
They come, and we believe, and gather near,
And sun ourselves beneath the forehead, where
God writes, 'The crown of Victory in here,
And where this man comes never yet came fear!'. (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 89-101)

With passages such as these, the poem fashions Garibaldi into a god-like war hero who is going to lead the Italian nation to unification and who will encourage the masses to fight along with him for the success of the Italian national movement. However, apart from the idealization of Garibaldi, the 159 stanzas of the poem also address political problems centring on the Italian national movement. Thus, Braddon added a political message to the traditional medium of the commissioned poem which first positions Garibaldi within the actual political situation of pre-Risorgimento Italy. In the beginning, the poem refers to foreign rulership as distancing Italy's regions from their traditions with "music that we [the Italian citizens] know not;/ Not to our own, - no, not our own at best;/ Our souls in other hands we go, or go not,/ Hither or thither, at a strange behest" which adds to Braddon's depiction of Italy as a dead female figure whose limited power was taken away by foreign rulers, which left her passive and lifeless, dreaming of a glorious Roman past (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 10-13, 57-74). The poem recalls:

7

We heard of Italy, and in that name
Still the old witchery; but the lyre seemed dead
From which that sound of bygone magic came;
Only the echo lived – the hymn was fled:
By all the blood in holy causes shed, -

By the dead hero and the deathless sage, -
By every novel soul in battle sped, -
By deeds that made her past one sacred page,
We in Italia's name, recalled the Roman's age.

8

And she was dead! In beauty as of yore,
Unchanged her loveliness – undimmed her smile,
Sweet slept the Zephyrs on her fertile shore, -
Still waved the vines about Sicilia's isle:
And in her lonely grandeur all the while,
Venice still sunned her beauties in the sea, -
A purple mirror for each stately pile,
That crowned her Queen of lovely Lombardy, -
So fair – yet dead in this – no more could she be free!

thereby foregrounding Italy's passive position in pre-Risorgimento times (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 57-65). Here, Italy's femininity is particularly important for the construction and justification of the inferior position she is put into. This position is the result of the long tradition of foreign rulership in Italy, which deprived both the country and nation of the capability to live and govern themselves independently (Braddon, "Garibaldi", line 65). Since these foreign rulers are typically male, this again implements patriarchal structures in the poem and in nineteenth-century society and politics. Additionally, Italy's subordinate position is determined by the decay of her beauty, which takes away one of her most important womanly characteristics, although the aforementioned patriarchal structures did not destroy her inner values such as her loveliness and fertility, which turn out to be Italy's hidden sources of growing strength (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 67-68). In the poem, her situation slowly improves in stanza eight when she comes back to life, as the speaker of the poem states that "she was dead" but now revives and experiences her own Risorgimento which, in English, means resurrection, and finds herself occupied by foreign rulers and scattered into

independent states (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 66-74). From this passage onwards, Italy develops a desire for the revolution which culminates in the appearance of Garibaldi as if sent from above as a war hero coming to rescue Italy and the Italian people. After Garibaldi's military successes, personified Italy proclaims: "I live!/ I slept, it may be, while the others strove,/ And passed me in the race./ […]/ Imperishable, I arise out my grave" (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 899-908). With this exclamation, Italy's metamorphosis from a lifeless organism to a revived and politically active country and nation is achieved. By personifying Italy as a female figure who undergoes a major transition in the poem, Braddon manages to weave a critical perspective on Italy's political situation into a traditional commissioned poem. This feminization of Italy is part of the repertoire of metaphors inspired by women that Cove identified (130). She views the 'fallen Italy' trope as a possibility for resurrection, arguing that life and death were mutually reinforcing, just like the downfall of Italy, which gave the country the possibility to unify and regain power (36). This controversy, according to Cove, inspired many British writers to discuss the Italian Risorgimento or at least to integrate certain related themes into their writing as the state of Italy represented such a vast scope and potential for change and redefinition (29, 36). In Braddon's poem, the situation of Italian women is portrayed shortly after Garibaldi's arrival when "[t]he women waited, watching from the walls –/ Watching for the Deliverer they stood,/ Oh! will he answer to the voice that calls/ A people's want of him across the flood?/ Above, about us, death and murder brood,/ And none but God and he can help or save" (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 138-143). Here, the women are characterised as passively waiting for help in a marginalized position in society and in the national movement, as they are "watching from the walls" according to

the conservative ideas of Napier, Stickney Ellis, and Patmore, thereby dedicating the central role to Garibaldi and the stronger active men supporting their enterprise (Braddon, "Garibaldi", line 138). Moreover, women are also depicted as mothers in the poem, which again recalls the traditional gender roles of men and women in the nineteenth century and takes up the ideal of women as nurturing mothers and morally good domestic educators for their children (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 165-173). Furthermore, these women are willing to send their sons to war along with Garibaldi who calls for action and, in so doing, supports the Ovidian[41] metamorphosis of Italy from a dead to a revived and politically active female figure:

> 21
> […] Italia's sons,
> Ye glorious remnants of old battles fought,
> Your wrongs are mightier than your master's guns,
> United, all thins – disunited, nought; -
> Ye need no foreign help, too dearly bought,
> No, - let your children to their children tell
> Alone their fathers' death, or freedom fought,
> Alone they conquered, and alone they fell,
> Their war-cry this - 'Italia and Emmanuel!'.[42] (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 183-191)

This call to action is followed by widespread support of the Italian people from all Italian regions and social classes, which accurately mirrors the true dimension of the Italian Risorgimento as a mass movement in addition to the important role of the 'Great Men' of the Risorgimento as

[41] Ovid's "Metamorphoses" (8 AD) is a narrative poem based on metamorphosis or transformation which is frequently accompanied by violence and pain that will be rewarded in the end. For further information consult: Johnston, Ian. "The Influence of Ovid's Metamorphoses". *Project Silver Muse.* University of Texas at Austin, accessed 11 October 2021.

[42] Victor Emmanuel II of Italy was King of Sardinia from 1849 to 1861 and a close friend of Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose military achievements resulted in Victor Emmanuel becoming the first King of Italy in March 1861.

powerful voices that were able to encourage the common people to join the national movement and fight against foreign rulership and separatism (Braddon, “Garibaldi”, lines 192-200). The critique on foreign rulership as suppressing the Italians reoccurs in Braddon’s poem “Si and No”, as the poem’s speaker argues that foreign rulership made the Italians “[m]en, whose lives have been spent in chains,/ Men, grown old ’neath the torturer’s pains”, and “[w]omen, whose beauty has faded away” (Braddon, “Si and No”, lines 9-11). Thus, foreign rulership deprived Italian men and women of their most masculine and feminine characteristics, namely physical and mental strength and beauty, and it made them captives of a foreign ruler in their own country. Moreover, “Si and No” also stresses the true character of the Italian Risorgimento as a mass movement with an opening sentence that argues: “UNDER the sunshine the urns are set,/ Under the sunshine the crowds are met,/ The mighty, the humble, the haughty, the poor,/ Never so met or so mingled before”, as all were united under the aims of the Risorgimento (Braddon, “Si and No”, lines 1-4).

The poem’s focus on gender also includes a clear portrayal of masculinity, which finds its role model in Giuseppe Garibaldi. The fact that Braddon’s “Garibaldi” is a commissioned poem adds to the innumerable lines devoted to the glorious depiction of Garibaldi’s military career, whereby his success in recruiting Garibaldi’s Thousand including the 800-man-strong British Legion in 1860 should not be overlooked. The speaker in the poem describes Garibaldi’s Thousand as “[a] thousand volunteers, with sword in hand,/ Some, strangers to the soldier’s trade”, alluding to the fact that most of the volunteer soldiers lacked military experience (Braddon, “Garibaldi”, lines 234-235). Notwithstanding such challenges, Garibaldi’s Thousand succeeded in

freeing the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule in 1860 as the "[t]he armed Guerillos on the mountain side,/ Shouted his name, till, echoing o'er the tide,/ That found appalled the Bourbon's heart of stone. /Afar then flew the tidings, far and wide, /Till the weak tyrant shivered on his throne./ Every free soul allied against him – he, alone!" (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 251-256). This passage uses the term 'Guerillos' to refer to Garibaldi's volunteer corps waiting in the mountains for the perfect time to attack its enemy, thereby alluding to Garibaldi's past exploits in South America where he also had a successful military career and from where the term 'Guerillos' originates. Additionally, the excerpt returns to the depiction of the Risorgimento as a mass movement as "every soul allied against" the Bourbons, and it typically depicts Garibaldi as a war hero leading an invincible army (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 256 and 519). Keeping in mind that most of the volunteer soldiers fighting alongside Garibaldi in 1860 did not have a military background, the poem focuses on Garibaldi's military experience and his ability to encourage his fellow soldiers and make them invincible when facing the Bourbon enemy. The poem's portrayal of Garibaldi as a glorious war hero and a person who inspires the masses is enhanced with depictions of Garibaldi as:

> 58
> Their Liberator! Forth the surging crowd
> Pours like an ocean gathering round his feet,
> And he, their centre, gravely, sadly proud,
> Watches the thousands rush from square to street,
> With but a look the conqueror to greet,
> The conqueror of tyranny – the foe,
> Who with a hundred, can a legion meet,
> Whose single arm an lay the oppressor low,
> And crush a dynasty with one decisive blow. (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 518-526)

Here, the very nature of the commissioned poem comes to the surface as it excessively eulogizes Garibaldi's achievements and abilities when it comes to his strength and military thinking. A bit later in the poem, he is referred to as a "wonder-working hero", which links to his presentation at the beginning of the poem as an almost god-like figure (Braddon, "Garibaldi", line 708). Moreover, the stanza portrays the hero-worship that had developed around Garibaldi after the success of the Thousand in Sicily. Furthermore, as his visit to London in 1864 shows, when approximately half a million people from all social classes and British regions came to see him, this admiration for Garibaldi also transcended national borders (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Garibaldi in London" 45).

My analysis has shown that Braddon's poem "Garibaldi", which was commissioned by Yorkshire squire John Gilby of Beverly in 1860 and was published in the poem collection *Garibaldi and Other Poems* one year later, fashions Garibaldi into a war hero according to Carlyle's ideas and a people's hero according to the long tradition of commissioned poems. Additionally, stanza 58 positions Garibaldi at the centre of the poem and of Italian nation-making which now completes the picture that originated with the poem depicting women at the margins, in particular on the walls of the scenery, and is now brought to closure with Garibaldi at its centre. Thus, the poem constructs an ideal of masculinity around Garibaldi, to whom the distinctly masculine characteristics of physical and mental strength in combination with the ability to speak to and encourage the masses are attributed, which may derive from his vast military and political knowledge. Throughout the poem, especially his physical and mental powers and his bravery are foregrounded, which the poem's speaker uses as criteria to define masculinity. When "Garibaldi re-collects his force,/ Discards the useless, and arrays the brave" the differentiation

between the weaker as less masculine and, thus, less capable, and the stronger as the ideal and powerful warrior becomes evident (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 717-718). Even though the poem constructs a clear difference between the inferior and marginalized women and the superior and active men, there is one female figure that is also positioned at the centre of the poem, namely Italy herself, who is feminized throughout the poem and who experiences a transformation fuelled by Garibaldi's presence in Italy and the mass-movement for Italian unification. As a result, she is resurrected from her grave and returns to her place as a powerful and unified European country and nation (Braddon, "Garibaldi", lines 899-907). Admittedly, Italy only regains her strength and position with the help of Garibaldi, who appears as a saviour whose fellow soldiers flock around him in similar ways as disciples around a prophet and who fight for the success of the Risorgimento, although her re-empowerment can also be seen as a role model for women's emancipation that followed the Italian unification.

2.2 Manifestations of Female Political Agency: A Pro-Risorgimento Reading of Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market" (1862)

Building on Robin J. Sowards's economic reading of Christina Rossetti's famous "Goblin Market" (1862), "*Goblin Market's* Localism" (2012), Audrey Ling develops a political reading of the poem in her 2017 article "Rossetti and the Risorgimento: An Allegorical Reading of *Goblin Market".* In this article, she identifies the female protagonists, Laura and Lizzie, as embodied resemblances of Italy and Britain, thereby reasoning that "Laura's name further strengthens her association with the Italian landscape, since 'Laura' was a major subject of the celebrated fourteenth century Italian poet Petrarch's romantic poetry" and "Lizzie's name holds

a symbolic significance: it is an abbreviated form of Elizabeth. This politically charged name is clearly an allusion to Elizabeth I, one of the longest reigning British monarchs in history" (Ling 3, 6). Ling's theory finds support in Cove's 2019 study on the depictions of the Italian Risorgimento in nineteenth-century British literature and culture, in which she identifies a set of metaphors depicting "Italy as ancestor, sister or heir to Britain; Italy as dying, dead or reborn; Italy as political allegory", all of which are also found in Rossetti's "Goblin Market" as will be shown in the following (38).

The only male characters appearing in the poem are the goblins who want to sell their fruits at the market and Ling interprets the goblins as foreign invaders who attempt to seduce the local women with their foreign fruits. Their sex is not the only aspect that distinguishes the goblins from the local inhabitants, as the fact that, as Sowards argues in his article "*Goblin Market's* Localism", their descent marks the goblins as foreign and Laura and Lizzie as local, also plays a distinguishing role (115). Additionally, Sowards views the goblins' foreign roots as the reason for their evil intentions towards the local citizens and compares this situation to the traditional tale of colonizer and colonized (115). Concentrating on Italy's political and economic situation in nineteenth-century Europe, Ling argues that the "Italian nationalists' desire for independence and for equal status as an individual nation amongst European relations" was a major driving force for the Risorgimento (1). Ling's political allegorical reading of Rossetti's "Goblin Market" focuses on the female protagonists of the poem, Laura and Lizzie, and it reads them as embodiments of Italy and Britain, thereby depicting the two European countries as female. This interpretation proposes a female vision of nineteenth-century Europe that dates back to the ongoing

women's movements in many European countries. In comparison to other European countries such as Italy, Britain was always highly advanced in its political and economic situation, which influences Ling's interpretation of Lizzie's sisterly role as a helping and saving female character who rescues Laura from the goblins' attempts to seduce her with their fruits. Lizzie, therefore, also represents the transnational solidarity of Britain for Italy in the nineteenth century which was crucial for the success of the Italian Risorgimento and for the abolition of foreign rulership in Italy (Ling 6). In the following, I want to develop Ling's and Sowards's ideas further by showing how their local and political readings of Rossetti's "Goblin Market" can inspire a (proto-)feminist reading of the poem that renegotiates the position and role of women in nineteenth-century political writing and in society in general in the context of the Italian Risorgimento.

The poem begins by describing the scene at the daily market where the goblins try to sell their fruits to the seemingly all-female society as it states: "Morning and evening / Maids heard the goblins cry: 'Come buy our orchard fruits,/ Come buy, come buy[']" (Rossetti, lines 1-4). This opening scene already demonstrates how frequently the female society is pressurised by the goblins to buy their foreign fruits. Thus, the goblins cry:

> Apples and quinces,
> Lemons and oranges,
> Plump unpeck'd cherries,
> Melons and raspberries,
> Bloom-down-cheek'd peaches,
> Swart-hearted mulberries,
> Wild free-born cranberries,
> Crab-apples, dewberries,
> Pine-apples, blackberries,
> Apricots, strawberries; -
> All ripe together

In summer weather. (Rossetti, lines 5-16)

The variety of ripe fruits the goblins offer at the market arouses a feeling of caution and suspicion among the local female society as the women know that the fruits must come from a remote and unknown place where there is summer and all sorts of fruits grow ripe together. Hence, the goblins are not just the only male characters in the poem, but they also represent colonial characters who try to seduce the local females with their foreign fruits. This argument is also developed by Sowards, who suggests that "the problem with the fruit is that its origins are remote rather than local" which is why the local community fears that eating the fruit may bring about evil and decay (118). This assumption is supported by the cautionary tale that is passed on among the locals about the downfall of Jeanie, who ate from the fruit and died shortly afterwards (Rossetti, lines 147-161). Among the female members of society are the poem's protagonists Laura and Lizzie who behave differently at the market. Lizzie wants to keep her distance from the goblin men and begs Laura not to approach the goblins and their fruits: "We must not look at goblin men,/ We must not buy their fruits:/ Who knows upon what soil they fed/ Their hungry thirsty roots?" (Rossetti, lines 42-45). Lizzie's attitude towards the goblin men mirrors Sowards's approach to the goblins and their fruits as untrustworthy and dangerous because of their remote origins (Sowards 118) and thus Lizzie wants to keep away as far as possible from the goblins and their commodities. Laura, in contrast, is curious and secretly observes the unfamiliar merchants. She notices: "One had a cat's face,/ One whisk'd a tail,/ One tramp'd at a rat's pace,/ One crawl/'d like a snail,/ One like a wombat prowl's obtuse and furry, One like a ratel tumbled hurry skurry" (Rossetti, lines 71-76). The rather unflattering description of the goblin men makes it all the more

surprising that they do not scare Laura. Instead, it seems that the closer Laura gets to the merchant men and the more she learns about them, the more she is enticed to try their fruits. Shortly after this scene, Laura gives in to her temptation and wants to try the foreign fruits, yet, as the speaker of the poem indicates, Laura notices that she has no money to buy the fruit (Rossetti, line 106). It appears that, as soon as Laura has realized her lack of money, the goblins flock around her and try to enchant her as "[o]ne whistled like a bird" and the others tried to convince her that she had "much gold about [her] head," and asked her to "[b]uy from [them] with a golden curl" (Rossetti, line 114, lines 123-125). In gendered readings of the poem, this scene is commonly read as the instance in which Laura loses her innocence by handing over a piece of her body to the goblin men, which irreversibly makes her a fallen woman.[43] In my reading of the poem, this scene also marks the beginning of Laura's downfall, although it is simultaneously understood as an opportunity for Lizzie to stop her sister's physical decay and save her.

At this moment in the poem, Laura ignores all the warnings of her sister Lizzie to keep away from the goblins and their fruit and pays with a strand of her golden hair, which marks the beginning of her physical decay in the poem. Accompanying Laura's consumption of the goblin fruit, the poem's speaker describes the fruit's taste as:

> Sweeter than honey from the rock,
> Stronger than men-rejoicing wine,
> Clearer than water flow's that juice;
> She never tasted such before,
> How should it cloy with length of use?
> She suck'd and suck'd and suck'd the more
> Fruits which that unknown orchard bore,
> She suck'd until her lips were sore. (Rossetti, lines 129-136)

[43] See for example: Gitter, Elizabeth G. "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination". *PMLA,* Vol. 99 (1984), 936-954.

The adjectives used to describe the taste of the goblin fruit indicate that it tastes better than everything Laura has ever tried before. Moreover, the way she consumes the fruit in vast quantities and almost seems to not be able to stop eating more of it adds a negative association to the scene as Laura behaves like an addict who cannot stop consuming the substance he is addicted to. Lastly, the repetition "[s]he suck'd and suck'd and suck'd the more" again highlights Laura's rapid consumption of the fruit and it is also reminiscent of a baby being breast-fed by its mother while eating a fruit offered by an evil creature ultimately resembles the events in Eden that led to the Fall of Eve and the expulsion from paradise. This association can be linked to Sowards's argument that the remote origin of the goblin fruit resembles the roots of sexual and economic evil in the poem and "eating the fruit puts that foreign place inside your body" (115, 119). Hence, the fact that Laura seemingly became addicted to the foreign goblin fruits also implies that she became dependent on the goblin men, which places them in a powerful position over her. The impression of Laura being addicted is reinforced when she confesses to her sister Lizzie that: "I [Laura] ate and ate my fill,/ Yet my mouth waters still;/ To-morrow night I will/ Buy more" (Rossetti, lines 165-168). Thus, it seems as if Laura can no longer live without the goblin fruit.

Keeping in mind Ling's interpretation of Laura as the embodiment of Italy – both country and nation – and the goblin men representing the foreign rulers that occupied and ruled over large parts of Italy during the nineteenth century, the addiction of Laura to the goblin fruit that makes her dependent on the goblins resembles Italy's servility to its foreign rulers. As indicated at the beginning of the poem, the female local society, largely represented by Laura, is so used to the frequent call of the goblin merchants to come and buy their fruit that they can hardly imagine life

without them and, socio-historically, this situation can be transferred to Italy in the nineteenth century (Rossetti, lines 1-4). The tradition of foreign rulership in large parts of Italy, which influenced the Italian regional societies on all socio-cultural, religious, political, and linguistic levels, had persisted for so long that it was difficult to even imagine that it could end. As a consequence, it was only with the advent of the revolutionary views of the Italian Risorgimento in the early nineteenth century that the thought began to be cultivated that foreign rulership can be abolished and a unified Italian nation could be established. In "Goblin Market", this thought of freeing the Italian country and nation from the foreign goblin merchants is not expressed in the hope of driving them out of the city or country but rather by becoming independent of them. After Laura ate the goblin fruit for the first time, she turns deaf to the goblin's cry as the poem states: "Laura turn'd cold as stone,/ To find her sister heard that cry alone,/ That goblin cry,/ 'Come buy our fruits, come buy'" (Rossetti, lines 253-256). Additionally, it is described that Laura's "hair grew thin and grey;/ She dwindled, as the fair full moon doth turn/ To swift decay and burn/ Her fire away" after she consumed the goblin fruits (Rossetti, lines 277-280). This excerpt refers to beauty as a typical and crucial signifier of femininity, similar to Braddon's "Garibaldi" and it explains that Laura's beauty fades because she ate the foreign fruit, which again links back to Sowards's argument that evil is rooted in foreignness in Rossetti's poem (115). Additionally, the metaphors used in this passage also resemble the fading of life, as the thinner and grey hair is reminiscent of an elderly woman just as the loss of 'fire' which resembles youthful vitality is lost in old age (Rossetti, lines 277-280). Overall, the passage foregrounds Laura's physical decay, which puts her in a powerless and passive situation comparable to that of a 'Fallen Woman', which is

reminiscent of the fall of Eve in Eden and, thus, Eve's mistake is repeated which results in the downfall of yet another woman in Rossetti's poem. This depiction of Laura mirrors the actual socio-political situation of Italy in the nineteenth century as the long tradition of foreign rulership and separatism prevented the development of a sense of national unity among the individual Italian regions and placed them in an inferior position through their dependence on foreign rulers. This is particularly evident in the poem when the Goblin men, who represent the foreign rulers in this (post)-colonial reading, try to force their fruit into Laura's mouth in the same way as the foreign rulers forced their ideologies upon the Italian country and nation in the nineteenth century (Rossetti, lines 402-407). In conclusion, Italy was disempowered by the long periods of foreign rulership and found itself in a desperate and passive situation, which is why Italy is often represented as a 'Fallen Woman' in mid- to late nineteenth-century poetry – a position that is also applicable to Laura in large parts of Rossetti's "Goblin Market". However, despite these aspects, I argue that women are also portrayed as being powerful in the poem because Laura's situation can be redeemed by her sister Lizzie, as is explained in the following.

Lizzie, as Ling's approach to the poem has explained, resembles Britain as a solidary sister of Italy in the context of the Italian Risorgimento (6). In the poem, she appears as a protective, intelligent, and economically independent figure who has a close relationship with her sister Laura, which mirrors Cove's set of women-inspired metaphors used to re-negotiate the Italian national movement in nineteenth-century British literature (38, 130). Throughout the poem, passages repeatedly foreground their close friendship, especially focusing on their physical

proximity. In the beginning, the poem's speaker describes Lizzie and Laura's behaviour by stating:

> Evening by evening
> Among the brookside rushed,
> Laura bow'd her head to hear,
> Lizzie veil'd her blushes:
> Crouching close together
> In the cooling weather,
> With clasping arms and cautioning lips,
> With tingling cheeks and finger tips. (Rossetti, lines 32-39)

A little later in the poem, the sisters' physical proximity is fashioned into a natural occurrence via the use of metaphors drawn from nature, when:

> Golden head by golden head,
> Like two pigeons in one nest
> Folded in each other's wings,
> They lay down in their curtain'd bed:
> Like two blossoms in one stem,
> Like two flakes of new-fall'n snow,
> Like two wands of ivory
> Tipp'd with fold for awful kings.
> Moon and stars gaz'd in at them,
> Wind sang to them lullaby,
> Lumbering owls forbore to fly,
> Not a bat flapp'd to and fro
> Round their rest:
> Cheek to cheek and breast to breast
> Lock'd together in one nest. (Rossetti, lines 184-198)

The central motif of these passages is that of keeping close together, almost forming one entity, which conveys the message that staying together protects Laura and Lizzie from the harmful evil of the goblin men and creates a safe space for the two sisters in the poem. Thus, when Lizzie perceived Laura's physical decay after the consumption of the goblin fruits until "Laura dwindling/ Seem'd knocking at Death's door:/ Then Lizzie weigh'd no more/ Better and worse;/ But put a silver penny in her purse" and decided to convince the goblin merchants to pay for their

fruits with the silver coin (Rossetti, lines 320-325). However, when Lizzie arrives at the market and asks the goblins to sell her their fruit, they do not want to accept her money but ask her to sit down and eat with them for free instead. Keeping in mind the cautionary tale of Jeanie and the desolate condition of her sister, Lizzie declines the invitation and is confronted with physically aggressive reactions on the part of the goblin men (Rossetti, lines 383-439). The speaker goes on to explain that the goblins

> trod and hustled her,
> Elbow'd and jostled her,
> Claw'd with their neils,
> Barking, mewing, hissing, mocking,
> Tore her down and soil'd her stocking,
> Twitch'd her hair out by the roots,
> Stamp'd upon her tender feet,
> Held her hands and squeez'd their fruits
> Against her mouth to make her eat. (Rossetti, lines 402-407)

Lizzie stoically endures this terrible situation until the goblins, "[w]orn our by her resistance,/ Flung back her penny, kick'd their fruit" and let go of her (Rossetti 438-439). In this scene, Lizzie is portrayed as a strong female character who does not give in to the attempts of the goblin men to feed her with their fruit which signifies their foreign evil. The rhetoric used in this passage is reminiscent of a rape scene as the goblin merchants physically approach Lizzie without her consent and try to force their fruit into her mouth. In this context, the fruit must be understood as part of the goblins' culture that resembles the unfamiliar, the foreign, and the evil commonly associated with a foreign ideology and/or religion. The last two lines of the passage quoted above are especially reminiscent of a rape scene as the goblin men held Lizzie's hands to prevent her from moving or running away and they try to force their fruit into her mouth (Rossetti, lines 406-407). However, despite this

vicious attack, Lizzie's will remains unbroken, and she does not eat the fruit until the goblins give up trying to force her to do so, which further contributes to the depiction of Lizzie as the physically and mentally strongest female character in the poem. The poem continues by describing Lizzie's resistance to the goblins' assault as: "White and golden Lizzie stood,/ Like a lily in a flood" emphasizing the innocence that is innate to Lizzie and that is traditionally expected of a fair Victorian lady (Rossetti, lines 408-409). Hence, throughout the poem, a new idea of femininity is negotiated by Lizzie's example that is able to save her mentally and physically weaker sister Laura. Reading this according to Ling's suggestion, this new idea of femininity is resembled by Britain who, in the context of the Italian Risorgimento, was capable of helping Italy to regain liberty and unity and to re-establish a sense of national belonging, a new national identity, and a space for Italian women to emancipate themselves according to the model outlined by their British sisters. The poem describes the scene in which Lizzie saves Laura from further decay in a very physical and intimate manner when Lizzie asks her sister to

> [e]at me, drink me, love me;
> Laura, make much of me;
> For your sake I have braved the glen
> And had to do with goblin merchant men. (Rossetti, lines 471-474)

Referring to this passage, Sowards argues that "[t]hese lines struck many readers as sexually suggestive (Carpenter even claims that they are "undeniably homoerotic"[44]), but, as with earlier passages in the poem, nothing here literally denotes a sexual act" (132). Instead, Sowards suggests that these lines explain that the foreign evil that entered and became established in Laura when she consumed the goblin fruits can

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[44] Carpenter, Mary Wilson. "'Eat Me, Drink Me, Love Me': The Consumable Female Body in Christina Rossetti's Goblin Market". *Victorian Women Poets,* Routledge, 1996, 415-434.

only be redeemed by a return to her very own self, purified from all foreign influence (132). In the poem, Lizzie is the one who saves Laura from further decay by asking Laura to eat and drink from her and to love her dearly, which is how Laura is purified and healed. This process resonates with the necessity of close female solidarity and loyalty, which is ultimately able to save Laura from certain death. My reading of this passage can be transferred to the initial stages of all women's movements in Europe that started with a developing consciousness among the women of a nation that they have to unite and remain unified to form a strong community and constitute a greater power to secure increased women's rights. Moreover, the sentiments expressed in this passage can also be transferred to the transnational solidarity of Britain and Italy and the British female authors writing about the Italian Risorgimento, resembled by the female protagonists of the poem, which were crucial to the success of the Italian national movement. This success is displayed in the poem by Laura kissing Lizzie to internalize Lizzie's familiar locality as Sowards argues – and her sisterly love and companionship as I would add – which results in Laura regaining her vitality and power, as:

> Her locks stream'd like a torch
> Borne by a racer at full spead,
> Or like the mane of horses in their flight,
> Or like an eagle when she stems the light
> Straight toward the sun,
> Or like a caged thing freed,
> Or like a flying flag when armies run. (Rossetti, lines 500-506)

This passage demonstrates how Laura regained both life and strength after she was cured by Lizzie, and the metaphors and military rhetoric used here are reminiscent of a victory in a long-fought battle, especially when it comes to the flying mane of horses and the "flying flag when armies run" (Rossetti, lines 502 and 506, Ling 7). Furthermore, the

passage resembles a resurrection of Laura as a result of Lizzie's sisterly love and her female solidarity, which also integrates the common resurrection motif used in many poems and other writing on the Italian Risorgimento into Rossetti's "Goblin Market" (Ling 7). Ling rightly argues that "[i]n both symbolic roles as Britain and as Italian resistance, Lizzie is the one who resurrects Laura, or Italy" again drawing on this double layer of the female protagonists of the poem as female individuals on the one hand, and as representations of Britain and Italy on the other hand (7). Even though Ling attributes significance to the sisterly relationship between Lizzie and Laura, I would argue that the role of Lizzie's stronger, economically independent, and more emancipated version of femininity is of crucial importance for a (proto-)feminist interpretation of the poem. Her more modern version of femininity is able to save Laura from death and bring her back to life, which signals that female solidarity and sisterly loyalty, both between individuals and entire nations will bring about successful transformations. This idea is also expressed in the poem's ending, which states:

> For there is no friend like a sister
> In calm or stormy weather;
> To cheer one on the tedious way,
> To fetch one if one goes astray,
> To lift one if one totters down,
> To strengthen whilst one stands. (Rossetti, lines 562-567)

According to my (proto-)feminist reading of the poem, the ending attributes particular significance to the importance of female solidarity and sisterly loyalty among women and thus highlights the central position and role of women in nineteenth-century political poetry in the context of the Italian Risorgimento and society in general. Whereas most of the gendered readings of "Goblin Market" focus on the inferior position of women in the poem since they are represented as 'Fallen Women' and

the weaker sex that is seduced by the goblin men, my approach reads the poem's female protagonists as women at different stages on their path towards increased women's rights and emancipation and I argue that female solidarity and sisterly loyalty are key to successfully achieving these objectives—both on an individual and on a transnational scale. Additionally, my analysis supports Cove's argument that women-related metaphors and rhetorical strategies were used to re-negotiate the Italian Risorgimento in nineteenth-century British literature to establish a British Risorgimento narrative in which women play a crucial role (36, 38 and 130).

2.3 Women Reforming Politics: The Expatriate British Woman Writers in Florence: Re-Negotiations of Femininity in the Context of the Italian Risorgimento

Similar to Rossetti's feminist political agenda in "Goblin Market", the poetry written by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the most famous of the expatriate British poetesses who moved to Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy also repeatedly politically addresses the Italian Risorgimento and constantly ties such political messages to the early women's rights movement. As Alison Chapman's ground-breaking monograph *Networking the Nation – British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1870* illustrates, the aforementioned British women writers decided to move to Florence and thereby to the centre of the Italian national movement to write in support of the Italian unification (Chapman, *Networking* xxv). While all of the expatriate British women writers in question are largely remembered for their poetry, they also wrote fiction and prepared translations, travelogues, correspondent

columns in newspapers, and book reviews (Chapman, *Networking* xxvi). Apart from publishing their own work, these women also cultivated transnational and, as Chapman's monograph demonstrates, transatlantic networks with other women writers and publishers, edited journals and newspapers, and reviewed the literary work of other women from their circles. Thus, their publications spread beyond national borders and were circulated in various transnational and class-transcending networks, thereby reaching a broad international readership (Chapman, *Networking* xxvi). Nevertheless, the expatriate women poets in Florence also had to deal with British foreign policy, which was not accepting of female writers who campaigned for a nation other than their own. Furthermore, although there was no explicit law that forbade such activities, as in the case of the Enlistment Act or Bill,[45] the British government's foreign politics discouraged direct action in support of Italian unification so that the expatriate poetesses still had to fear facing severe consequences for their engagement. Thanks to the Italian salon culture, the small network of expatriate British poetesses could find safe spaces in Florence where they could write in support of Italian Unification and freely discuss their ideas. As Alison Chapman rightly suggests, Italian salons were rooted in "Italian patriotic politics and its print culture" rather than in patriarchal ideologies (*Networking the Nation* xxvi).

[45] The bill for the Foreign Enlistment Act or Bill was submitted by his lordship Earl Bathurst, who feared that British subjects engaging in foreign military service might weaken his majesty's military power. In 1819, the Foreign Enlistment Act or Bill was passed by King George II and "it was made felony without benefit of clergy, for a British subject to enter into the service of any state, sovereign or potentate, without his majesty's licence" ("Foreign Enlistment Bill". *HL Deb 28 June 1819,* Vol. 40, cc. 1377-416, UK Parliament, api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1819/jun/28/foreign-englistment-bill).

In contrast to Mary Elizabeth Braddon, who wrote about the Italian Risorgimento but never actually lived in Italy, and Christina Rossetti, whose family originally lived in Italy but moved to England before she was born, Elizabeth Barrett Browning[46], Isa Blagden, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, and Eliza Ogilvy, fuelled by their enthusiasm for the Italian national movement, moved to Italy in the mid-nineteenth century to experience the atmosphere and progress of the Italian Risorgimento in situ. This physical relocation to Italy demonstrates the poetesses' dedication to the Italian Risorgimento, which is also visible in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's letter to Isa Blagden: "I wonder that anybody in the world can think or feel anything else but Italy .. Italy .. Italy .." (Chapman, *Networking* xxiii*).* Their passion and enthusiasm for the Italian national movement are also evident in their understanding and definition of their personal and writing identities as being transnational. Most overtly, Isa Blagden identified herself as cosmopolitan and did not mention one possible nationality she could assign her identity to while Elizabeth Barrett Browning, after explaining that Robert was the only patriot in their marriage as England, to her "is a place of bitterness", in a letter to her cousin John Kenyon from 8 July 1851 stated with a slightly humorous tone: "I'm a citizeness of the world now, you see, and float loose" (Chapman, *Networking* xxvi and Browning 17:70). Regarding this statement, I find it particularly interesting that Barrett Browning, apart

[46] Even though there are no sources on further reasons than their personal dedication to the Italian national movement when it comes to Isa Blagden, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, and Eliza Ogilvy, a letter by Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Miss Martin from October 1846 mentions health problems, that Barrett Browning hoped would improve due to the warmer temperatures in Italy. Another letter that Barrett Browning sent to Miss Mitford in August 1847 conveys that her hopes had been fulfilled as her husband "Robert declares that nobody would know me, I *look* so much better". For Browning's correspondence, see: Kenyon, Frederic G. *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.* Smith, Elder & Co. 1898.

from emphasizing her independence of any nationality, also introduces a female form of the term ‘citizen’ to maintain a space for women—not just in her poetry but also in the language in general.

In the same sense, Barrett Browning also cut the ties to her British identity and freed herself from attributing her passion and enthusiasm to any nationality or agenda. She even went so far as to depict Italy as her new native country, which pushes her British identity even further into the background. In a letter from 1858, Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote: “I love Italy – I love my Florence. I love that ‘hole of a place,’ […] – with all its dust, its cobwebs, its spiders even, I love it, and with somewhat of the kind of blind, stupid, respectable, obstinate love which people feel when they talk of ‘beloved native lands.’ I feel this for Italy, by mistake for England” (qtd. in Artom Treves 88). Her affection and love for Italy significantly contributed to the redefinition of her personal and writing identity as transnational. Even though Elizabeth Barrett Browning is traditionally perceived as an English woman poet, her transnational writing identity and poetry on the Italian national movement should be acknowledged as a significant aspect of her writing identity and career. What is also embedded in the transnational identities of the expatriate British poetesses in Florence is the greater vision of Europe or the world instead of focusing on and limiting themselves irrevocably to one particular nation and nationality. The following part of my book examines how Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Isa Blagden, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, and Eliza Ogilvy used their pro-Risorgimento poetry to re-negotiate concepts of femininity and the position of women in nineteenth-century political writing, and society in general, from a transnational perspective.

2.3.1 Elizabeth Barrett Browning

While Elizabeth Barrett Browning became known as the most prominent of the expatriate British female writers in Florence, it should be highlighted that her writing was also inspired by all the other woman writers around her. Thus, similar motifs are found in her political poetry and the poetry of her fellow British woman authors in Florence together with other mid- to late nineteenth-century poetry on the Italian Risorgimento. Starting with Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the following analysis uncovers the most prominent motifs and aspects the expatriate British woman authors applied to re-negotiate femininity in such a way that a visible and also politically more powerful space was created for women (writers). Additionally, my examination argues that this vision of empowered femininity with an inherent space in society inspired women to become active and fight for the achievement of such an ideal on a transnational scale. Barrett Browning's most famous works are her narrative poems "Casa Guidi Windows" (1851), "Aurora Leigh" (1856), and the poem collection *Poems before Congress* (1860). However, for an analysis of concepts of femininity and transnationality, an examination of her "Last Poems" (1862)[47] also proves to be rewarding.

Her earliest narrative poem, "Casa Guidi Windows", first published in 1851, consists of two parts of which the first was already presumably composed around 1848. In line with a common nineteenth-century motif, and to serve as a starting point for Barrett Browning's pro-Risorgimento

[47] For those interested in how Barrett Browning's *Poems Before Congress* and *Last Poems* discuss the topic of trauma in the context of the Second Italian War of Independence (April–July 1859), Patricia Cove's chapter "Wounded Utterance: Trauma and Italy's Second War of Independence in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Poems Before Congress* and *Last Poems*" proves very helpful. The chapter is part of her 2019 monograph *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Edinburgh UP).

narrative, the poem's beginning depicts Italy as a passive woman figure. It is interesting to note that Barrett Browning's husband, Robert Browning, also used the 'fallen Italy' trope in his poem "The Italian in England", which was published in his 1849 companion piece on the developments in Italy, called *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics.* In this poem, he identifies Italy as female and bestows her with a calamity that again bears potential for future change and a regaining of power:

> I should wish to stand
> This evening in that dear, lost land,
> Over the sea the thousand miles,
> And know if yet that woman smiles,
> With the calm smile. (Browning "The Italian in England", lines 145-149)

Both Browning's "The Italian in England" and Barrett Browning's first part of "Casa Guidi Windows" may have been written at the same time in 1848, and thus both authors may have influenced each other regarding the use of the 'fallen Italy' trope, which turned into a self-perpetuating rhetorical strategy in Barrett Browning's female circle in Florence as further analyses and examples will demonstrate. Furthermore, these mid-nineteenth-century poems support Cove's theory on the set of woman-inspired metaphors used in British literature and culture throughout the nineteenth century that were used to represent aspects of the Italian national movement in connection with the versatile roles of women in society (36, 38 and 130).

This is also evident at the very beginning of Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" when the speaker hears a child running through the streets of Florence singing "*O bella libertà, O bella*" through the open windows of Casa Guidi where Elizabeth Barrett Browning used to live during her time in the city (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, line 3). In the following stanzas, the speaker recalls songs about Italy that describe it as "their [the Italians'] Italy enchained,/ And how they

called her childless among mothers,/ Widow of empires, ay, and scarce refrained/ Cursing her beauty to her face" which "laid [...] corpse-like on a bier" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 21-24, 33). Together, the child running through the streets of the almost dead Italy singing hopeful words and the passivity of Italy established the beginning of a metamorphosis that personified Italy will undergo throughout the poem. In this case, the child's voice must be read as a small voice that signifies the beginnings of the Italian Risorgimento and demands liberty for the Italian country and nation, and women in particular, so that they may start to define their female political agency. This small voice functions like a stimulus that successfully encourages increasing numbers of individuals to join the Italian national movement as the "hopeful child, with leaps to catch his growth,/ Sings open-eyed for liberty's sweet sake" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 153-154). The speaker is the first to join the movement declaring, "I, who am a singer too, forsooth,/ Prefer to sing with these who are awake". Rather than to sing with the old and dead voices of Italy's glorious past, the speaker thus prefers to "hand in hand with that young child, will I/ Rather go singing, '*Bella libertà*'" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 155-156, 165-166). Sandra M. Gilbert examines the challenges Barrett Browning faced in her political poetry in the chapter "From Patria to Matria" and notes that female writers regularly "revitalize the dead metaphor of gender to transform Italy from a political state to a female state of mind" (210 and qtd. in Chapman, "European Exchanges" 294). Similar to Gilbert, Cove also identifies the 'fallen Italy' trope as typical for the metaphorical repertoire of nineteenth-century British writing on the Italian Risorgimento (36). It is interesting to note that in "Casa Guidi Windows", Italy's glorious and arguably patriarchal

past is acknowledged as an important part of the country's history but it is not taken as a point to tie onto like in Braddon's "Garibaldi". Instead, the speaker states:

> To Italy! Her memories undismayed/
> Say rather 'evermore', - her graves implore/
> Her future to be strong and not afraid –/
> Her very statues send their looks before!//
> We do not serve the dead – the past is past!. (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 213-217)

I interpret the fact that the speaker wants to leave the past behind as a struggle for a new beginning with fresh possibilities that commences with freeing the Italian country and nation from patriarchal structures and ancient ideologies that prevented women from becoming more powerful individuals on the one hand, and which led to Italy's passive position in the nineteenth century on the other hand. This criticism of patriarchal structures is also visible when the poem's speaker reflects on the hopeless situation of women asking if there was "[n]o help for women sobbing out of sight/ [b]ecause men made the laws?" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 638-639). This passage is also taken up by Angela Leighton, who interprets it as reflecting Barrett Browning's general social criticism in a period of class and gender inequalities, which "turns into a specific grievance over the condition of women in England's cities" and resonates with Keane's argument deriving from the romantic era that women needed a place in the public sphere to fully develop their potential as equal citizens (Leighton 109 and Keane qtd. in Cove 40). Barrett Browning's focus on the situation of women in the nineteenth century is rooted in her personal engagement in the women's rights movement as Lana L. Dalley examines in her article "The least 'Angelical' poem in the language: Political Economy, Gender, and the Heritage of *Aurora Leigh"* (526-527). Based on the study of Barrett Browning's letters

to Isa Blagden and other unidentified addressees from the mid-nineteenth century, Dalley traces Barrett Browning's supportive attitude towards the women's rights movement, building on statements such as:

> "Bessie Parkes[48] is writing very vigorous articles on the woman question, in opposition to Mr. Patmore, poet & husband, who expounds infamous doctrines on the same subject … - Oh, if you heard Bessie Parkes! – [S]he & the rest of us militant, foam with rage"[49]

through which Barrett Browning identifies herself as an admirer of Bessie Parkes and a militant suffragette (526). In *Elizabeth Barrett Browning: Selected Poems*, Marjorie Stone and Beverly Taylor also find evidence for Barrett Browning's (proto-)feminist attitude in her friendships with such "notable advocates of women's issues as Anna Jameson, Harriet Martineau, Barbara Bodichon, and Bessie Rayner Parkes" and in the fact that Barrett Browning "signed a petition to Parliament, organised by Parkes, supporting property rights for married women" in 1855 (Barrett Browning, *Selected Poems* 37). Her dedication to the women's rights movement in the mid-nineteenth century is also evident in both of Barrett Browning's narrative poems because she, like Braddon and Rossetti, incorporated a socio-political message into her poems that steadily advocates for increased women's rights, women's economic independence, and a more powerful and also politically more influential position of women in society alongside the more overtly expressed message in support of the Italian national movement. With this line of argumentation, I support Alison Chapman's argument that "Casa Guidi

[48] Bessie Parkes became one of the most well-known feminists and woman's rights campaigners in nineteenth-century Britain. Apart from her political activism, she was also a poet and journalist.
[49] This quotation is taken from one of Barrett Browning's unpublished letters to Isa Blagden from 20 October 1856 (qtd. in Dalley 526 and Barrett Browning *Selected Poems* 37).

Windows" "rails against Italy's feminized representations as politically enervating and ineffective" ("European Exchanges" 294). Chapman advocates for a (proto-)feminist reading of the poem as renegotiating ideas of femininity and seeking a space for women to develop into emancipated and (politically) active human beings guided by the poem's maternal agenda as Sandra M. Gilbert suggests in her chapter "From Patria to Matria" ("European Exchanges" 294, Gilbert 215). In viewing the beginning of the movement as being sparked by the hopeful child's song, and supported by the poem's speaker, the poem then encourages the masses to join in by exclaiming:

> So rise up with a cheerful smile,/
> And, having strewn the violets, reap the corn,/
> And, having reaped and garned, bring the lough/
> And draw new furrows 'neath the healthy mourn,/
> And plant the great Hereafter in this Now. (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 295-299)

This passage argues that the people must view the child as a role model, who should remind them of the possibility of a more cheerful future. Just as the child will grow up into a more powerful human being, the movement it initiated will also develop into a bigger and more powerful one. In this way, the speaker does not intend to change the supporters of the movement in terms of their almost innate traits but rather views their agricultural background as forming the basis on which a new and free Italian future can be established if only the masses unite.

The call for support becomes louder when the speaker asks: "When nations roar/ Like lions, who shall tame them, and defraud/ Of the due pasture by the river-shore?" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 667-669). Such a call to action and invincible strength is rather common in pro-Risorgimento poetry. It can, for example, also be found in Theodosia Garrow Trollope's poem "She Is Not Dead, But

Sleepeth" where the speaker asks: "Who may defy/ A nation link'd in conspiracy/ Who shall resist thy sons, O Italy?" (Garrow Trollope "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", lines 55-57). In Trollope's poem, the unity of the nation is presented as the most suitable approach to gather the necessary military and political strength required for overthrowing foreign rulership and as the way out of Italy's pre-unified past. In part two of "Casa Guidi Windows", which was written in 1851, the metamorphosis mentioned earlier commences when Italy slowly comes back to life and, from Casa Guidi's windows, we perceive the early stages of the Italian Risorgimento in which the Italians have not yet gathered the strength to defeat the Austrian invaders (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part II, lines 14-15, 352-372). As this thesis is particularly interested in the almost sisterly transnational solidarity between Britain and Italy, it must be noted that England is also referred to in "Casa Guidi Windows", where it functions as the most advanced European country, which has already settled all its territorial conquests and finds itself in a politically powerful and economically stable position. As Alison Chapman indicates in her chapter "European Exchanges", "Britain saw itself as the prototype of other nations' emerging and struggling identity", which foregrounds the awareness of Britain of its role as a role model for other, less advanced European nations and countries (285). In the poem, "[a] cry is up in England,[50] which doth ring/ The hollow world through" begging the rest

[50] In their annotated edition of Barrett Browning's *Selected Poems*, Marjorie Stone and Beverly Taylor explain that this is "an allusion to the movement for international peace and non-intervention in European politics led by Richard Cobden", "British representative at the 1849 Universal Peace Congress in Paris", "(1804-65) and other members of the Manchester school of political and economic thought" (See: Barrett Browning, Elizabeth. *Selected Poems,* eds. Marjorie Stone and Beverly Taylor. Broadview Press, 2009, 260.) For detailed information on Cobden's ideas, consult: Cobden, Richard. Rethinking Nineteenth-century Liberalism: Richard Cobden Bicentenary Essays. Ashgate, 2006.

of the world to “leave those rusty wars that eat the soul” behind and to aim for a more stable and peaceful future (Barrett Browning “Casa Guidi Windows”, Part II, lines 373-377). Towards the end of the poem, the speaker briefly reflects on the poet’s function as a soothsayer before he/she describes the characteristics of the newly empowered and personified Florence through the windows of Casa Guidi again and describes its sun as shining

> [b]righter then elsewhere. Now, look straight before,
> And fix thy brave blue English eyes on mine,
> And from thy soul, which fronts the future so,
> With unabashed and unabated gaze,
> Teach me to hope for, what the angels know,
> When they smile clear as thou dost. (Barrett Browning “Casa Guidi Windows”, Part II, lines 745-750)

This quotation reflects the image of Britain or, to be precise, England, as a role model for the less advanced European countries who are still struggling for unification, liberty, and emancipation and it clearly shows that Florence – as a signifier for Italy – has taken on the blue English eyes that, in this case, represent the strength and capability of bringing about the aforementioned aims. I would argue that the second layer that Barrett Browning added to her poetry which aims at renegotiating women’s position in society is also present here, as England’s women can also be understood as being role models for Italian women since they were in the early days of their quest for emancipation and increased rights when the poem was published. Additionally, at the end of the poem, the speaker notices how the ongoing national movement brings Italy back to life, as

> [n]ew springs of life are gushing everywhere
> To cleanse the water-courses, and prevent all
> Concrete obstructions which infest the air!
> That earth’s alive, and gentle or ungentle
> Motions within her, signify, but growth:

> The ground swells greenest o'er the labouring moles. (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part II, lines 762-767)

With this statement, Italy's metamorphosis is completed as it has come back to life and blossoms in this fight for liberty and unity. At this moment, Italy mirrors what the calls to action of various speakers of pro-Risorgimento poems have prophesied: a united and strong, invincible and, thus, throughout the entire poem, a feminized country on its way to unity, liberty, and emancipation.

Compared to "Casa Guidi Windows", Barrett Browning's later narrative poem "Aurora Leigh" (1856) renegotiates women's role and position from an even more personal – and certainly at least partly autobiographical – point of view when it comes to Barrett Browning's personal interest in the women's rights movement in the mid-nineteenth century. The poem centres on its Anglo-Italian protagonist Aurora, who lives with her English father as her Italian mother dies early in the poem. Throughout the poem, Aurora tries to define a notion of femininity that fits her transnational identity when she, as a writer, spends parts of her life in England and Italy and notices the differences between English and Italian versions of womanhood. Moreover, Aurora searches for her real home and negotiates the ongoing social and political changes of the nineteenth century by particularly focusing on women's economic situation. Thus, the poem discusses questions of women's political and gender identity on an individual and a transnational level and connects these questions of identity to issues of nationality. In this sense, "Aurora Leigh" views the country and its citizens as inseparably intertwined when its metaphorical personifications of the country also mirror the characteristics and features of its citizens. At the beginning of the poem, when Aurora has to leave Italy with her father after her mother's death,

she refers to Italy and its “white walls, the blue hills, my Italy” and describes her first impression of England as: “England! oh, the frosty cliffs/ Looked cold upon me. Could I find a home/ Among those mean red houses through the fog?” (Barrett Browning “Aurora Leigh”, 1:232, 1:251-253). These brief descriptions already ascribe internally different atmospheres to the two countries. Whereas Italy is depicted as a light and natural, welcoming place that slightly reminds one of a dream world, England, in contrast, is associated with air pollution, which triggers other negative associations of industrialization such as noise, factories, poor working conditions for ill-paid workers, dirty streets, diseases and criminality and the red brick houses that stand in dense rows in the city. As Aurora experiences England’s atmosphere as ‘mean’, one can imagine how overwhelmed she must have been during her first minutes in the metropolis of London, perceiving herself as just one more seemingly insignificant and small human being in this huge machinery of the industrialized city. Whereas Italy offers a peaceful space to everyone living there, the English metropolis appears to swallow everyone up in its almost mechanical structures and conventions that keep the industry and the entire empire running. This is also highlighted when the poem examines the gender conventions imposed on women in the two countries when Aurora first meets her English aunt. Aurora states: “She had lived/ A sort of cage-bird life, born in a cage,/ Accounting that to leap from perch to perch/ Was act and joy enough for any bird” (Barrett Browning “Aurora Leigh”, 1: 304-307). In contrast to her aunt, Aurora is “[a] wild bird scarcely fledged” who “was brought to her cage” (Barrett Browning “Aurora Leigh”, 1:309-310). These first impressions of the different ‘versions’ of women in Italy and England mirror what has distinguished the two countries, namely the space that is dedicated to the

individual. As stated earlier, Italy is presented as an airy and welcoming place where everyone can take up as much space as he/she needs and where the individual is not limited to a pre-assigned sphere or space as is the case in England where the individual struggles to find its space in the crowded city on the one hand, and where women are bound to the domestic sphere by strong gender conventions dictating what is appropriate for a Victorian lady on the other hand. Coming to England and her aunt's house, Aurora experiences that these gender conventions have real social, political, and physical consequences when she

> broke the copious curls upon my head
> In braids, because she [her aunt] liked smooth-ordered hair.
> I left off saying my sweet Tuscan words
> Which still at any stirring of the heart
> Came up to float across the English phrase
> […] I read a score of books on womanhood
> To prove, if women do not think at all,
> They may teach thinking. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 1:385-429)

With partly ironical statements such as these, Aurora openly criticises England's patriarchal gender conventions for women in the nineteenth century and she compares them to Italian conceptions of femininity, which do not force women into a standardized and socially, physically, and politically restrained ideal. This socio-political criticism of man-made rules and laws resonates with the question of women being left in a muted and politically disempowered position by men that Barrett Browning already posed in "Casa Guidi Windows", which has been analysed in chapter 2.3.1 "Elizabeth Barrett Browning" of this book. Additionally, the fact that Aurora's curls are 'tamed' into orderly braids can be read as a metaphor for the entire undertaking of educating Aurora on how to become a Victorian lady and leave her 'untamed' Italian past behind. These moments in the poem mirror the typical imperialist and (post-)colonial associations of the superior British colonizer and the savage and

uneducated colonized, which, in this case, is the southern country of Italy. Again, Aurora resembles her motherland and serves as an example of the untamed Italian woman that does not, and as the poem shows, never fully will, correspond to the gender conventions applied to an English lady. Cove, in her analysis of the poem, interprets Aurora's not fitting in as an act of 'disembodiment' and 'displacement' and positions it within the greater realm of the conflicts experienced by Italian exiles throughout the nineteenth century (71-72). She analyses such acts of estrangement from the home country as part of the trauma suffered by the Italians in the aftermath of the Second Italian War of Independence (1858), whereby such estrangement might be experienced both when living abroad and also when returning home, as is the case later in the poem when Aurora returns to Italy but no longer feels at home there (Cove 72).

The role of space, spatial mobility, and limited space is very dominant in the poem as it either reduces or opens up the possibilities for women to develop freely or forces them to stay in their pre-defined sphere. These limits are also ascribed to the English landscape as Aurora, for example, notices that

> [a]ll the fields
> Are tied up fast with hedges, nosegay-like;
> The hills are crumpled plains, the plains parterres,
> The trees, round, woolly, ready to be clipped,
> And if you seek for any wilderness
> You find, at best, a park. A nature tamed
> And grown domestic like a barn-door fowl,
> Which does not awe you to an eyrie too high up. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 1:629-637)

In this excerpt, the English are again presented as aiming to tame and control everything, from the landscape to women. This tendency is very apparent in the text and again foregrounds the imperialist and (post-)colonial ways of thinking of the British as the powerful and superior

colonizer that dominates and indoctrinates its colonies with its advanced ideas and knowledge. In contrast to this impression, Florence is depicted as

> [b]eautiful
> The city lies along the ample vale,
> Cathedral, tower and palace, piazza and street,
> The river[51] trailing like a silver cord
> Through all, and curling loosely, both before
> And after, over the whole stretch of land
> Sown whitely up and down its opposite slopes
> With farms and villas. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7: 534-541)

Additionally, it seems as if this inherent attempt of the English to keep everyone and everything under control by assigning a particular and clearly defined space to them functioned as a socio-political strategy that secured the status quo and prevented uprisings and unrest. Such strategies are traditionally inspired by patriarchal ideology, which is also the case in "Aurora Leigh" as becomes evident in one of Aurora's conversations with Romney who, after having read Aurora's book, explains to her:

> That you, Aurora, with the large live brow/

[51] Barrett Browning refers to the Arno River flowing through Florence, witnessing the before and after state of the city in pre- and post-Risorgimento times. Julia Bolton Holloway gathered historical maps of Florence for the Aureo Anello Associazione, which show that the city walls and gates used to enclose Florence before the Risorgimento while the city's structure was subsequently altered and large parts of the old city wall were removed after 1870 (See: Bolton Holloway, Julia. "Maps of Florence." *Florin Website*, florin.ms/ebbflor4.html, Accessed 14 October 2021). Holloway also points to the fact that the River Arno is referred to twice in "Casa Guidi Windows" (1:52-59 and 2:227-234), through which the poem attributes a particular importance to the river as a metaphor for the unstoppable and ongoing national movement on the one hand, and as the key factor of Florence's location on the other hand, as Giorgio Verdani, Per Cornell, and Pablo Rodriguez-Navarro perceive the Arno River as the "commercial artery" of the city (See: Verdiani, Giorgio, Per Cornell and Pablo Rodriguez-Navarro. *Architecture, Archaeology and Contemporary City Planning – "State of knowledge in the digital age".* Lulu Press, 2015, 50.) For further information on the commercial importance of the Arno River consult: Chapman, Tim. *The Risorgimento – Italy 1815-71,* Penrith: Humanities-eBooks, 2008.

> And steady eyelids, cannot condescend
> To play at arts, as children play at swords,
> To show a pretty spirit, chiefly admired
> Because true action is impossible.
> You never can be satisfied with praise
> Which men give to women when they judge a book
> Not as mere work but as mere woman's work. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 2:227-234)

With this statement, Romney makes it clear that a woman's work will never be seen as equally good or important to a man's work and that it will be judged and admired according to different principles. Here, too, the contemporary gender conventions for women prevent the success of Aurora's book and the evolution of Aurora's career as an author as certain professions and a high level of success were not intended for women at that time. In her article "Gender and Narration in *Aurora Leigh"* Alison Case argues that Barrett Browning chose a mix-form of narrative and poem to create a suitable format for the "reconciliation of 'woman' and 'artist'" apart from "the gendered restrictions imposed on her by a male poetic tradition" (18 and 17). To highlight the importance of gender conventions that influence Barrett Browning's narrative poem on every level, I would also like to point to Sarah Annes Brown's article, "*Paradise Lost* and *Aurora Leigh",* which analyses the parallels between Milton's epic and Barrett Browning's narrative poem and, among other similarities, concentrates on Aurora's struggle for economic independence. Brown compares the scene quoted above, in which Aurora meets Romney in the garden after he has read her book and expects to be taken seriously as a woman writer, while Romney merely perceives her as a possible future wife and not as a potential author, to Eve's dream in Milton's *Paradise Lost,* which "is the prelude to her decision to work apart from Adam" which then leads to the fall of Eve in the end (S. Brown 730). According to Brown, this desire of women for economic independence

and a place in the public sphere testifies to the existence of the 'separate spheres' concept as a prominent example of patriarchal social rules and leads to a negative outcome for the female character when it comes to the profession she strove for in the end (S. Brown 730 and 733). Still, Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" creates awareness among its readers of women's professional potential and their politically disempowered position and, with a strong female protagonist, it addresses issues such as economic independence and criticises women's only powerful role as moral educators as being insufficient. As Leighton summarizes, "[d]eprived of "civil rights" by the law of the land, hers [woman's] are the compensatory rights of morality. She is chief upholder and representer of morality, and also its most satisfying symbol" (110). Whereas Barrett Browning employed this moral order of women in "Mother and Poet" (1861) as a very powerful motif of self-empowerment, her protagonist in "Aurora Leigh" actively fights against this narrow socio-political niche that women are confined to. Thus, Aurora aspires toward a literary career as a woman writer and her rejection of Romney's marriage proposal is a second act of self-empowerment, which is necessary after Romney's 'male critique' of her book (see quote printed above) (Case 24). Aurora's struggle for self-empowerment resonates with the idea of Victorian (proto-)feminists that "it is unacceptable for marriage to be a woman's foremost option for pecuniary support" and mirrors New Woman-ideas of the late nineteenth century centring on a version of femininity that is economically independent and politically powerful (Dalley 528). Lastly, according to Dalley, Aurora's rebellion against contemporary gender conventions can also be understood as a socio-political critique of patriarchal laws and societal rules that is certainly influenced by Barrett Browning's own (proto-)feminist attitude (530).

As a result, Aurora never fully adheres to the strict expectations of women during her time in England, which is also evidenced by her rejection of Romney's proposal that must have caused an outcry among her family, as rejecting the marriage proposal of a suitable gentleman was seen as inappropriate for a Victorian lady. This scene thus depicts Aurora as a very early example of the New Woman who wants to be independent and make her own decisions – for better or worse – as was already pointed out. What contributes to this more modern version of femininity is Aurora's relationship with Marian Erle, whom she introduces as "[p]oor Marian Erle, my sister Marian Erle,/ My woodland sister, sweet maid Marian" in book V of the poem (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 5: 1095-1096). In order to understand their relationship, it is essential to know about Marian's status as a 'Fallen Woman' as the poem identifies her as "[u]nmarried and a mother" (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7:70). In "'Because men made the laws': The Fallen Woman and the Woman Poet", Leighton even goes so far as to propose that Marian's status as a 'Fallen Woman' was already pre-determined at birth by patriarchal laws (112). According to her argumentation, "Aurora Leigh" condemns Marian's life as being an unhappy one at the moment of her birth, by stating:

> No place for her,
> By man's law! born an outlaw was this babe;
> Her first cry in our strange and strangling air,
> When cast in spasms out be the shuddering womb.
> Was wrong against the social core, - forced wrong: -
> What business had the baby to cry there?. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 3:841-846 qtd. in Leighton 112)

Leighton bases her arguments on the fact that man-made laws prevent Marian from leading a happy life, thereby defining a social critique on the harsh class divides in the nineteenth century that did not permit social

mobility when it comes to an unmarried woman from the poorer social classes and, thus, doomed her to experience the rape that makes her the mother of an illegitimate child and a 'Fallen Woman' in the narrative poem (112). Nevertheless, this alleged 'fatal flaw' does not prevent the two women in the poem from establishing a very close friendship that can be interpreted as another case of transnational female solidarity when Marian, as an Englishwoman, is rescued by Aurora as the Anglo-Italian protagonist who offers Marian and her baby the chance to come with her to Italy to find a safe place to live. The quote presented below foregrounds the importance of a female community[52] in the poem, which is stronger than "the conventions of class difference, sexual rivalry and moral discrimination" in "Aurora Leigh" and creates a chance for a better life for Marian Erle, which at least partly redeems her fall in the poem (Leighton 114). The idea of a female community is also essential for the restoration of Laura's health in Rossetti's "Goblin Market" as was examined earlier in chapter 2.2 "Manifestations of Female Political Agency". Initiating their female community, Aurora states:

> I am lonely in the world,
> And thou art lonely, and the child is half
> An orphan. Come – and henceforth thou and I
> Being still together will not miss a friend,
> Not he a father, since two mothers shall
> Make that up to him. I am journeying south,
> And in my Tuscan home I'll find a niche
> And set thee there, my saint, the child and thee. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7:120-127)

This scene shows that Aurora tries to introduce additional possibilities for women to live their lives, just as Dinah Mulock and other Victorian

[52] The idea of a female community in "Aurora Leigh" mirrors the "idea of sisterhood as a social liaison between women" which "was given an impetus during the 1850s […]. At this time, amid considerable controversy and opposition, the first Anglican Sisterhoods were established. Among those prominent in their support were Mrs. Jameson and Florence Nightingale" (Leighton 114).

(proto-)feminists suggested, and to raise a family as she denies the necessity of a father and, instead, supposes that two mothers can raise a child equally well. Furthermore, as was introduced on the previous page, it takes up Aurora's socio-political critique on the small niche to which women's rights were restricted by patriarchal laws and rules that the British woman writers analysed here wanted to make more visible and meaningful. The quotation presented above ties this metaphorical niche to religious imagery that might allude to the physical niche architecture that was foreseen for religious figures just as it refers to the ideological niche Aurora constantly criticises as a man-made socio-political injustice throughout the poem. Even though religious imagery appears as a frame to Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" "with recollections of Genesis and Revelation, fall and redemption" – especially concerning Aurora and Romney's relationship – and reoccurs in other situations such as the passage quoted above, it must be conceded that it plays a more significant role in Barrett Browning's earlier lyrical drama called *A Drama in Exile* (S. Brown 723 and 725). Although the role of the mother is very traditional for women, the idea of a two-mother family that lacks the male head of the family mirrors the thought of queer 'elective' families[53] (Gilbert 223). Susan Stanford Friedman convincingly ties the fact that Aurora and Marian start their unconventional family in Florence to the "fact that

[53] In her article "Charles Dickens's Families of Choice: Elective Affinities, Sibling Substitution, and Homoerotic Desire", Holly Furneaux explains and elaborates on the idea of queer 'elective' families and their different forms of appearance in nineteenth-century British fiction (See: Furneaux, Holly. "Charles Dickens's Families of Choice: Elective Affinities, Sibling Substitution, and Homoerotic Desire". *Nineteenth-Century Literature,* Vol. 62, No. 2 (September 2007), 153-192). Additionally, these theories on queer 'elective' families should be understood as forerunners to the New Woman era and New Woman writing such as Sarah Grand's where woman's self-sufficiency and independence are again renegotiated. Lastly, queer forms of relationships and family are also a dominant discourse in the literature of the twenty-first century.

Barrett Browning's otherwise linear narrative ends where it began: in Florence, the geographic representation of the maternal body", thereby linking their two-mother family back to Aurora's Italian mother (221). Furthermore, this excerpt foregrounds the close proximity of the two women as 'almost sisters', which is read as an instance of homosexuality by scholars, although this is an interpretation I do not agree with as I read their connection as an example of the power women can create if they support each other (Chapman *Networking the Nation* 108-109). Additionally, I suggest that this scene can also be read as an autobiographical act in which Barrett Browning reflects on the intimate relationships she has built with the other expatriate women and the importance and safety of their network during her time in Florence. Even though Marian will marry Romney by the end of the poem, she nevertheless accepts the invitation to go to Italy with Aurora as it seems to be the best for all of them at that moment in time. Aurora describes the life of ease they find in Florence by stating that

> [t]his Florence sits upon me easily,
> With native air and tongue. My graves are calm,
> And do not too much hurt me. Marian's good,
> Gentle and loving – lets me hold the child,
> Or drags him up the hills to find me flowers
> And fill these vases ere I'm quite awake –
> My grandiose red tulips, which grow wild. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7:928-934)

Here, it seems as if Aurora and Marian could freely unfold in Florence and enjoyed the absence of the strong gender conventions and patriarchal ideologies imposed on women. Instead, their innate versions of femininity seem to revive in this open-minded space of Florence. The fact that the two women were able to leave the English gender conventions behind is evidenced in Aurora's daringly open and emancipated statement that "[t]he very English, here, must wait and learn" and adapt

to the Italian acceptance of freer interpretations of femininity (Barrett Browning" Aurora Leigh, 7:1191). She argues that, instead of adhering to strict gender conventions, every individual should "possess, [itself],/ A new world all alive with creatures new,/ New sun, new moon, new flowers, new people – ah/ And be possessed by none of them!" (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7: 1200-1203). This passage strongly highlights the fact that similarly to the other woman authors analysed in this section, Barrett Browning used their pro-Risorgimento poetry as a vehicle for envisioning a better social standing for women. In the excerpt quoted, Aurora advocates for the possibility of renegotiating women's role and social standing in Risorgimento Italy and, from a second viewpoint, her desire can also be read as a request to the entire Italian society to rid itself of foreign rulership in a similar fashion to the appeal made in Rossetti's "Goblin Market". Only if the country belongs to the Italians, can a new national identity and new versions of femininity be installed that are independent from the concepts and ideologies of foreign rulers and patriarchal ideas. Following this train of thought, the portrayals of Aurora's return to Italy at the end of book V read:

> And now, my Italy.
> Alas, if we could ride with naked souls
> And make no noise and pay no price at all,
> I would have seen thee sooner, Italy,
> For still I have heard thee crying through my life,
> Thou piercing silence of ecstatic graves,
> Men call that name. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 5:1190-1196)

In this quote, the presence of Italy as her native country throughout Aurora's life is emphasised, especially in the third-to-last line, which is subsequently developed into an emotional and highly eroticized desire to return to Italy in the following passage:

> And now I come, my Italy,
> My own hills! Are you 'ware of me, my hills,
> How I burn toward you? do you feel tonight

> The urgency and yearning of my soul,
> As sleeping mothers feel the sucking babe
> And smile? – Nay, not so much as when in heat
> Vain lightnings catch at your inviolate tops
> And tremble while ye are steadfast. Still ye go
> Your own determined, calm, indifferent way
> Toward sunrise, shade by shade and light by light,
> Of all the grand progression nought left out,
> As if God verily made you for yourselves
> And would not interrupt your life with ours. (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 5:1266-1278)

Besides focusing on Aurora's passionate return, these passages portray Italy as rather passive at a time of collective patriotic action for the national movement on the one hand, while on the other hand, especially the second excerpt depicts Italy as slowly moving towards a new sunrise which represents the Risorgimento. As Risorgimento means resurrection in Italian, the sunrise is a metaphor for the possibility of the Italian country and nation rising up again from its disunified and politically disempowered situation. This sunrise may then bring about a transformed Italy that is active, unified, and independent from foreign rulers. Italy's transition into a newly formed country and nation again mirrors the concept of the metamorphosis that already occurred in "Casa Guidi Windows" and Rossetti's "Goblin Market", and which proves to be a prominent motif in mid- to late nineteenth-century female pro-Risorgimento poetry. Additionally, this chance for a new beginning also facilitates a renegotiation of former versions of femininity, as the second passage presents the commonly feminized Italy as a strong and determined woman on her march towards unity and freedom, whose characteristics can subsequently be transferred to all the individual Italian females supporting these movements. This line of thought is also promoted by Susan Stanford Friedman in her article "Gender and Genre Anxiety: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and H.D. as Epic Poets" where she

argues that “Aurora associates Italy with a profound transformative power and a return to the motherland that is ‘the embodiment of desire’” (qtd. in Alison Chapman “Networking the Nation” 107 and Stanford Friedman 203-228). Stanford Friedman’s observation is certainly appropriate and can be applied to Aurora’s wish to return to Italy to lead the life she desired. Furthermore, it can also be applied to the desires of the entire Italian nation that found itself in a time of collective patriotic action in support of the unification of Italy. In her chapter “From Patria to Matria”, Sandra M. Gilbert even supposes that the narrative poem “begins and ends in Italy, the lost redemptive land that must be redeemed in order for both poet-heroine and poet-author to achieve full selfhood”, which further highlights the importance of female agency in the poem as it predetermines the chance to renegotiate women’s role and position in society (217). Book one of “Aurora Leigh” describes how Aurora is brought from her Italian motherland (which, literally, was also the country in which her mother was born) to her father’s home, England, which – according to Gilbert – is the root of Aurora’s inner conflict concerning identification and nationality that hinders her from finding her personal identity and can only be solved by her own female political agency (217). Thus, Aurora’s return, which is portrayed as the passionate running of a warrior into battle, expresses her strong desire for returning to her motherland and creating a new “Italy of women” (Barrett Browning “Aurora Leigh”, 8:358).

To add more facets of femininity proposed in Barrett Browning’s political poetry, “Mother and Poet” (1861), one of her “Last Poems” published posthumously by her husband in 1862, will be analysed as it addresses the typical role of women as mothers in the context of the Italian Risorgimento. Written in 1861, “Mother and Poet” is an example

of Victorian poetry that reflects on the role of women in times of political and military unrest. It pays particular attention to the situation in Italy in the nineteenth century when Giuseppe Garibaldi and his troops conquered Naples and the unification of Italy commenced in 1860, only one year before the poem was composed. Significantly, 1861 was also the year in which the American Civil War broke out, and as Elizabeth Barrett Browning was generally interested in politics, this could have been another motivator for her to compose "Mother and Poet" in the same year. This poem is an individual account of a mother who has lost both her sons in the battles fought for Italian unification. It is a dramatic monologue narrated by Laura Savio, a famous Italian poet of the Risorgimento, who has lost both her sons in battles fought for Italian unification (Avery, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 101). Helen Margaret Cooper, Adrienne Munich, and Susan Merrill Squier also identify the poem's speaker as Laura Savio in *Arms and the Woman: War, Gender, and Literary Representation*, by looking at the interconnections between the speaker and the author of the poem (15-16). Cooper, Munich, and Squier argue that the female speaker is characterised by her commitment to the Italian Risorgimento, which mirrors the enthusiasm of the actual author of the poem, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who renegotiates issues of womanhood and political agency through the words of Laura Savio in "Mother and Poet" (15-16). Moreover, the female political agency of "Mother and Poet" is carefully placed within traditional gender conventions by Cooper, Munich, and Squier, who argue that Elizabeth Barrett Browning "liberated herself from enforced female silence" and created a voice for women's political agency with her poem, although she "urges men to a death she will not suffer herself, confirming the opposition between the protected woman and the protector [man]" (15).

The emotional and lamentable position of the mother after the loss of her sons is presented in the poem when she asks: "And, when Italy's made, for what end is it done/ If we have not a son?" which also confirms the traditional concepts of motherhood (Barrett Browning "Mother and Poet" ll. 74-75). Simon Avery also briefly reflects on this passage of the poem, reading it as a prophecy of a deserted and hopeless future for the mother's (dead) family and the Italian nation in general (*Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 101). Even though the poem's speaker cannot entirely abandon the traditional ideas of motherhood, I understand the poem as dedicating a greater significance to the idea of nation-building than to protecting the sons at home. Thus, "Mother and Poet" can be considered part of Barrett Browning's political poetry on the Italian Risorgimento, which is particularly interested in women's place in politics and society.

At the beginning of the poem, the speaker reflects on the role of women in society and perceives motherhood as a form of art, asking

> [w]hat art can a woman be good at? Oh, vain!
> What art *is* she good at, but hurting her breast
> With the milk-teeth of babes, and a smile at the pain?
> Ah boys, how you hurt! you were strong as you press'd
> And I proud, by that test.
>
> What art's for a woman? To hold on her knees
> Both darlings! to feel all their arms round her throat,
> Cling, strange a little! to sew by degrees
> And 'broider the long-clothes and neat little coat;
> To dream and to doat. (Barrett Browning "Mother and Poet", ll. 11-20)

According to the speaker, motherhood is the only art that a woman is inherently good at, and the demands of every other form of art thus cannot be fully met by her capabilities. In the poem, motherhood is a very powerful female instrument as the speaker argues concerning her sons:

> *I* made them indeed
> Speak plain the word *country. I* taught them, no doubt,

> That a country's a thing men should die for at need.
> *I* prated of liberty, rights, and about
> The tyrant cast out. (Barrett Browning "Mother and Poet", ll. 21-25)

This stanza highlights the role of mothers as educators, which is a very powerful and highly influential role here. In the first line, the speaker argues that she 'made' her sons, both referring to the fact that she gave birth to them and the social and political education she gave them as a mother, which is more evident in lines 22-25 (Barrett Browning "Mother and Poet", ll. 21-25). Thus, Barrett Browning has chosen a female speaker who manifests a politically powerful position for women in society by attributing an influential role – as moral educators of their sons – to women as mothers. This influential role is especially interesting in this poem as the speaker's family seems to only consist of the mother and her two sons as a father is never mentioned (and never missed) throughout the poem. Hence, "Mother and Poet" portrays a female speaker who is also the head of the family and who is neither identified as a widow nor a 'fallen woman' in the poem, which must be viewed as a forerunner to the New Woman who made a general appearance towards the end of the century that was alluded to earlier, in chapter 2.3.1 "Elizabeth Barrett Browning" of this book. Instead, the speaker instrumentalized the traditional role of a mother in such a way that it secures her a respectable position in society and a politically powerful role within the family. In this way, the poem gives a political voice to women by redefining motherhood and womanhood in general.

Furthermore, the speaker in "Mother and Poet" also reflects on her role as a poet, remembering that she "was a poetess only last year,/ And good at [her] art, for a woman, men said" which directly resonates with Elizabeth Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" when it comes to Romney's opinion on Aurora's book which he did not judge objectively but rather as

a book ‘composed by a woman’ (Barrett Browning “Mother and Poet”, ll. 6-7 and “Aurora Leigh”, 2:233-234). In addition to this, another of Barrett Browning’s “Last Poems”, “My Heart and I”, also deals with the fact that woman’s achievements are not seen as equally valuable to men’s when the poem’s speaker laments: “How tired we feel, my heart and I!/ We seem of no use in the world;/ Our fancies hang grey and uncurled/ About men’s eyes indifferently” (Barrett Browning “My Heart and I”, ll. 15-18). Although the speaker in “Mother and Poet” conforms to these traditional gender roles and fulfils her duties of being a mother, the poem again establishes proximity between the individual and the Italian country so that the mother’s loss of both of her sons seems to sediment into the Italian soil and makes her exclaim: “My Italy’s THERE, with my brave civic Pair” (Barrett Browning “Mother and Poet”, l. 89). Hence, the despair of the mother is transferred to the Italian motherland itself and changes its characteristics from the motherly place of a hopeful new beginning as presented in “Aurora Leigh” to a hopeless and dark place of loss that highlights the negative aspects of the Italian national movement. In “Mother and Poet”, Italy cannot fulfil its maternal duty to care for its inhabitants and to comfort those who have experienced loss. Instead, the poem’s speaker seems to submit to her inferior position and would need a powerful Aurora returning to Italy and inspiring other women to support the national movement as a chance for a redefinition of a woman’s role in a new and united Italian society. In “My Heart and I”, the poem’s speaker is a female writer who, like Aurora and the mother in “Mother and Poet”, is disappointed by men and the muted role they force women into, explaining:

> You see we’re tired, my heart and I.
> We dealt with books, we trusted men,
> And in our own blood drenched the pen,

As if such colours could not fly. (Barrett Browning "My Heart and I", ll. 8-11)

This stanza, like all others in the poem, begins by emphasising the tiredness of the female speaker, which directly resonates with the image of the sleeping female that was previously discussed in the analyses of Trollope's "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", Blagden's "Rome. 1870.", and Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" and is also a crucial motif in this poem. Furthermore, the stanza quoted above uses the metaphor of the blood-drenched pen to symbolize the efforts women writers had to make, the disadvantages they faced, and the losses they experienced to find a voice and place in political poetry (Barrett Browning "My Heart and I", l. 10). The notion that success is often connected to violent loss and physical pain is an idea that was already identified in Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" and is also traced in Ogilvy's "To Certain Peoples and Populaces" in chapter 2.3.4 "Eliza Ogilvy". However, in contrast to Browning's narrative poem "Casa Guidi Windows" and Ogilvy's poem, "My Heart and I" does not propose violent reformation as the way towards a more visible and more powerful position of the poem's speaker. Instead, the female speaker is trapped in a state of profound tiredness that she cannot overcome, even though she is aware of the efforts she has put into becoming a respected woman poet. Similarly to Barrett Browning's longer narrative poems "Casa Guidi Windows" and "Aurora Leigh", also her shorter political poems "Mother and Poet" and "My Heart and I" use certain motifs such as the sleeping female figure, the female poet, and violence as tools to renegotiate the position of women in society and to manifest – either more rebelliously or in very cautious ways – a place for women in political poetry.

2.3.2 Theodosia Garrow Trollope

A reading of the work of other expatriate women writers from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's network in Florence will uncover where the similarities and differences in their writing styles lie. Especially Theodosia Garrow Trollope's poetry, including "Aurora Rugiadiosa", an appreciative reply to Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" and "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", which also resonates with passages of "Casa Guidi Windows", shows strong parallels to Elizabeth Barrett Browning's writing. However, little research has been conducted on Theodosia Garrow Trollope and her poetry to date, even though she was Anthony Trollope's sister-in-law, and thus very few secondary sources can be found concerning her work. Alison Chapman will serve as the most detailed secondary source here, as her monograph *Networking the Nation* is the only source that offers in-depth analyses of the literary careers of the expatriate British poetesses, among them Theodosia Garrow Trollope, and examines how they reworked the image of the 'English Poetess'. Additional shorter publications by Chapman examine how the poetry of the expatriate British woman writers in Florence, putting a major focus on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, negotiated questions of nationality and identity in a European context, while the online archive Digital Victorian Periodical Poetry offers insights into the publication history of some of Garrow Trollope's poems published in the 1850s and 1860s.[54] Although her poems from this period were originally published in London-based women's periodicals such as Dickens's weekly *Household Words*, the monthly issue of *The English Woman's Journal*, and

[54] See: Chapman, Alison. "European Exchanges". *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1830-1914,* ed. Joanne Shattock, CUP, 2010, 285-303; Chapman, Alison. "Poetry, Network, Nation: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Expatriate Women's Poetry". *Victorian Studies,* Vol. 55, No. 2, 274-285.

the annual *The Keepsake*, no modern collection of her works is available. Moreover, a chapter of Sarah Richardson's 2013 monograph *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain* examines how Theodosia Garrow Trollope, among other women, contributed to the success of the Italian national movement in several ways. Whereas Alison concentrates on the ways in which the expatriate British woman writers in Florence reworked the idea of the "English poetess", I want to examine which methods and themes these women used in their political poetry to create a space in political writing where women could be seen and heard. In contrast to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who is mostly known for her epic or narrative poetry, as we have just seen, Theodosia Garrow Trollope specialized in shorter periodical poetry and never published a collection of her poems (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 118). As Chapman summarized, Garrow Trollope "began to publish in two of the leading literary annuals: *Heath's Book of Beauty* and *The Keepsake",* both of which "were associated with feminine aesthetics of the beautiful and the ornamental" especially during the 1840s and 1850s, although she also published in "*The Literary Gazette, […] The Athenaeum,* and probably also […] *The Quarterly Review",* thereby addressing a more intellectual circle of readers (*Networking the Nation* 116-117). Additionally, Garrow Trollope translated Italian poetry into English, which highlights her transnational (writing) identity after she moved to Florence where she met Elizabeth Barrett Browning and became part of her expatriate female network. Chapman rightly argues that "her move to Florence in 1844 marked a watershed in her career; a turn to campaigning overtly for Italy's freedom from the authoritative position of an expatriate" (*Networking the Nation* 117). This special position enabled Garrow Trollope to translate and publish ballads and

poems written by Italian nationalists such as Giuseppe Giusti and Francesco Dall'Ongaro in the *Athenaeum* (Richardson 178). In this way, she established "herself as an interpreter of Italy to the British" whose transnational writing identity and expatriate position allowed her to address political issues more openly in her poetry and to translate and publish other writing that follows her nationalist and feminist agenda. Dall'Ongaro's openly political poems, for example, exclusively depicted emancipated women as shown in his poems "The Woman of Livorno", "The Sister", and "The Lombard Woman", all published in the *Athenaeum* (presumably in the 1850s) (Richardson 178). As Sarah Richardson indicates, "The Woman of Livorno" features a strong-willed female who wants to follow her lover into one of the battles fought for Italian unification, stating: "And I will follow him where fortune calls;/ I have had a rifle in my hands before" (qtd. in Richardson 178). Moreover, Richardson finds that "The Sister" tells the story of a young woman who wants "to follow the path of [her] brother who died" in a battle of the Italian national movement and that "The Lombard Woman" focuses on another political event of the Risorgimento, namely "the massacre by the Austrians of Italian women and children at Milan"[55] (Richardson 178). Thus, Garrow Trollope consciously chose to translate and publish these poems to create awareness of women's situation in Italy among a British audience. Her motive for this was undoubtedly to create an awareness of the situation in nineteenth-century Italy and to encourage British proto-feminists to help their Italian sisters to redefine their role in society. Again, British women can be understood as being role models for the

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[55] The massacre of Milan referred to alludes to the insurrection that started the First Italian War of Independence in 1848. In March 1848 a rebellion arose in Milan that drove Mashal Radetzky and his Austrian army out of the city after a five-day battle, 18 – 22 March 1848 (Chastain n.p.).

emancipation of Italian women as they were already much more emancipated by the mid-nineteenth century. As stated earlier, the expatriate British woman authors found a safe space to write in the Italian salon culture and established salons of their own, where their female circles could write and freely discuss their transnational political ideas and writing identities.[56] This aspect additionally contributed to Garrow Trollope's freedom to translate and publish such openly political and critical writings as Dall'Ongaro's. Even though contemporary critics such as Walter Savage Landor and the Countess of Blessington, who was Garrow Trollope's promoter and editor of *The Keepsake* that published many of Garrow Trollope's poems,[57] honoured her poetry mostly for its (allegedly) typically feminine aesthetics and its sense of sensibility and beauty, I argue that they overlooked the second, political layer that Garrow Trollope also similarly wove into her poems to Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the other poetesses of their expatriate network (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 118-119 and 188-189, Richardson 178). Critics such as Landor and Blessington appear to have missed the political messages in Garrow Trollope's poems because they looked for conventional feminine poetry and the fact that Garrow Trollope frequently published in periodicals supported her reputation as a traditional 'English Poetess' who follows the gendered writing traditions. With poems such as "Marguérite" (1843), "The Bees" (1847), and "Baby Beatrice" (1855) to name just a few, Garrow Trollope's poetry indeed

[56] For detailed information on the expatriate salons, see: Chapman, Alison. "Expatriate Salons". *Networking the Nation – British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1970,* Oxford UP, 2015. 3-90.

[57] For a list of Garrow Trollope's poems published in *The Keepsake,* consult: Chapman, Alison. "Bibliography". *Networking the Nation – British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1970,* Oxford UP, 2015. 188-189.

mirrored the conventional female writing aesthetics of her time. As Chapman put it, due to her critics and her publication history, "Garrow [Trollope] and her poetry collapse[d] into a trope for the superlatively feminine poetess", which perfectly aligns with the traditional image of the 'English poetess' (*Networking the Nation* 120). However, the following analysis shows that Garrow Trollope imbued much of her poetry with a political message aiming at a redefinition of femininity and the position of women in nineteenth-century political writing and society from her viewpoint as a transnational poetess. Such themes are most overtly featured in "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth" (1846), "The Cry of Romagna" (1847), "Morning Song for Tuscany" (1847), "The Lethe-Draught" (1847), and "The Woman of Livorno" (date unknown, presumably also published around 1847). As becomes evident later, the same motifs to implement new notions of womanhood reoccur in Trollope's poetry as were already identified in that of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. This is certainly due to the fact that Barrett Browning was – and still is – the most widely remembered expatriate British woman writer who wrote political poetry on the Italian Risorgimento and surely also the importance and intimacy of the expatriate female network determines that their shared ideas reappear at least partly in all their political poetry.

This is particularly evident when analysing Garrow Trollope's "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth" which was composed in July 1845 but only published later in *The Keepsake* in 1846. On the surface, the poem corresponds to the contemporary female writing traditions of foregrounding the aesthetic and beauty but, as the other women's poetry examined earlier, it contains a second, political layer. Thus, Garrow Trollope consciously used themes and writing styles traditionally used by woman authors, which appealed to the editors, publishers, and readers of

the periodicals she used to publish in, to disseminate a political message concerning the Italian movement for unification among a vast readership. "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth" starts with a depiction of Italy as a sleeping female figure in a passive position:

> SPELL-BOUND upon her couch of glittering sea,
> Beneath her queenly starred canopy,
> Wane, still and breathless lieth Italy. (Garrow Trollope, ll. 1-3)

As mentioned earlier, this depiction of Italy as a passive female was fairly common in writings relating to the Risorgimento. To contribute to the feminized depiction of Italy, the beginning of Garrow Trollope's poem portrays an internally female atmosphere by crafting personified Italy as a sleeping, queen-like woman that is surrounded by the "glittering sea" ("She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", l. 1). This picture triggers associations of an upper-class Victorian lady who lives in splendour and mirrors the feminine ideals of obedience, stillness, and beauty. Hence, "Garrow [Trollope] describes in detail the feminized representations of Italy that doom it to passivity" (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 122). Although depicted as passive at the beginning of the poem, this feminized personification of Italy notices what happens around her, for example when it comes to the foreign rulers who have taken over some of Italy's regions and appear as

> that unfeeling band,
> Who use her [Italy] for an hostelry, and dare
> To thaw them in her sun, and drink her air,
> While churlish guests, they quarrel with their fare,
> Trampling the prostrate land. (Garrow Trollope "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", ll. 24-28)

This instance in the poem refers to another common motif in female pro-Risorgimento poetry, namely the criticism of foreign rulership in Italy which prevented Italy's unification and the establishment of an Italian

national identity that would also permit women to find a better place in this new Italian society. Another aspect that Italy is aware of in the poem is the development of the countries and nations around her, which is indicated when the speaker refers to "the strong change-wind" that inspires new political movements "[o]n neighbours shores" ("She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", l. 38). With this statement, Italy as a seemingly physically passive female figure turns out to be very active mentally as she perceives the changes across Europe. Thus, personified Italy also positions herself within the greater context of European politics and socio-political movements of the nineteenth century. Here, especially Britain and its role as an advanced and more emancipated role model comes to mind which resembles another theme that we have already encountered in the previously analysed poetry. In Garrow Trollope's poem, this parallel to Britain is especially logical due to the poet's roots in Britain and it demonstrates how the poet herself integrates her transnational writing identity into a poem that advocates for the Italian national movement as bringing about a momentum of national new beginnings and novel definitions of femininity. The possibility of a redefinition of these aspects of femininity that are associated with passivity and domesticity is visible in the poem when the speaker begs Italy to come back to life and regain her strength for the sake of an independent and unified future, exclaiming:

> O mother! in that once strong heart of thine
> The stream is not yet cold. –
> Thou fair enchanted queen, whom baleful lore
> Would hold in chains of sleep for evermore;
> Alas! the age of simple trust is o'er; […]
> Fling wide the doors! and let the echoing strife,
> The fresh strong current of our northern life
> Rush o'er her brow; this sluggish air is rife
> With treacherous perfumed rest.
> Plot no more, or plot *all.* Who may defy

A nation link'd in vast conspiracy?
Who shall resist thy sons, O Italy,
If once more freedom-blest? (Garrow Trollope "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", ll. 43-58)

This passage presents a straightforward command to Italy to become alive again and "be resurrected" for the success of the national movement. Moreover, the excerpt discusses female conceptualizations by again taking Britain, resembled by "[t]he fresh strong current of our northern air" in the quotation above, as an example of an emancipated version of femininity that is already strong, mobile, and active (Garrow Trollope "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", l. 52). Furthermore, the British idea of femininity also appears as a 'rougher human being' in the passage, which may be due to the common associations of the British landscape as a rough territory especially when thinking about its steep shores and harsh weather conditions. In contrast to this conceptualization of femininity, Italy is referred to as the queen-like mother of a nation that needs her active guidance for its ongoing national movement to succeed. This motherly image of Italy is additionally crafted into a sensual and delicate female still lying in her "perfumed rest" (Garrow Trollope "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", l. 54). Even though the speaker tries to wake her up, Italy remains physically passive throughout the poem. However, the speaker's attempts to motivate her to become active and to believe in the invincibility of a nation[58] that puts up a united fight for the success of the national movement creates a chance that Italy might find back to its long-lost strength by undergoing a metamorphosis like the female

[58] The idea of an invincible nation is reminiscent of Milton's perception of England as an elevated nation chosen by God, which is going to reach its rightful place as a role model for and saviour of all other nations. For a more detailed explanation of Milton's idea, see: Bryson, Michael. *The Tyranny of Heaven – Milton's Rejections of God as King,* University of Delaware Press, 2004, 48 ff.

protagonists associated with Italy in many other pro-Risorgimento poems such as Laura in Rossetti's "Goblin Market" and Aurora in Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" advocated.

Such a metamorphosis also occurs in Garrow Trollope's "The Lethe-Draught", whose title alludes to Lethe, who, in Greek mythology is both a person, namely the daughter of Eris (the Greek goddess of strife), and a river associated with oblivion (Christodoulidis and Veitch iv). The poem was composed in Florence in 1846 and first appeared in *The Keepsake* one year later. Like "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth", it portrays Italy as a "sleeping nation" which "upon the surface shining,/ Lie[s] in slumb'rous peace reclining,/ Pure as water blossoms white" and feminizes Italy by positioning her within a typically feminine surrounding that foregrounds the female characteristics of emotionality, chastity, and the sense of beauty with references to, for example, tears, pearls, and the colour white (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 124, Garrow Trollope "The Lethe-Draught", ll. 16-18, 27-29). Supporting the portrayal of Italy's passive position that equals the role of nineteenth-century British women, the poem encourages Italy to

> [f]ill thy heart with moonlight,
> Fill it to the brim!
> Through its caverns let a river
> Of pale radiance glance and quiver,
> [...]
> And with depths of dreamy treasure,
> More than rest and less than pleasure;
> Fill thy being, fill it up,
> From the great moon's crystal cup. (Garrow Trollope "The Lethe-Draught", ll. 1-13)

Thus, the first few stanzas initially create the impression that the poem would correspond to the traditional female writing conventions and promote ideals such as beauty, innocence, and obedience. However,

Garrow Trollope's poetry deliberately "mobilizes the sensibility and lyrical modality inherent within" the conception of nineteenth-century women's writing for a political, pro-Risorgimento agenda (Chapman, "European Exchanges" 295). As the poem continues, it becomes evident that Italy will not remain passive for much longer as the speaker describes signs of the commencing revolution, which Italy disguises under the perfect façade of an ideal woman referring to

> the air,
> Doubling every charm reflected,
> Home-begotten, chance-directed,
> Fancies undefined and sweet,
> O'er the wave with noiseless feet,
> Pass in bright caprice and glee,
> With a hand-kiss, laughingly. (Garrow Trollope "The Lethe-Draught", ll. 20.26)

In the poem, this act of maintaining the perfect appearance of a traditional lady allows Italy to increasingly gain strength during her metamorphosis into a strong leader of her nation. At the end of the poem, the speaker advises her to "[g]o thy way with silent tread;/ Fold thine arms, and bow thy head,/ Thankfully, oh thankfully./ Thou hast proved that mother Nature/ Hath a kindly remedy,/ For her every suffering creature,/ So they seek it trustfully", which again highlights the fact that Italy, as a feminized figure in the poem, consciously uses the image of the ideal woman to pursue her revolutionary plans concealed behind this discreet façade (Garrow Trollope "The Lethe-Draught", ll. 42-48). This resurrection of Italy may also be read as an overcoming of a period of oblivion brought about by the consumption of a small quantity of the Lethe's water alluded to by the poem's title, "The Lethe-Draught". Moreover, the ending of Garrow Trollope's poem directly echoes the passage from Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" when Aurora returns to Italy and refers to Italy as "stedfast" (sic!) but "[s]till ye go/ Your own determined, calm,

indifferent way/ Toward sunrise, shade by shade, and light/ by light" as both poems describe Italy as steadily and almost unnoticedly proceeding towards the success of the national movement (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", ll. 1270-1274). Furthermore, Garrow Trollope's "Morning Song of Tuscany" (date unknown) also plays with a metamorphosis that culminates with the image of a new morning, thereby pointing to another parallel between Garrow Trollope's and Barrett Browning's poetry, as the new morning prophesied in "Morning Song of Tuscany" resonates the sunrise that signifies a new beginning in "Aurora Leigh" and also plays on the "pain of oppression and desire for freedom, a cry echoed in the start of *Casa Guidi Windows*" (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 126). Especially the desire for freedom is also dominant in Garrow Trollope's "The Lethe-Draught", where the perfect feminine façade helps feminized Italy to hide her political revolutionary plans from the attention of the general public, whereas in Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh", Aurora's warrior-like return to Italy captures all the attention to make the masses aware of the need for agency in support of the Italian Risorgimento. Using these very different methods, both expatriate poetesses developed more active and self-empowered conceptions of femininity to advocate for the Italian Risorgimento in their political poetry.

Whereas Garrow Trollope's "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth" and "The Lethe-Draught" can be read as poems that correspond to female aesthetics – at least initially – she also published openly political poems such as "The Cry of Romagna" (1847). Without hiding its criticism behind aesthetic metaphors, this poem expresses disapproval of Florence's passivity while the Italian region of Romagna struggled for liberty in the early days of the national movement (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 121). Instead, the poem accuses Florence that

> [t]here hath been strife, and thou wast sleep-oppress'd;
> There hath been young warm lifeblood spent in vain,
> And frantic wrestling, as of men possess'd,
> And blind fond patriot-love hath once again
> Dashed 'gainst the flinty walls its hopeless breast,
> While thou, descrepit-hearted! satt'st at home,
> Lulled by old legends of thy withered bloom. (qtd. in Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 121)

This quotation indicates that the criticism of Florence is linked to female gender conventions and I further argue that the disapproval is also due to these conventions and should thus be understood as a critique of such gendered rules concerning behaviour. Especially the passivity of Florence is judged as detrimental to the fate of Romagna, which also alludes to the female ideals of domesticity and obedience that prevent women, in this case especially Florence, from becoming active, going out into the public sphere, and helping the Italian region of Romagna in its struggle for liberty. Furthermore, the passage also evokes associations with Florence as a passive female figure who is doomed to inactivity and an outsider position so that she cannot help Romagna and remains oppressed by foreign rulership. Thus, whereas many pro-Risorgimento and feminist poems of the mid- to late-nineteenth century present a more idealistic version of a feminized Italy that regains its long-lost strength or feature a female protagonist who comes to rescue both country and nation, in "The Cry of Romagna" Garrow Trollope presents a rather realistic image of the female mid-nineteenth-century gender conventions that prevent women from becoming (politically) active. This example adds another viewpoint concerning the possibilities of renegotiating womanhood and women's position in society in the transnational poetry of the expatriate British poetesses to my thesis, which is admittedly not as revolutionary and empowering as the possibilities presented in Barrett Browning's "Aurora

Leigh", but still is an important part of the wide array of renegotiations of femininity despite not transgressing – albeit openly criticising – the contemporary gender conventions imposed on women.

2.3.3 Isa Blagden

Isa Blagden and her political poetry add another facet to the diversity of mid- to late-nineteenth century expatriate British women's poetry on the Italian Risorgimento as her mixed-race background also influenced her pro-Risorgimento and (proto-)feminist writing. Whereas all the previously examined expatriate British poetesses identified as transnational and emphasised their new Italian (writing) identities, Blagden always insisted on being "[a]n English [l]ady" (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 134). This is particularly interesting as Blagden was, up to this point in the book, the only poetess in the expatriate women's network in Florence who was not of purely English descent. Sources assume that she was born in the East Indies in 1816 or 1817 as the daughter of an English father, Thomas Bracken, who used to work in Calcutta and an Anglo-Indian mother (Digital Victorian Periodical Poetry, "Blagden, Isa" and Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 135). Thus, while it would have been much easier, in fact innate, for Blagden to manifest her transnational (writing) identity than for all the other expatriate British poetesses, she insisted on her English roots. Today, Blagden is remembered as an English poetess, which shows that her persistence in this regard paid off. However, race and especially Eastern women are a common theme in Blagden's poetry, which demonstrates that she has not entirely neglected this topic even though she wanted to be perceived as an English lady. Her literary career began when she moved to Florence in February 1850, where she quickly became part of the female network of

expatriate British poetesses centring around Elizabeth Barrett Browning ("Blagden, Isa" and Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 133). Networking was especially important for Blagden's literary career as it secured her position within the circle of expatriate British women writers in Florence and Browning's support on the one hand and, on the other hand, it enabled her to publish internationally in American and English periodicals (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 133). Hence, the publication of her poems and translations during her lifetime was equally important for Blagden's literary career as it was for Garrow Trollope's. A collection of Blagden's poems entitled *Poems* was only published posthumously in 1873, which is another similarity Blagden and Garrow Trollope share, as both poetesses did not publish a poem collection when they were still alive ("Blagden, Isa", Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 118). Especially her early poems deal with issues of race, such as the political and colonial poem "Light and Dark" (1858), which was published in *The English Woman's Journal* and critically addresses the Indian Uprising of 1857, especially concerning how the Indian population was mistreated by the Indian government (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 133 and 135). A second poem that addresses both issues of race and gender is "A Portrait, From Memory" (1868), originally published in *All the Year Round,* which features a description of a Persian princess that highlights her beauty and innocence and, at the same time, enlists all the oriental accessories that mark her as an eastern woman of noble descent. These typically female gender expectations such as moral purity, innocence, and chastity are also resonated in Blagden's "Alice", first published in the weekly literary periodical *Once a Week* (1866), which effusively stresses the positive aspects of these feminine attributes that the poem's protagonist displays and supposes that this is what women

are worshipped for, thereby following the conservative ideas of Napier, Stickney Ellis, and Patmore. Nevertheless, not all of Blagden's poems support traditional female writing techniques and patriarchal ideologies to the same extent as "Alice", and some of them also address political topics centring on the Italian national movement. The most interesting of these are "Rome from the Ripetta" (presumably composed around 1871), "A Roman Street" (1871), "Rome. 1879. Written on the Eve of the Entrance of the Italian Troops into Rome" (1871), and "L'Ariccia. Death in Life" (1871) in addition to "The Invitation" (1872). Furthermore, Blagden's monograph *A Tuscan Wedding* (1872) is also set during the times of the Risorgimento and negotiates different versions of femininity although an analysis of her novel is not included in this book. Instead, the following analysis concentrates on highlighting the ways in which the Italian Risorgimento was mediated in Blagden's political poetry to renegotiate traditional versions of femininity.

Blagden's poem "Rome from the Ripetta" was first published in *Poems, with a Memoir by Alfred Austin* in 1873 and commences with a description of the beauty of Rome by the speaker, who, together with an unknown "best friend" admires the city from the harbour (qtd. in Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 144). Subsequently, however, the speaker manages to look beyond the city's beauty, notices the nation's struggle for unification and independence, and supposes that the very efforts of the common Italian people will help the Risorgimento to succeed (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 144). The speaker argues:

> By work-days, not by 'feste', pens, not swords,
> Ploughshares, 'stead of daggers; not the flow
> Of idle 'vivas', nor warm frothy words,
> But mute cold lips, knot brows, and hands that do. (qtd. in Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 144)

As Alison Chapman indicates in reference to this poem, "the populace are themselves quietly overturning the passivity of Italy", which reflects two common motifs in mid- to late-nineteenth-century women's poetry on the Italian Risorgimento. The first of these is that of the country as a passive (female) figure and the idea of the Italian national movement as a mass movement (as propagated by Mazzini's politics) while the second is that of unity as indicated by a secret conspiracy (as conveyed in the last parts of Garrow Trollope's "She is Not Dead, But Sleepeth"). These motifs are contrary to the suggestion concerning the way towards liberty and unification that the poem's epigraph from the final lines of Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" presents, which argues "that God will 'build into' and 'knit across' the ruins of Italy, to make the nation whole and liberated" (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 144). While such religious approaches to the progress of the Italian national movement are also very common, their traditional roots largely neglect the role of women in the movement. In "Rome from the Ripetta", no distinction is made between men and women, as both are part of Italian society, which, on its own, works its way towards unification and independence from foreign rulers—representing a rather egalitarian view on the sexes from a religious perspective. Nevertheless, Chapman concludes that the poem "Rome from the Ripetta" applies the same themes as Barrett Browning's and Garrow Trollope's pro-Risorgimento poetry when it comes to the "apocalyptic rebirth" of the Italian country and nation, "the earth's labour" portrayed by the physical work of the Italian society, and that the poem depicts the Italian nation as very closely linked to the Italian soil which determines the Italian "patriots' blood sanctifying the soil" for the sake of a new post-Risorgimento future (*Networking the Nation* 144). As was pointed out a few times before, the network of the expatriate British

woman writers in Florence predetermined that their shared ideas reoccur in the poetry of all the women, yet they found very distinct ways of integrating them into their political writing.

"Rome. 1870. Written on the Eve of the Entrance of the Italian Troops into Rome" is another of Blagden's poems about Rome. It was first published in Dickens's *All the Year Round* in 1871 and sets out by depicting the city as a passive woman figure as the speaker of the poem describes:

> THERE is a picture I remember well,
> A fresco, fading in my Southern home,
> A woman sleeping on the burning sand,
> While baleful vapours fill the land. (Blagden, "Rome. 1870." ll. 1-4)

This opening mirrors the writing traditions of mid- to late-nineteenth century pro-Risorgimento poetry and positions both the speaker and the poem within the context and time of the Italian national movement. Through its opening lines, the poem reiterates typical Italian aesthetics in architecture with a reference to the fresco of the woman that symbolizes Italy. Here again, the inseparability of the Italian country and nation is highlighted by presenting it as one single entity, in this case, as the woman in the fresco. The fact that the fresco is fading alludes to the status of Italy as a passive female figure that slowly withers away and represents a very aesthetic and fitting way of representing Italy's current status, as the speaker additionally explains: "to me that picture seems/ My country's symbol. Rome, thus fair art thou./ Dead vampire lips fasten on thy breath,/ and beauty deepening into solemn death,/ Thus crowns thy faded brow" (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 145-146, Blagden "Rome, 1870.", ll. 36-40). The motifs of passivity and sleep are dominant throughout this rather short poem that only consists of ten quintets, although it shifts in the last two stanzas. Moreover, it should be noted that

the Gothic imagery of the "[d]ead vampire lips" in line 38 additionally highlights the passivity of the woman figure that embodies Italy by alluding to the vampire as a seemingly dead being whose blood is cold and whose skin is deadly pale. Gothic elements were popular in British literature since Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* was published in 1764 and Italy served as a source of inspiration for many British Gothic novels since then. In his article "Italy and the Gothic", Massimiliano Demata suggests that writers of that time perceived Italy "as a place of violence and passion, ruled by feudal and despotic nobility and under the influence of a degenerate Catholic clergy" which provide both political and religious reasons for Italy having been a prominent inspiration for British Gothic novelists (n.p.). In this context, especially the themes of violence, passion, and foreign rulership were already identified as very prominent and strong motifs in the political poetry of the British women writers analysed in this chapter. Apart from the political and religious reasons, Italy's architecture with all its "castles, churches and ruins[,] whose labyrinthine and claustrophobic […]" also influenced the settings of Gothic novels from the eighteenth century onwards (Demata n.p.). Thus, the Gothic imagery used in Blagden's "Rome.1870." follows this eighteenth-century tradition, creating a gloomy atmosphere by using the city of Rome in combination with the Gothic element of the vampire. The Gothic image of the vampire is commonly associated with death, the uncanny, or the undead and it appears as the first aspect connected to death or disease in the poem. The penultimate stanza later mentions a "deadly […] control", "[a] worse malaria", and "falsehood" as reasons for Rome's passivity, which can be interpreted as the effects of foreign rulership and the ideologies that foreign rulers disseminated throughout Italian society in conjunction with the selfish aims of the foreign rulers

who do not care for the well-being of the Italian regions they rule over, but merely view their territorial possessions as a sign of power. However, the final stanza brings about an epiphany proclaiming:

> But THOU art saved; loud o'er thy purple hills
> The silence breaks, thy brave deliverers come;
> Clear as a clarion's note the music falls,
> And nations greet the kingly voice which calls,
> Arise, be free, O Rome! (Blagden "Rome. 1870.", ll. 46-50)

Alison Chapman suggests that "Blagden's conclusion attempts to dissolve the lure of Italy's traditional symbolism as a passive woman, by adopting and co-opting the 'kingly voice' that proclaims Rome's freedom, as well as the greeting of the nation that celebrates the conclusion of Italian political liberty", which is a convincing reading of the poem's final lines (*Networking the Nation* 146). Thus, Chapman's line of thought advocates for a patriarchal reading as it assigns the power to change the fate of Rome to the "kingly voice" even though she also acknowledges the role of the expatriate poetesses and the patriotic message of the ending (*Networking the Nation* 147). What is particularly interesting here is that the last line quoted above is reminiscent of Britannia appealing for liberation, which might transform the kingly voice in the poem into a queenly voice. Blagden was certainly familiar with the image of Britannia, not just because of her biographical connections to Britain but also because "Britannia gained new popularity in Britain's wars against the French Revolution", which is often seen as a crucial historical event for the advent of the Italian national movement (Mosse 108). Moreover, this call for liberation reminds the reader of the anti-slavery writing of the late eighteenth century where it functioned as a vehicle for emancipation, which is the same function Blagden ascribed to it in "Rome. 1870." where she promotes the liberation of the entire – throughout the poem

feminized – Italian nation. Lastly, the parallel between anti-slavery writing and the sleeping female figure in Blagden's poem mirrors the idea of women as white slaves, which Anne-Julia Zwierlein elaborated on in her chapter "'White Slavery': Würde- und Sympathiediskurse in den Kampagnen der britischen Anti-Sklaverei-Bewegung (ab 1780) und der Frauenrechtsbewegung (ab 1880)".[59] [60] The patriarchal focus becomes even more evident when Chapman introduces a different ending to the poem printed in a fair copy manuscript that reads:

> Hark! piercing as a sword th'expectant skies
> A glorious voice adjures thee, 'Wake, arise,
> Be free, & live, O Rome. (*Networking the Nation* 146)

Here, Chapman added a note concerning this ending to the effect that the "glorious voice" "is identified as that of Cavour, first Prime Minister of Italy, who had died suddenly on 6 June 1861, utterly devastating EBB [Elizabeth Barrett Browning] as well as other expatriate supporters of the Risorgimento" (qtd. in Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 146). As the ending that was published with Blagden's poem in *All the Year Round* on 17 June 1871 does not contain a note that identifies the "kingly voice" as a specific person, I argue that these closing lines of the poem allow a proto-feminist interpretation of this (unidentified) voice as a universal call for transnational female solidarity in general and the solidarity of the expatriate British woman writers in particular. The fact that the voice comes from abroad, over the hills of Rome, to find a nation in need of

[59] See: Zwierlein, Anne-Julia, "'White Slavery': Würde- und Sympathiediskurse in den Kampagnen der britischen Anti-Sklaverei-Bewegung (ab 1780) und der Frauenrechtsbewegung (ab 1880)". *Würdelos: Ehrkonflikte von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart*, Regensburger Klassikstudien, Bd.1, ed. Achim Geisenhanslüke (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner Verlag, 2016) 165-183.

[60] The complete title of Zwierlein's chapter translates to "'White Slavery': Discourses of Dignity and Sympathy in the Campaigns of the British Anti-Slavery Movement (from 1780) and the Women's Rights Movement (from 1880 onwards)".

guidance and support that must be led to political unity and independence, mirrors the history of the transnational support of Britain for Italy during the nineteenth century. The kingly status of this voice should be understood as its superiority and strength that is able to help the Italian Risorgimento succeed, which is a common theme applied to Britain in nineteenth-century literature due to its status as an advanced and great world power. Additionally, the aspect of migrating to Italy to settle in the epicentre of the national movement also resembles the lives of the expatriate British poetesses who chose to move to the centre of the revolution to get a first-hand experience of the nation's struggle. In so doing, the expatriate British women poetesses presented up to now developed into transnational (writing) identities who identified – at least partly – with their Italian brothers and sisters and energetically promoted the Italian national movement in their political and transnational writing. As a consequence, the expatriate British woman authors can also be regarded as forming part of this "kingly voice" since their writing, whether personal or published through diverse means and in various genres, often highlighted possible ways of ensuring the success of the Italian Risorgimento that included woman's emancipation and were based on ideas of individual strength and unity. In this way, both Blagden's "Rome from the Ripetta" and Barrett Browning's "She Is Not Dead, But Sleepeth" suggest that the united force of the Italian people will lead to success in the battle for independence, whereas the return of Aurora to Italy in Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" demonstrated the power of a single woman to overthrow old ideologies. This aspect is also taken up in Rossetti's "Goblin Market", where the sisterly solidarity of Lizzie and Laura enables them to break free from the suppression by the Goblin men, who represent the foreign rulers who reigned over certain

parts of Italy during the nineteenth century in the poem. Based on these findings, I advocate a proto-feminist understanding of the final stanza of Blagden's "Rome. 1870." which highlights the importance of transnational (female) solidarity and connects the aims of the Italian national movement to those of the women's movement by installing a place for the redefinition of womanhood within the political agenda of Risorgimento Italy.

Blagden's poem "The Invitation" furthermore demonstrates why a (proto-)feminist understanding of her poetry is crucial for deriving insight into the strategies of the expatriate British woman writers who used the Italian Unification as a vehicle for renegotiating a better social standing for women in their political mid- to late nineteenth-century poetry. The poem was first published in *All the Year Round* in 1872, and thus two years after the formation of the Kingdom of Italy under the rule of Victor Emmanuel II, which marked the official end of the Italian Risorgimento. Simultaneously, the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy also marked the beginning of the reconfiguration of Italian identity, of which women's role and place in society was also a crucial part. As the title suggests, the poem invites an unidentified addressee to return to Italy, and it begins with the speaker asking:

> If I called thee, wouldst thou come,
> Love, across the Northern Sea,
> From thy dark and rugged home
> Back to Italy and me? (Blagden "The Invitation", ll. 1-4)

In the next stanzas, the poem overly aestheticizes Italy according to the traditions of 'la bella Italia' with its blue skies and warm temperatures, its perfumed air, and sweet southern fruits, which fosters a romantic reading of the poem. This interpretation would also presume a female speaker who, due to her inherently female perspective of the world, perceived all

the beautiful aspects of Italy which, in addition to her love, should convince her British lover to return to Italy. On the surface, this would certainly be the first impression the poem evokes, although it also resonates with the "Italy of women" introduced in Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" as it crafts Italy into a feminized place, equipped with all the fair things that naturally appeal to women and are associated with femininity (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 8:358). While reading the poem, it seems as if particular characteristics associated with femininity in the nineteenth century came from the very soil of Italy and, when the poem's speaker states that "[b]eauty's fairest home is here", he or she ultimately identifies the country as the place where women should live. Subsequently, I argue that the invitation can also be extended to other British women instead of a lost male lover. Additionally, I do not exclude the possibility that the poem might also address a lost female lover as homosexual desire also featured in nineteenth-century women's poetry as the previous reading of Rossetti's "Goblin Market" and Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" have already demonstrated. Whereas Blagden's "The Invitation" does not go so far as to advocate for a renegotiation of women's place in society but rather sticks to the traditional gender conventions of the nineteenth century, I suggest that it functions as a first step towards woman's emancipation in Italy by calling for more and further advanced British females to come to Italy, who would, together with the network of expatriate British poetesses, inspire and encourage their Italian sisters to stand up for a more powerful position in the society of this newly formed Kingdom of Italy in a second step toward complete independence. Still suggesting that the poem's speaker is female, the poem's ending characterises her as a strong woman who is convinced that the transnational solidarity among British and

Italian women will also support the cause this time when she concludes: “I have called thee,/ thou wilt come” (Blagden “The Invitation”, ll. 32-33).

2.3.4 Eliza Ogilvy

The analysis of the expatriate British woman writers’ poetry ends with Eliza Ogilvy, who, as a Scottish novelist and poetess, adds another important angle to how this expatriate network of women writers remodelled the Italian Risorgimento into a vehicle for their (proto-)feminist agenda in their mid- to late-nineteenth century political poetry. When Ogilvy moved to Florence with her husband in 1848, they lived in an apartment in Casa Guidi just like the Brownings (Avery, “Casa Guidi Neighbours” 55 and Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 151, 154), which was due to the Ogilvys’ friendship with the Brownings that had already been initiated before their move to Florence. Their friendship becomes visible in many later correspondences that identify Elizabeth Barrett Browning as a supporter of Ogilvy’s literary career who recommended her to publish in British periodicals such as *The English Woman’s Journal* and *The Cornhill* just like the other poetesses from their network did (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 151). Her role as a friend of the Brownings and a member of the female circle of expatriate British poetesses who flocked around Elizabeth Barrett Browning is what Ogilvy is widely remembered for today. However, she was already a professional writer before she moved to Florence and concentrated on aspects of motherhood and the anxieties of a mother in her privately printed first poem collection entitled *Rose Leaves* (1845), which was composed after the premature death of her daughter Rose. Her second focus lies on her Scottish background, which is most evident in *A Book of Highland*

Minstrelsy (1846)[61] and "A Legend of Eileen Mohr" published in *The Keepsake* in 1845 (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 152). While these motifs later shifted to nationhood and national identity, her interest in the role of women in society remained when Ogilvy moved to Florence, as evidenced by analyses of her later poems "Newly Dead and Newly Born" (1850), "Night at Sorrento" (1850), "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." (1851), and "To Certain Peoples and Populaces" (1852) (Avery "Casa Guidi Neighbours" 58). Questions of identity were not only significant for Ogilvy's poetry but also for the perception of the poetess herself, as her Scottish background is significant for Barrett Browning's evaluation of Ogilvy as a woman. Barrett Browning perceives Ogilvy as lacking "somehow the last touch of softness & exterior sensibility" and admits that she "like[s] her much […] [,] her society, respect[s] her good qualities, feel[s] an interest in her actions & sentiments – yet I dont [*sic*] love her & I dont [*sic*] feel that she loves me" adding that Ogilvy was one of the persons she finds "unlovable when [she] undeniably find[s] them delightful" in a letter to a friend from 1850 (Chapman, *Networking the Nation* 152). Nevertheless, Barrett Browning and Ogilvy were close friends who found "common ground in their love of poetry, their love of Italy, and the adoration of their children" as Simon Avery notes in his chapter "Casa Guidi Neighbours: Eliza Ogilvy, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Poetry of the *Risorgimento*" (55). What can still be deduced from Barrett Browning's assessment is that Ogilvy's personal, rougher Scottish femininity suggests an openness towards more emancipated and empowered versions of femininity that can also be observed in her

[61] For an analysis of motherhood in Ogilvy's *A Book of Highland Minstrelsy*, please consult: Markley, A.A. "Eliza Ogilvy, Highland Minstrelsy, and the Perils of Victorian Motherhood". *Studies in Scottish Literature,* Vol. 32, No. 1, 180-194.

political poetry on the Italian Risorgimento from the mid-nineteenth century.

While “Newly Dead and Newly Born” was composed in 1850, as all the other poems analysed here, it was published in Ogilvy’s poem collection *Poems of Ten Years. (1846-1855)* in 1856. The poem shares a common theme with Ogilvy’s “Ogni Morti” (1850) and “The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.” (1851), which is the procession motif that first occurred in part one of Barrett Browning’s “Casa Guidi Windows”. As mentioned earlier, even though the entire narrative poem was only published in 1851, the first part of “Casa Guidi Windows” was presumably already written in 1848. Due to their close friendship, Ogilvy may have read parts of the poem or have discussed the opening scene with Barrett Browning before the poem’s publication, as a result of which she could have decided to adopt the procession theme for her poetry, knowing that it also occurred in “Casa Guidi Windows”. Whereas the “carnival-like procession” in “Casa Guidi Windows” signifies hope for unity and liberation, Ogilvy applied the theme more darkly and negatively in her poems (Avery “Casa Guidi Neighbours” 61). What remains the same in the poetry written by both women is that the procession is observed from or through a window. In Ogilvy’s “Newly Dead and Newly Born”, a mother lies in bed with her new-born baby and hears a funeral procession passing by “chaunting for the dead/ Below her window creepeth./ It swelleth nearer, filling loud/ That vast Florentine palace” where mother and baby live (Ogilvy “Newly Dead and Newly Born”, ll. 3-6). A note explains that the poem was written in Casa Guidi, which creates the impression that it might also be set there just like Barrett Browning’s “Casa Guidi Windows” so that the poem’s speaker would have observed the procession through the same windows as Barrett Browning’s

protagonist. Ogilvy's "Ogni Morti" also applies the procession motif when the speaker and 'lyrical I' of the poem lays on his/her bed and hears "a voice crying 'O pray for the dead,/ By the love you once bore them, the sorrow you/ feel,/ Arise from your slumbers and pray for their weal'" (ll. 2-5). An explanatory note to this poem states that it was a religious custom "after the festival 'All Souls' […] to send a man round a little before dawn crying 'O (for ora) per i morti, i poveri morti'. Pray for the dead, the poor dead. This is to rouse the worshippers for the early mass in [*sic*] behalf of the dead" (Ogilvy, *Poems of Ten Years* 113). While this opening scene directly resonates with the beginning of Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" when the child runs through the streets of Florence and sings for Italy's liberty, yet, in "Ogni Morti" the scene is not a hopeful outlook on the progress of the Italian Risorgimento but rather a mournful recalling of all the deaths the history of Italy has caused so far. Throughout the poem, the speaker reflects on all the people he/she has lost before the opening scene is repeated at the end of the poem, thereby giving it a circular structure that reflects the circle of life which leaves no opportunity for an alternative and more hopeful ending than death. Finally, Ogilvy's "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." also opens with a procession through the city of Florence when,

> [i]n the guise of conquerors,
> Harnessed with their guns and glaives,
> March the Austrian patrols
> Through the city of their slaves. (ll. 1-4)

This poem is again set in Florence, just like Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" and Ogilvy's "Newly Dead and Newly Born", and it applies the procession motif in a similar way as "Casa Guidi Windows" by demonstrating the political situation of Florence at the beginning of the poem, which is followed by a hopeful ending. Taking a closer look at

Ogilvy's poem, it is noticeable that it makes use of similar motifs to Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" when it criticises the foreign dominion over Tuscany as Austrian soldiers patrol through the streets of Florence, which prompts the speaker of the poem to caution the citizens of Florence: "Tuscans! Ye are prisoners!/ Florence! Thou'rt the German's prey" (Ogilvy "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", ll. 3, 15-16). Moreover, Ogilvy also refers to the children singing of liberty, thereby mirroring the lone child who ran through the streets of Florence and sang of liberty in Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" (Ogilvy "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", ll. 19-20, Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, line 3). In both poems, the singing child or children can be read as a sign of hope and the advent of the national movement for Italian Unification, which commenced with the thought of a liberated and unified Italian country and nation. While also examining similarities between Ogilvy's poem and Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows", Simon Avery argues that "this poem can be seen to constitute a more compact, skeletal and elliptical version of much of Part Two of *Casa Guidi Windows"* (61). Apart from the similar beginnings of the two poems, this is especially evident when we look at the political criticism of Duke Leopold, who ruled over the Duchy of Tuscany and was Tuscany's last grand duke for 35 years, that appears in both poems (Avery "Casa Guidi Neighbours" 61). To criticise Duke Leopold, Ogilvy makes use of a (post-)colonial rhetoric which depicts him as

> [s]ome petty Afric chief
> Sells his negroes on the strand,
> Yielded to the slaver's grip
> Chained together foot and hand.
>
> Ah, that savage cannot see
> What his victims undergo,
> But this nation-seller lives

Present to his people's woe. ("The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." ll. 29.36)

This choice of a (post-)colonial rhetoric further politicises Ogilvy's poem and places it within the greater realm of nineteenth-century imperial politics. For "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." this rhetoric crafts Duke Leopold as a tyrannical oppressor of the Tuscan people and leaves no room for positive associations, as Avery confirms by stating that "Ogilvy's condemnation" of Duke "Leopold as 'nation-seller'" is "damning and uncompromising" ("Casa Guidi Neighbours" 63). In this way, she portrays the Duke as an anti-hero whose reign must be ended by the agency of the common people. As alluded to earlier, the poem has a hopeful ending when the speaker proclaims: "Up, Italia! can'st thou sleep/ With thy foes for sentinels?" (Ogilvy "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", ll. 47-48). This call to action represents yet another parallel to Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" even though it is conveyed using slightly more restrained words than those used in Barrett Browning's narrative poem. Moreover, it is interesting to note that Ogilvy's poem also shares a similarity with Braddon's commissioned poem "Garibaldi" which appeared only ten years after "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", as both poems depict (parts of) Italian society as passive. Whereas Ogilvy refers to the "Florentines, like timorous birds," who "[n]estle among their leaves", Braddon presented the Italian women as hiding close to the walls to not be seen by the foreign occupiers (Ogilvy "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", ll. 11-12, Braddon "Garibaldi", l. 138). Finally, Ogilvy's poem urges the common people to become active to end the oppression by foreign rulers and to bring about Italy's unification and, in so doing, she, like the other poetesses who used this motif in their mid- to late-nineteenth century pro-Risorgimento poetry, showed her readers a way to support the Italian national movement for

the sake of a better future. Such a call to action is also common for (proto-)feminist literature, which relies on the strength of the masses to achieve increased women's rights and a better social standing for women in society. This belief reoccurs in pro-Risorgimento writing and explains why the rhetoric of political woman's poetry of the mid- to late-nineteenth century was particularly suitable for being paired with (proto-)feminist messages. In this sense, Ogilvy may also have thought of creating a space for women's emancipation through the agency the speaker of "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." calls for at the end of the poem. Additionally, her poem "The Lombard Ploughman" (1851), which comes right after "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." in her poem collection *Poems of Ten Years* proposes a similar strategy for the success of the Italian national movement, as it first criticises the various foreign rulers as an "[i]mpatient […] master" who "comes greedy handed to ruin thy thrift" to exploit the Italians (Ogilvy "The Lombard Ploughman", ll. 4 and 13). This instance also mirrors (post-)colonial imagery as the foreign rulers are depicted as the dominant oppressors who are exploiting and subjugating the local community. Throughout the poem, the speaker constantly reminds the Italians to "[p]lough, plough, ye Italians, with sewar and with/ moil,/ The blood of your brethren is fattening the soil", thereby reminding them of the cruelty the foreign rulers have inflicted on their nation and country for the past decades on the one hand, and of the fact that hard work and common action will be the way out of this situation on the other hand. Hence, in the last stanza of the poem, the speaker finally asks the Italians:

> The cry of the captive how long wilt thou bear?
> When, when shall thy light pass as free as the
> air?
> When, when shall the people be roused from despair? (Ogilvy "The Lombard Ploughman", ll. 46-50)

With this ending, the poem resonates the endings of Ogilvy's "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence." and Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" and, via the use of religious imagery, when it references the light of Italy that should finally radiate again, it offers a possibility for a change for the better according to the theme of resurrection that was already traced in Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" and other pro-Risorgimento poems from the network of the expatriate British poetesses in Florence. This mirrors the desire for a new daybreak in "Aurora Leigh" and, similar to the message of Barrett Browning's poem, it can also be read as a sign of hope in Ogilvy's "The Lombard Ploughman". A call for the action of the masses paired with the common theme of metamorphosis can also be traced in Ogilvy's "To Certain Peoples and Populaces" (1852) (Avery "Casa Guidi Neighbours" 65). The poem commences by depicting Italy in a paralysed state as the speaker of the poem, whose

> soul were dead,
> As any idiot's dumb and dull,
> My body left from heel to head
> A husk, a blank receptacle. (Ogilvy "To Certain Peoples and Populaces", ll. 1-4)

Throughout the poem, feminized Italy explains that she would prefer death over the constant oppression and exploitation by foreign rulers (Avery "Casa Guidi Neighbours" 66). This starts out with thoughts concerning what should be done to change Italy's current situation, such as not to "creep when you should stand upright" and "[t]o skulk when you should front the foe" (Ogilvy "To Certain Peoples and Populaces", ll. 17-18). In the last three stanzas of the poem, these thoughts develop into a concrete plan to end the oppression by foreign rulers and stand

> [u]p! up! I hate the sight of blood,
> I hate the roll of threatening drum,
> Yet better drown your fields in flood
> Then fleeing cry, They come, they come.

> Up! up! God meant all men for mates,
> Not some to cringe, not some to beat:
> Yea, better slay them at your gates
> Than curse them as ye lick their feet.
>
> Nor fear their death shall on you weigh;
> A heavier burden, men, believe
> That country whom her sons betray
> That nation whom her chiefs deceive. (Ogilvy "To Certain Peoples and Populaces", ll. 33-44)

This ending proclaims the resurrection of Italy as she comes back to life, control, and strength by undergoing a metamorphosis that commences with a consciousness of the current situation which first takes shape in thoughts of change and, in a final step, yields a concrete plan and a call to action. Here again, similarities between Ogilvy's political pro-Risorgimento poetry and that of Barrett Browning can be identified in terms of the reoccurring motifs of the metamorphosis, the resurrection theme, and the call to action. Furthermore, Avery convincingly argues that the acceptance of the necessity of warfare and loss comprises another similarity between Ogilvy's "To Certain Peoples and Populaces" and Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" ("Casa Guidi Neighbours" 66). The speaker of "Casa Guidi Windows" prefers "the struggle in the slippery fosse,/ Of dying men and horses, and the wave/ Blood-bubbling" over the constant oppression by foreign rulers, thereby following the same lines of argumentation as the final three stanzas of Ogilvy's "To Certain Peoples and Populaces" quoted above (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part II, ll. 403-405 also qtd. in Avery "Casa Guidi Neighbours" 66). For Avery, "the use of violence as a means of pushing for political freedom is justified and endorsed" by both poetesses ("Casa Guidi Neighbours" 66). As this use of violence only recurred in Ogilvy's political poetry, I argue that her personal and rougher female writing

identity as a Scottish writer, who broadly elaborated on Scottish myths and traditions, especially in *A Book of Highland Minstrelsy* (1846) and "A Legend of Eileen Mohr" (1845), which include extensive accounts of warfare and bloodshed and promote an image of the Scottish as a strong nation of warriors,[62] inspired the endorsement of violence in "To Certain Peoples and Populaces". Finally, the second-to-last line of the poem identifies Italy as a female figure, which is very topical as the previous analyses have shown and is yet another indication of Ogilvy's attempt to incorporate an empowered version of femininity into her poem that might derive from her background as a Scottish woman and could also have been fuelled by the poetry of the other expatriate British woman writers, which also partly featured strong female characters. In Ogilvy's "To Certain Peoples and Populaces", Italy as a female figure finds a way towards empowerment via a transformation that leads from a passive state to the fierce determination to end foreign rulership as a significant step towards Italian unification and liberation. Thus, also the motif of feminized Italy reoccurs in Ogilvy's poetry, and it is very interestingly crafted into the history of a determined once passive woman to claim her status as a powerful and active being in "To Certain Peoples and Populaces".

In conclusion, the preceding analysis of political poetry focusing on the Italian Risorgimento from the mid- to the late-nineteenth century by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Christina Rossetti, and the expatriate British poetesses, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy has shown that the versions of femininity

[62] For a detailed analysis of Scottish identity, consult: MacQueen, Hector L. "*Regiam Majestatem,* Scots Law, and National Identity". *The Scottish Historical Review,* Vol. 74, No. 197, Part 1 (April 1995), 1-25.

proposed and renegotiated by these female authors are just as versatile as their personal attempts to test and push to the limits of traditional gender conventions and rules of writing. The examination of their political pro-Risorgimento poetry has uncovered the most common and recurring motifs used by the woman authors as tools to integrate a proto-feminist message into their political poems on the Italian Risorgimento. These motifs are feminized Italy, which is mostly depicted in a disempowered position as a sleeping female figure that is frequently redeemed by the resurrection motif showing how the Italian country and nation revive and regain strength in several steps. These metamorphoses often end with a call to action directed at the Italians as, for example, Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" and Theodosia Garrow Trollope's "She Is Not Dead But Sleepeth" have shown. As the femininization of Italy already alludes to, gender conventions are another typical theme in mid- to late-nineteenth-century political poetry on the Italian Risorgimento, whereby the characters in the poems display all possible opinions towards traditional gender roles.

As the previous examination showed, while not all fictional characters are as bold as Aurora Leigh, the poems centring on more conventional gender roles such as Barrett Browning's "Mother and Poet" also convey a pro-Risorgimento message, albeit in a more nuanced way. Hence, although revolutionary and powerful female characters who challenge or even oppose traditional gender conventions are not an essential characteristic of the selected female authors' poetry, they may nevertheless be part of their repertoire. Lastly, the interrelation of the female characters in the political poems of especially Rossetti and Barrett Browning but also Garrow Trollope and Ogilvy are also highly interesting as they promote the socio-political idea of female community that often

even transcends national borders and depicts Britain as the more advanced and emancipated sister that will aid Italy in the struggle of nation-making. This motif mirrors the actual experience of the expatriate poetesses as the close friendships among the women of their network created a safe writing space in which they could freely experiment with different ideas about womanhood and even explore new spaces for homosexual desire as a possible characteristic of a more openminded and self-empowered version of femininity. Thus, the political poetry of these female authors serves as a platform that renegotiated concepts of womanhood and advocated for more powerful and also politically influential versions of femininity and a better social standing of women in (post-)Risorgimento Italy and elsewhere. Even though Braddon and Rossetti were not part of the circle of expatriate British poetesses in Florence, their poetry also contained a pro-Risorgimento message in combination with the earlier-identified motifs used by women authors to mobilize the Italian unification as a vehicle for facilitating a better social standing for women. From a twenty-first-century perspective, these strategies are similar to the methods used by feminists even today to further develop more liberated and creative visions of womanhood, which shows that the expatriate woman writers themselves have become the grandmothers that Elizabeth Barrett Browning was looking for in the mid-nineteenth century but could not find ("Aurora Leigh", xvii). Lastly, the political poetry by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, Christina Rossetti, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy was published transnationally in middle-class periodicals and as poetry collections, thereby reaching a vast and mostly female readership from different social classes, which played a significant role in

shaping nineteenth-century British popular culture with the socio-political agenda it propagated among its British readers.

3. "[P]ut[ting] on their uniforms"[63]: Radicalising the British Working Class – The Italian Risorgimento as a Working-Class Narrative

In their 1994 monograph *The Remaking of the British Working Class 1840-1940,* Mike Savage and Andrew Miles retrace the historical development of the newly forming British working class and the crucial factors that characterize this particular class. The scholars' historiography foregrounds the importance of the political activism of the British working class by examining its role in the formation of this particular social class (Savage and Miles 1). Savage and Miles examine the significance of working-class political activism for the formation of the British working class as a separate social class by analysing nineteenth- and twentieth-century historical research on the British working class. The scholars argue that nineteenth-century historical approaches "believed that working-class agency was steadily increasing the influence of the institutions of the Labour movement", as indicated by the steadily growing trade unions, cooperative societies, and the Chartist movement of the 1830s and 1840s, which resulted in the foundation of the Labour Party in 1900 (Savage and Miles 1). Furthermore, historian Gareth Stedman Jones views trade unions and party politics as visible effects of the ongoing labour movement of the late nineteenth century, which characterised the "distinctiveness of a working-class way of life" in his chapter "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class" (183). James

[63] From: "Italy", *The Times,* 17 July 1857, 10.

Owen's monograph *Labour and the Caucus – Working-Class Radicalism and Organised Liberalism in England, 1868-1888* from 2014 analyses the history of working-class political radicalism by examining, for example, how the candidature of working-class candidates was central to the development of labour (party) politics (2). Owen's study considers the evolution of labour politics as a response to the ongoing labour movement of the nineteenth century and traces important steps towards a visible representation of the British working class in politics, such as the Second Reform Act from 1867, which "enfranchised 'registered and residential' male householders, giving the vote to thirty per cent of working men" (3). Furthermore, Owen also concentrates on particular rhetorical strategies used in the political campaigns of working-class candidates to better understand the relationship between labour activists and political parties and identify different ideas on the term caucus (3). Owen's interpretation of the relationship between working-class radicals and party politics is based on Henry Pelling's *Origins of the Labour Party* (1954) and E. J. Hobsbawm's *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (1956), who both saw potential for political reform in this relationship (9).[64] In general, early historical research on the political activism of the British working class had a significant influence on later, mid-twentieth-century approaches that critically re-evaluated the Labour movement by also examining the political agency of the working class apart from party politics (Savage and Miles 1).

According to Savage and Miles, historical research from the 1950s and 1960s concentrated on the significance of "'real' working-class

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[64] See: Hobsbawm, E. J. "Trends in the British Labour Movement since 1850" in *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964, 316-343; Pelling, Henry. *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900,* Oxford UP, 1954, 1-7.

agency in the routines and practices of everyday life" that were applied at the workplace, at home, or in leisure activities, for the socio-political development of the British working class (1). This train of thought is central to Nicola Wilson's 2015 monograph, *Home in British Working-Class Fiction,* in which she elaborates on ideas of the home as being central to the understanding of concepts of class and identity (1). Wilson's study "puts family and marital relationships, gender, household finances, education and the kitchen table" at the centre of our understanding of working-class life, arguing that the most crucial characteristics are found in everyday life (1). In her argumentation, Wilson quotes from the work of Johanna Bourke, who "drew upon working-class autobiographies to argue that the main sites of class awareness and identity were not the factory floor nor trade union" but "emerged from routine activities of everyday life" in her 1994 work, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity* (qtd. in Wilson 2).[65] Wilson's interpretation of class resonates with Savage and Mile's study from the same year, inspiring Wilson's twenty-first-century study of the British working class with ideas on class as a subjective and fluid category (Wilson 2). This category was also influenced by contemporary working-class clichés. In this context, Stedman Jones, for example, identifies "high unemployment, social unrest abroad, threatened epidemics and doubts about the political loyalties of the masses" as fears of the upper classes in the nineteenth century (153). He argues that reports in the national newspapers about political uprisings, together with the drunkenness, fondness for gambling, and immorality of the working class additionally strengthened these fears and transformed them into negative clichés

[65] See: Bourke, Johanna. *Working-Class Cultures in Britain, 1890-1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity.* Routledge, 1994, 4.

about the British working class, thereby adding yet another facet to this fluid category (Stedman Jones, 151-161). As a result, all these studies demonstrate that while the research on the British working class has become increasingly complex over time, focusing on different important aspects of the socio-political development of the working class, the political agency of the British working class remained a steady characteristic of this particular segment of society.

Edward P. Thompson's 1963 study, *The Making of the English Working Class,* traces the beginnings of the political activism of the British working class as early as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (782). His ground-breaking social study highlights the significance of early working-class activism as it fuelled the labour movement of the coming centuries, which pushed for reform of current politics, representation of the working class, and the abolition of injustice towards workers (782). In his research on the British working class, Thompson also highlights the important role of working-class individuals such as William Morris and Tom Maguire, who heavily influenced late-nineteenth-century socialism as role models for working-class men in general.[66] Thompson's ideas are mirrored in the later works of Savage and Miles, Wilson, Bourke, and Owen, who all see working-class activism as a major factor driving political progress. The dynamics of the British working class are also the topic of many non-fictional nineteenth-century accounts. Most prominently, Friedrich Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) and Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) reflected on the political agency of the British

[66] See: Thompson, Edward P. *William Morris, Romantic to Revolutionary.* Merlin, 1955. And Thompson, Edward P. "Homage to Tom Maguire". in Briggs, A. and J. Saville (eds.), *Essays in Labour History,* Macmillan, 1961.

working class.[67] All these accounts on the development of the British working class see the potential of the political activism of this social class in its understanding of itself as a social class unified by its living conditions, shared values, and pressing socio-political issues, based on which the members of the British working class can identify as one social group, network, and class. Through this awareness, a working-class culture could arise in Victorian Britain that also heavily influenced nineteenth-century British popular culture.

When it comes to the depiction of the Italian national movement in nineteenth-century British popular culture, it should be noted that different social classes had access to various kinds of media that informed them about current issues and through which they contributed to the shaping of these discourses. Scholars such as Arnold, Scott, Stedman Jones, Morley, Silver, Denisoff, Shiach, and Oliphant, whose research was introduced in the introduction of this book, examined the influence of the different social classes on nineteenth-century British popular culture and arrived at different results. Especially Stedman Jones and Denisoff foreground the significance of the British working class in the creation of nineteenth-century popular culture. Stedman Jones, in his 2010 article "Working-class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900; Notes on the Remaking of a Working Class" focuses on the vast mass of British workers in the Victorian era, which established a working-class culture of their own as a new development of the time and he argues that this new culture also influenced and shaped the general popular culture of nineteenth-century Britain (146-147). Furthermore, Stedman Jones identifies the British working class as politically active, when he

[67] See: Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England.* OUP, 2009 and Mayhew, Henry. *London Labour and the London Poor.* Penguin Books Ltd., 1985.

refers to the general assumption "that the politically active working man of the time was a radical or socialist", who nevertheless needed a charismatic figure to dedicate his attention to (147). According to his findings, it was less decisive who this charismatic figure was or where they came from, but what their political aims were, and hence Stedman Jones also mentions possible reasons for going abroad and becoming active for another nation in his article from 2010 (153-154). Thus, Stedman Jones's findings align with those of Denisoff, who defined the term 'popular culture' in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* and proposed that popular culture was no longer a middle-class phenomenon by the end of the nineteenth century, as the working class had manifested itself as a large social class by that time, that also contributed to the shaping of popular culture (138 and 140). Apart from the development of a specific working-class culture, factors such as the financial and educational background of the respective social class also influenced the kinds of print media it consumed, and hence that it is not surprising that the middle- to upper-middle-class British female authors analysed in chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'" both read and wrote novels and poems or poem collections, whereas the British working class mainly consumed cheaper print media derived from sensational fiction, such as the nineteenth-century phenomenon of the 'penny dreadful' or the periodical press. Tying onto this fact, Denisoff argues that particularly cheap periodical publications significantly influenced contemporary popular culture and he adds that the adventures presented in sensational fiction inspired especially younger working-class readers to go on adventures abroad (147-148). This possibility of going abroad is also mentioned by Diana Moore in her recent monograph called *Revolutionary Domesticity in the Italian*

Risorgimento – Transnational Victorian Feminism, 1850-1890 from 2021 in which she links the interest of many British citizens to go to foreign countries, especially to Italy, to the long tradition of British enthusiasm for Italy's glorious past. She argues:

> Many transnational histories of the Risorgimento focus on the numerous relationships between Italian patriots and their British supporters. These works recognize Britain's long-standing interest in Italy's legendary past, how the popularity of the Grand Tour and Romanticism in the nineteenth century only increased this interest, and how Italy offered a place for British artists and writers to practice their craft. Moving the focus away from the state level, these scholars emphasize support for the Italian Risorgimento, and for Garibaldi and Mazzini in particular, among the middle and working classes. In her work in this field, historian Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe emphasizes sustained support for Mazzini among the working class as a way to challenge the commonly-held belief that Mazzini lost the majority of followers after 1850. (Moore, *Revolutionary Domesticity* 7)

Hence, Moore identifies the traditional British interest in other European countries, especially in Italy, as a further factor for the readiness of the British to not only visit these places but also to volunteer abroad (*Revolutionary Domesticity* 7). Her argument is based on Waters, Hollington, and Jordan's 2010 study, *Imagining Italy: Victorian Writers and Travellers* and Chapman's 2015 work *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1850-1870,* whereby the latter is also crucial for chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'", on expatriate British poetesses in Florence, in this book.[68] Moreover, Cove's 2019 *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Bacchin's 2014 *Italofilia: Opinine publicca brittanica e Risorgimento*

[68] See: Catherine Waters, Michael Hollington, and John O. Jordan, eds., *Imagining Italy: Victorian Writers and Travellers,* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010; Alison Chapman, *Networking the Nation: British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1870,* Oxford UP, 2015.

italiano, 1847-1864[69], Pellegrino Sutcliffe's 2014 monograph *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, and Beales's earlier chapter "Garibaldi in England: The Politics of Italian Enthusiasm" from 1991 inspired Moore's argumentation.[70] All these studies examine the multiple reasons that motivated certain parts of British society to support the Italian Risorgimento and they elaborate on the political activism of particular social classes and groups in nineteenth-century Britain, which had taken on a transnational scope. This transnational interest was also met by the news, a medium read by all social classes, even though the various newspapers aimed at different readerships with their conservative, liberal, or radical ways of reporting on national and international political and socio-political columns and other topics.[71] The class-transcending popularity of newspapers resulted in a boom in new newspapers in nineteenth-century Britain—not least because of the political interest and activism of large parts of Victorian society.

Considering the vast array of nineteenth-century British newspapers, the following analysis of the role of the British working class in the annexation of Sicily (1860) as a decisive moment in the Italian Risorgimento is based on selected articles from the following five

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[69] The Italian title of Bacchin's 2014 monograph translates to: "Italophilia: British Public Opinion and the Italian Risorgimento".

[70] See: Patricia Cove, *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019; Derek Beales, "Garibaldi in England: The Politics of Italian Enthusiasm", in *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento: Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith,* eds. Denis Mack Smith, John A. Davis, and Paul Ginsborg, Cambridge UP, 1991, 184-216; Elena Bacchin, *Italofilia: Opinione pubblica brittanica e Risorgimento italiano, 1847-1864,* Torino: Carocci editore, 2014 and Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats,* The Boydell Press, 2014.

[71] Judith Knelman elaborates on the development of a social conscience in the British press in the nineteenth century in her article "Class and Gender Bias in Victorian Newspapers", which was published in the *Victorian Periodicals Review,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 1993), 29-35, 1993.

newspapers: *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant*. With this choice, the analysis of articles on the British working class, and particularly the British Legion, does not only concentrate on its depiction in the large London press but also integrates perspectives from the working-class cities of Liverpool and Newcastle in addition to Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Moreover, this choice of newspapers considers conservative and radical voices as equally important for the creation of the Italian Risorgimento as a working-class narrative in the nineteenth-century British press, although many newspapers display multiple perspectives on the Italian national movement and sometimes even contradict the editorial's political agenda. A summary of the most important facts concerning each of the five relevant newspapers is provided in the appendix, together with detailed information on their historical development and circulation. My analysis will follow the paths of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Captain Styles, all individuals who played a crucial role in the process of acquiring the sympathy of the British working class for the Italian Risorgimento, in their travels through Britain. Thus, it will be examined how the growing socio-political awareness of the British working class as a large and impactful social class is manifested via actions of national and transnational solidarity, whereby Stedman Jones's and Lyttelton's focus on the importance of the presence of a charismatic figure will be retraced in selected articles (153-154). Based on a pre-selection of articles from the aforementioned newspapers, the following analysis identifies and interprets common rhetorical strategies and motifs used in the British press to radicalise the working class for the Italian Risorgimento. The examination using three case studies proceeds chronologically from the Second War of Italian Independence in 1859,

when the first wave of British subjects volunteered for the Italian cause, to the annexation of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies in 1860, when Garibaldi led his volunteer army, including the British Legion, to free Sicily from Bourbon rule, culminating with the reports on the dissolving British Legion from late 1860 and early 1861. A set of rhetorical strategies and images are identified that helped to direct the attention of the British working class toward the Italian national movement in the context of these crucial historical events. Among these strategies and images, the importance of transnational workingmen's solidarity and the highlighting of similar aims of the British working class and the Italian people, heroic depictions of Garibaldi and his followers, including their typical red shirt which became a symbol among the general public, and an anti-foreign ruler agenda worked best to radicalise the British working class for the Italian cause. With this focus on the British working class, my analysis contributes to addressing the current lack of research on labour history in the context of the Italian Risorgimento, which Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe noted in 2012.[72] All articles used for the following analysis can be found in the Nineteenth Century British Library Newspapers (BNCN) and The British Newspaper Archive (BNA). The examination commences by elaborating on different methods of keeping the British working class informed about the precarious situation of the Italian workers in the mid-nineteenth-century British press.

3.1 Mobilising the British Working Class

When examining the depiction of the Italian Risorgimento in nineteenth-century British popular culture, it is evident that the British press was

[72] See: Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy amongst British Co-operators (c. 1885-1949), *Labour History Review,* Vol. 77, No. 3, 2012, 267.

crucial for the reporting of news and, more generally, the mediation of information concerning the Italian national movement in Britain. Although the members of all social classes purchased newspapers in Victorian Britain, print media such as newspapers comprised the main medium through which the working class not only consumed but also influenced contemporary popular cultural discourses about the Italian cause. As historical sources document, large parts of the British working class became ardent supporters of the Italian Risorgimento, the politics of Mazzini, and the military campaign of Garibaldi. Lucy Riall, for example, noted that "[t]he press – especially newspapers and pamphlets – had always played a direct role in helping to create public opinion and in mobilising it behind political issues" (*Garibaldi* 133). The following analysis illustrates the types of rhetorical strategies and potent images the British press used to mobilise the support of the British working class for the Italian cause, covering the time from 1854, when Garibaldi came to visit London and the working-class town Newcastle, and which renewed the British interest in the Italian Risorgimento, to 1860, when the British Legion was recruited to fight alongside Garibaldi in Sicily (Riall, *Garibaldi* 120 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe *Victorian Radicals* 93). This examination aims to identify both the methods and motifs used in the British press that encouraged the British working class to participate in the Italian cause and the socio-political effects of these ways of reporting. My research on *The Morning Chronicle, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* the *Newcastle Courant,* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* showed that all these Victorian newspapers, conservative and radical, urban and rural, used similar rhetorical strategies and motifs. The most popular of these approaches foreground the importance of the international solidarity of workingmen and the shared values of the British working class and the

Italian national movement. Furthermore, they use the rhetoric of heroism to direct the traditional radicalism of the British working class to the political and military leaders of the Italian Risorgimento, Mazzini and Garibaldi, a motif that is often combined with an anti-foreign ruler agenda. The development of a feeling of hatred towards the foreign ruler, most prominently the French, automatically allies the British readers with the political position of Risorgimento supporters and their central aim to end foreign rulership in Italy.[73] In the following, these rhetorical strategies are traced in a selection of articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle,* and other contemporary newspapers, as techniques through which these newspapers consciously steered the political interest and radical activism of their vast working-class readership in a Risorgimento-supporting direction.

3.1.1 Mazzini and Garibaldi as Vehicles of a Radical Political Agenda

My research on *The Morning Chronicle, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* the *Newcastle Courant,* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* showed that the selected British newspapers used different forms of addressing the Italian Risorgimento, among them political statements by or on the impactful individuals of the Italian national movement, Mazzini and Garibaldi. These articles often portray Garibaldi as a heroic figure of the Italian national movement, creating a positive vision of the Italian national movement for all its supporters. Adrian Lyttelton traces the

[73] The Francophobia alluded to here derives from an extensive historical debate rooted in British nation building. Scholarly research on Britain's past argues that the opposition to France was a driving force in British nation building and significantly influenced the definition of Britain's national identity. Most prominently, Linda Colley views Britain's past encounters with Catholic France as a decisive factor for the creation of a shared British national identity, based on their strictly Protestant culture, as indicated in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Yale UP, 2009).

roots of this heroism appropriated to Garibaldi in romantic ideas and imagery centring on national origins as historical myths and patriotism, which together contributed to a return to heroic values, creating a momentum for the occurrence of an Italian national hero around 1848 (37). Lyttelton quotes Margaret Fuller's impression of Garibaldi as a national hero, referring to his look as "entirely that of a hero of the Middle Ages" and longing for "Walter Scott to be on earth again" so that he could describe the masculinity of Garibaldi and his followers in one of his poems (38). Thus, Lyttelton argues, a national hero had to meet the expectations of the romantic past but also those that the present with its new challenges poses (37). Garibaldi does so, as Lyttelton's study, Lucy Riall's monograph *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero*, and the articles analysed in the following demonstrate. Whereas Lyttelton initially focuses on Garibaldi as a national hero in the time leading up to 1848, Riall examines how the image of the hero changed after 1848 (*Garibaldi* 114). She finds that Garibaldi modified the image of the hero following the "Anglo-Saxon ideals of manliness, marked by modesty, courtesy and steadfastness" alongside Garibaldi's guerrilla past in South America during his exile in America (1850–1854) (*Garibaldi* 114 and Lyttelton 39). In the mid-nineteenth century, the image of the hero was reshaped in accordance with contemporary political and cultural needs, according to Lyttelton, who suggests that the later Anglo-Saxion ideals will have more strongly aroused the interest of the nations looking up to the hero than the out-dated romantic ideas (39). Pellegrino Sutcliffe and Riall interpret this remodelling of the image of the hero according to contemporary needs as "'a free mixing of history and invention', producing 'a new image of Garibaldi with a general European-wide appeal', in which Garibaldi's 'radicalism tended to be toned down or at least depoliticised'" (Pellegrino

Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 129). Lastly, Stedman Jones also argues that Garibaldi was shaped into a charismatic figure that especially the working-class people needed to be encouraged to support to drive their enthusiasm for the fight for Italian unification (147).

Although Lyttelton depicts Garibaldi as meeting the expectations of a national hero right away, mid-nineteenth-century articles from the conservative *Times* that depict the beginnings of the Italian movement toward independence indicate that Garibaldi did not intend to become a signifier for the Italian Risorgimento in the mid-nineteenth century (39). Founded in London in 1785, *The Times* had already become Britain's most influential daily newspaper by the mid-nineteenth century (Reid). Reporting on a wide range of topics, including foreign affairs, the newspaper was widely read throughout the entire country, reaching an average circulation of 42,384 annual issues in 1852 ("The Times" and Reid). It is therefore not surprising that *The Times* also reported on the ongoing national movement in Italy and its transnational dimension. In its issue from 14 August 1854, a letter penned by Garibaldi to the *Corriere Mercantile* of Genoa was published, in which he complains about two instances in which his name was "mixed up with insurrectionary movements of which I do not approve" since he returned to Italy ("Sardinia" 7). Instead, Garibaldi cautions his countrymen against rushing into uncoordinated battles and uprisings and following the "deceived men, who, pushing them on to untimely attempts, ruin, or at least discredit our cause" ("Sardinia" 7). This last excerpt mirrors the disunity between Mazzini's and Garibaldi's plans for the Italian national movement during the 1850s and it portrays Garibaldi as a prudent military leader who wants to carefully consider his mission rather than risk the lives of his men in poorly-planned battles. The temporary

disagreement between Garibaldi and Mazzini seems to be decisive for Garibaldi's lack of support for his plans as he emphasized this point again in a letter from Genoa, dated 17 August 1854, that was published in *The Times* on 24 August 1854. In this letter, Garibaldi reiterates that he was "tired of hearing his name repeated relative to those attempts at insurrection which by their wild imprudence revolt the common sense of the public" and distances "himself from all personal responsibility in that respect" ("Italy", *The Times,* 24 August 1854, 7).

Furthermore, while Garibaldi identifies as an ardent supporter of the Italian national movement in both articles, he nevertheless clarifies that he does not want to be fashioned into a symbol for other people's, most certainly Mazzini's, plans for the movement. The article "Mazzini on Slavery" from *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 4 June 1854 verifies that Mazzini indeed fashioned Garibaldi into a heroic leading figure of the Italian Risorgimento to generate support for the Italian cause among a large British readership. Besides turning Garibaldi into a heroic figure of the Italian national movement, Mazzini's reply to the secretary of the North of England Anti-Slavery and India Reform League, published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 4 June 1854 (Mazzini, "Mazzini on Slavery" 16), addresses the common aims and values of the working class and the Italian Risorgimento, drawing a direct connection between the political aims of both countries. As *Reynolds's Newspaper* was founded by the radical journalist George William MacArthur in 1850, and quickly became a "Chartist organ" and a successful Sunday newspaper sold for 1p, it is less surprising that its political reports often resonated with the radical republican aims of Mazzini ("Reynolds News", Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 207). The article "Mazzini on Slavery", for example, portrays Mazzini as a genuine supporter of the North of England Anti-

Slavery Association and puts liberty as the “godlike gift of all races – of all nations – of every being who bears on his brow the stamp of man” above all other aims and gifts of humankind (Mazzini, “Mazzini on Slavery” 16). Thus, Mazzini’s emphasis on liberty as the central aim of the North of England Anti-Slavery Association creates a parallel to a crucial socio-political aim of the Italian national movement, namely the abolition of foreign rulership in Italy in an article that does not report on the Italian Risorgimento at first glance. Mazzini continues by stating that liberty can only be achieved if all humans unite under the shared aim of abolishing slavery so that free human beings can then receive education and develop into conscious and responsible individuals (Mazzini, “Mazzini on Slavery” 16). These thoughts will also go on to be part of Mazzini’s later political manifesto published in the British press in October 1860 and are an example of the rhetoric used in accounts by or on Garibaldi and Mazzini that centres on the motif of (trans-)national solidarity and shared values to create a feeling of unity and strength among the British readership. In combination with powerful political plans, universal aims, and direct calls to action, these motifs created trust in the ‘Great Men’ of the Risorgimento among British readers and turned many of them into Risorgimento supporters.[74]

In “Mazzini on Slavery”, Mazzini furthermore introduces the transnational scope of slavery and oppression by pointing to the fact that not only black people are kept as slaves in the nineteenth century, but also many white people are suffering from oppression in various European countries. This rhetorical approach was also used by feminists

[74] Excerpts from Mazzini’s manifesto were printed in the *Birmingham Daily Post* on 4 October 1860, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* on 7 October 1860, for example. All articles carry the title “Mazzini’s Manifesto”.

in the later nineteenth century who increasingly strove to highlight aspects concerning 'White Slavery' and the subjection of women (Mazzini, "Mazzini on Slavery" 16).[75] In this context, he explicitly refers to Italy as one example of a country that suffers from the oppression of foreign rulers in the nineteenth century, again redirecting the reader's interest to the ongoing Italian national movement, which fights similar threats as the North of England Anti-Slavery Association. Lastly, according to Mazzini's view, free and well-educated citizens would contribute to the emancipation of every country and nation and strengthen the global community (Mazzini, "Mazzini on Slavery" 16). Thus, Mazzini finds a way to integrate his pro-Risorgimento attitude in his reply to the North of England Anti-Slavery Association by accentuating liberty as the shared aim of all mankind coupled with discreet – albeit recurring – references to the situation of Italy in the nineteenth century. Using these rhetorical strategies, an article that is not about the Italian Risorgimento at first glance nevertheless promotes the aims and ideas of the Italian national movement when analysed in closer detail. Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean elaborate on the meaning of a text in their 1993 study, stating:

> [T]he material agency of a text is formally indeterminate, since any text may be used at different times for different purposes by different people. In other words […] textual agency is always instrumental and historically specific and consequently not an essential or formal property of the text itself, but an effect of the uses to which it can be put. (29)

Hence, the analysis of "Mazzini on Slavery" showed that Mazzini consciously used his reply to confirm his support for the North of England Anti-Slavery Association and, more importantly, by as early as 1854, he

[75] See for example: Mill, John Stuart. *The Subjection of Women,* ed. Susan M. Okin. Hackett Publishing Company, 1988; Batchelor, Plonowska Ziarek, Ewa. *Feminist Aesthetics and the Politics of Modernism.* Columbia UP, 2012 and Ware, Vron. *Beyond the Pale – White Women, Racism, and History.* Verso Books, 2015.

had already found a way to promote the shared aims of the British and the Italians. This example demonstrates how the meaning of a text is created due to it being instrumentalized for the purposes of the North of England Anti-Slavery Association and the Italian Risorgimento as a socio-political movement according to the concept of Landry and MacLean. Furthermore, the fact that many British workingmen supported the Italian Risorgimento since Garibaldi's visit to London and Newcastle in 1864 supports Riall's statement on the significance of the press in the creation of the public opinion, as the rhetorical strategies and motifs used in the mid-nineteenth-century British press marked the beginning of more than a decade of radical support for the Italian Risorgimento by the British working class. Following Garibaldi's visit in 1854, especially Newcastle, Birmingham, and Liverpool developed into 'volunteer towns', as Pellegrino Sutcliffe calls them, due to the large-scale participation in Garibaldi's mission that arose in these towns ("British Red Shirts" 216). Subsequently, Mazzini displays his commitment to the British in "Mazzini on Slavery" when he foregrounds the importance of liberty, education, and personal freedom, while, simultaneously, introducing his own political ideas for the ongoing Italian national movement to a large British readership (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 4 June 1854, 16).

When a letter by Mazzini to Bettino Ricasoli, Minister of Tuscany and later Prime Minister of Italy (1861-1862), was published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 27 November 1859, presenting his views on the events of the Italian national movement and ending with an emotional confession, it had a similar effect on the British readers. The decision of the publishers of *Reynolds's Newspaper* to print the letter displays the newspaper's sympathetic attitude towards the Italian national movement as the letter takes up the motif of liberty and combines it with heroism

and transnational solidarity. Through their decision to publish this letter, the publishers consciously influence the political opinion of their readership. In “M. Mazzini on Italian Affairs”, Mazzini’s letter urges the Minister of Tuscany, Bettino Ricasoli, to understand that the national movement can only be successful with the support of Tuscany and announces that the long-prepared battle in Sicily, led by Garibaldi and his troops, will bring about the final step of Italian unification (Mazzini, “M. Mazzini on Italian Affairs” 13). Despite their current personal disagreement on the political and military strategies of the Risorgimento, Mazzini hails Garibaldi as the right military leader for the battle in Sicily, who would also be celebrated and admired greatly by the Italian citizens and his international volunteer soldiers (Mazzini, “M. Mazzini on Italian Affairs” 13). By referring to Garibaldi as a military genius, Mazzini intends to soothe Ricasoli’s hatred of Garibaldi and to strengthen his belief in the success of the Italian national movement if the battle in Sicily were to be led by Garibaldi so that Ricasoli would assure Tuscany’s support. In his letter, Mazzini does not only address Ricasoli from his own political but also from his personal position as an Italian patriot when he ends his letter confessing that he “felt the necessity of telling you [Ricasoli] these things, and of exposing to you the feelings of the man who loves Italy and national union better than his life”, thereby using rhetoric centring on national solidarity (Mazzini, “M. Mazzini on Italian Affairs” 13). This rhetorical strategy draws on the emotions of the addressee and the reader when Mazzini expresses his true personal aims and feelings of an Italian for the Italian national movement. In this way, Mazzini appears to be an honest man with a genuine intention to bring about Italian unification with the military aid of Garibaldi and the support of Tuscany. Through this insight into Mazzini’s correspondence with Ricasoli, British

readers get a glimpse of the private opinion on the Italian cause of one of the leading figures of the Italian Risorgimento and get to know him as a patriot, who is not only an Italian politician but also an honest man frankly speaking his mind. Thus, Mazzini mirrors many characteristics and ideals of the British workingmen, who were represented as honest and hard-working patriots. Such personal parallels helped to increase the sympathy of numerous British working-class men for Mazzini and his plans centring on Garibaldi as a military leader of the Italian Risorgimento, even before the actual recruiting of the British Legion in 1860.

Hence, it is less surprising that "M. Mazzini on Italian Affairs" puts a strong emphasis on Garibaldi's vast military experience, which makes him the perfect strategic leader on the Italian battlefields. Garibaldi's military genius, together with his personal charisma, is often fashioned into a tale of heroism in the British press, as further examples in this analysis will demonstrate. When, due to the pressure of the Tuscan ministers and the Prince Regent, Garibaldi had to return to Nice in November 1859 and resign from his military rank for the moment, *Reynolds's Newspaper* published a statement by Garibaldi on his temporary retirement together with an extensively worded letter by the Italian King Victor Emmanuel II to the Italian nation, in which he honours Garibaldi as a loyal patriot and military leader. In his statement, which was published in the *Gazette de Nice* on 18 November 1859, Garibaldi promises that he will return to his position in the Army of Central Italy as soon as King Victor Emmanuel II calls for his help ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6). Garibaldi's loyalty to Italy and its national movement is also foregrounded in King Victor Emmanuel's letter to the Italian nation from 17 November 1859, in which

the King views the current military actions of the Central Italian Army, now led by Fanti, critically and states that "Garibaldi's retirement may have the effect of spreading discontent among the patriotic soldiers" ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6).[76] Like Mazzini, Victor Emmanuel II demonstrates his support for Garibaldi as a great military hero and suitable leader of the Central Italian Army. To further emphasise his trust in Garibaldi, the King writes in his letter:

> As long as the command of that army was entrusted to him [Garibaldi], he would have kept the promise he had so nobly given to the King, but now that he has been freed from it, Garibaldi, I am sure, will accomplish his work should he be called, sooner or later, to take the lead of the Italian revolution. ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6)

In his letter, the King again highlights Garibaldi's brilliance as a military leader and loyal supporter of the Italian national movement ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6). King Victor Emmanuel's allegiance with Garibaldi, like Mazzini's demonstration of trust in Garibaldi, promotes a picture of unity among these leading figures of the Italian national movement to the Italians and a large number of British readers. The issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 27 November 1859 uses Garibaldi's statement and the letter of the King as first-hand accounts of the leading figures of the Italian Risorgimento and adds several other supporting voices to them, such as that of *The Times* correspondent in Italy, who harshly condemns the Prince Regent's action of forcing Garibaldi to resign in one of his articles ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6). Lastly, the Sardinian

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[76] The title-page article, "Italy", published in the Foreign Affairs column of *Reynolds's Newspaper* briefly describes Fanti's military career and the current situation: "Garibaldi is to watch the northern frontier, whole General Fanti acts as chief. This last officer is a native of Modena, though long distinguished in the Spanish and Piedmontese ranks, and recently as leader of the left wing at Solferino" ("Italy" 1, 4 September 1859).

Government also addresses Garibaldi's resignation in a letter from 15 November 1859, cautioning that the forced retirement of Garibaldi might have been the wrong decision as he was "the representative of the popular element in Italy, and this feels instinctively that it has lost one of its purest and most able champions" ("State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 6). Here again, Garibaldi's capability as a great military leader is foregrounded and he is depicted as a symbol of successful warfare for the Italian nation.

All the different voices published in this column of *Reynolds's Newspaper* portrayed Garibaldi as a hero and criticised the King Regent and the Tuscan ministers for forcing him to step back from his military rank, which also demonstrates the importance of the British press for the creation of Garibaldi's reputation in Britain. In her outstanding monograph *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero*, Lucy Riall focuses on the importance of positive reporting in the international press for Garibaldi. She finds that a combination of Garibaldi's positive portrayal in "politics and theatre, news journalism and popular fiction" was vital for the creation of his heroic image (Riall, *Garibaldi* 247) and it was thus decisive for Garibaldi to be depicted sympathetically by journalists. Riall's analysis shows that Garibaldi's victorious military career during the early years of the Risorgimento led to a "shift in his favour in the attitude of the press", which is visible in the heroic appraisals of Garibaldi in the international press (*Garibaldi* 248). My analysis showed how the heroic rhetoric used in the British press fashioned Garibaldi into a symbol of the Italian national movement for the vast British readership. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that especially Garibaldi's knowledge and experience of warfare were used to generate a feeling of trust among the British readers

and functioned as a method of mobilising transnational volunteers for the Italian national movement.

Moreover, this recurring rhetorical strategy of fashioning Garibaldi into a symbol of a successful Italian Risorgimento had visible material effects as, for example, *The Times* reports of Risorgimento supporters who dressed like Garibaldi to identify as such. The issue from 17 July 1857 reports of the soldiers on board the Cagliari, leaving Genoa for Ponza, "put[ting] on their uniforms, consisting of a Phrygian cap, green shirt, and red trousers, after the fashion of Garibaldi" ("Italy", *The Times,* 17 July 1857, 10). In August 1860, *The Times* correspondent in Sicily notes that he "found the town still crowded with Garibaldi's own red flannel shirts or with men in the sail-cloth jacket, which has also been adopted as a uniform for a Garibaldian volunteer" in Genoa, referring to another example where the support of the Italian Risorgimento became materially visible through a particular type of clothing ("Sicily", *The Times,* 25 August 1860, 5). Even though the descriptions of the clothing of the Risorgimento supporters from the mid-nineteenth-century British *Times* differ, the red component remains which resulted in the term 'red shirts' being attributed to Garibaldi's supporters. At this point, the rhetorical strategy of fashioning Garibaldi into a vehicle for a successful Italian Risorgimento had reached another level in which Garibaldi already resembled the Italian movement, successfully attracting the support of many Italian and British people. In *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero*, Lucy Riall examines how the support for Garibaldi and the Italian Risorgimento became material and visible – and even audible – in Britain by means of further examples, such as figurines or engravings, sheet music, and songs (334 ff.).

In the late 1850s, the scope of the heroic rhetoric applied to Garibaldi widened from Garibaldi to the leading figures of the Italian national movement in general. For example, the issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 13 November 1859 contains the article "Italy Acts For Herself", which favours "Garibaldi's good sword" over "a Congress over which Louis Napoleon will seek to attain a preponderating and fatal influence" over Italy, before Lord Ellenborough expresses his trust in Garibaldi in a letter to Lord Brougham published in the same issue under the title "Garibaldi" ("Italy Acts For Herself", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 9). In his letter, Lord Ellenborough claims:

> There is in Italy one man who has at once a head to direct, a hand to execute, and a heart which tells him what is right. That man is Garibaldi! Let the Italians follow where he leads, and they will at least acquire the honour which has been so long unknown to them as a people. […] If he should obtain success, he will not consent to hold the provinces he liberates as a fief of the French empire. ("Italy Acts For Herself", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 9)

In his letter, he also takes up the anti-Napoleonic agenda to demonstrate his sympathy for Garibaldi as a military hero by opposing the same enemies ("Italy Acts For Herself", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 9). Lord Ellenborough's letter depicts Garibaldi as a symbol of hope for the Italian nation and as a capable military leader who unites all the characteristics of an English gentleman within him. This is also visible in the title-page article of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 20 November 1859, "Italian Independence – Its Friends and Its Foes", which hails Garibaldi as "the hero of the Italian struggle" and acknowledges the established alliance between Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Victor Emmanuel II as powerful and paving the right way towards Italian unification ("Italian Independence", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). In this article, Victor Emmanuel II is depicted as the "lion-hearted King" and Mazzini as a brave Italian patriot who has risked his life for the Italian

cause more often than any other man, which shows that Riall's approach to the importance of winning the sympathy of the British press was not only crucial for Garibaldi but for all influential figures of the Italian Risorgimento ("Italian Independence", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). However, it is worth remembering that the heroic rhetoric was most successful when applied to Garibaldi, as he was fashioned into a universally-known symbol of Italian unification.

I mentioned earlier, in chapters 1.1 "The Historiography of the Risorgimento and Contemporary Popular Culture" and 1.3 "The Networks of British Italophilia", that the portrayal of the 'Great Men' of the Italian Risorgimento, most prominently Garibaldi, contributed to the redefinition of masculinity and British national identity in the nineteenth century. According to Riall and McAllister, the British viewed themselves as being in a superior position compared to the other European countries and nations and traditionally defined the ideals of the English gentlemen against the characteristics of the inferior, less-educated and less-civilized citizens of Italy. Still, Pécout, Bacchin, and Pellegrino Sutcliffe foreground the importance of transnational solidarity of the British towards the Italian citizens in their studies, which was particularly evident in this group of the British labouring classes who decided to volunteer for the Italian Risorgimento.[77] From these findings, I deduced earlier that the attribution of characteristics typical for an English gentleman to Garibaldi worked as a narrative device to fashion him into a symbol that the British could associate with even more. Many of these ideals that Lord Ellenborough ascribed to Garibaldi were also shared by the British working class, such as the pure heart, the belief in hard work, and the

[77] See chapter 1.3 "The Networks of British Italophilia" of this book, Pécout 414, Bacchin "Brothers of Liberty" 828 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203.

moral compass, which is another reason why many British working-class men became supporters of Garibaldi, and thus, of the Italian national movement ("Italy Acts For Herself", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 16). In their 1969 monograph, Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter reflect on the common constructions and ideas on "[t]he working man [...] [who] thinks not in the abstract terms of social and economic relations [...] but in a more concrete way [...] his pride is [in] being a worker and his solidarity with other workers is a pride in the fact that they are real men who work hard for their living", thereby adding to Pécout's, Bacchin's, and Pellegrino Sutcliffe's emphasis on the importance of transnational solidarity for the transnational support and the later recruiting of the British Legion in 1860 (33). The sympathies of the international press culminate in 1860 when the newspapers are flooded with heroic appraisals of Garibaldi (Riall, *Garibaldi* 249). Headlines such as "Garibaldi, The Hero of the Age"[78] or "Life of Garibaldi. The Hero of Freedom"[79] in addition to several articles carrying a less catchy title used the powerful image of Garibaldi as a war hero to attract the readers' attention concerning the Italian Risorgimento.[80] As the events of 1860 show, this depiction was particularly helpful for the recruitment of international volunteers for the Italian cause, an aspect that is examined in close detail in chapter 3.2 "'Here We Are, Ready To Fight'".

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[78] *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 10 June 1860.

[79] *Manchester Times,* 16 June 1860.

[80] See for example: "The War in Italy". *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 5 June 1859; "Garibaldi in Sicily". *The Newcastle Courant,* 22 June 1860, and "Mazzini and Garibaldi". *The Morning Chronicle,* 25 August 1860.

3.1.2 Reynolds's Newspaper's Weekly Foreign Affairs Column

As foreign affairs columns were a common component of nineteenth-century British newspapers, it is interesting to investigate how they contributed to the shaping of discourses on international events. These columns were a permanent fixture in every issue of *The Morning Chronicle, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* the *Newcastle Courant,* and *Reynolds's Newspaper,* reporting on the current foreign affairs in Europe and the world, from which one would expect an objective coverage of the ongoing events. However, a closer examination of these columns on Italy indicates that certain narrative strategies and images were used to portray the recent events in a certain light that mirrors or also contradicts the political agendas of the individual publishing houses. At this point, it is worth remembering Landry and MacLean's study on the instrumental character of a text from 1993, which argued that the meaning of a text only comes into existence when it is appropriated for a particular purpose (29). In order to showcase this evolution of a British Risorgimento narrative, the following analysis examines the rhetorical strategies and motifs used in the foreign affairs columns of the radical weekly *Reynolds's Newspaper* in the second half of 1859, which aimed at radicalizing the British working class for the events leading up to the battle of the Two Sicilies in 1860.

The title-page issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 5 June 1859 proclaims: "The most gratifying feature of this miserable war is that, in all the engagements that have taken place, the Italians have acquitted themselves in a manner worthy of a people claiming and deserving to be free" ("The War in Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 5 June 1859, 1). With this statement, the article on the Italian national movement conveys a subjective opinion on the ongoing events in Italy although it must also be

noted that the article otherwise correctly portrays the current military and political events in Italy. However, as was observed in other examples presented in this section, this report on the current affairs of Italy which functions as a prologue to the actual current affairs column also works with a rhetoric of liberty, shared aims with the British working class, an anti-Napoleonic attitude, and the image of the hero. In "The War in Italy", these strategies are also applied in combination, like when the successes of the Italian Risorgimento are ascribed to "Garibaldi and his heroic followers", who "have conducted themselves in such a manner as must convince the world that the charges of cowardice advanced against the people of Italy by the hirelings of the Hapsburgs, are foul and atrocious calumnies" (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 5 June 1859, 11). In this quotation, Garibaldi's soldiers are depicted as the actual heroes of the Italian national movement, which attributes the successes reached so far to the common men rather than to Garibaldi, who is often wisely referred to as a great war hero in other publications. Instead, "The War in Italy" focuses on the heroic characteristics of bravery and physical power, which establishes a parallel between the characteristics of Garibaldi's soldiers and the British workingmen. Additionally, this heroic portrayal of the soldiers certainly intended to make participation in the Italian Risorgimento attractive for British workingmen, who would be able to become part of this group of heroes by supporting the Italian cause. The article furthermore radiates a pro-Risorgimento attitude by painting a negative picture of Napoleon Bonaparte, who still ruled over parts of Italy, by depicting him as a "faithless and crime-stained tyrant" leading a nation that is "greedy and insatiable of glory" ("The War in Italy",

Reynolds's Newspaper, 5 June 1859, 1).[81] In a longer tirade against Napoleon Bonaparte, in which an anti-Napoleonic opinion is even portrayed as being inherently English, the article states: "The people of England hate Louis Napoleon", who is "obnoxious to the Court and aristocracy of England" ("The War in Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 5 June 1859, 1). In this way, the article clearly positions itself on the same side as the supporters of the Risorgimento and against his foreign dominion over parts of Italy. This aversion to the French again dates back to the time of British nation-building, which many historians examined as a process of the country defining itself against the Catholic French, who used to be a threat for a long time throughout the shared history of the two countries. As was mentioned earlier, Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* reflects on the complex process of British nation-building after 1707 as influenced by warfare, religion, and economics.[82] After portraying Garibaldi's soldiers as heroes and manifesting an anti-Napoleonic point of view, the article proposes that,

> [t]o break up the Austrian empire, to destroy the Hapsburg dynasty, and, above all, to emancipate the noble Italian people, is a great and godlike work, which would ensure the monarch and nation by whom it would be accomplished undying fame, as well as the gratitude of every friend of freedom throughout the world. ("The War in Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 5 June 1859, 1)

In so doing, the article applies the rhetoric of heroism to an entire country and nation that would surely turn into heroes when leading the Italian Risorgimento to success ("The War in Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 5 June 1859, 1). Of course, Britain and the British nation were the addressees of

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[81] A similar description of Napoleon Bonaparte as a tyrant is found in "Will England Engage in the War?" where he is referred to as "the tyrant of France the slave of an overgrown, bloodthirsty, aspiring, and reckless army, the soldiers of which are longing for plunder, and the officers for rank, riches, and renown" (*Reynold's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, p. 7).

[82] See: Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837.* Yale UP, 2009.

this statement in the article, now that it had already allied with the political position of Risorgimento supporters and pointed to the fact that common men could turn into heroes when participating in the Italian national movement.

Significantly, an anti-French agenda also served as an effective rhetorical strategy of the radical British nineteenth-century newspaper, and thus it reoccurred in multiple articles on the ongoing Italian national movement. One notable example is seen in the issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 4 September 1859, in which the title-page issue on Italy concentrates on the malevolence of Napoleon Bonaparte, arguing: "[W]hat the emperor Bonaparte really aims at, is to create discouragement and to foster an agitation which may lead to disturbances, and afford the pretext for armed intervention. […] This I am deeply convinced is Napoleon's game" ("Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 September 1859, 1). Whereas the article "The War in Italy" focused on Napoleon's personal characteristics and transferred them onto the entire French nation, "Italy" now foregrounded the emperor's bad intentions of provoking further battles in Italy, which may lead to him taking over further regions of the struggling country. The article again presents the subjective opinion of its author on the situation in Italy, which is followed by a demonstration of an international measure of the Italian Risorgimento, when he asks: "Will Europe allow him [Napoleon Bonaparte] to play it out to the end? This is a question which statesmen in London, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh [*sic*]" have to answer ("Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 September 1859, 1). This display of the international dimensions of the Italian national movement again makes the situation at hand relevant to the British, whereby the rhetoric used here also foregrounds the importance of transnational solidarity to the

success of the Italian Risorgimento. The article "Italy" strengthens this rhetoric by referring to the Italians as strong-willed and brave patriots who are "ready for any strain of endurance" against the French emperor ("Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 September 1859, 1). The article "Italian Independence – Its Friends and Its Foes" from 20 November 1859 also uses anti-Napoleonic rhetoric and combines it with the international dimension of the Italian national movement, arguing that "[t]he foremost foe of Italian independence, as he is the deadliest enemy of the peace of Europe, is the Emperor of France" (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). Moreover, the article argues that "[t]here can be no healthy, enduring peace for Europe so long as any one of the European nations is enslaved" and calls for transnational solidarity and aid as the oppression of Italy by its foreign rulers troubled the peace in, and political stability of, Europe as a whole ("Italian Independence", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). The anti-Napoleonic attitude of the article goes so far as to propose: "Peace for Europe is impossible, so long as the Italians are subjected to the brutal rule of the stranger. It, therefore, follows that the friends of the liberty and independence of Italy are also the friends and champions of a just and permanent European peace", by which it implicitly calls on the sense of superiority of the British as one of the most powerful European nations and their interest in peace in Europe and tries to mobilise European support for the ongoing Italian national movement—also among the large British readership of *Reynolds's Newspaper* ("Italian Independence", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). Hence, the radical newspaper works with the binary opposition of those who support the Italian Risorgimento being those who are also interested in peace in all of Europe versus those who oppose the Italian national movement, and thus, also identify as opponents of European

peace. Furthermore, it depicts the French emperor as a greedy and cruel tyrant who opposes Victor Emmanuel, "the lion-hearted King of Sardinia", Mazzini as a true patriot, and Garibaldi, "the hero of the Italian struggle" together with his loyal comrades. This rhetoric conveys to the British readers that they can only make the right decision by supporting the Italian national movement, or the wrong decision by denying their support to this noble movement. While this is, of course, a highly simplified and very subjective approach to the political situation at the time in question in Italy, the fact that many British workingmen decided to volunteer in 1860 demonstrates the success of this rhetorical strategy. Lastly, a letter from Florence published in "The State of Italy" in the same issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* also indicates that the Italians will never accept Napoleon Bonaparte's rule as "[t]his people, so mild and gentle, becomes a fury when the word restoration is uttered" ("The State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 7).

Even though Napoleon Bonaparte is often depicted as the greatest foe of the Italian country and nation, the anti-French or anti-Napoleonic rhetoric used in the British radical press concerning its portrayal of the Italian Risorgimento is also extended into an 'anti-foreign rulers' rhetoric in instances where it is also applied to Austrian oppression. The article "Italy" published on the title page of *Reynolds's Newspaper* issue from 4 September 1859 announces that "[t]here are rumours afloat of a condensation of Austrian troops upon Mantua and the frontier of Modena", foreshadowing the threat of Austrian oppression ("Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 4 September 1859, 1). Three months later, the serious effects of the oppression by the Austrians are described in the article "The State of Italy" published on 13 November. The article's author refers to the beauty of the Piazza San Marco in Venice as spoiled by "a

novel military band of Austrian soldiers, surrounded at some little distances by sentinels", foregrounding how the presence of the Austrians disrupts the beauty of the piazza and threatens the lives of the Venetians ("The State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 4). The focus then shifts to the Venetian citizens as the author reflects:

> Comparatively few of the citizens are present. [...] Working men and their wives and daughters stand round in groups; but, strange to say not a word is spoken. Men look at each other, smile at each other, or make some sign, but speak not a word except in whispers. Now and then, you may see two men, as they walk up and down, look cautiously round to see whether they are observed. The spies are everywhere. ("The State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 4)

This depiction of the Venetians highlights their fear of the foreign ruler but also the degree to which the Austrian rule had already pervaded parts of Venetian society as some individuals have become secret spies for the Austrians, who might hand over their fellow Italian brothers and sisters to the Austrian oppressors. Furthermore, the portrayal of the Venetians as captives in their own city in the passage above mirrors the image of the slave that was also rendered in "Italian Independence – Its Friends and Its Foes" when foreign rulership was depicted as preventing peace in all of Europe. Furthermore, it is also strongly reminiscent of Eliza Ogilvy's poem "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", which was analysed earlier in chapter 2.3 "Women Reforming Politics" ("Italian Independence", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 1). The slave rhetoric reoccurs in Ogilvy's poem when the speaker tries to foment the radical activism of the Tuscans to oppose Austrian oppression by proclaiming: "Tuscans! ye are prisoners!/ Florence! thou'rt the German's prey", whereby the reference to the 'German's' is a wrongful identification of the Austrians (Ogilvy "The Austrian Night Patrol. Florence.", ll. 15-16).

The rhetoric opposing foreign dominion in Italy is often combined with the portrayal of the Italian people as brave patriots and the image of

heroism applied to Garibaldi. The article “Italy”, published in *Reynolds’s Newspaper* on 4 September 1859, for example, refers to the hope of the Italian people for a successful unification and liberation from French dominion, for which they “were ready for any strain of endurance” (“Italy”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 4 September 1859, 1). Moreover, this article ties the Italian people’s hope to the military guidance of Garibaldi who arrived in Parma together with the Minister of War and Colonel Frapolli, where he “was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the entire population” (“Italy”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 4 September 1859, 1). This quotation demonstrates that the enthusiasm of the Italian people to fight for unification and the abolition of foreign dominion over parts of Italy will not cease as long as they can rely on Garibaldi as their military leader. The article describes Garibaldi’s entry into Parma as a huge celebration accompanied by “an unanimous cry of ‘Down with the Bourbons!’ ‘Long live Italy!’ ‘Long live Victor Emmanuel!’”, which shows how committed the Italian public was to the cause of the national movement and how much it trusted in the strategies of Garibaldi (“Italy”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 4 September 1859, 1). This cheerful welcoming of Garibaldi in Parma in 1859 is strongly reminiscent of the reaction of the British people when Garibaldi again came to visit London in 1864, as this was reported as being a mass event that was equally enthusiastic and heroic in Denis Mack Smith’s *Garibaldi* and Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe’s “Garibaldi in London”.[83] This instance again demonstrates the transnational dimension of the Italian Risorgimento, as Garibaldi was as enthusiastically celebrated in London in 1864 as he was in Parma in 1859

[83] See: Mack Smith, Denis. *Garibaldi – A Great Life in Brief.* Greenwood Press, 1956, 140 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. “Garibaldi in London”. *History Today,* Vol. 64, No. 10, October 2014, 42-49.

since he was perceived as a hero of the Italian national movement in both countries and at both phases of the Italian national movement. As Riall pointed out, "[i]t can hardly be over-stressed how important winning the sympathy of journalists" and a heroic depiction in the international press was to Garibaldi, as it fashioned him into an icon that radiated hope for and trust in the success of the Italian national movement (*Garibaldi* 247). This heroic portrayal is also frequently visible in press coverage of the Italian Risorgimento in *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 1859 when Italy is depicted as having to "take the matter in her own hands" with Garibaldi as "the man for carrying out this bold plan with full success; and I am convinced that the little army of the Pope would be swept away in less than a fortnight by his gallant and well-organized legions" ("The State of Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 4). The same sentiment is also conveyed in "Italy Acts For Herself" when the article notes: "The Italians at length seem disposed to settle their own affairs according to their own views and inclinations" and that Italy should better "confide her destinies to the guardianship of Garibaldi's good sword, than to a Congress over which Louis Napoleon will seek to attain a preponderating and fatal influence" ("Italy Acts For Herself", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 9).

The previous examples showed how the rhetorical strategies and images used in the foreign affairs columns and articles of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 1859 were consciously applied as linguistic tools to positively influence the opinion of its large British readership towards the Italian national movement. The fact that numerous British workingmen volunteered for Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily in 1860 demonstrates that these strategies of the radical British weekly were successful and that the images of heroism, the parallels between the Italians and the British

workingmen, and the rhetoric catering to transnational solidarity mobilised segments of the British working class in the mid-nineteenth century. Put into the wider socio-political context of nineteenth-century popular culture, the analysis has shown that rhetorical strategies and motifs such as the image of slavery, heroism, and transnational (workingmen's) solidary are found in different types of nineteenth-century British media and genres of literature, which adds to the impression that they made their way into contemporary popular culture and thereby manifested themselves as widely-known rhetoric devices and potent motifs to radicalize the British reading public to support the Italian national movement.

3.1.3 Demonstrations of Working-Class Sympathy in the Volunteer Movement from 1859

The previous section showed that an anti-French agenda was used in the Foreign Affairs columns of *Reynolds's Newspaper* to mobilise the British public. This was especially evident in February 1858, when the Orsini affair took the Francophobia of the British to its climax, because "Britain was accused of partiality towards accomplices of the Italian terrorist [Orsini] who had attempted to assassinate Napoleon" with bombs manufactured in Birmingham (Rose 100). When the Second War of Independence broke out between France and the Austrian Empire in Italy a little later, in April 1859, the fear of the British of also being invaded by the much larger French army additionally intensified to such an extent that the British government found that the recruiting of volunteers would be the most effective way to strengthen Britain's military defences and the anti-French rhetoric recurred in the British press (Beckett 19). The article, "Will England Engage in the War?" published in *Reynolds's*

Newspaper on 15 May 1859 mirrors the government's anti-French agenda arguing that "the present European war – into which England will in all probability be dragged – is caused by the tyranny and cruelty of one sovereign and by the ambition and desperation of another", thereby referring to Napoleon Bonaparte's dominion over Italy as a threat to all of Europe, using a similar rhetoric as was identified as a common motif to encourage the British to support the Italian national movement and oppose Napoleon in the preceding section (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 7). Thus, the shared hatred of the mutual enemy, France, positioned Italy and Britain on the same side in the Second War of Independence—also through the rhetoric used in the British press. The British press furthermore used to disseminate the calls for volunteers among the British newspaper-reading public, which was especially welcomed by radical nineteenth-century newspapers promoting an anti-French agenda. On 15 May 1859, in its title-page issue "Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper* published the conditions issued by the War Office, Pall-mall, on 12 May, under which a volunteer corps may be formed. These conditions redefined the Foreign Enlistment Act issued by George II in 1819 for the purposes of the formation of a volunteer corps in 1859, so that it was necessary that "the corps be formed under officers bearing the commission of the lieutenant of the county", "the uniform and equipments [*sic*] of the corps may be settled by the members", and regulating the legal subjection of the volunteer soldiers to military law and their payment as being similar to that of the regular army ("Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 May 1859, 1). From May 1859, headlines such as "Volunteer Corps" and "The Volunteer Corps Movement" or similar variations of these made regular appearances in British newspapers and disseminated the call for volunteers throughout

British society. This is also the time when the spirit of volunteering entered contemporary popular culture, firstly due to its broad coverage in the news but also through Alfred Lord Tennyson's poem "Riflemen Form", which was first published in *The Times* on 9 May 1859 and encourages its readers to join the volunteer movement with the words: "Form, form! Riflemen form" (Rose 99). The fact that Tennyson's poem was first published in *The Times* demonstrates that the conservative press also occasionally promoted the volunteer movement of 1859, which was not only crucial for the Second Italian War of Independence but also for the later stages of the Italian Risorgimento. Apart from Tennyson's "Riflemen Form", the same call to action is visible in two poems by William Henry Embling, "The British Garibaldians" and "The English Excursionists", published in 1860 (Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 836). It is important to note that Embling's "The English Excursionists" resonates with the ironic use of the term 'excursion' in the context of transnational volunteering, which will receive special attention in chapter 3.2.2 "Legal Challenges and Recruiting in Disguise" when it comes to the legal challenges of recruiting for the Italian cause in Britain. In his poems, Embling, who supported the cause of Garibaldi's Thousand and later joined the British Legion himself, proclaims "[f]reedom for all!" and urges the British to return to their arms and support their Italian brothers and sisters in their mission for liberty and unity (qtd. in Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 836). Thus, the spirit of transnational solidarity as a key factor for the recruiting of volunteers in 1859 and the British Legion in 1860 also became apparent in mid-nineteenth-century British poetry.

In his article "The Volunteers of 1859" from 1959, Barrie Rose elaborates on the historical development of the 1859 corps, the number of volunteers recruited, and their social background from the perspective

of 1959, the year when the Territorial Army of Britain celebrated its 50th anniversary (97). It is notable that he portrays the volunteers of 1859 as a "unique body" because only once before, during the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), and once after 1859, when the Local Defence Volunteers were assembled during World War II in 1940, "have comparable numbers of private citizens, in such a short space of time, voluntarily taken up arms and submitted themselves to military discipline (Rose 97). Rose argues that the volunteering of "130,000 citizen-soldiers between May, 1859, and June, 1860, inevitably reflected and in itself formed part of a political and social revolution of deep significance" and underpins his statement with a quote from *The Times* correspondent*,* which refers to this drive of the British to volunteer as "an impulse, an influence, an instinct perhaps" (97). The impression of *The Times* correspondent interprets the significant readiness to volunteer as an innate and enthusiastic act of patriotism of the British and is another example of conservative papers such as *The Times* reporting positively on the 1859 volunteers (97).

An early account of the Second War of Italian Unification appeared in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 15 May 1859*,* stating: "[T]he press, the pulpit, and the platforms, are, called into requisition; the passions of the people are aroused; an appeal is made to their patriotism, their loyalty, and their devotedness". The article thereby mentions the different ways of addressing the British, and feelings of patriotism and solidarity to appeal to, which intertwine in the rhetoric used in the British press during the volunteer movement of 1859 ("Will England Engage in the War?", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 7). A similar phenomenon is detected by Riall, who analyses the recruiting process and behaviour of volunteers in the Second War of Independence in the Italian press. She finds that the mobilisation of volunteers was decisively "encouraged by

the National Society in a major press campaign", equally dedicating a great deal of importance to the national press for the acquisition of volunteers, which, from late 1858 onwards "predicted that a war with Austria was imminent" (*Garibaldi* 166). Riall's analysis also shows that the role of military defence was as important as the role of patriotic enthusiasm for the numerous volunteering citizen soldiers, which demonstrates that the processes of recruiting and motives to volunteer were similar in Britain and Italy in 1859 (*Garibaldi* 166). Another similarity is found in the early British volunteers being "influenced by the guerrilla tradition of Garibaldi", the Italian war hero and leading individual of the Italian Risorgimento, but also by the guerrilla tradition of "Spain, and the New World" according to Rose (98). Rose recalls the historical development of the volunteer soldier movement as a new corps consisting of "light-armed skirmishers and sharpshooters, ready to assist the Regular Army", which began with the illegal foundation of "local rifle clubs on [a] semi-military basis" in Britain in 1852 in Exeter and Cheltenham until, in 1853, "the London Royal Victoria Rifle Club was allowed to assemble" (99). However, it was only from May 1859 onwards that numerous volunteers were recruited as, "[d]uring the two years following May, 1859, an average of 7,000 recruits a month was maintained, while by the end of November, 1859, as many as 1,328 recruits were joining daily" as Rose's survey shows (97).

Thus, in 1859, the British volunteer movement reached its peak and represented the British "nation in arms" in the Second War of Independence (Rose 99). Whereas the issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 15 May 1859 asked whether England would engage in the war, the sympathies of the entire British nation towards volunteering were

demonstrated in numerous articles later that year.[84] It should, however, be noted that especially the articles on the war from early 1859 also highlighted the possible negative impacts of volunteering, especially for the working class, as both "Will England Engage in the War?" and "The Working Classes and The War" cautioned that the enthusiasm of the people for volunteering might prevent them from seeing that "the English working classes will have to pay the cost of the present war of the despots" ("Will England Engage in the War?", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 7 and "The Working Classes and the War", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 7). From September 1859 onwards, these doubts seem to have vanished as the press coverage of the Second War of Independence in *Reynolds's Newspaper* entirely focuses on positive events such as the enthusiastic welcoming of General Garibaldi in Parma, which was reported in the foreign affairs column on 4 September 1859, and the processes of recruiting British volunteers ("Italy", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 4 September 1859, 1). Especially from October 1859 onwards, a report on the volunteer corps movement became a temporary fixture in the weekly issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper,* which contained ever-longer reports on the successes in recruiting in an almost uncountable number of British towns, cities, and counties covering the entire country, from Glasgow up north to Hythe in the very south.

On 23 October 1859, the article "Volunteer Corps" introduces the advancements made in Chelmsford, East Retford, Great Marlow, Great Yarmouth, Staffordshire, Stowmarket, Woodbridge, Marylebone, Bristol, Edinburgh and Glasgow, highlighting that "[t]he Edinburgh regiment is the first of the new volunteer corps that has turned out fully armed and

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[84] "Will England Engage in the War?" *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 7.

equipped before the Queen" and that "[v]olunteer rifle corps are now being organized in all small towns of the west of Scotland, and with becoming spirit and enthusiasm", which resonates with the central role of individual patriotic enthusiasm that Riall and Rose had identified as crucial for the successful mobilisation of British volunteers ("Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 23 October 1859, 9). Rose's analysis of the volunteer movement of 1859 also mentions that the "movement was strongest north of the Scottish border" as the article from 23 October 1859 foreshadows (103 and "Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 23 October 1859, 9). Moreover, the article mentions the Corn Exchange in King's Lynn as a place "used for drill meeting of the members of the volunteer rifle company", which turned into a characteristic of the volunteer movement, as large public buildings were often used for the formation of volunteer corps and the military training of the citizen soldiers ("Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 23 October 1859, 9). This is also shown in the article "The Volunteer Rifle Corps Movement" from 13 November 1859, which reports on the advancements made in Hythe, Highgate, Glasgow, Woolwich, Gravesend, Manchester, and Weston-Super-Mare, where

> [a] meeting of inhabitants of this place was held at the Town Hall for the purpose of forming a rifle corps. […] There were not less than 500 persons present. Resolutions in favour of forming a rifle corps were adopted, a sum of 100£ was subscribed, and sixty promising young men volunteered to be enrolled

as well as Newark, where "[a]t a meeting of the town council, held a few days ago, it was resolved that a special meeting of the council should be called to take the preliminary steps in forming a rifle corps for this borough" ("The Volunteer Rifle Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 13 November 1859, 6 and "The Volunteer Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 6).

The interconnection between industrial locations and volunteering was so strong in some geographical areas of Britain, that Rose argues, "[m]any of the Volunteer corps raised in the various parts of the country were virtually the private armies of big entrepreneurs or industrialists", who owned these places (104). Rose's statement finds support in articles such as "Volunteer Corps Movement", published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 11 December 1859, which announces that "The engineers of the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway are at present organizing a staff of commissioned and non-commissioned officers […] to form a scientific contingent of the great national volunteer army" and a 300-man-strong volunteer corps. Furthermore, "The Volunteer Corps Movement", published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 18 December 1859, reported on "Mr Denison, the chairman of the Great Northern Railway Company, ha[ving] sent a letter to Mr Hoare, the secretary of the Railway Rifle Corps, expressing a wish that the *employés* [*sic*] of several railway companies should be united in one strong rifle brigade" and he builds his argument on historical reports by Howie, Wolf and Woodburne ("Volunteer Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 11 December 1859, 7; "The Volunteer Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 18 December 1859, 6 and Rose 104).[85] These historical accounts provide information on Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the officer of a "company recruited from three warehouses belonging to the family concern at Glasgow", M.P. W.E. Forster, who "raised the Burley Rifle Corps from among his Yorkshire factory hands", and a corps of "formed of workers at the Vale of Neath Brewery, Glamorgan", Wales (Rose 104).

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[85] See: Howie, David. *History of the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers: with List of Officers, Prize Winners, Men Present at Royal Reviews, &c.* David Robinson, 1887, 321; Wolf, Lucien. *Life of First Marquess of Ripon.* Hesperides Press, 1921, Vol. I, 185; Woodburne, G.B.L. *The Story of Our Volunteers.* Newman & Co, 1881, 57.

Furthermore, the article from 13 November 1859 recounts that the volunteer corps of Glasgow and Manchester grew rapidly and, "[i]n the streets of an evening the volunteers are seen in considerable numbers going and returning from drill" in Glasgow or "marching through the town to the drill-ground, preceded by an excellent volunteer band" in Manchester, which demonstrates how visible the volunteer movement had become to the general British public by November 1859 ("The Volunteer Rifle Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 13 November 1859, 6). The presence of the volunteer corps movement is almost palpable in the issues from 20 and 27November 1859, where the successful recruiting in Malton, Newark, Walsall, Burslem, Stockton-On-Tees, Macclesfield, Halifax, London, Staffordshire, Huddersfield, Dedham (Essex), Kingston-on-Thames, Carlisle, Cornwall, Lancashire, Liverpool, and Manchester is recorded in terms of large numbers of enthusiastic volunteers and subscriptions ("The Volunteer Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 20 November 1859, 6 and "The Volunteer Corps Movement", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 3). In Liverpool, for example,

> [t]he volunteer movement continues to make great progress [...]. Many hundreds have already enrolled themselves in the Artillery and Rifle Brigade and several bodies of men, to the number of hundreds in each, are about joining in. Subscriptions are also pouring [in,]

while the issue from 11 December 1859 announces that, "[i]n the city of Worcester a subscription of 800£ has been obtained, and a corps of 300 volunteers" has been formed, Cornwall reports the "prospect of having before long a strong and available force from 200,000 to 300,00 men", and that great progress was made in Manchester, where

> [a] large and enthusiastic public meeting was held on Monday in the Manchester Town Hall, to commence a subscription in aid of the arming and equipment of volunteer riflemen. [...] A number of speeches strongly in favour of the volunteer

> movement were delivered […]. The subscriptions reached 3,180£ before the close of the day (“The Volunteer Corps Movement”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 27 November 1859, 3 and “Volunteer Corps Movement”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* 11 December 1859, 7).

In the issue of *Reynolds’s Newspaper* from 30 October 1859, Giuseppe Mazzini is reported to have subscribed £8 to General Garibaldi’s fund for the purchasing of arms for the 1859 volunteers together with a generous subscription by Mr P. A. Taylor, who contributed £50 to the same cause (“A Million Muskets For Italy”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 30 October 1859, 2). Lastly, the enthusiasm for volunteering reoccurs in the issue published on 18 December 1859, which reports that

> a crowded meeting of inhabitants of the district of St. Pancras, the population of which is now estimated at 200,000, was held in the vestry-hall, to promote the organization forthwith of a volunteer rifle brigade. There was a large attendance of working men, a class whom it is intended to introduce as extensively as possible into the proposed brigade. (“The Volunteer Corps Movement”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 18 December 1859, 6)

Volunteers from the British working class are also reported in London, where “[a] Working Man’s Volunteer Rifle Corps is in [the] course of organization at the Working Man’s College, No. 45, Great Ormond-street, Russel square. Several men have joined in the movement and permission has been given to practise drill every night in the gardens attached to the college”, in Preston, where “there were about 700 persons present, chiefly young men of the working classes” participating enthusiastically in a meeting “for the purpose of considering what steps it was necessary to take in furtherance of this movement” and in Woolwich Arsenal, where more than “500 workmen have entered their names as members of the volunteer rifle corps” (“A Woring Man’s Rifle Corps” [*sic*], *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 11 December 1859, 7 and “The Volunteer Corps Movement”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 18 December 1859, 6).

The press coverage of the mobilisation of citizen soldiers in 1859 thus helps to identify concrete numbers, strategies, and advancements of recruiting in the different geographical areas in addition to information concerning the social background of the volunteers. Focusing on the social background of the early volunteers, Rose, in his article states that "the social composition of the rank and file varied widely as between units" (104). Rose's study identifies large numbers of the Glasgow volunteers as artisans,

> [t]hree-quarters of the men of the 1st Middlesex Engineer Corps […] as mechanics or artisans, and the rest as clerks, draughtsmen, architects or engineers, while the Haddington Administrative Battalion contained 205 artisans and mechanist[s], 89 labourers, 94 merchants and tradesmen, and 26 clerks (105).

Robert Q. Gray, in his monograph *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh,* elaborates on the varying social background of the volunteers enlisted in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Manchester Volunteer corps, who "were mainly warehousemen and clerks, living in the inner suburbs and enlisting at a headquarters conveniently near to the warehouse or office where they worked" (102). When also focusing on the Ardwick, Oldham, and Wigan Corps, Gray's study shows that the volunteers there "were more likely to be artisans or workers in local mills and factories. In all these areas there was to be a remarkable response from skilled workers", which alludes to the economic side of volunteering that Rose clarifies in his article (Gray 102 and Rose 105). Rose states that the lack of financial resources mostly prevented the recruiting of unskilled labourers, who could not afford the costs of the initial equipment (Rose 105). However, despite these challenges, members of the lowest social classes were also attracted to volunteering in 1859 due to various factors, such as the shared patriotic enthusiasm for the cause and the fact that they considered themselves to be hardworking men fit for warfare, while the

numerous reports on the advancements of recruiting and gathering subscriptions additionally heightened the urge of these classes to participate, especially given the fact that the government granted the early volunteers the same income as soldiers of the regular army and that they were credited by the Queen herself as reported in "The Queen and the Volunteers" on 23 October in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, when "her Majesty, in particular, stood up at the window, quite turning her back on the crowd on the platform, and honoured them [the volunteers] with most special notice" ("Volunteer Corps", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 15 May 1859, 1 and "The Queen and the Volunteers", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 23 October 1859, 9). Moreover, Rose notes, that the leisure activities provided by the volunteer movement, such as "camps, Volunteer balls, Volunteer concerts, and Volunteer dramatic societies" and, from 1866 onwards even excursions to the continent, also motivated numerous British men from all social classes to volunteer, which thereby added a "moral and improving" aim to the military sense of volunteering (106-107).

Robert Bonner examines the class differences in the rifle volunteer movement in Manchester in closer detail in his article, "The Development of the Rifle Volunteer Movement in Manchester", highlighting that social class predetermined the membership of a particular corps, the carrying of a uniform, military duties, and the height of the annual subscription in 1859 (222). However, he also notes that a great public concern arose concerning the affordability of volunteering, which led to a lowering of the costs so that the *Volunteer Journal* from 5 February 1870 reports that "[a] great proportion of our Volunteer force now consists of young clerks, young showmen, small tradesmen, workmen and other persons of similar means […]. The lowest annual expenditure of each Volunteer is £50" (qtd.

in Bonner 222). While such aspects were irrelevant for the recruiting drive in 1859, they became crucial in later years, and thus the government also later took note of the financial factor that prevented unskilled labourers from volunteering and reacted to this with the establishment of a Volunteer Commission in March 1860 to pay for the initial equipping of volunteers from the lowest social classes (Rose 106). These measures undertaken by the general public and the government facilitated the volunteering of members of the lowest social classes, which was significant for the success of the recruiting of the British Legion in 1860.

Subsequently, the sources examined in this section depict the progress of the volunteer movement through which citizens were recruited, meetings held, and subscriptions rapidly donated in numerous British cities, towns, and counties. This demonstrates how the volunteer movement was conveyed to the British readership in the contemporary radical and conservative press and how it became part of contemporary popular culture as a movement of the masses that was broadly promoted by both the government and the press. The perceived threat of an invasion by the French army following the Orsini Affair was intensified by the extensive press reports on the topic that appealed to the Francophobia of the British people and their innate patriotism to further drive the discourse about defending their own country. The analysis of articles on the volunteer movement in 1859 from the radical weekly *Reynolds's Newspaper* showed that less emphasis was placed on the use of rhetorical strategies and potent images rather than on the reporting of concrete numbers, place names, and companies representing the nationwide support of the movement. Thus, compared to the articles by the 'Great Men' of the Italian Risorgimento and the Foreign Affairs Column in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* the reports on the volunteer movement

relied on clear numbers more than on ornate strategies to successfully mobilise the British public, including large numbers of British workers, to oppose Napoleon Bonaparte in the Second War of Independence. Still, the reporting on the volunteer movement of 1859 shapes it into a narrative of enthusiasm for a nationwide and class-transcending patriotic uprising to defend Britain against a threatening French invasion, which is encouraged by the national government and whose participants are even honoured by the Queen herself. Thus, the combination of precise numbers and the narrative of enthusiastic patriotic solidarity broadly published in the national press led to the recruiting of "130,000 citizen-soldiers between May, 1859, and June, 1860" (Rose 97).

3.2 "Here we are, ready to fight" [86]: Recruiting the British Legion (1860)

3.2.1 The Volunteering Tradition Continues

This section examines how the volunteering tradition in Britain continued with the recruiting of British citizen soldiers for the Expedition of the so-called Thousand in 1860. In closer detail, a selection of articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle* and its liberal rival, the *Daily News, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* from 1860 will demonstrate what rhetorical strategies and motifs already known from the 1859 volunteer corps movement were now appropriated into a powerful call for subscriptions and the recruiting of British volunteers for an essential component of Garibaldi's Thousand, namely the British Legion. The Expedition of the Thousand was Garibaldi's largest and riskiest undertaking in the Italian Risorgimento, for which

[86] Quotation from "Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi". *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4. BNCN.

international volunteers were recruited throughout 1860. The expedition began on 5 May 1860, when Garibaldi embarked from Quarto, near Genoa, to Sicily with his volunteer corps which mostly consisted of northern Italians by that time (Riall, *Garibaldi* 207-208). According to Lucy Riall's historical study, the corps "which sailed from Quarto to Sicily was ill supplied and undermanned" and only by means of dubious methods could they acquire further equipment (*Garibaldi* 207). In Talamone on the Tuscan coast, where the volunteers embarked, Garibaldi stole the uniform of a Piedmontese general and convinced a Piedmontese military commander to hand over rifles and ammunition for his soldiers (Riall, *Garibaldi* 207). There, according to Riall, the Thousand also acquired "a couple of cannons and some other pieces of artillery of antiquarian value which Garibaldi found in the old tower" (*Garibaldi* 207). These reports foreground the risky character of the campaign as it was based on a relatively small corps of international citizen soldiers, who were poorly equipped with weapons, ammunition, uniforms, and food and whose military mission had no legal basis whatsoever. This is also evident when it comes to the two ships Garibaldi's volunteers had stolen for their expedition to Sicily (Riall, *Garibaldi* 247-248). Thus, the Expedition of the Thousand, including the British Legion, was by no means an official international military campaign to free the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule, but rather a public movement based on what is often referred to as transnational solidarity and patriotic enthusiasm, which British soldiers already knew from the 1859 volunteer corps movement when many British men volunteered for the Second War of Independence in Italy. Moreover, the faith in Giuseppe Garibaldi as a military genius and hero of the common men to bring about Italian unification and liberation from foreign despots, as supported by the

heroic rhetoric used in the British press, was crucial for the recruiting of the British Legion in 1860. Thus, my analysis considers the rhetorical strategies and motifs used to recruit the 800-man-strong British Legion and to collect large numbers of subscriptions from the British public, both essential for the success of Garibaldi's Thousand, and it also focuses on the shortcomings and legal problematics of the British Legion as depicted in the British press from 23 May to 11 September 1860.

On 23 May 1860, the article "Demonstration of Sympathy with Garibaldi", published in *The Morning Chronicle,* shows that the strategies known from the 1859 volunteer corps movement remained useful as "a meeting was held at St. Martin's-hall for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the cause of the Italian insurgents, and with General Garibaldi's expedition into Sicily", which evokes the impression that the volunteer movement continued in 1860, albeit just for another military campaign (*The Morning Chronicle,* 23 May 1860, 3). Founded by William Woodfall as a London daily newspaper between 1769 and 1770, The *Morning Chronicle* had developed an increasingly radical political agenda by the beginning of the nineteenth century under its new proprietor, James Perry, an ardent Whig supporter ("Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 426). When Perry sold the newspaper to John Black in 1821, its capital amounted to 42,00 British pounds, which demonstrates that the radical political focus had secured the paper's success (Asquith 703). Adding to this success, Black hired Henry Mayhew, James Grant, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Dickens as authors and editors, who critically reported on a wide array of national and international topics, among them the Italian Risorgimento and its popular key figures (Simkin). Hence, it is plausible that the earlier volunteer corps movement from 1859 and the broad press coverage of the events happening in Italy had

already familiarized the British public with the struggles of the Italian country and nation and certainly with the 'Great Men' of the Italian Risorgimento, most prominently, Giuseppe Garibaldi. The fashioning of Garibaldi into a war hero is also visible in the article "Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", published on 1 June 1860 in *The Liverpool Mercury,* which hails him as "a chosen instrument for giving independence to Italy" and the "man who, if he were an Englishman, would be idolised by England as he is by Italy. To assist this brave patriot in his present enterprise is to share in his glory", thereby taking up the motif of the hero that was already known from the volunteer corps movement of the previous year ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6). Additionally, the article addresses the feelings of transnational solidarity of its British readership, stating:

> To help him is to help a people who have proven themselves to be worthy of the liberty for which they are now fighting – a people who did not sit in their chains till the foreign deliverer came to strike off their fetters, but who, though unarmed or only at best half armed, rose against their oppressors and fought like men resolved to be free or die. ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6)

In this passage, the sense of British transnational solidarity for its Italian brothers and sisters in need is combined with a call for material support for the 1860 campaign, which is later intensified in the article when Garibaldi is mentioned as the symbol of the campaign, who is now in need of the help of his loyal British comrades ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6). As in other examples of the heroism of Garibaldi examined earlier in this book, it appears as if every argument or call gained more importance and immediacy if it is connected to the Italian war hero. In this case, the call for material support reads: "But the hero himself now craves help. He wants not men, but money – most of all, arms and ammunition" and is followed by a

reference to an advertisement from the committee that was organised in London to raise subscriptions in aid of the Sicilians, calling on "all Italians resident in the United Kingdom, and on all Englishmen, who sympathise with the cause of Italy, to give their help in the hour of need" ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6). Thus, the rhetoric of transnational solidarity and loyalty to Garibaldi is used to convince the British readership to donate money to the 1860 campaign, so that Garibaldi's Thousand could be equipped with weapons and ammunition. *The Liverpool Mercury* was founded as a weekly Liverpool newspaper, which expanded significantly in the mid-nineteenth century, now also circulating through Lancashire, Cheshire, Wales, the Isle of Man, and London ("Liverpool Mercury"). The paper's focus lay on socio-political issues at home and abroad, which explains its genuine interest in the events in Italy. The rhetorical strategy of transnational solidarity was successful, as another appeal from the same issue of *The Liverpool Mercury* shows. This appeal informs about the formation of a new Garibaldi-supporting fund, which is called "Testimonial" by its originators, and which has already received a first subscription of £130 from Mr Stuart ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6). It is worth remembering that, like the 1859 volunteer corps movement, the 1860 volunteer movement also received support from all parts of Britain, as a letter to the editor by a north Middlesex volunteer, published in *The Morning Chronicle* on 2 June 1860 observed "that a committee has been formed for the purpose of presenting a testimonial to the great Italian patriot and general" and proposes "that a shilling subscription among the British volunteers would be a most appropriate and graceful recognition of the admiration and enthusiasm which the glorious achievements of the great volunteer

leader have awakened in the breast of every friend of freedom" ("English Testimonial to Garibaldi", *The Morning Chronicle,* 2 June 1869, n.p.). The north Middlesex volunteer commences by arguing that, if "a large proportion of the 120,000 volunteers enrolled in Britain subscribe, the sum collected would be a respectable one" and could help to equip Garibaldi's volunteer army with rifles, ammunition, uniforms, and food ("English Testimonial to Garibaldi", *The Morning Chronicle,* 2 June 1869 n.p.). This first-hand account of the British volunteers foregrounds the lack of financial resources that hampered the success of the 1860 campaign, and it will have reached the readers of *The Morning Chronicle* even more powerfully as it is styled as a personal account by a British volunteer. Lastly, this letter to the editor also uses the image of the hero for Garibaldi when it refers to him as "this truly great man" and "most successful captain of volunteers of the age" and extends it to the entire Expedition of the Thousand by arguing that it should be "our desire to offer him [Garibaldi] a tribute of our admiration" so that the British volunteers "would […] have the honour and the pleasure of doing homage to the greatest and most successful captain of volunteers of the age" ("English Testimonial to Garibaldi", *The Morning Chronicle,* 2 June 1869 n.p.). Thus, the heroic character of Garibaldi is transferred to his military expedition to free the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon oppression in 1860 and to the act of subscribing to and volunteering for his mission. This rhetoric again appears in "Crusaders in Aid of Garibaldi", published on the title page of *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 19 August 1860, which describes Garibaldi as one "of the greatest and the best men that ever lived" and encourages the British people to "sympathise with Garibaldi, and […], in their individual capacity, enlist under his banner; or, failing in this, aid him by their money and their advocacy". This

represents another example from the British radical press of 1860 where the heroic rhetoric centring on Garibaldi and his expedition is combined with a call for support and subscriptions from the British public (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 19 August 1860, 1).

However, it would be inaccurate to only depict the positive side of recruiting and collecting funds for Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand in 1860 reported in the British press. The liberal rival to *The Morning Chronicle,* the *Daily News,* for example, also published doubts concerning Garibaldi's mission on 14 June 1860 in "The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield", an article that was also published in *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times* the next day under the title "The English Government and the Garibaldi Subscription". The article presents the critical opinion of Isaac Ironside, Chartist and Socialist, who tried to prevent English interference in the ongoing events in Sicily even though he identified himself as "ultra-democratic" and "an ardent sympathiser of 'oppressed nationalities'" before the mayor ("The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield", *Daily News,* 14 June 1860, 3).[87] Ironside proposed two applications in his letter, the first of which recommended to prevent a "public meeting advertised to be held at the Town-hall" the same evening, under the presidency of Mr Councillor Elliott, for the purpose of rendering "moral and pecuniary support to the workers in the cause of Italian unity" and the second "for a summons against a young man named Sharman, for 'illegally promoting' a subscription to aid the Sicilians in

[87] For detailed information on Isaac Ironside's political career, see: Salt, John. "Isaac Ironside the Sheffield Owenite". *Co-operative Review,* Vol. 24 (July 1960), 218-219; Salt, John. "The Sheffield Hall of Science". *The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education,* Vol. 12, No. 25 (1960), 133-138; Salt, John. "Isaac Ironside 1808-1870: The Motivation of a Radical Educationist". *British Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 2 (1971), 183-201.

their insurrection against a government on terms of amity with England". In this way, he attempted to stop the mobilisation and recruiting of British (working) men for the 1860 campaign ("The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield", *Daily News,* 14 June 1860, 3). Ironside's claims were not supported by the mayor, who "expressed his admiration of Garibaldi, and his sympathy with the Sicilians", thereby identifying as one of Garibaldi's loyal supporters ("The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield", *Daily News,* 14 June 1860, 3). The fact that Ironside's critical view was not unreasonable is illustrated in "Volunteering for Garibaldi. Alleged Breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act", an article published in *The Newcastle Courant,* a popular weekly newspaper that circulated widely through Newcastle, North and South Shields, Sunderland, Durham, and the Northern counties in the nineteenth century, on 24 August 1860 (Mitchell qtd. in "Newcastle Courant", Milne 180 and "Newcastle Courant: With News Foreign and Domestick (1711-1902)" [*sic*] 447). The report accuses Mr Baxter Langley, "publisher of the *Daily Chronicle,* in this town, for an alleged breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act" as he promoted the recruiting of volunteers for the Italian Risorgimento by Captain Edward Styles in his paper ("Volunteering for Garibaldi", *The Newcastle Courant,* 24 August 1860, n.p.). The accusations were founded on the article "Who Will Fight for Garibaldi?", a call for volunteers, published in the *Daily Chronicle.* However, as in Ironside's case, the accusations were found insufficient by the court. Although both cases were not pursued further, it is notable that the radical British press also published criticism and doubts concerning the legitimacy of the recruiting of British subjects for Garibaldi's 1860 campaign.

Despite such critical voices, the successful recruiting and collecting of subscriptions dominated the reports on Garibaldi's 1860 campaign

published in the British press from 23 May to 26 October 1860. Even though Garibaldi set out from Quarto to Sicily with his first volunteers of the Thousand in May 1860, British citizens volunteered for and subscribed to the cause up to the autumn of 1860 and the British press also kept on reporting about the heroic general and his brave volunteers. Significantly, the scenes of departure for Italy were not exclusively reported in non-fiction but also in fictional accounts such as the serial novel *Phayre Phenton: Side Scenes of the Garibaldian Revolution* by Tighe Hopkins, which was published in the *Leisure Hour* between June and December 1887. The serial novel follows its protagonist, Phayre Phenton, as he volunteers for Garibaldi's army and meets the general in person, also focusing on scenes of farewell when he leaves his home country and loved ones behind. As emotional as these scenes are, they simultaneously fashion him into a heroic figure who bravely volunteers for the Italian cause as is typical for Garibaldi's soldiers. This is an example of the blurring of lines between non-fictional and fictional genres, where a farewell scene is romanticised in such a way that it adds to the heroic portrayal of the story's protagonist, making the novel even more appealing to its nineteenth-century readership. Thus, the interest and enthusiasm of the British people for the Italian national movement prevailed and was fuelled by first-hand accounts of British subjects on life in the British Legion. The bravery of the British volunteers is, for example, highlighted in the article "Experiences of a Greenock Captain with Garibaldi" from the 28 August 1860 issue of *The Liverpool Mercury*, in which the loyalty of Captain Edward Scott "who commanded the steamer City of Aberdeen, lately purchased by Garibaldi" was depicted as one of the inherent characteristics of Garibaldi's British volunteers (*The Liverpool Mercury,* 28 August 1860, 3). The same article was also

published earlier in the *Greenock Advertiser* and a few days later in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* on 2 September 1860, under the title "A Greenock Captain's Experiences with Garibaldi". Also concentrating on the noble character of the volunteers following Garibaldi in 1860 and their enthusiasm, the issue of *The Times* from 25 August 1860 has its correspondent in Palermo share his impressions of Genoa as a city "crowded with Garibaldi's own red flannel shirts or with men in the sail-cloth jacket, which has also been adopted as a uniform for a Garibaldian volunteer" receiving 2,000 or 3,000 new volunteers every day ("Sicily", *The Times,* 25 August 1860, 5). The correspondent calls this willingness to join Garibaldi's Thousand in 1860 a "volunteer fever", which is an appropriate term to explain the ever-increasing numbers of volunteers for his army ("Sicily", *The Times,* 25 August 1860, 5). Lastly, the correspondent from *The Times* explains the situation when he was just about to finish the article and heard the noise of a cheering crowd, in response to which he proceeded to his window, from which he observed Garibaldi's arrival in Genoa, describing him as "a man in a scarlet uniform, whose tawny hair and beard and lion face no man who has once seen them can ever forget" ("Sicily", *The Times,* 25 August 1860, 5). Thus, the red uniform that serves as a mark of identification for Garibaldi's supporters unites them with their brave leader under a coat of valour and patriotism.

Additionally, "A Voyage with Garibaldi", an article originally published in *The Times,* was reprinted on various occasions in the British radical press, for instance in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 28 August 1860 and in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 2 September 1860, under the title "A Voyage with Garibaldi", foregrounds the special capacities "Garibaldi's English champions" ("A Voyage with Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 28

August 1860, 2). The article refers to “Major, now Colonel, Leveson, a young man only 33 years old, and of a small stature, but gifted with almost herculean strength and Heaven-storming courage”, who “comes to flight with Garibaldi by land and sea, and brings him the aid of a whole host in himself and is, besides, the owner of a yacht, and means to embark a dozen English sailors in it, and about 60 volunteer daredevils, of whom the world will hear some news by and by” as one example of Garibaldi’s brave and strong British soldiers (“A Voyage with Garibaldi”, *The Liverpool Mercury,* 28 August 1860, 2). Moreover, this anonymous first-hand account mentions “Captain D. Dowling, R.A., who is to command a battery of Whitworth guns, Mr. Edward F. Jarvis, R.N., a young sailor who resigned the command of his vessel in England to place his skill and valour at Garibaldi’s service”, and Captain R.L. Weeks as valuable and honourable British men in Garibaldi’s British Legion, whose loyalty is humorously described as being “Garibaldi mad” in the article (“A Voyage with Garibaldi”, *The Liverpool Mercury,* 28 August 1860, 2). An insight into life in the British Legion is also provided by first-hand accounts as shown in the article “Life with Garibaldi”, based on a letter from 6 August by A. B. Patterson, published in *Reynolds’s Newspaper* on 2 September 1860. Patterson, who is now a first lieutenant in the Sicilian army, joined Garibaldi’s volunteer army at 18 years of age together with other Irishmen (“Life with Garibaldi”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 2). In his letter, Patterson reflects on the battle in Melazzo and Garibaldi’s great military decisions, but also the hardships of military life and being wounded (“Life with Garibaldi”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 2). Additionally, he recalls fighting on the side of Garibaldi and being recommended by Garibaldi to Colonel Dunne to appoint him to a lieutenancy, which not only characterises the general as a military genius

and war hero but also as an honest and loyal military leader, who honours the deeds of his brave Englishmen and, thus, arouses the enthusiasm of his British supporters even more ("Life with Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 2). This enthusiasm is further strengthened by the articles "Descent Upon Naples. – Victories of Garibaldi." and "The Garibaldians are masters of their artillery, arms, &c., and of Fort del Pizzo.", published in the same issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper,* which centre on the noble characteristics of the 1860 campaign, together with the heroic image of Garibaldi and that of the loyal British volunteers who joined the Italian cause.[88]

Lastly, a letter from Garibaldi to the Countess of Shaftesbury is printed in the same issue of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, in which the great general honours the generous support of the British ladies of the Ladies' Garibaldi Benevolent Association, of which Lady Shaftesbury was the president ("Letter from Garibaldi". *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 4). This article shifts the focus of Garibaldi's mission from the recruiting of British volunteers to the gathering of funds and donations for the 1860 campaign ("Letter from Garibaldi". *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 4.). Adding to this, the *Daily News* reports that a large sum of £9,000 was collected in Liverpool, from which Garibaldi's local supporters purchased "the steamer Cambria, formerly belonging to the Cunard line" to equip and support the British Legion ("Garibaldi Excursionists from Manchester", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5). Support was also generated in terms of material aid and volunteers as referenced in the article "Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi", published in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 18 August 1860:

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[88] See: "Descent Upon Naples. – Victories of Garibaldi." *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 4. and "Defeats of the Neapolitans". *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 4.

> On Thursday evening, a large number of gentlemen, members and friends of the City of London Tradesmen's Club, assembled at Salter's Hotel, to meet Captain E. Styles, an English officer attached to General Garibaldi's staff, who has come to England for the purpose of obtaining material aid for the general. (*The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August, 4)

At this large meeting in London, Captain Edward Styles, who turned out to be crucial for the recruitment of volunteers and collection of financial means for the Expedition of the Thousand in Britain, stated that he was sent to Britain by Garibaldi "to collect a battalion of English volunteers" and already within "three days, 500 men had put down their names to join the battalion" ("Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4). In order to demonstrate his and Garibaldi's admiration for the bravery and loyalty of the British volunteers, Captain Edward Styles mentions "that he had already a noble English officer in his service, and there were eight or ten Englishmen in the ranks, and the general much admired the valour which they had displayed" in fighting for the success of the 1860 campaign ("Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4). Apart from this, Captain Styles also briefly reflects on the varied social background of his latest recruited volunteers as "many of them of the highest respectability – some of independent means; and while he had been compelled to take some toe lower class as servants, yet with those he had received characters of high respectability" and reiterates his aim of recruiting a battalion of 800 men ("Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4). Lastly, and certainly also due to the different social standing of the new volunteers, Captain Styles addresses the City of London Tradesmen Club with an appeal for financial and material support for the British battalion, so that he could return to Garibaldi with his new corps of British citizen soldiers, "to say, 'Here we are, ready to fight'" ("Five Hundred Englishmen for

Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4). The varied social backgrounds of Garibaldi's volunteers from 1860 were also remarked on in an earlier account from 28 August 1860, which referred to the corps as "comprising every class of society, from the noble to the peasant" ("Experiences of a Greenock Captain with Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 28 August 1860, 3). Lastly, the financial and material shortcomings of the 1860 campaign, which most dramatically affected the working-class British volunteers, is again emphasised in "Garibaldi Excursionists from Manchester", an article from the *Daily News* referring to a small group of volunteers who joined the Thousand later on in September 1860. The article tells that "forty-seven persons had offered themselves as excursionists to Naples and been accepted" by Captain Hampton, yet, there was "a great want of fund to equip the party", which resonates with Captain Edward Style's aim to return to Italy and Garibaldi with a volunteer corps that is ready to fight ("Garibaldi Excursionists from Manchester", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5). Demonstrating the increase in the number of British volunteers, the *Daily News* reports on 5 October that 600 were enlisted within only three days as Elena Bacchin mentions in her study of the British Legion from 2015 ("Brothers of Liberty" 827).

In conclusion, the British conservative and radical press was largely sympathetic to Garibaldi and his military campaign in 1860, even though the press coverage also included critical voices on The Expedition of the Thousand. Moreover, the rhetorical strategies evoking transnational solidarity, heroism, and the bravery of the British volunteers that were already known from the volunteer corps movement of the previous year, remained useful for the recruitment of the British Legion in 1860. Additionally, the analysis of articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper, The*

Morning Chronicle, the *Daily News, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* demonstrated how these strategies and motifs were used to keep the British public up to date on Garibaldi's 1860 campaign. Based on the intense admiration for Garibaldi that already existed in Britain in 1860, these rhetorical strategies helped to recruit the 800-man-strong British Legion and to raise large material and financial donations. In her monograph, *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero,* Lucy Riall refers to the Emancipation of Italy Fund and the Garibaldi Fund as together having raised approximately £30,000 in Britain between 1856 and the end of 1860 (*Garibaldi* 294-295). This sum corresponds to the respectable amount of slightly less than £2 million in today's figures and was collected in just two of many smaller and bigger funds and subscriptions for Garibaldi's campaign in Britain (Riall, *Garibaldi* 294-295). The names of such funds and the titles of many heroicizing newspaper articles on the Italian Risorgimento contain Garibaldi's name, which shows that he became a symbol for the Italian national movement, to which the rhetorical strategies and potent images used in the British radical press were directly connected. In this way, members of the British public who sympathised with Garibaldi's persona immediately became supporters of the Italian national movement and volunteering for Garibaldi's army was portrayed as a noble act as indicated, for example, in "Crusaders in Aid of Garibaldi", published on the title page of *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 19 August 1860. As part of the contemporary British popular culture of the time, the press contributed to the fashioning of Garibaldi into a cultural icon that was associated with the noblest and most heroic characteristics of man and the aim to lead the Italian nation to unification and liberty. This depiction of Garibaldi significantly

contributed to the successful recruitment of the British Legion in 1860 and demonstrates the power of the aforementioned rhetorical strategies in the British press of 1860 to mobilise the British public.

3.2.2 Legal Challenges and Recruiting in Disguise: The Crucial Role of Captain Edward Styles

As mentioned in chapter 3.1.3 "Demonstrations of Working-Class Sympathy in the Volunteer Movement from 1859", the recruitment for the Expedition of the Thousand in 1860 was a breach of the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act, which forbade British citizens to enter the military service of another state or country without the British monarch's permission. In the context of the 1859 volunteer corps movement, the Foreign Enlistment Act was carefully adjusted to the aims of the British government. The title page article of *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 16 September 1860 reiterates the crucial lines from the respective Ministerial paper, stating:

> It may be laid down as a rule of English policy that we endeavour to hold ourselves free, so as to employ our power to the best advantage when the force of circumstances may require our action. It is no part of our system to enter into prospective engagements. [...] Our contemporary pretends that England, Austria, and Prussia have formed a coalition against France, and that they have solemnly agreed upon three points, which are thus duly enumerated: - "1. To oppose any military intervention of France in Italy, under any pretext whatsoever. "2. To oppose any other military intervention of France in Europe, without a preliminary understanding with the Powers. "3. To oppose any territorial extension of France, either by means of conquest or negotiation. ("England, Austria, and Prussia", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 1)

Hence, the article highlights the adjustments made to the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act for the sole purpose of fighting the French in the Second War of Independence in Italy, defending Britain from the threatening possibility of a French invasion, and preventing the French from gaining more territorial possessions in Europe, which means that these changes

do not alter the original prohibition for British subjects of taking on military service for a state or country other than Britain without the permission of the monarch ("England, Austria, and Prussia", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 1). Thus, the recruitment of British volunteers for the Expedition of the Thousand, including the British Legion, in 1860 was in fact against the Foreign Enlistment Act, as some critical voices had already argued in the British press from 1860, which challenged the supporters of the Italian national movement in Britain to bypass British law and find strategies to recruit in disguise.[89]

As a result, a rhetoric centring on educational excursions to Italy evolved as the most powerful method for recruiting in disguise in the British press from 1860 and Captain Edward Styles developed into a crucial figure for the successful recruitment of volunteers and collection of funds in Britain and his appeals were conveyed in various ways in the periodical press. Unfortunately, no biographical information on Styles is available apart from the varying description of his person in the nineteenth-century press. In the article "Five Hundred Englishmen for Garibaldi" published in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 18 August 1860, for example, Captain Edward Styles presents himself to the City of London Tradesmen's Club as "an English officer attached to General Garibaldi's staff, who has come to England for the purpose of obtaining material aid for the general", and whose aim it is to recruit at least 800 British volunteers for the 1860 campaign (*The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 August 1860, 4). One day later, *Reynolds's Newspaper* published the article "English Volunteers for Garibaldi", in which Captain Edward Styles is

[89] See: "The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield". *Daily News,* 14 June 1860, issue 3935; and "Volunteering for Garibaldi. Alleged Breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act". *The Newcastle Courant,* 24 August 1860, issue 9687. Both articles were briefly analysed in chapter 3.2.1 "The Volunteering Tradition Continues" of this book.

introduced to the British readers as "an Englishman, who shared the honours of the battles of Calatafimi, Palermo, and Melazzo, and whose brother, Lieut. Alfred Styles, is now with the national Italian army in Sicily, has just arrived in this country, entrusted with an important mission from Garibaldi" (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 19 August 1860, 10). The issue of *The Times* from 24 August 1860 reports on a later meeting of the City of London Tradesmen's Club on 23 August, which centred on Italian freedom and was attended by a large audience but was still considered a less influential meeting as "[t]he whole of the city and metropolitan members of Parliament had been invited, but none of them were present" ("Garibaldi Meeting", *The Times,* 24 August 1860, 8). In addition to reiterating Garibaldi's hope for transnational solidarity and the acquisition of British volunteers for the annexation of Sicily, the article also refers to Captain Edward Styles and his mission as being successful, which demonstrates that the British conservative press also introduced Captain Edward Styles to its readers as a central figure for the recruiting of British volunteers in 1860 ("Garibaldi Meeting", *The Times,* 24 August 1860, 8).

The educational aspect of Styles' mission becomes evident in a note by Garibaldi on Styles' object "to render advice and guidance to volunteers who may wish to come here [Italy] to fight for the liberty of this country" and announcing that Captain Styles may be met at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet-street, London ("English Volunteers for Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 19 August 1860, 10). During Captain Styles' stay at Anderton's Hotel in August 1860, he also visited George Jacob Holyoake, who was not only a popular English publisher, co-operator, Owenite, and speaker but also a supporter of Garibaldi's mission. He was eager to collect funds for the Italian national movement

and became the secretary of a Garibaldi committee that was formed to recruit and send transnational volunteers to Italy in 1860 (Dickers).[90] In his 1905 autobiography, *Bygones Worth Remembering*, Holyoake reports that his publishing house at 147 Fleet Street "was crowded with inquirers when the project of the [British] Legion became known" (130). Here, it should be recalled that Holyoake had admired Mazzini's political agenda earlier in the century and ascribed to him a central role in the acquisition of early British supporters for the Italian national movement (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy" 269). Furthermore, Holyoake wrote for the *Daily News* using the pseudonym Landor Praed, enthusiastically promoting Garibaldi's 1860 mission, and can thus be regarded as one of the masterminds behind the recruiting of the British Legion (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 209). According to Pellegrino Sutcliffe's research, especially Mazzini's cosmopolitan approach to solidarity, which transcended class boundaries and national borders, was crucial for generating enthusiasm among the British for the Italian cause, especially in the later nineteenth century ("Mazzini's Transnational Legacy" 287). Some of Mazzini's ideals are also apparent in Holyoake's autobiography, in which he reports on the strategies of recruiting the British Legion by indicating that many volunteers were listed at his publishing house and another house was rented at Salisbury Street, Strand for the enrolment of citizen soldiers, where also "a young man, wearing the uniform of a Garibaldian soldier, of specious manners, and who called himself 'Captain Styles' – a harmless rustic name, but he

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[90] For detailed biographical information on George Jacob Holyoake, consult: Goss, Charles William Frederick and Joseph McCabe. *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake.* Watt & Company, 1908; Blaszak, Barbara J. *George Jacob Holyoake (1817-1906) and the Development of the British Cooperative Movement,* E. Mellen Press, 1988 and Argyle, Ray. *Inventing Secularism: The Radical Life of George Jacob Holyoake,* McFarland, 2021.

was not at all rustic in mind" appeared (Holyoake 130-131). Holyoake mentions that Captain Styles was unknown to him and the volunteers before he entered the house at No. 8, Salisbury Street, Strand, London, which was already crowded with enthusiastic volunteers for the British Legion (130). According to Holyoake's first-hand account, Captain Style's "influence grew by not being questioned" and, from his 1905-perspective, he points to the fact that this led to Styles selling commissions without any authority and keeping the money for himself, which is also mentioned by Lucy Riall when she calls Captain Styles a "fake *garibaldino"* who, besides Holyoake, the British volunteers at No. 8, Salisbury Street, and the City of London Tradesmen's Club, also "convinced the committee of London he was an agent of Garibaldi" (Holyoake 131 and Riall, *Garibaldi* 301). Elena Bacchin also foregrounds Styles' poor suitability for the mission when she refers to William Ashurst, one of the treasurers of the Garibaldi Fund, who "complained about the fact that Styles had fallen victim to 'certain gentlemen who, despite their enthusiasm, never proved to be very scrupulous and whose names do not inspire a great deal of trust'" ("Brothers of Liberty" 847). Nevertheless, his reputation as an honourable companion of Garibaldi was unquestioned in 1860 and helped him to successfully recruit volunteers for the British Legion with the help of George Jacob Holyoake who published a call for recruiting in the disguise of a travel advertisement as follows:

> EXCURSION to SICILY and NAPLES. – All persons (particularly Members of Volunteer Rifle Corps) desirous of visiting Southern Italy, and of AIDING by their presence and influence the CAUSE of GARIBALDI and ITALY, may learn how to proceed by applying to the Garibaldi Committee, at the offices at No. 8, Salisbury Street, Strand, London. (131)

Here, the metaphor centring on an excursion to Italy serves to disguise the call for volunteers for the British Legion as a travel advertisement. This rhetoric was again used when the transport of the British volunteers

to Italy was organised as Holyoake states that a notice was sent to each of them, saying: “As the arrangements for the departure of the detachment of Excursionists are now complete, I have to request your attendance at Caldwell’s Assembly Rooms, Dean Street, Oxford Street, at three o’clock precisely, on Wednesday the 26th instant (September, 1860)”, signed by Edward Styles, who had “blossomed into a Major” by that time (131). The same metaphor is used ironically by *The Times,* which remembers the past when Britain itself was struggling for freedom and unity and experienced the same problem Italy is facing in the mid-nineteenth century. The article “Garibaldi Meeting” published in *The Times* on 24 August 1860 also uses the slave rhetoric known from earlier articles and Mazzini’s writing on the liberation from foreign oppression and it applies the image of the excursion[91] to the volunteering for Garibaldi’s campaign in 1860, arguing:

> There was no reason why young men in this country, who usually made an autumnal tour into Scotland, or went in quest of change and recreation in other directions, should not this year leave the beaten tracks, and, as Lord Palmerston expressed it, ‘go and see what Etna was doing’. […] There they might traverse a region famous for its natural beauty, and for such of them as were marksmen there was likely to be some good sport in Naples for Enfield rifles. (*The Times,* 24 August 1860, 8)

Thus, in its article published on 24 August 1860, the conservative *Times* mirrors the rhetoric used by Captain Edward Styles and George Jacob Holyoake that centres on excursions to and rifle training in Italy, and conveys images of the Grand Tour tradition from earlier centuries. However, in an ironic way, the article also reminds its readers of the

[91] Information on excursions was a common feature in *The Times* and a search in The Times Digital Archive returns 179 hints for the term in 1860 alone. Thus, the rhetorical strategy of calling the volunteering for Garibaldi’s Thousand in 1860 an excursion to Italy effectively disguised the recruitment of British subjects for the Italian cause among the numerous other articles and advertisements promoting excursions to other parts of Britain, Europe, or even transnational excursions to the United States in *The Times*.

examples in which the term ‘excursion’ was jokingly equated with going on a journey to Italy in earlier examples from the British press. Doing so here, *The Times* is still aware of the legal challenges surrounding the recruitment of British subjects for Garibaldi’s mission as it argues that meetings like that of the City of London Tradesmen’s Club held on 23 August were not “breaking the law, for there was really nothing illegal in them”, thereby calming the fears of those who were prone to be concerned about such aspects (“Garibaldi Meeting”, *The Times,* 24 August 1860, 8). Hence, while *The Times* used several typical rhetorical strategies in “Garibaldi Meeting”, it remained very careful and discreet in comparison to other more radical calls for support and volunteering from the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, Captain Edward Styles’ importance for the recruiting of British volunteers is depicted in the article “Scotch Volunteers for Garibaldi”, published in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 25 August 1860, which reports on the successful recruitment of volunteers in Edinburgh, who should soon join the 200 or 300 strong “excursionists” recruited by Captain Edward Styles in London and in “Garibaldi Sympathy Meeting in the City”, published in *Reynolds’s Newspaper* on 26 November 1860, which reported of a crowded meeting at London Tavern, where Captain Edward Styles presented his aim to recruit citizens and collect funds for Garibaldi’s campaign, which received enthusiastic support, including financial aid that was also intended for the transport of the “excursionists” (“Scotch Volunteers for Garibaldi”, *The Liverpool Mercury,* 25 August 1860, 4 and “Garibaldi Sympathy Meeting in the City”, *Reynolds’s Newspaper,* 26 August 1860, 9). Additionally, the article “Garibaldi Excursionists from Manchester” that appeared in the *Daily News* on 11 September 1860 already applies the rhetoric focusing

on an excursion to Italy in the article's title (*Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5).

Thus, the strategy of disguising the recruitment of the British Legion as an educational excursion to Italy, which mirrors the Grand Tour tradition of earlier centuries and would not evoke too much public attention among the other travel advertisements published in the newspapers of 1860, became a very prominent and successful strategy of the British supporters of the Italian Risorgimento. Thereby, the educational factor was emphasised more than the other aspects in some cases, as seen, for example, in the article "Garibaldi's Englishmen", published in the *Daily News* on 13 August 1860, which returns to the fact that volunteering for Garibaldi's campaign was against the 1819 Enlistment Act before it promotes "going shooting in Calabria […] to study rifle practice under General Garibaldi or under general Hay – as our plans for the long vacation may decide". Another interesting example is "'The Rifle and how to Use it' may be not so bad a guide to Naples for an enterprising British tourist this autumn" (*Daily News,* 13 August 1860, 5). In this example, the recruitment drive is again disguised as a travel notice, although the educational factor is foregrounded by giving the excursion the title "The Rifle and how to Use it", which fashions the participation in the British Legion into a shooting workshop in southern Italy to bypass the Foreign Enlistment Act from 1819. Here again, the term 'excursion' is used humorously, by promoting the armed conflict in Italy as an exciting trip, which had become a self-perpetuating method in the mid-nineteenth century British periodical press. The correlation between the excursionist rhetoric, the presence of Captain Edward Styles in London in August 1860, and the large number of Garibaldi supporters in Britain, among them George Jacob Holyoake, resulted in the successful recruiting

of the 800-man-strong British Legion which, together with the rest of Garibaldi's international volunteers, fought for Italian unification in 1860.

3.2.3 The Shortcomings of the British Legion: Calls for Subscriptions in the British Press

Even though "The Expedition of Garibaldi", an article published in *The Times* on 14 May 1860 describes Garibaldi's volunteers who left Genoa for Sicily on 5 May on two steamships as "1,400 picked young men [,] […] armed with excellent revolvers and short cutlasses for boarding purposes", this depiction is not accurate as various articles examined earlier and Lucy Riall's study on Garibaldi's Thousand have demonstrated (*The Times,* 14 May 1860, 9). In this instance, the reporting of *The Times* correspondent in Turin was inaccurate concerning the historical facts, which is unusual for the otherwise reliable conservative daily. During this period, *The Times* was torn between denial of and support for Garibaldi's 1860 mission as evidenced by the following analysis. The fact is that the British Legion faced serious financial problems that not only made equipping the British volunteer soldiers with weapons, ammunition, and uniforms, but also food and water, surgical dressing material, and transportation very challenging. Thus, the British press again addressed the public for help in 1860, using rhetorical strategies that centre on national and transnational solidarity and Garibaldi as the heroic symbol of the Italian Risorgimento, who was going to bring about Italian unification with the help of his brave British volunteers. A selection of articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle,* the *Daily News, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* demonstrate the shortcomings of the British Legion, while the rhetorical strategies of these articles will be examined to identify strategic patterns

used in the British press to raise financial and material support for the British Legion in 1860.

On 1 June 1860, *The Liverpool Mercury* published an article that establishes a direct connection between the appeal for financial and material support of the British Legion and Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had already become a heroic icon of the Italian national movement in Britain by that time. In the article, Garibaldi is described as "a man who, if he were an Englishman, would be idolised by England as he is by Italy", alluding to the fame he had achieved among his loyal British supporters that was even greater in Italy. It is precisely this loyalty and support that the article addresses by arguing: "To assist this brave patriot in his present enterprise is to share in his glory" ("Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6). The rhetoric used here again takes up the heroic image of Garibaldi and extends it to everyone who supports his 1860 campaign. The sympathies between Britain and Garibaldi – and vice versa – establish a common ground that transcends national borders and nationalities and unites the sympathisers as cosmopolitan supporters of the Italian national movement who, like Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her fellow British women writers in Florence, dedicated their lives to the Italian Risorgimento.[92] Based on this solidarity that transcends national borders and identities, the article "Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi" addresses Garibaldi's British supporters with a direct appeal from Garibaldi who "now craves help. He wants not men, but money – most of all, arms and ammunition", which could be donated "to Messrs. Fabbricotti Brothers, 150, Leadenhall-

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[92] For more information on the female network of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her fellow expatriate British poetesses in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, see chapter 2.3 "Women Reforming Politics" of this book.

street, London, or to our [*The Liverpool Mercury's*] office" (*The Liverpool Mercury,* 1 June 1860, 6).

The admiration for Garibaldi and his military campaign is also prominently featured in the article "The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield" from 14 June 1860, in which Isaac Ironside advocated against British interference in the Italian national movement as this would be in contravention of the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act, and whose applications were found insufficient by the mayor who "expressed his admiration of Garibaldi, and his sympathy with the Sicilians" (*Daily News,* 14 June 1860, 3). Due to the Mayor's decision, a "public meeting advertised to be held at the Town-hall the same evening, under the presidency of Mr Councillor Elliott, for the purpose of rendering 'moral and pecuniary support to the workers in the cause of Italian unity'" could take place and recruit further working-class volunteers for Garibaldi's British Legion in Sheffield ("The Garibaldi Subscription Movement in Sheffield", *Daily News,* 14 June 1860, 3). A similar situation can be observed in "Subscriptions for the Sicilians", published a month earlier in *The Times* on 18 May 1860. This article reports on accusations being raised in Parliament of *The Times* having published calls for subscriptions illegally, yet, after a long debate in the House of Lords, that involved the reciting of Lord Lyndhurst, who in 1853 called all British subjects who subscribed to or volunteered for the Italian cause as conspirators breaking the British law, it was agreed that "[t]he Foreign Enlistment Act prohibited the enlistment of soldiers and equipping of vessels. It did not in any way touch subscriptions", thereby interpreting the law according to the personal sympathy of the members of the House of Lords ("Subscriptions for the Sicilians", *The Times,* 18 May 1860, 6). Even though some Members of Parliament found that "[t]here was a time when

the foreign policy of England was not associated with revolutionists", hereby referring to the supporters of the Italian Risorgimento, the majority still voted for the case to be shelved ("Subscriptions for the Sicilians", *The Times,* 18 May 1860, 6). Like in "The Garibaldi Subscription Movement", the personal sympathy of British politicians prevented a British newspaper from facing severe consequences for promoting Garibaldi's cause in 1860. In the case of *The Times,* the result of the debate in Parliament was that "the advertisement was withdrawn, and the Central Italian Committee to promote insurrection was not heard of for some time" ("Subscriptions for the Sicilians", *The Times,* 18 May 1860, 6). *The Times*, an otherwise conservative newspaper, thus sympathised with Garibaldi's 1860 mission and called for subscriptions until the advertisement had to be paused due to the decision of the House of Lords, which turned out more sympathetic than expected. The sympathy of British politicians towards Garibaldi and his 1860 mission is the topic of "Garibaldi is a hero or a brigand" published in *The Times* of 22 May 1860, which concludes that "[a]s the news passes from man to man, even among the most Conservative of English societies or assemblies, every face lights up with joy" when talking about Garibaldi (9). This depicts the current feelings of sympathy of the British who "cannot refuse him [their] sympathies and cannot but rejoice at his success" while he is fighting for Italian liberty and unification in southern Italy together with his international volunteers ("Garibaldi is a hero or brigand", *The Times,* 22 May 1860, 9). This article revisits the rhetoric concerning the universal aims of liberty and freedom together with the image of Garibaldi as a heroic figure in the Italian national movement to explain why the British were so sympathetic towards his mission in 1860 that even the most conservative politicians and newspapers were counted among his

supporters, as the decision of the House of Lords from May 1860 published in *The Times* shows. Not only many British politicians themselves but also the wives and families of certain political figures identified as supporters of Italian freedom, as evidenced by the fact that Lady Palmerston and Mrs Gladstone subscribed to the aid of Garibaldi even though their husbands did not, whereby these women became politically active despite the lack of consent of their husbands ("Garibaldi Meeting", *The Times,* 24 August 1860, 8). Thus, the recruiting for Garibaldi's Thousand and the collection of subscriptions for the enterprise continued in the mid-nineteenth century, building on the class-transcending sympathies of the British.

Those British subjects who broke the law to join Garibaldi's Expedition of the Thousand in 1860 despite knowing that this constituted a violation of the 1819 Enlistment Act, were now challenged by the lack of financial and material resources of the British Legion. "Who Ought to Volunteer for Garibaldi?", published on 26 August 1860 in *Reynolds's Newspaper* demonstrates that the lack of financial resources not only affected those in the British Legion but also prevented many from volunteering because large numbers of British working-class men could not afford the initial equipment over and above the costs of maintaining their families back home (*Reynolds's Newspaper,* 26 August 1860, 1). Even though, "thanks to the liberality of our countrymen, [donations] have been provided to a considerable extent" the financial problems of the British Legion persisted and mostly affected the working-class volunteers ("Who Ought to Volunteer for Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 26 August 1860, 1). In general, however, the fact that not all volunteers could immediately and adequately be equipped also weakened the entire volunteer corps. Thus, the article from 16 August 1860 also openly

addresses the financial shortcomings of the British Legion, mentioning that "the exchequer of the Liberator is not in a very flourishing condition; and, though money will be found to pay the volunteers on their arrival, as well as their passage home, the means to defray the expenses of transport to Italy have to be found in this country", thereby making it clear that the purpose of the article was to collect sufficient donations for the transport of the volunteers to Italy ("Who Ought to Volunteer for Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 26 August 1860, 1). To encourage the British readers of *Reynolds's Newspaper* to donate to the cause, the article applies rhetoric centring on transnational solidarity through supporting Garibaldi's 1860 campaign in Italy and national solidarity when it comes to the question of providing adequate equipment to the British volunteers participating in this military campaign. Thus, the strategies used here rely on the British enthusiasm for and belief in Garibaldi as the heroic embodiment of the Italian Risorgimento on the one hand, and on the solidarity of the British with their brave brothers who have volunteered for the cause of Italian unification and now need the support of their nation to be successful and to represent the British country and nation adequately in Italy on the other hand.

The approach of appealing to feelings of national solidarity for the British brothers in arms is also evident as a rhetorical strategy in first-hand accounts of British soldiers fighting for Italian unification in 1860 and the depictions of their actual situation in which they suffer from the financial and material deficits faced by the British Legion that were published in the British press. On 2 September 1860, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, for example, published a letter dated 6 August 1860 by A.B. Patterson, who joined Garibaldi's volunteer army at 18 years of age together with other Irishmen and was by then a first lieutenant in the

Sicilian army. His account of the battle of Melazzo talks about the hardships of military life and of his being wounded while fighting next to Garibaldi, who later recommended him to Colonel Dunne to appoint him to a lieutenancy for his bravery in battle ("Life with Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 2 September 1860, 3). Such a first-hand account of a British volunteer fighting for Garibaldi in Italy aroused the sympathy of the large British readership of *Reynolds's Newspaper* as it presented insights into the ongoing Italian national movement from a British perspective, including the shortcomings of the British Legion and the dangers of military life. These shortcomings were placed at the centre of another British first-hand account by William De Rohan on the ongoing events in southern Italy, published in the *Daily News* on 11 September 1860, who "regret[s] to say, the funds, as yet subscribed are not sufficient to carry out the purposes" of the British Legion ("General Garibaldi and the Excursionists", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5). In this article, William De Rohan openly appeals to the solidarity of the British, stating:

> I cannot believe, however, that [...] the men or women of England will look calmly and unmovingly on while the great hero of the age [Garibaldi] turns confidingly and with his smiling face of hope and affection to them for one little word of encouragement – one little act of what really is nothing but [a] duty. ("General Garibaldi and the Excursionists", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5)

In this excerpt, the author foregrounds Britain's duty to act by expressing that he views the principle of transnational solidarity as a cornerstone of the European nation that must be practised by every individual, even if it demands volunteering for an armed conflict abroad. Furthermore, William de Rohan becomes a mouthpiece for Garibaldi's appeal for the financial, material, and moral support of his British sympathisers, who should be encouraged by this British first-hand account to subscribe to the 1860 campaign and to support it loyally based on their sympathy for Garibaldi and on feelings of solidarity for their British brothers in arms.

Subsequently, this article, like "Liverpool Subscriptions for Garibaldi" ends with the reference to where these subscriptions could be made, in this case, at No. 8 Salisbury-Street, Strand, the headquarters of the Garibaldi Committee as George Jacob Holyoake mentioned in his autobiography, or at No. 06, Old Jewry ("General Garibaldi and the Excursionists", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5 and Holyoake 131). The article mentions Mr Leverson and Mr Ashurst as treasurers of the fund ("General Garibaldi and the Excursionists", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5). The same article was also published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 16 September 1860, carrying the title "English Aid for Garibaldi".[93] Lastly, the significance of first-hand accounts from the Italian national movement is also highlighted by *The Times* correspondent from Turin, who wished to "find room in *The Times* for the numerous letters from young volunteers, written to their parents on the eve of embarcation [*sic*] with Garibaldi. The Italian papers are full of them" ("Garibaldi Expedition", *The Times,* 22 May 1860, 10). Similarly to the earlier examples, "Garibaldi Expedition" also relies on Garibaldi's heroism and the solidarity of his volunteers, from which *The Times* correspondent believes a new generation of Italians evolved that is "imbued with feeling which cannot fail to lead the country to high destinies" together with Garibaldi's international volunteers ("Garibaldi Expedition", *The Times,* 22 May 1860, 10).

The previous analysis showed that the British press used rhetorical strategies and images that not only emphasised the British enthusiasm for Garibaldi as a person but also as a potent symbol of the Italian national

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[93] See: "English Aid for Garibaldi". *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 14. BNCN, https://nl.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/WO1_RDNP_1860_09_16?page=14#, Accessed 1 February 2022.

movement and appealed to the solidarity of the British for the Italian Risorgimento and their fellow citizens who volunteered for Garibaldi's campaign in 1860. First-hand accounts by British volunteers added a sense of immediacy to the reporting on the shortcomings of the British Legion in the British radical press from 1860 as they presented the actual situation in southern Italy to the British public. Thus, the discourse centring on solidarity for the Italian cause and the British volunteers participating in it made any distinctions between national or transnational solidarity irrelevant and established a transnational union of international supporters of the Italian Risorgimento under Garibaldi's lead through particular rhetorical strategies used in and by the British radical press. As a result, later 1860 reports on the situation in southern Italy remember the departure of Garibaldi with his "few hundreds of badly-armed followers" from Quarto, near Genoa, on "a captured merchant steamer, for the purpose of rescuing the Sicilians from the liveried cut-throats of the anointed despot who sat on the throne of the Two Sicilies" ("General Garibaldi and the Excursionists", *Daily News,* 11 September 1860, 5). However, rather than focusing on the shortcomings and illegal deeds of Garibaldi's volunteer corps, the press celebrates its achievements and proclaims the general success of the 1860 campaign: "Through the 'grace of God' and the might of Garibaldi, Francis Bourbon has ceased to reign, and Victor Emmanuel has become King of Italy" ("Shameful Flight of the King of Naples", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 1). From this article, it appears as if Garibaldi's military genius and the bravery of his international volunteers made up for the financial and material shortcomings of the 1860 expedition and led to the success of the Italian national movement, unifying the country under the

reign of Victor Emmanuel II, and liberating the Italians from the oppression by foreign rulers.

Published on the same day as "Shameful Flight of the King of Naples", 16 September 1860, "Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi" in *Reynolds's Newspaper* highlights the importance of Garibaldi's role in the success of the Italian national movement by using rhetoric that strongly centres on the image of the hero applied to the general when it describes his entry into Naples on 7 September 1860 as triumphant and joyous, stating: "Viva Garibaldi!' rises from a thousand voices, and the train stops; a few red-jackets get out, and they are seized, hugged, and kissed with that most unmerciful violence which characterizes Italian ardour" before the general gets off the train and there was

> no mistaking that face; there is the grandeur and the openness of nature's nobleman expressed, and it does not say one thing while plotting another; it is marked by a loyalty which in vain might be sought for in that of many of the so-called great ones of the earth. I was much struck with his calm self-possession and the extreme sweetness of his smile. […] the crowd waved backwards and forwards, and looked up to the windows and shouted for the appearance of Garibaldi. First came one red coat, then another, and at last the hero. What a cry of 'Viva' there rose from the vast mass below! ("Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 12)

This widely celebrated welcoming of Garibaldi and his volunteers to Naples is strongly reminiscent of the description of his visit to London in 1864 which was described as an outstanding mass event by Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe in her article "Garibaldi in London", by Lucy Riall in her monograph *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero*, and in Denis Mack Smith's monograph *Garibaldi – A Great Life in Brief* (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Garibaldi in London" 42-47, Riall, *Garibaldi* 335 and Mack Smith *Garibaldi* 140). Furthermore, the heroic rhetoric used in "Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi" also highlights the importance of the general for the generation of financial, moral, and material support in Britain as the faith

in Garibaldi and his rightful cause runs through the reports on the shortcomings of the British Legions published in the British radical press of 1860 like a golden thread. Together with the focus on the solidarity of Garibaldi's loyal British supporters for the Italian Risorgimento and the soldiers of the British Legion, the Italian national movement could be viewed as successful, as the article quotes Garibaldi stating: "This is a solemn, holy, and memorable day. [...] I thank you in the name of the whole of Italy. You have performed a great work, not only for Italy, but for all humanity, whose rights you have vindicated" ("Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 16 September 1860, 12). The deep connection between Garibaldi and his loyal supporters becomes evident not only in their heroic achievements in the Italian Risorgimento but also in their red uniform which is also highlighted as a sign of their solidarity in "Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi". In conclusion, the 1860 campaign relied on the sympathies of the British towards Garibaldi, who by that time had become a symbol of the entire Italian Risorgimento from the perspective of British readers, and on the solidarity of the British for their fellow British citizens who volunteered in Garibaldi's British Legion. In the latter context, the sympathy was especially evident for the working-class volunteers, who needed financial support to afford the equipment needed for the military mission, and for the Italian nation, who still suffered from foreign oppression. The wording used in the British radical press of 1860 highlights exactly these aspects and turns them into rhetorical strategies focusing on Garibaldi's heroism, the moral superiority of his campaign, and the principle of British solidarity. Using these strategies, considerable financial and material donations were obtained for the British Legion in 1860.

3.3 Remembering the British Legion

The Expedition of the Thousand came to an end on 26 October 1860, when the battle of the Two Sicilies was over and southern Italy could finally unite with the northern part of the country. The annexation of Sicily was significant for the Italian national movement, and the fact that it was achieved by Garibaldi's Thousand, among them the British Legion, makes the importance of the British volunteers in the 1860 volunteer army undeniable. Therefore, it is interesting to examine how the British Legion was remembered immediately after its success in the British press and if the rhetoric of the heroic and brave British volunteer that was popular during Garibaldi's 1860 campaign was maintained. A selection of articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* are analysed to examine how they remembered the British Legion after its success in late 1860.

The last section ended with a reference to the "Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", an article that appeared in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 16 September 1860, when the mission to free the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from Bourbon rule was still ongoing. The article applies rhetoric centring on the heroic character of Garibaldi and his volunteers and the enthusiastic support of southern Italy when it depicts the Neapolitan euphoria for the arrival of Garibaldi and his volunteers as cheerful and thankful ("Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper* 16 September 1860, 12). Furthermore, the article directly conveys the joy and relief of the Neapolitans to a vast British readership, relying on the well-known rhetorical strategies of heroism that are applied to Garibaldi and his brave volunteers, otherwise known as red shirts, yet referred to as "red-jackets" in this article ("Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", *Reynolds's Newspaper* 16 September 1860, 12). In earlier passages, my examination

already showed that a red piece of clothing, whether shirt, jacket, or trousers became a widely known hallmark of Garibaldi and his followers. This has its roots in 1843, as James H. Billington argues in his 2009 monograph *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* as 1843 was the year when Garibaldi took over the lead of the Italian Legion at Montevideo, which then became known as the first red shirts and this tradition of the red piece of clothing was subsequently retained as a universal sign for the support of Garibaldi and his missions, also in Italy in 1860 (Billington 331). Both the first and later 'red shirts' relied on the heroism of Garibaldi as their military leader, which makes it evident why rhetoric centring on heroism was also successful in generating support for Garibaldi's 1860 mission in the British press. In the case of "Triumphal Entry of Garibaldi", this rhetorical strategy makes the enthusiasm of the Neapolitan people almost palpable for British readers, amongst them numerous supporters of the Italian Risorgimento who will have shared the enthusiasm conveyed with the Neapolitans. As the previous sections showed, the British press tended to support the Italian national movement and its central figures, and thus one might expect a positive depiction of the British Legion after its success in October 1860. However, once the campaign came to a successful close, the British press was no longer as biased in the volunteers' favour as one might have anticipated.

For example, on 18 November 1860, *Reynolds's Newspaper* published a condescending letter from Naples on the conduct of the British Legion, that depicts the entire mission as "a complete and not very creditable failure" and points to the negative economic effects for the British public that resulted from the recruitment of British subjects for the British Legion, because "[w]hat has been paid for the legion at home, what there is still to pay for it, and who is to pay it, are all matters of

complete uncertainty" ("The Revolution in Naples", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 18 November 1860, 6). Whereas the heroism and bravery of the British volunteers were previously emphasised, this account argues that there was neither hard fighting nor a severe danger to be faced by the British Legion and blames the "general incompetence of their commanding officers" for the fact that the "legion has dwindled down to half its strength. It came out about 700 strong. The other day, rations were served out for 450, and only 350 had appeared to receive them" ("The Revolution in Naples", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 18 November 1860, 6). As a result, according to the article many volunteers "have enlisted into other regiments" or "returned home in disgust" ("The Revolution in Naples", *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 18 November 1860, 6). Hence, "The Revolution in Naples" paints an entirely different picture of the British Legion as a poorly organised collection of aimless volunteers, who have neither fought nor proven their bravery or military skills. This account rather closely aligns with Trevelyan's early depiction of the British Legion from 1911 as a disordered gathering of

> excursionists and roughs principally from Glasgow and London, who considered that they were out for holiday at other people's expense, and though they did not object to the fighting, expected a maximum of food and good quarters and a minimum of discipline

rather than the perceived heroism based on the bravery of Garibaldi that rubbed off on his loyal British volunteers (qtd. in Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 841).

This view, however, is rejected by T.D.P. Hodge, secretary of a London committee that collected funds for Garibaldi's mission, who argued in the Italian daily *Popolo d'Italia* that the British volunteers were essential for the success of Italian unification, even if no fighting was involved (Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 837). Also trying to redeem the

negative reputation of the British Legion, the correspondent of *The Times* and the *Daily News* in Naples attempts to counter the allegations of the British volunteers as troublemakers through one example, arguing that the soldiers of the British Legion must be viewed as victims of plunder and robbery after "the men had received their six months' pay on departure" instead of criminals on their return to Britain ("Foreign", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 December 1860, 5). The correspondent tries to strengthen his argument by highlighting the nobleness of the majority of the British Legion, despite conceding that "[t]here were certainly among them some disreputable fellows who had better been locked up in Newgate; but, on the whole, […] England need not be ashamed to welcome back to her shores the men composing the British [L]egion" ("Foreign", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 18 December 1860, 5). In contrast, *The Times* seems generally sympathetic towards the British Legion as it refers to the British volunteers "as brave as lions" in its issue dated 24 November 1860 (Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 837).

A similar examination of the characteristics of the British Legion is provided in the article "The Garibaldi Fund", published in *The Morning Chronicle* on 24 December 1860. The article is based on a letter from Naples by John M'Adam to his brother William, dated 13 December 1860, in which he describes his encounter with the soldiers of the British Legion in Salerno when he travelled there to hand over subscriptions collected by the Glasgow Fund and the Glasgow Ladies' Sick and Wounded Garibaldi Fund to them:

> I proceeded to Salerno, where the main body of the British Legion was cantoned, and saw there the fine young fellows, cheerful and comfortable, compared with their fearful sufferings as Caserta. My countrymen, knowing me, gathered around, rejoicing at their prospect of escape and when I asked them would they be content if I would share with their comrades from England and Ireland the means I had with me of my own, and that which legitimately belonged to them, they unanimously acquiesced. […] 'Some even requested me to appropriate their share

> to those Englishmen or Irishmen more destitute than they'. ("The Garibaldi Fund", *The Morning Chronicle,* 24 December 1860, 3)

This excerpt foregrounds the noble characteristics of the British volunteers as comradely and sympathetic when it comes to their fellow soldiers in a worse position, and it refers to the traumatic battle of Caserta they had had to experience. Thus, the letter by John M'Adam places the conduct and military legitimacy of the British Legion in a better light than the article "The Revolution in Naples", published in *Reynolds's Newspaper* on 18 November 1860, as it portrays the volunteers as noble and loyal young men who fought bravely in the earlier battle of Caserta and thus deserve their share of the sums gathered by the Glasgow Fund and the Glasgow Ladies' Sick and Wounded Garibaldi Fund. In addition to his first impression of the British Legion in Salerno, John M'Adam also refers to his meeting of further British volunteers on the Melazzo steamer to London, where he encountered them to be "fine, frank, young English lads" to whom he presented woollen jersey shirts manufactured in Scotland, for which they "expressed much gratitude, and assured [him] that, on their passage home, they would be worthy of the good reception I [M'Adam] promised them from the people of London" ("The Garibaldi Fund", *The Morning Chronicle,* 24 December 1860, 3).

This meeting of the British volunteers on the Melazzo again highlights their apparent inherent goodness and nobleness to fight for the Italian Risorgimento on Garibaldi's side in 1860 and revisits the use of the rhetorical strategies centring on heroism and bravery, which becomes even more evident in M'Adam's promise of an enthusiastic welcome for the British Legion in various British cities after their victorious return home as a "simple act of justice and kindness; and I promise that each man of the Legion still here shall have the same attention from me as

those who have sailed" ("The Garibaldi Fund", *The Morning Chronicle,* 24 December 1860, 3). In his letter, John M'Adam mentions that the respective committees in the north of England, Ireland, and Scotland will organize the volunteers' welcoming for which, he is sure, subscriptions will be gathered at "Messrs. Ashurst, 6, Old Jewry, London; Joseph Cowen, jun., Newcastle-Upon-Tyne; and Donald Kempt., Gordon-street, Glasgow (the latter also to receive from Ireland)" to thank the British Legion for its acts of bravery in southern Italy ("The Garibaldi Fund", *The Morning Chronicle,* 24 December 1860, 3). Lastly, M'Adam directly addresses the British radical press with the expectation that "the British and Irish press, favourable to Italian national unity, will give this publicity" to contribute to the organization of the welcoming fares for the volunteers of the British Legion, and further highlighting that they deserve a heroic welcome on their return from southern Italy ("The Garibaldi Fund", *The Morning Chronicle,* 24 December 1860, 3).

Ten days later, the *Daily Chronicle,* owned by Joseph Cowen, a supporter of the Italian movement and radical politician from Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, reported on "a welcome supper in Newcastle organised by radicals" to greet the volunteers from the British Legion on their return home, which remained "quite unreported in the conservative press" as Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe notes ("Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 139). Here, the sympathies of the British radical press for the Italian national movement and especially for the British volunteer soldiers who supported it are evident, even though they do not prevail to such an extent that the press coverage of the final stage of the British Legion is a positive one overall. However, the positive depiction nevertheless dominates, as indicated by an address to the British Legion in the farewell of the city of Salerno that was published in *The Liverpool Mercury* on 27

December 1860, in which it thanked the British volunteers for their "nobleness and aspirations which ar[o]se to shake off the yoke of slavery" based on Garibaldi, "the man of the two worlds," who "conceived the thought of forming a legion of English volunteers, who generously hastened to our assistance" ("Italian Farewell to the British Legion", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 27 December 1860, 3). In this farewell, all the positive associations of the British volunteers and the Italian national movement coincide, as the British soldiers are depicted as brave and loyal men who came to liberate Italy from the oppression of foreign rulers, and as soldiers from the "first in Europe to conquer freedom, and which, better than any other people, still knows how to defend and fight for it", returning to the superior position of Britain in Europe and depicting the unification of Italy, brought about by the British volunteers, as advantageous for all of Europe ("Italian Farewell to the British Legion", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 27 December 1860, 3). Subsequently, the article reintroduces the international dimension of the Italian national movement, as peace in Italy also contributed to the political stability of Europe at large, which it attributes to the "generous and brave men" of the British Legion, thereby reiterating the heroic rhetoric that was already known to British readers from the 1859 volunteer corps movement and the recruitment of the British Legion in 1860 ("Italian Farewell to the British Legion", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 27 December 1860, 3).

This analysis of the depiction of the British legion after its success in Sicily in October 1860 in *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle,* the *Daily News, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* showed that the British radical press, which largely supported the Italian Risorgimento and its central figures in the mid-nineteenth

century, subsequently did not solely portray the British Legion, its conduct, and military actions in a positive light but also published critical articles on this subject. Additionally, it seems as if the interest in the British volunteers rapidly ceased after their return home as a result of which only a rather brief momentum was maintained for the remembrance of the British volunteers in contemporary British popular culture, which also became evident in other media, genres, special events, and the arts. This is visible in the overall reporting on the British Legion in the British press, as a key-word search in the 19th Century British Library Newspapers database finds 400 hits for "British Legion" in the British newspapers from 1860, which halves to 200 in 1861, and then gradually decreases to 177 in 1862 and 123 in 1863, before the references again briefly increase to 288 in 1864, the year in which Garibaldi visited London to thank the British for their widespread support for the Italian national movement.

Furthermore, *The Liverpool Mercury* announces a lecture by Mr Mason Jones on Garibaldi in Italy, including his personal experience of the camp life of the British Legion and Garibaldi's thoughts on the British volunteers, held on 28 December 1860 at Liverpool Philharmonic Hall, literally as his "third and last oration" on this topic, which underpins the impression that the interest in the British Legion waned once the British volunteers had returned home ("Philharmonic Hall. Mr. Mason Jones", *The Liverpool Mercury,* 28 December 1860, 1). Moreover, the advertisements for various types of entertainment published in the British press in 1860 show that the interest in the British Legion and the Italian Risorgimento, in general, decreased throughout the year. It is thus notable that the otherwise self-perpetuating methods of heroicizing Garibaldi's soldiers could not counteract the waning interest of the public

in the volunteers of the British Legion in 1860, mirrored in the most diverse kinds of media and literary genres as further examples will demonstrate. In her article, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861)", Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe refers to an advertisement for the "'Grand Garibaldi Concert' in aid of the 'Sufferers in Garibaldi's Army' at the New Town Hall" at which "members of Arthur Clinton's Model Military Band had kindly volunteered their services, soon joined by Adolphus Lockwood, celebrated harpist from the Adams Concerts, extremely popular at the time, and a vocalist, Miss A. Smith, from the Edinburgh and Glasgow Concerts", which probably served to raise additional funds for the British Legion in the radical newspaper, *Daily Chronicle* ("Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 135-136). The concert was followed by another "Grand Evening Concert" at the New Town Hall in Newcastle, announced on 22 September 1860 in the *Daily Chronicle*, "which starred Italian artist Signor Valsovani ('the Eminent Baritone'), Signor Vialetti, Signor Giulini, [and] Signor Arditi" and for which occasion "a special train was scheduled for North Shields and Tynemouth – evidently arranged to facilitate Tyneside workers who did not have their own transport" to attend the concert (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 136). According to a review from the issue of the *Daily Chronicle* from 29 September 1860, the concert was a great success (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 136). Moreover, the proprietor of the Theatre Royal in Newcastle and the Royal Lyceum Theatre in Sunderland "advertised in the Daily Chronicle the operatic drama 'Guy Manning' in Sunderland. The performance was to be concluded 'by particular desire' with 'a New and Powerful Drama, abounding with Startling Effects,' entitled 'Garibaldi, The Liberator of Italy'" on 3 October 1860. The popularity of the Italian

national movement and its central figures remained even into early 1861 when the Bianco panorama called "The Heroic Life & Career of Garibaldi" attracted an enthusiastic audience in Nottingham in February 1861 and another Garibaldi panorama was exhibited and well-received in Newcastle in March 1861 (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 137). However, the exhibition of the Garibaldi panorama came to an end in April 1861, by which time the interest in the events that led to the annexation of Sicily in 1860, including the involvement of the British, had also faded in the British press (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 141). Although the British press still reported on Garibaldi's life and career as a military hero, the focus shifted away from the battle of the Two Sicilies to the more recent events in Italy and personal stories about Garibaldi. Thus, it seems as if the rhetorical strategies centring on the heroism and bravery of the British volunteers in Garibaldi's British legion used in the British radical press were not strong enough to fashion them into positive myths concerning the Italian national movement that prevailed in contemporary British popular culture and memory. Instead, the critical views on the British Legion expressed by Trevelyan and other contemporaries, who perceived the British soldiers as drinking roughs on an excursion to Italy, contributed to the rapid decline in the public interest in the British Legion after the volunteers' return home in late 1860 (qtd. in Bacchin, "Brothers of Liberty" 841). Thus, as indicated by the analysed texts, the waning interest in Garibaldi's mission is apparent in the decreasing reporting on the British Legion in the British press in the years after 1860 and the fading enthusiasm for concerts, panoramas, and other forms of leisure entertainment dedicated to the Italian general. In contrast to the

enduring and much-publicised fame of the early volunteers from 1859, the positive reputation of the British Legion thus did not persist.

4. "Let Italy be made a free nation"[94]: Mazzini's London-Based Society of the Friends of Italy (1851-1853) and Risorgimento Exiles in Mid-Nineteenth Century Britain

As indicated earlier, the transnational scope of the Italian Risorgimento was crucial for the success of the national movement and the topic of exile is one central factor in establishing transnational alliances that was not analysed in this book so far. This section aims to provide insight into the transnational networks, specifically those Italian exiles who cooperated with Mazzini's Society of the Friends of Italy (May 1851) which was established in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. It will thereby consider Mazzini's status as an Italian exile as equally important for the Society's political agenda as for the pro-Italian attitude of its British, mostly middle-class members and the growing numbers of Risorgimento exiles in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. In this context, the resonances of these transnational networks in the serial publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy are interpreted following the ideas Clare Pettitt formulates in her recent monograph, *Serial Revolutions 1848 – Writing, Politics, Form* (2022). Thus, the following sections demonstrate how the seriality of the medium not only affected its form of publication but also its topics of interest and ways of discussing these on a transnational scale. In this context, particular focus is dedicated to the recurring rhetorical strategies and images used in the Society's publications to disseminate its political agenda among its Italo-British readership and to establish a Risorgimento narrative in Britain based on what the Society perceived as

[94] From: "Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy." No. XIV, October, 1852, 4.

transnational solidarity. It is important to note that the topic of Italian exile was also discussed in many Victorian novels that were considered part of the nineteenth-century canon, such as Dickens's *Pictures of Italy* (1846) and *Little Dorrit* (1855-1857), George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871), or Giovanni Ruffini's *Lorenzo Benoni* (1853) and *Doctor Antonio* (1855). The latter two novels were analysed by Patricia Cove, who examined their representation of exile, and whose chapter gives an in-depth insight into the multifaceted depiction of exile and the challenges this experience posed to Italian exiles (62-94). Together, mid-nineteenth-century novels and serial publications modelled Italian exile as a transnational topic that had to be addressed in British popular culture and political debate.

This chapter uses the term 'transnational' consistent with Oliver Janz and Lucy Riall's "Special Issue: The Italian Risorgimento: Transnational Perspectives: Introduction" published in *Modern Italy* in 2014 and Diana Moore's monograph, *Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890* published in 2017. The first source elaborates on the term 'transnational history' by declaring it synonymous with "international, comparative, world or global history" (Janz and Riall 1). Moreover, the special issue argues that its approach to 'transnational history' "seeks to overcome a historiography focused on the nation and to displace the focus of on the nation-state by studying non-governmental institutions, civil associations, informal groups and/or individual actors", such as the Society of the Friends of Italy as one example of a transnational political group with a strong interest in the Italian national movement (Janz and Riall 1). Additionally, Moore's *Transnational Nationalists* is also interested in the transnational networks of the Italian Risorgimento and their effects on Italian nation-building. She argues: "Many transnational

histories of the Risorgimento focus on the numerous relationships between Italian patriots and their British supporters", tracing the long traditions of British interest in Italy back to Italy's glorious past when the first excursions to the peninsula set the tone for centuries of travelling between Britain and Italy (*Transnational Nationalists* 7). Departing from the nation-state level, Moore's research focuses on the lives of selected British women and their role as supporters of Garibaldi and Mazzini in the transnational Risorgimento, thereby considering spatial mobility as crucial to their political agenda (*Transnational Nationalists* 11).[95] Thus, Janz, Riall, and Moore all consider 'transnational' as synonymous with crossing a national border, and subsequently position spatial mobility at the core of their approaches to a transnational version of the Italian Risorgimento.

This idea resonates with Gilles Pécout's article, "The International Armed Volunteers: Pilgrims of a Transnational Risorgimento" (2009), which, similar to Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins's *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Enlistment in the Modern Era* (2012) and Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe's chapter "British Red Shirts: A History of the Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)" (2013),[96] views international soldiers as decisive for

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[95] Moore continues her research on the role of British women in the transnational Risorgimento in her 2021 monograph *Transnational Victorian Feminism, 1850-1890,* which analyses how Jessie White Mario, Georgina Saffi, Sara Nathan, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Chambers contributed to the Italian Risorgimento with revolutionary campaigns in addition to charitable and philanthropic work (20). The monograph also considers the identities of these British women as 'transnational' and examines how the act of border-crossing transformed their identities. This transformational approach to the term 'transnational' in combination with spatial mobility is not adhered to in this book.

[96] See: Arielli, Nir and Bruce Collins. *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2012 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "British Red Shirts: A History of The Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)". *Transnational Soldiers – Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era,* eds. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 202-218.

the success of the Risorgimento and suggests that the non-Italian agents turned the Italian national movement into a transnational Risorgimento (Pécout 413-426). Moreover, Pellegrino Sutcliff's articles "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy amongst British Co-operators (c. 1885-1949)" (2012), "The Toynbee Travellers' Club and the Transnational Education of Citizens, 1888-90" (2013), and "Liberal Italy and the Challenge of Transnational Education (1861-1922)" (2015) also use the term 'transnational' to highlight the fact that the Italian national movement transcended national borders in the nineteenth century and to examine central socio-political topics related to the Risorgimento that were negotiated both inside and outside of Italy at that time.[97] Furthermore, Pellegrino Sutcliffe's 2014 monograph, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats,* indicates that the transnational approach to the Italian Risorgimento also opened up the stage for "low culture within the Risorgimento experience, particularly between 1849 – coinciding with the international reverberations of the crushing of the Roman Republic – and the 1860s" when Mazzini worked on the recreation of the Italian republic from exile (*Victorian Radicals* 11). These ideas that Pellegrino Sutcliffe associates with working-class-culture debates made their way into British literature and culture, as a result of which Mazzini's supporters, also those from the working class, were able to experience and participate in the struggles of the Italian nation in the mid-nineteenth century (Pellegrino, *Victorian Radicals* 11).

[97] See: Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy amongst British Co-operators (c. 1885-1949)". *Labour History Review,* Vol. 77, No. 3, 2012, 267-287; Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "The Toynbee Travellers' Club and the Transnational Education of Citizens, 1888-90". *History Workshop Journal,* Vol. 76, No. 1, 11 August 2013, 137-159 and Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Liberal Italy and the Challenge of Transnational Education (1861-1922)". *History of Education,* Vol. 44, No. 5, 2015, 618-630.

As this book demonstrates, certain key aspects of the Italian national movement became part of mid-nineteenth-century British popular culture and were discussed in all kinds of literature and media, thereby allowing the general British readers the chance to engage with the ongoing national movement in Italy. The idea that Risorgimento-related themes were also discussed beyond the Italian national borders is also central to Patricia Cove's monograph *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (2019), which examines how topics and images drawn from the Italian national movement were depicted and negotiated in nineteenth-century British poems and novels such as Lady Morgan's "Italy", Mary Shelley's "Valperga", Giovanni Ruffini's *Lorenzo Benoni, Doctor Antonio* or Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Poems Before Congress* and *Last Poems.*[98] Lastly, Clare Pettitt's yet unfinished three-book series, *Serial Forms: The Unfinished Project of Modernity 1815-1848* and *Serial Revolutions 1848 – Writing, Politics, Form* also considers transnational border-crossings as essential to the sequence of pan-European revolutions she follows in her work (*Serial Revolutions* 9).[99]

Pettitt's approach aligns transnationality with seriality, thereby creating a very helpful and suitable approach for examining the publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy as a series of monthly records and special publications reporting on the ongoing events and discussions in Risorgimento-Italy to a British readership. Her ideas are based on the conviction that "politics is not an elite conversation, but a

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[98] See: Cove, Patricia. *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019.

[99] See: Pettitt, Clare. *Serial Forms: The Unfinished Project of Modernity 1815-1848.* Oxford UP, 2020 and Pettitt, Clare. *Serial Revolutions 1848 – Writing, Politics, Form.* Oxford UP, 2022.

fast-evolving popular understanding of constitutional formats and responsibilities" in the rapidly developing nineteenth century (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 1). Furthermore, she argues that "[s]eriality offered a century that was already on the move a way of modelling movement", thereby positioning the serial format, which is apt to quickly adapt to new topics and issues, alongside the technological advancements of the century such as the railway and the telegraph (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 30). Pettitt thus suggests that both the serial and the railway or telegraph created "transport and communication networks, combined to generate overlapping reticulation of consciousness, in which nationalism and internationalism were intertwined" (*Serial Revolutions* 30). Thus, like Janz, Riall, and Moore, she positions spatial mobility at the core of her transnational approach to the sequence of pan-European revolutions throughout the nineteenth century that her book series focuses on.

Pettitt's central argument in *Serial Revolutions* is that

> the nineteenth-century serial is not just a literary category, but a political, historical, and social one. In a series, each linked element has something in common with every other element of a series, but this does not mean they are identical: the series is a format which allows for growth and development across time and space. Therefore, the series can achieve commonality without erasing difference. (2)

Considering the essential elements of the serial as being advantageous if viewed within the bigger picture of the nineteenth century as a historical period marked by significant technological and scientific advancements and widespread socio-political changes on an international scale, Pettitt views the serial format as apt to adapt to this ever-changing world. Her view is shared by the Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism, which also positions the serial format of the periodical among all literary genres and debates of the time by stating: "[T]he periodical was one publishing genre among others, deriving part of its interest from its intersection with

the novel, books and other publications in the market for general literature and news" ("Publishers and the Press" 515-516). In comparison to novels and other publication forms, the serial publication was cheap and attracted the masses, and thus Pettitt concludes that it played a role in "creati[ing] a new sense of shared social time and inaugurat[ing] a new politics of seriality too: a politics of connections, of development, and of international equivalence" ("Publishers and the Press" 516, Pettitt 2). Moreover, Pettitt views the serial as a revolutionary medium that allows its editors and readers to interact and, thus, to get involved in the process of shaping the historical discourse of the time. In *Serial Forms: The Unfinished Project of Modernity 1815-1848,* which precedes *Serial Revolutions,* Pettitt notes that "the rhythms of seriality in the early nineteenth century did not create political subjects out of people overnight, but that they did crucially start to create the feeling of being part of a daily politics for more and more British people", also by becoming part of the popular culture of the time (*Serial Forms* 4). Furthermore, *Serial Revolutions* commences this train of thought and uses seriality as both subject and method to examine how "the serial worked to transmit ideas and identities across a Europe which was already being recalibrated and reconstructed into a newly imagined space by shared historicism" (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 4).

According to these understandings of seriality, a link between the format and its content is established that transcends both social classes and national borders and, thus, adapts well to the socio-political demands of the nineteenth century. As Pettitt shows, the history of the nineteenth century can be understood as a series of ongoing European revolutions that were transported and also became tangible through the nineteenth-century format of the periodical. Hence, the serial makes nineteenth-

century debates ‘experientable’ for its readers which also aligns with Monika Fludernik’s ideas on the experientiality of history. She differentiates between ‘contemporary historical experience’ and ‘past historical experience’ as two types of experiencing history distinguished by time (Fludernik, “Experience” 40-41). Whereas ‘past historical experience’ would apply to our understanding of nineteenth-century history, ‘contemporary historical experience’ applies to how the serials of the time reflected the ongoing socio-political debates. Thereby, Fludernik argues, “direct involvement cannot be required as a precondition” in order “for contemporary experience to have any general meaning at all” (“Experience” 42). Instead, according to Fludernik’s and Pettitt’s ideas, remediation of ongoing socio-political discussions and events must be understood as a valid source of historical information and the nineteenth-century serial as a suitable medium to do so.

Historically, as mentioned previously, the nineteenth-century serial transcended social classes and national borders, to which Pettitt connects a “historical agency and possibility” of the medium by the “transnational spread of political ideas” (*Serial Revolutions* 2). She further elaborates on this viewpoint in her second book, *Serial Revolutions,* drawing the parallel between the series of pan-European revolutions she focuses on and the fact that these historical events were also mediated in serial forms all over the world (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 9). Her second book is based on the knowledge derived from the earlier *Serial Forms* (2020), which focused on Britain,

> primarily London, arguing that a daily news culture developed alongside an emergent popular culture of historicism. The rapid expansion of print in London after the Napoleonic Wars meant that the historical past and the contemporary moment were emerging into public visibility through serial newsprint, illustrations, performances, shows, and new forms of mediation. (Pettitt 4)

Hence, *Serial Forms* focuses more on the print culture that supports Pettitt's approach to 'serial social time' and analyses the dynamics of the nineteenth-century literary market, noting that "[i]t was only when Europe began to read about itself, to imagine itself, and to see itself represented, that its nationalisms became possible" (4). Pettitt's 2020 monograph shows how the development of the literary genre of the serial contributed to the evolution of a large British readership and helped to convey ideas concerning individual, national, and international political identities. Tying onto this, she argues that within Europe, politics dealt with "the demands of colonized and oppressed people everywhere. As if in one voice, they all asked for political representation, civil liberties, self-determination, self-governance, work and freedom of information", which also accurately mirrors Italy's situation in the mid-nineteenth century (Pettitt, *Serial Forms* 10). Here, Pettitt notices the similarity of topics that triggered national revolutions in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, viewing this spread of similar socio-political debates as an indefinite movement that sparked a series of pan-European revolutions and subsequently inspired further debates and the foundation of new movements in a kind of domino effect. In this context, Pettitt also considers the importance of the transnational networks of Italian exiles, mentioning Mazzini as one example of an Italian patriot seeking refuge abroad to continue his struggle for Italian nation-making from outside of Italy (*Serial Forms* 17-31). A consideration of Pettitt's idea of seriality as not only a nineteenth-century medium but also a method of circulating contemporary discourses and discussing ongoing political events in a fast-developing environment constitutes the methodical basis of this chapter. The following analysis shares Fludernik's and Pettit's ideas on the possibility of sharing historical experientiality through

writing, analysing how the transnational alliances centring around Mazzini's political organization, the Society of the Friends of Italy, renegotiated the Italian Risorgimento as a transnational movement in their serial publications (1851-1855).

The records of the London-based Society of the Friends of Italy constitute the main corpus of this analysis.[100] From September 1851 onwards, the Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy was published regularly as a four-page leaflet, with the exception of a few additional issues such as the Appeal to Electors by the Society of the Friends of Italy, published with the July-issue of the society's monthly record in July 1851, the Petition of the Friends of Italy, on the French and Austrian occupation of the Roman States in December 1852, and the First Annual Report of the Society of the Friends of Italy Read at the Society's Annual Meeting in June 1853. Every record is divided into a section on the

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[100] The research presented in this chapter was funded by the University of Regensburg's women's officer in February 2020. The collected publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy, their opening "Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy.", 28 monthly records, and 14 additional publications were consulted and scanned for further examination in the special archives of the University of Newcastle (Cowen Tracts, Robinson Library Special Collections). Prints of these publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy constitute the canon of primary literature for this chapter. To date, these publications have not been analysed for their significance in the creation of a transnational Risorgimento narrative by any scholar researching Risorgimento history. Although Lucy Riall mentions the Society in connection with Mazzini's political career, Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe notes that the "founding of the Society of the Friends of Italy may be seen as another initiative which adversely affected the unity of purpose of Mazzini's followers in Britain" and Nick Carter is the only scholar who really refers to the "Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy." and its monthly tracts, none of these renowned scientists ever worked with the Society's publications as primary texts (*Garibaldi* 142, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* 78, *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* 71-72). Hence, this book contributes a first-time analysis of these political manuscripts to the field of research on the Italian Risorgimento. By considering these publications as a literary narrative, this chapter identifies and interprets recurring rhetorical strategies and images used by the exile community in the networks of the Society of the Friends of Italy to create a transnational Risorgimento narrative in Britain.

progress of the Society of the Friends of Italy, followed by a passage describing the ongoing events in Italy and ends with an overview of the publications of the Society. From June 1853 onwards, the Society's records become more irregular in their publication date and format, and thus there is, for example, no July issue in 1853, while the August record covers eight pages. Moreover, whereas the monthly records were distributed for free until January 1854, they later remained free for members of the Society of the Friends of Italy but were sold to other readers for 1 ½ d. The last monthly record, which was sold to non-members for 2 d, spanned eight pages and was published in March 1855.

Apart from the monthly record, the Society of the Friends of Italy published special issues in response to crucial historical and political events such as the Tracts of the Society of the Friends of Italy, based on a lecture Mazzini delivered at the first Conversazione of the Society of the Friends of Italy, held in February 1852, the First Annual Report of the Society of the Friends of Italy Read at the Society's Annual Meeting in June 1852, the Appeal of Electors by the Society of the Friends of Italy in July 1852, and the Petition of the Friends of Italy, on the French and Austrian occupation of the Roman States in December 1852, all of which were mentioned earlier. Although the publication of the monthly record of the Society of the Friends of Italy ceased in March 1855, the society's founder, Mazzini, continued his writing on Italian nation-building at home and abroad. His political activism had begun long before he founded the Society of the Friends of Italy in 1851, as indicated by the fact that he joined the Carbonari in the 1820s, and was crucial for the development of ideas on Italian nationalism during the early stages of the Risorgimento and promoting a transnational view of the Italian cause by addressing a letter to Messrs. de Tocqueville and Dr Falloux, Ministers of France, which

introduced the Italian Refugee Fund to them in 1849.[101] Moreover, three years later, Mazzini penned "Duties of the Democracy", which was originally published in the Belgian newspaper *The Nation* on 16 March 1852 in which he strongly argues against the European non-interference policy towards the Italian Risorgimento.[102] Mazzini's view of Europe as one political body is a recurring theme in his writings from early 1852, as testified by his articles, "The Revolutionary Initiative of the Peoples" and "Europe: Its Conditions and Prospects".[103] Furthermore, his idea of a transnational duty to actively contribute to the process of Italian nation-building reoccurs in multiple passages of the monthly records of the Friends of Italy, including in the issue from August 1853, where an entire page is dedicated to Mazzini's suggestions to the Italians that they should become politically active and receive help from other European nations.[104] The local setting of the Society of the Friends of Italy in London implies that the help Mazzini requests from other European nations also includes Britain and the Italian exiles who migrated to other European countries to contribute to Italian nation-making from abroad. This is an idea that scholars such as Donna R. Gabaccia, Maurizio Isabella, Annemarie McAllister, Owain J. Wright, Gilles Pécout, Marcella Pellegrino

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[101] Mazzini, Joseph. "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux, Ministers of France". *French Intervention in Rome,* Charles Fox, 67, Paterson Row, London, 1849. iii.

[102] Mazzini, Joseph. "Duties of the Democracy". *The Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy. (Cowen Tracts, University of Newcastle),* J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-Row, London, No. 16, 15 April 1852. 61-64.

[103] Mazzini, Joseph. "The Revolutionary Initiative of the Peoples". *The Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy. (Cowen Tracts, University of Newcastle),* J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-Row, London, No. 20, 13 May 1852, 77-80; Mazzini, Joseph. "Europe: Its Condition and Prospects". *The Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy. (Cowen Tracts, University of Newcastle),* J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster-Row, London, No. 26, 24 June 1852. 101-104.

[104] Mazzini, Joseph. "To the Italians. A Few Pages by Joseph Mazzini". *Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy.,* No. XXIV. (August, 1853), 2-6.

Sutcliffe, and Hugh Shankland supported in the context of Italian migration to Britain throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, the following passages reflect on such theories of exile, spatial mobility, and nation-building from abroad in the context of the Italian Risorgimento with a special focus on the political activism of Italian exiles in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

In her chapter "Class, Exile, and Nationalism at Home and Abroad: The Italian Risorgimento" from 2001, Donna R. Gabaccia traces the paths of Italian activists and labourers around the world. The exiles analysed in her study can be subdivided into four different political groups: revolutionaries, republicans (also followers of Mazzini), liberals, and Garibaldians, all having different opinions on nationalism (Gabaccia 28-29). Adding to this, Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe identifies Mazzini's followers in Britain as Republican and Chartist in her later monograph, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* from 2014, and locates them not only in the country's rural areas but also in the metropolis of London, which became "a focal point of solidarity and an international exchange of ideas and forms of organisation" of Italian political radicalism towards the end of the century and thus also an excellent location for the Society of the Friends of Italy (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 58 ff., Levy qtd. in Di Paola 7 and Di Paola 14). Pellegrino argues that the large groups of British workers in the rural parts of the country were not the only supporters of Mazzini's ideas as impactful members of the middle and upper classes also supported his cause, such as George Jacob Holyoake, whose publishing house in London was also used for the recruitment of volunteer soldiers for Garibaldi's mission in 1860 (*Victorian Radicals*

58).[105] In general, Gabaccia traces the roots of Italian labour migration to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when fairly large numbers of migrants were first recorded (Gabaccia 21). These numbers, however, swelled to 100,000 migrants per year by 1860 so that Gabaccia quotes Leone Corpi's resumé that "around 555,000 'Italians' lived in what he called Italy's 'colonies' abroad" (qtd. in Gabaccia 21). Her view is shared by historian Annemarie McAllister, who, in her 2007 monograph *John Bull's Italian Snakes and Ladders – English Attitudes to Italy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* argues that the French Revolution (1789) and the Treaty of Vienna (1815) led to the advent of the Italian national movement and the migration of the first Italian exiles in very small numbers (McAllister 5). According to McAllister's examination, this number rose to several hundred in the 1820s and 1830s, including Antonio Panizzi (1823), Gabriele Rossetti (1824), and Giuseppe Mazzini, who migrated to Britain in 1837 (5). According to Gabaccia's findings, "[e]ach moment of Risorgimento political crisis produced a short, sharp emigration of activists", whereby the effects of these crises became visible in labour migration similar to the ways in which reporting on the crucial events of the Risorgimento resulted in a heightened number of articles published on them in British rural and London-based newspapers as was shown in chapter 3.3 "Remembering the British Legion" in this book. In total, one to two million Italians are estimated to have migrated to centres of progress such as Paris or London from the beginning of the century to 1870 (Gabaccia 21).

[105] For more information on George Jacob Holyoake and his role in the recruitment of British volunteer soldiers for Garibaldi's 1860 mission, please consult chapter 3.2 "'Here we are, ready to fight': Recruiting the British Legion (1860)" in this book.

Although Gabaccia shares Corpi's view on the Italian migrants living in 'colonies' abroad, she still assigns them an important role in the process of nation-making. Hugh Shankland, who focuses on the Italian exiles in Northeast England in his 2014 monograph, *Out of Italy: The Story of Italians in North East England,* also uses post-colonial language to refer to them as a 'diaspora' and, similar to Gabaccia, rates their impact on the Italian national movement as noteworthy (48). Gabaccia and Shankland, moreover, resonate with the thoughts of Emilio Franzina, who perceives these migrants as "'living agents' of Italian nationalism" abroad, who rewrite the rules of nationalism set in pre-Risorgimento times (Gabaccia 21-22). This idea is Maurizio Isabella's central argument in his article "Exile and Nationalism" from 2006, in which he argues: "[T]he political and intellectual activities that underpinned the Italian national movement developed primarily outside the boundaries of the Italian states", which once again reinforces Gabaccia's theory of nation-making from abroad (Isabella 493 and 503-504). Furthermore, Gabaccia argues that the conception of nationalism was limited to a small number of Italian intellectuals in pre-Risorgimento times, an elite that constructed a national narrative on the basis of Italy's great Roman past (22). She criticises that this limitation of a national narrative to a small, educated elite no longer meets the demands of the Italian national movement in the nineteenth century and that nationalism must be spread through and shaped by all social classes of Italians at home and abroad so that the process of nation-making can commence (Gabaccia 22 and Isabella 494). However, Gabaccia, like other scholars, admits that the ideas concerning nationalism from abroad were often too idealistic or too radical to actually be implemented at home (23 and 28).

Additionally, Gabaccia's study considers forced forms of exile practised in the nineteenth century, such as banishment or deportation, and opts for 'political migration' as the most fitting term for the Italian activists who went into exile in the early to mid-nineteenth century (Gabaccia 25). Elaborating on different views on exile and nationalism, Isabella traces a genealogy of Italian patriots and their ideas, which might have influenced the conception of Italian national identity in Risorgimento times. Contrary to Gabaccia, Isabella concentrates on the positive facets of exile when he first examines the life of Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), an Italian patriot who, according to Isabella, influenced the first generation of Italian exiles and argued that "where there was a tyrant, there could be no motherland, patria" (495). For Alfieri, 'patria' was closely connected to liberty, which could not be found in a place ruled by a tyrant, and thus he saw the possibility of seeking a "new patria" in another place where liberty could be found (Isabella 496). As my examination demonstrated, this thought is reminiscent of the circle of British female poetesses who moved to Florence in the mid-nineteenth century and mostly perceived themselves as hybrid or cosmopolitan identities.[106] According to Isabella, exile was "the ultimate gesture of independence and opposition" for Alfieri, a thought that also inspired the literature of another celebrated patriot, Ugo Foscolo (495).

In his novel *Lost Letters of Jacopo Ortis* (1817), Foscolo, who exiled himself to Britain in 1816, promoted "exile as the ultimate form of attachment to one's patria", arguing that "it was only by rejecting and abandoning one's fatherland that patriotism could be rescued" (Isabella 496). In this sense, Foscolo wrote to his dear friend Gabriele Rossetti, another Italian exile in Britain: "I will tell you that I am Neapolitan,

[106] See chapter 2.3 of this book, "Women Reforming Politics".

emigrated for having too much loved the common fatherland", highlighting that if progress cannot be found at home, it must be started from abroad (qtd. in Isabella 496). In the context of patriotism and detachment, Isabella mentions Cicero's ancient approach to exile as the "highest form of cosmopolitanism, to be preferred to the narrow allegiance to one's city; [as] the true philosopher (it was held) is a citizen of the world, and the human condition universal", which again resonates with the ideas of the British poetesses in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century analysed in chapter 2.3 "Women Reforming Politics", while drastically opposing Mazzini's understanding of exile and patriotism (497). Mazzini perceived cosmopolitans as egoists only caring for themselves and instead aimed at uniting the people at home and abroad under the common aim of (re-)establishing the Italian patria via the national movement (Isabella 497). Thus, Mazzini did not condemn the exiles as such but recommended them to distance themselves from "a cosmopolitan ideal of freedom, in favour of a more concrete ideal of patria", thereby ascribing exiles an important role in nation-making from abroad like Gabaccia, Isabella, and Shankland (Isabella 497).

When it comes to the social background of the patriots, the research of Gabaccia and Isabella identifies it as mostly middle-class or secular, and only rarely artisan or peasant (Gabaccia 25, Isabella 495-497). Moreover, Gabaccia mentions that the group of Italian migrants in London is best-documented and notices a drastic shift in the perception of the Italians in London on the part of the British in the early nineteenth century. Until 1820, Gabaccia states, "Londoners had known Italians – though exiles – as an elite, cultured people that included the circle of poets gathered around Ugo Foscolo", and who was warmly welcomed because the

> Italian language and literature became a fashion which could be used to signify compassion, glamour, youth, the exotic, and a myriad of other Romantic qualities – with Byron, Shelley and Keats as leaders, perhaps, but spreading steadily through the English upper and middle classes, joining with the residual images of Italy derived from the Grand Tour. (McAllister 5)

This excerpt summarizes the general Italophilia of the British, especially for the intellectual Italians, who were perceived as the descendants of the country's great Roman past (Gabaccia 30 and McAllister 5). However, from 1830 onwards, large numbers of Italian labourers settled in London, which resulted in the negative stereotype of the uncultured Italian poor in the streets of the metropolis and led to a transnational debate based on the question of whether the rights of exiles should be restricted (Gabaccia 25 and 30). McAllister perceives the declining Italophilia of the British as starting later, between 1840 and 1850 when the political struggle between the British and the working-class Italian exiles became increasingly visible (6). In this context, it is worth noting that especially the cultivated Italians were well integrated into British circles and that impactful transnational individuals such as Mazzini founded initiatives for Italian labour exiles to get access to education and self-help, in order to also help the members of this social class to find a place in British society (Gabaccia 30-34). In her 2012 article, "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy amongst British Co-operators (c. 1885-1949)", Pellegrino Sutcliffe elaborates on the interactions between the British and the Italian exiles in Britain in the context of education in closer detail, mentioning the collection of funds for libraries and Mazzini sending books to the "newly established co-operative in Sunderland" in 1864 as examples of the implementation of Mazzini's plans for the education of both the British themselves and Italian exiles in Britain ("Mazzini's Transnational Legacy"

269-270).[107] This view is shared by McAllister, who adds that Mazzini tried to promote the ideal of transnational solidarity in an English song from 1849, which includes the lyrics: "Our duty is to fight/ […]/ And to set the slave and tortur'd brother free", again trying to implement anti-slavery rhetoric that was not only popular in his political writings but also in the poetry of the British female authors who moved to Florence in the mid-nineteenth century (Pécout 419 and McAllister 7). The song was published throughout the British periodical press mostly dedicated to a working-class readership (McAllister 7).[108]

Furthermore, Garibaldi was frequently portrayed in the British press as the leader of a mass movement and liberator of the Italian nation, as the analysis in chapter 3.1 "Mobilising the British Working Class" has shown. This is reinforced by McAllister when she points to a caricature published in *Punch* in 1860, in which Garibaldi is allowed to stay whereas Mr Punch kicks other Italians out (9).[109] Such a celebration of Garibaldi together with the "British artistic and literary affection for Italy" is also a crucial point for Owain J. Wright, who in his 2008 article "British Representatives and the Surveillance of Italian Affairs, 1860-70" mentions Lord Palmerston and Lord Russel as particularly fond of the Italian general and his agenda (669-670). Furthermore, Wright analyses how information about the events in Italy was conveyed via the British press, most importantly in *The Times* and *The Telegraph* and examines the role of British consuls in Italy in the mid-nineteenth century (675-676

[107] Further information on Mazzini's ideas on transnational education is found in: Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Liberal Italy and the Challenge of Transnational Education (1861-1922)". *History of Education,* Vol. 44, No. 5, 2015, 618-630.

[108] See chapters 2.3.3 "Isa Blagden" and 3.1.1 "Mazzini and Garibaldi as Vehicles of a Radical Political Agenda" in this book.

[109] Other Garibaldi caricatures from *Punch* are interpreted by Lucy Riall in *Garibaldi – Invention of a Hero* on pages 250, 257, and 333.

and 687). Highlighting the importance of the British press for the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in Britain, Pellegrino Sutcliffe argues that, apart from prominent publications such as *The Times*, the role played by other more rural newspapers must also be considered (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals* 59 and 69 ff.). Additionally, Wright argues that all British institutions were interested in a good relationship with Italy as "[t]he country formed part of a strategic lifeline between Britain and its most important imperial possessions" (Wright 686). Thus, according to Wright's study, the surveillance of Italian affairs by British consuls was important for securing peace in Europe and maintaining a stable relationship with Italy. In his monograph, *Great Britain and the Unifying of Italy – A Special Relationship?,* published ten years later in 2018, Wright explores the role of British consuls and diplomats in the surveillance of the events of the Italian Risorgimento in closer detail.[110] Similarly critical to Wright's study, McAllister's (post-)colonial approach to the British perceptions of the Italian exiles in nineteenth-century Britain foregrounds their relationship as dynamic and oscillating between the traditional British Italophilia for the Italian educated classes and the British fear of the 'uncultured' Italian exiles pouring into the metropolis of London in large numbers in the later nineteenth century (22-26). Shedding light on the Italian exiles returning home at some point in time, Gabaccia concludes that most of the working-class Italian exiles who had remained in their 'colonies' abroad lived a rather isolated life, witnessing that most of their valuable but too idealistic ideas of nationalism could not be converted at home, which resulted in a rather desperate outlook for those returning to Italy from exile (29 and 35).

[110] See: Wright, Owain J. *Great Britain and the Unifying of Italy – A Special Relationship.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

In his article, "Exile and Nationalism: The Case of the Risorgimento", Isabella explores how the different perspectives on the exile and nationalism of Italian patriots, ranging from those of Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803) to Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827) and Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), were crafted into powerful themes and metaphors in nineteenth-century Italian literature and beyond. His research yielded four major findings. Firstly, his work highlights the consolatory discourse, which is mostly paired with images of heroism and, according to Isabella, "celebrated the wise man's [s]toic virtues of fortitude, endurance, and control over the passions as the philosopher's recipe against the misfortunes inherent in human life" (500). Also viewing the motif of heroism as essential for the creation of a Risorgimento narrative at home and abroad, Adrian Lyttelton ascribes the characteristics of a medieval hero to Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the leading figures of the Italian Risorgimento in his chapter "The Hero and the People" from 2012 (37-38). Secondly, according to Isabella, the conflict between emotions and reason was identified as a common theme in Italian literature. In this regard, Isabella refers to one of Lyttelton's earlier publications from 2001, in which he elaborated on the inner rivalry between "public duty and personal sentiments" of attachment to the home country that arises whenever an individual has to deal with the separation from his/her patria (Isabella 500).[111] Isabella's third motif is very closely tied to the second because it interprets exile as a form of separation from one's patria, which is often associated with feelings of nostalgia (500). Lastly, collective identity and religion are combined into a powerful metaphor to

[111] See: Lyttelton, Adrian. "Creating a National Past: History, Myth and Image in the Risorgimento". *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity Around the Risorgimento,* eds. Albert Russel Ascoli and Krystiyna Clara Henneberg, Berg Publishers, 2001, 27-74.

promote a sense of unity through networks among all Italians at home and abroad, whose (transnational) solidarity would bring about a rebirth or reawakening of Italy, which is most visible in Mazzini's writing when he refers to young exiles as apostles and pilgrims of the "new religion of nationalism" in 1834 (Isabella 502-503 and 506).[112] According to Isabella's research, nineteenth-century Italian novels also significantly contributed to the development of a Risorgimento narrative in Britain (505).

The themes of transnational solidarity and unity in religion are also decisive for Pécout's historical study, "The International Armed Volunteers: Pilgrims of a Transnational Risorgimento" from 2009, in which he mentions that "armed volunteers were one of the clearest demonstrations of the essential transnational character of the Risorgimento" (414). Thus, he ascribes them a central role within the Italian process of nation-building—also outside the realms of literature. Moreover, Pécout elaborates on the "bi-directional flows of mobility and migration" in the context of the earlier Italian national movement, foregrounding that Italians not only migrated to other countries in the world but also transnational soldiers came to Italy to fight in the battles of the Risorgimento, including the numerous transnational British soldiers who were analysed in case study two of this book, 3. "'[P]ut[ting] on their uniforms': Radicalising the British Working Class - The Italian Risorgimento as a Working-Class Narrative" (420). Lastly, Pécout uses Mazzini's religiously-inspired language to refer to the mission of these transnational volunteers as "armed peregrination" (416). According to Pécout, "[t]his type of mobility is driven by different forces that are rooted in individual commitment, cultural circulation, reciprocal borrowings

[112] See: Mazzini, Giuseppe. "Ils sont partis." *Scritti IV,* Imola, 1908, 97-99.

and irregular and non-state led forms of mobilisation", which combines Mazzini's ideas of transnational solidarity with the ideals of cosmopolitanism that Isabella argued Mazzini rejected. Nevertheless, Pécout views these innate values as the basis upon which transnational friendships and political networks evolved as examples of "transnational mechanisms that defined the international politics of the Risorgimento" (421). Among these transnational networks is The Society of the Friends of Italy, a London-based association of Italian and British mostly middle-class members, which actively supported the Italian Risorgimento and whose monthly reports and special publications are analysed in a close reading, concentrating on the rhetorical strategies and potent images used in these documents to shape the Risorgimento narrative in this Anglo-Italian network. I aim to demonstrate how Mazzini and the Society of the Friends of Italy applied such popular themes in their serial publications to reinterpret the dichotomy between the concepts of home and abroad and how this established a common language used by Italian exiles in Britain and the British members of the Society based on their understanding of transnational solidarity.

4.1 "We must rise: and if we fall, rise again until we conquer"[113]: Mazzini's Central Role in The Society of the Friends of Italy and its Anglo-Italian Networks

The previous chapters showed that it was Garibaldi who sparked the radicalism of large parts of British society and motivated them to volunteer for and support the Italian national movement in the late 1850s and 1860s. While he functioned as a leading figure for the later, more militarily active phases of the Risorgimento, it is also worth examining

[113] Mazzini, Giuseppe. "The Party of Action. Suggestions by Joseph Mazzini". *Monthly Record of the Society of the Friends of Italy.,* No. XXIV. (August, 1853), 7.

the earlier stages that led up to the Expedition of the Thousand in 1860 and the impact of other significant individuals during this period. In this context, it is essential to evaluate Mazzini's complex role in the shaping of a Risorgimento narrative in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Sharing this thought, Lucy Riall even refers to Mazzini as "the single most important reason for the high profile of the Italian question in Britain", whose image "was appropriated by the supporters of radical politics and likened to that of national heroes like Milton or Cromwell" (*Garibaldi* 142 and Isabella "Italian Exiles" 71). She derives her argument from Mazzini's biography.

Born in Genoa in 1805 to a middle-class family, Mazzini studied law and literature and became heavily interested in social and political ideas (Recchia and Urbinati 4). From his mid-twenties onwards, Mazzini "believed that what Italy needed was not an elitist constitutional conspiracy but instead a truly popular movement, based on a clear and well-defined republican revolutionary program" and continued his political action in Italy until he went into exile in London in 1837 after a brief imprisonment (Recchia and Urbinati 4). London quickly became his second home as Mazzini experienced the general Italophilia of the British towards educated Italians and was quickly integrated into the Anglo-Italian circles. In 1849, he returned to Italy to monitor an uprising against the Pope, which resulted in the temporal abolition of the papacy and the proclamation of the Roman Republic in March 1849 with Mazzini as its political leader (Recchia and Urbinati 5). Recchia and Urbinati highlight that this "was the only time during his entire life that he held any kind of political office", and Mazzini subsequently largely functioned as a highly influential and charismatic political thinker, whose ideas were central to the Italian national movement and its key figures (5). However, his brief tenure as leader of the Roman Republic in 1849 also secured Mazzini's

high international reputation in the following years (Recchia and Urbinati 5 and Riall *Garibaldi* 142). Aware of his personal history, Isabella inscribes Mazzini a place in the genealogy of British national heroes in the same way that Isabella included him in the line of Italian patriots whose political philosophies and actions were crucial for the Italian national movement in his article "Exile and Nationalism: The Case of the Risorgimento" (497). This positioning of Mazzini within a British and an Italian lineage depicts another way in which his personality was appropriated to the political aims of supporters of the Risorgimento and, simultaneously, it foregrounds the transnational aspect of Mazzini's identity as an Italian exile in Britain, who subsequently became an impactful political persona in both countries. As also Lucy Riall and Nick Carter noted, Mazzini used this transnational position to raise the awareness of the British concerning the ongoing revolution in Italy (Riall *Garibaldi* 142 and Carter 12).

As part of this mission, Mazzini founded the Society of the Friends of Italy in London in May 1851, "which spanned a wide section of the progressive middle class and included prominent liberal reformers, religious Dissenters and leading figures of Victorian literary bohemia", Riall argues (*Garibaldi* 142). The Society's Monthly Record from October 1851 mentions a total of 1,500 members, whereas Nick Carter argues that the number only amounted to 796 by June 1852 ("Monthly Record.", No. II, October 1851, 1). Additionally, the list of the members of the council published together with the first Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy in 1851 names William Ashurst, Joseph Cowen, George Jacob Holyoake, Walter Savage Landor, and James Stansfeld as well-known Mazzinians among 86 other council members ("Address of the Society.", 2). The Society was formed "to promote a correct appreciation of the

Italian Question in this country [Britain]" by using the platform and the press to publish works on the Italian national movement, and to "use every available constitutional means of furthering the cause of Italian [n]ational [i]ndependence, in [p]arliament" and "generally to aid, in this country, the cause of the [i]ndependence, and of the political and religious liberty, of the Italian [p]eople", which points to the different kinds of media through which it addressed British society ("Address of the Society.", 2). The objective of the following analysis is to examine the rhetorical strategies and images that centre on Mazzini and were used in the Society's publications to disseminate its political agenda and shape the Risorgimento narrative in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.

As Pettitt's approach to the nineteenth-century serial indicated, the seriality of the medium provides it with the capability of quickly adapting to socio-political debates and of interacting with its readership. Thus, the seriality of the Society's publications is crucial for the development of recurring rhetorical strategies and images that became significant for the Society's understanding of the aims of Italian nation-making from abroad. Even though this section focuses on Mazzini's role in the Society of the Friends of Italy, it is important to bear in mind that the Society functioned as a network of British and Italian supporters who together promoted the Italian cause in Britain and beyond. Riall highlights this when she argues that Mazzini

> was assisted by a talented group of collaborators and fellow exiles whose publications and lecture tours contributed greatly to publicising the Italian question, and especially the issue of papal and Austrian opression [*sic*]. As well as touring North America, Father Alessandro Gavazzi went on a tour of the British Isles to give a series of anti-Catholic public lectures or 'orations' in the early 1850s which were well attended, while the ex-Roman triumvir Aurelio Saffi in an article in *The Westminster Review* argued that Italy should no longer be considered a Catholic country. In the same years Garibaldi's friend Jessie White, who had recently returned from Italy enthused by Mazzinian ideals, produced a series of

> articles on Italy for the *Daily News* said to have been ghost-written by Mazzini, and she too went on a lecture tour of the British provinces. (*Garibaldi* 143)

Her argument already highlights some aspects of the Society's transnational agenda that will be examined in detail in the next sub-chapter. However, it is important to consider that the crossing of national borders was one of the central rhetorical strategies and images used by Mazzini and the Society of the Friends of Italy in their political writings and that this thought is often tied to a new way of practising religion that Mazzini proposes as he promotes an understanding of the transnational mission of the Italian national movement as a shared undertaking of mankind (Isabella 502-503, 506 and Pécout 416, 421).

Mazzini's thoughts become evident in rhetorical strategies focusing on transnational solidarity, the honourable character of the Italian cause, and a call to political activism that is closely related to the previous motif. These strategies are repeatedly used in the writings of the Society of the Friends of Italy and already occur from the very beginning of the Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy. Here, the Society's objects are stated as quoted above, thereby establishing a strong parallel between the Italian national movement and its representation in Britain ("Address of the Society.", 2). By aiming at a transparent representation of the events in Italy to the British public through the common forms of popular media and the platform, as well as in Parliament, the Society of the Friends of Italy turns the Italian struggle for liberty and unification into a transnational political enterprise. Thus, Mazzini's ideas significantly influenced the Society's objects and the establishment of a Risorgimento narrative in nineteenth-century Britain. This is also evident in the Society's understanding of itself as a political organization, whose members the anonymous writer of the first Monthly Record, from

September 1851, identified as exclusively British although he adds that "it was absolutely necessary for its intelligent co-operation in the cause of Italian liberty, that it should be in relations with native Italians, with whom it might consult, and from whom it might procure the specific information required in this country" ("Monthly Record.", No. I, September 1851, 2).

Moreover, these rhetorical strategies based on transnationalism demonstrate how well adapted the Italian cause was to the British media landscape as it used all different types of media available at the time to promote the Italian national movement among all social classes in Britain's urban and rural areas. Nick Carter, for example, notes that *Reynolds's Newspaper* reported on the great success of the First Conversazione of the Society of the Friends of Italy in November 1852 and that articles on the Society of the Friends of Italy were also published in the *Leader and Saturday Analyst*[114] as well as *The Dublin Review* and *The Times* (Carter 12).[115, 116] Lucy Riall furthermore foregrounds the general importance of the British press of the 1850s for the dissemination of Mazzini's thoughts as also partly due to the publications of the Society of

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[114] See: "Society of the 'Friends of Italy'". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1852, Vol. 3 (103), 243; "Society of the 'Friends of Italy'". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1852, Vol. 3 (116), 557; "Society of the 'Friends of Italy'". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1852, Vol. 3 (99), 146; "Society of the 'Friends of Italy'". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1852, Vol. 3 (110), 408-409; "Society of the 'Friends of Italy'". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1852, Vol. 3 (105), 289-290; Mazzini, Joseph. "Society of the Friends of Italy". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1853, Vol. 3 (120), 653; Robecchi. "Society of the Friends of Italy, and the People of Piedmont". *Leader and Sunday Analyst,* Jan. 7–June 30, 1860, 1851, Vol. 2 (84), 1034.

[115] See: "Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy. Seventh thousand. London, 1852". *The Dublin Review,* 1853, Vol. 34 (67), 203; "ART. VII. – 1. Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy". *The Dublin Review,* 1836-1910, Vol. 34 (67), 203-244.

[116] As referred to in: "Monthly Record.", No. V, January 1852, 4; "Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 3; "Monthly Record.", No. XXVI – XXIX, January 1854, 3-5 and 7-16.

the Friends of Italy (Riall, *Garibaldi* 143). In the Society's "First Annual Report", it is noted that greater attention to the Italian cause could be generated in Britain "[p]artly by the distribution of the Society's publications among the members of the [p]ress, partly by more direct communications with friendly newspapers", which again highlights the importance of the British press as one medium through with the Society reached out to the British public (4). However, the lectures given by Mazzini, Father Alessandro Gavazzi, Saffi, White (Mario), and Orsini were also a prominent method to transmit information on the Italian national movement across large parts of Britain (Riall, *Garibaldi* 143). All of the different types of media used to address British society used the transnational rhetoric that was initiated by Mazzini and is visible in the Society's objects and its serial publications. Thus, a class- and nation-transcending language developed within the Society's publications and networks, which promoted its ideal of transnational solidarity for the success of the Italian cause.

One example that displays this particular rhetoric very well is Tract No. IV of the Society of the Friends of Italy, which contains a reprint of Mazzini's lecture held at the First Conversazione of the Society at the Freemasons' Tavern on 11 February 1852 with additional notes and a brief appendix. Mazzini's lecture starts out by identifying himself as a transnational spokesman for the Italian national movement in Britain, and refers to him as a "man who rises in a foreign land to claim sympathy or more direct efficient help, for his own country" ("Tract No. IV." 3). In this context, Mazzini names honesty, implementability, and clarity as the three principles that an individual seeking support abroad must fulfil, which correspond to the three objects of the Society of the Friends of Italy quoted earlier ("Tract No. IV." 3). Having declared these principles once,

Mazzini returns to the image of himself as a transnational messenger, stating: “Thank God, I can fulfil these duties”, which demonstrates that he was well aware of the function of this transnational rhetoric that would fashion him as a carrier of the Italian national movement (“Tract No. IV.” 3). In this lecture, Mazzini speaks as a representative of what he calls the National Italian party, commonly remembered as the Italian National Association, which is the remains of Mazzini’s Giovine Italia after 1848, to the audience that attended the First Conversazione of the Society of the Friends of Italy, taking on yet another mediator function for the Italian Risorgimento abroad. It was the central aim of this lecture to present the National Italian party as following the same aims in Italy as the Society of the Friends of Italy does in London to establish a common ground for the close interrelationship of the two organisations.

While it is unconventional that Mazzini introduces the National Italian party not by listing its characteristics but by stating what it is not, it also catches the reader’s attention. In his lecture, he contrasts it to anarchists, terrorists and communists, which, per se, reinforces the similarities between the party and the Society of the Friends of Italy. This will become increasingly evident when taking a closer look at his arguments. Contrasting the National Italian party to anarchists, Mazzini states: “We believe in authority; we thirst for authority. […] We want authority, not a phantom of authority; religion, not idolatry; the hero, not the tyrant” and thereby relates it to the failures of the Papacy and foreign rulers in Italy (“Tract No. IV.” 6). This passage uses the imagery of the tyrant coined by Vittorio Alfieri, one of the significant patriots Isabella located within the lineage of exiled Italians (Isabella 495).

According to Isabella, Alfieri’s ideas on patriotism and exile heavily influenced the development of the Italian nation, as applied in his

interpretation of exile as "the ultimate gesture of independence and opposition" (495). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Alfieri argued, "where there was a tyrant, there could be no motherland, patria" and portrayed exile as the only useful option for patriots to rethink ideas of nationalism and nationhood from abroad and try to implement them from a 'new patria' (Isabella 495-496). With the idea of a new patria, Alfieri already mentioned what the circle of British female poetesses around Elizabeth Barrett Browning experienced when they settled in Florence and began to identify as a nationality other than British as was examined in chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'" in this book. His idea of a new patria is also partly visible in Mazzini's life, who found his "new home of choice" in London from 1837 onwards but never stopped working on Italian nationalism from abroad (Recchia and Urbinati 4). Lastly, Alfieri's perspective resurfaces in Pettitt's *Serial Revolutions,* which "uses group biography and life writing to capture the experiential dimensions of the revolutions as they were happening across Europe", also by analysing Barrett Browning's life and literary career in Florence (38). Thus, the transnational character, which attributes great significance to the spatial mobility of political subjects, and the kinds of media through which information concerning the process of Italian nation-making is communicated, appear to be the underlying principles of Pettitt's theory and Alfieri's and Mazzini's political thought.

Furthermore, in his lecture, Mazzini explicitly applies the term 'tyrant' to the "[p]ope – […] the Emperor – […] the ferocious or idiotic princes", portraying them as sources of authority that prevent the Italian country and nation from unification and liberty ("Tract No. IV." 6). The consequences of this despotism are alluded to by Mazzini later in his lecture when he states that "[p]risons are full; thousands of exiles are

wandering in loneliness and starvation, from Monte Video to Constantinople, from London to New York, from Tunis or Malta to Mexico. Go wherever you will, the protest of the Italian national party […] will meet your eye" ("Tract No. IV." 10). In the same instance, he mentions the hero as a rhetorical strategy of the National Italian party, certainly at least partly alluding to himself as a transnational persona who actively influences and supports the Italian national movement ("Tract No. IV." 5). Moreover, Mazzini refers to his thoughts concerning a new religion of nationalism, founded on "an act of creation; to elicit life – collective, progressive life – for the millions, through the millions", which should lead the Italian national movement to success ("Tract No. IV." 5, Isabella 502-503, 506). According to him, this new religion relies on the "emancipation of the soul, liberty of conscience acknowledged throughout and for all mankind", which is now placed in the hands of the National Italian party and its transnational supporters ("Tract No. IV." 6). Thus, Mazzini combines religious and heroic imagery with transnational rhetoric to unite mankind in the process of Italian nation-making, depicting the restructuring of Italy into a liberal and democratic patria as the party's central aim that inherently opposes anarchism. Furthermore, he reiterates that Italy's general problem is a lack of education brought about by despotism and anarchy, which the National Italian party seeks to address by educating "*free* agents for a *social* task", which resonates with Farinza's idea of the Italian exiles as "living agents" of a transnational Risorgimento ("Tract No. IV." 6, Gabaccia 21-22). Contrasting the National Italian party to terrorists and communists, Mazzini emphasises that the party is not interested in unnecessary acts of dispossession and terror but opts for a revolution that follows the rules of the new 'religion of nationalism' and marks "a step in the ascending career of humanity" as

one entity, which again reinforces the party's transnational agenda ("Tract No. IV." 8).

In the same sense, the Society regards "Signor Mazzini and other eminent Italians as secur[ing] to it all the advantages of direct and intimate knowledge of current Italian affairs", which is essential for its transnational agenda and highlights Mazzini's central role as the key transnational element of the Society ("Monthly Record.", No. I, September 1851, 2). The anonymous author of this article commences by stressing the Society's "belief that Mazzini is a true and noble man, and that hitherto Italy has had cause to bless his name", which is reminiscent of the heroism that evolved around Garibaldi approximately one decade later as was analysed in the previous chapter of this book ("Monthly Record", No. I, September 1851, 2).[117] Such testimonials to Mazzini reoccur in the same publication when the Society pledges its support for "the party which really represents the national feeling in Italy, and without which, as events daily prove, Italy has no cause and no hope at all – the party of Mazzini and his brother patriots", the National Italian party ("Monthly Record", No. I, September 1851, 2). In the Monthly Record from December 1851, the Hungarian political leader, Lajos Kossuth, is quoted in the context of Hungary's struggle for nation-making which equals that of Italy:

> I know no man, of any nation in the whole world, who more fills the same situation of being the representative of the hopes of his country than Joseph Mazzini. That is not my *belief,* that is my *knowledge* – founded not on unilateral information, but on disinterested investigations, in which some honorable Englishmen have given assistance. ("Monthly Record." No. IV, December 1851, 1)

Kossuth's statement adds another transnational element to the Society's serial publications, opening up at least a triangle between Italy, Hungary,

[117] See chapter 3. "'[P]ut[ting] on their uniforms'" in this book.

and Britain with two nations struggling for unification and liberty and Britain as the superior and politically stable nation that is apt to help other countries in need. Within the larger context of the nineteenth-century national movement, Britain stands out through the absence of a domestic revolution, which, in addition to its secure political position as a powerful naval nation, marked it as superior to its European neighbours and as a suitable political ally for all struggling nations. However, in *Serial Forms* Pettitt mentions that a domestic revolution was nevertheless one of the deepest British anxieties in 1848 (34). Additionally, the excerpt above showcases how the Society's publications react to current media debates and circulate discussions about ongoing European revolutions among its transnational circles. In this case, exiles like Mazzini and Kossuth transferred the socio-political issues of their home countries to the international political landscape to generate transnational awareness and support for their nations, using serial publications to shape a narrative based on "commonality without erasing difference" (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 2).

Especially the repetition of rhetorical strategies and images based on transnational solidarity in the Society's serial publications portrayed close proximity among all struggling European nations that Pettitt describes as "a politics of connections, of development, and of international equivalence", which becomes visible here in the solidarity of the exile community not just for Italy but also for Hungary (*Serial Revolutions* 2). Later, in the December report (1851), Kossuth very concisely states that, according to his perception, "[i]t is unquestionable that Joseph Mazzini is the personification of the wants and desires of Italy", which again portrays Mazzini as the transnational element of the Society in Britain like the September report (1851) did previously

("Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 2). In this way, Mazzini is displayed as the appropriate individual to mediate between the Italian and British conceptualizations of the Risorgimento, which places him in a central and powerful position.

The detailed report of his mother, Maria Mazzini's, death in the Monthly Record from September 1852 adds that not only the British members of the Society but also the Italian public viewed him as central to the Italian national movement and that both networks were based on the principle of solidarity. The Monthly Record mourns that the "last living link which bound him [Mazzini] to that country [Italy]" is gone with the death of his mother, whose funeral took place in Genoa on 11 August 1852 ("Monthly Record.", No. XIII, September 1852, 3). Remembering a crowded church and that a "more sublime and moving scene than the accompaniment of the corpse to the Cemetery Staglieno was never witnessed", the record presents the funeral of Mazzini's mother as a communal event that united the members of different social classes and nationalities present under the shared belief in Mazzini's new religion of Italian nation-making, of which his mother was a strong supporter ("Monthly Record", No. XIII, September 1852, 3). Considering Mazzini's mother as one of the most impactful individuals of the Italian Risorgimento, "all the English and American, with some Dutch, Swedish, and Danish vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags half-mast high, and lowered their pennants in the form of a cross, in sign" and "[t]he entire population lined the streets, and the most perfect order reigned amidst manifestations of the sincerest grief. […] There was not a peasant's hut or a nobleman's palace without a light in every window, illuminating the procession on its darksome way" ("Monthly Record", No. XIII, September 1852, 3).

The fact that the Society of the Friends of Italy reported on the death of Mazzini's mother as a large public event that transcended class and national boundaries is yet another example of how Mazzini was fashioned into a central figure of the Society and the Italian national movement on a transnational scale. Given these findings, I would even go so far as to argue that Lyttelton's interpretation of Garibaldi as a hero-figure in the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in the later 1850s and 1860s is directly transferrable to Mazzini in the late 1840s and 1850s, as both became impactful individuals with strong transnational ties and networks (37-38). In my interpretation of the genealogy of influential individuals who shaped the transnational Risorgimento narrative, Mazzini would thus be seen as Garibaldi's predecessor, whose actions were less military and therefore also not as visible initially but whose political ideas on Italian nation-making inspired various political societies and also had a lasting impact on Garibaldi's actions. Following this idea, Mazzini's new religion of Italian nation-making equals the red shirt Garibaldi and his followers are remembered for – and similarly represent – a manifestation of unity and a sign of a common political instead of a military agenda. In my interpretation of Mazzini's heroism, this unifying sign initially remains hidden even though his political ideas develop into a shared way of thinking and an ideology that mobilised transnational support for Italian unification in an equally efficient way to Garibaldi's later military campaign.

A closer examination of the rhetorical strategies used by Mazzini in his political writings together with Isabella's study of Alfieri's, Foscolo's, and Mazzini's interpretations of exile and nationalism has shown that Mazzini used the term 'patria' in opposition to cosmopolitan ideas and argued that real revolution can only be achieved by a large group of

people that are united under a common aim and willing to fight for their patria (497). This is an interpretation of the term that is also applicable to his lecture held at the First Conversazione, in which he argues that the Italians at home and abroad were "thrilling at the sight of the one tricolored national flag, and at the blessed mysterious words of *patria,* Italy, Rome", which is an undertaking that needs transnational aid ("Tract No. IV." 3 and 11). Lastly, Mazzini revisits religious imagery when he addresses the British audience in his lecture: "Help us if you can; for, with my hand on my heart, and a serene yet bold look meeting yours, I can tell you ours is a holy struggle, commanded to us by Providence, and meant for good" ("Tract No. IV." 12). With this appeal for aid, he concludingly returns to the principles of the Society of the Friends of Italy and to the rules of the National Italian party, thereby positioning himself as the transnational spokesman of the Italians in Britain. In this quotation, Mazzini advocates for support for the new religion of nationalism in Italy, which could only be achieved via transnational support for the Italian national movement. Mazzini's political actions in Britain show that the ideals and ideologies of the Italian Risorgimento were often formed abroad, which aligns with the arguments of Gabaccia, Isabella, McAllister, Wright, Pécout, Sutcliffe, and Shankland who all advocate for the importance of exiles in the process of Italian nation making. Additionally, these theories are supported by Pettitt, who perceives spatial mobility not only within political subjects but also socio-political issues and debates and the nineteenth-century serial, which transported such discourses throughout all social classes of Europe and beyond.

Another potent rhetorical strategy used by Mazzini and the Society of the Friends of Italy is the call to action that was also prominent in expatriate British women's poetry and the later reports of the British

press on Garibaldi's 1860 campaign. It becomes visible in the Society's publications when they address the resurrection of Italy which, according to their argumentation, can only be achieved through revolution and warfare. This rhetoric is often combined with the image of slavery and oppression, both (post-)colonial motifs for which Mazzini is well-known. As the earlier examples from Mazzini's lecture held at the First Conversazione of the Society of the Friends of Italy in February 1852 demonstrated, the call to action is often phrased as a duty of mankind to act that stresses the nobleness and transnational character of this undertaking. When the First Conversazione was held in London, Mazzini's words were primarily directed at the British audience in the Freemasons' Tavern and the members of the Society of the Friends of Italy. This fusion of common motifs is evident in the statement:

> Man is one: we cannot allow one of his faculties to be suppressed, checked, cramped, or deviated, without all the others suffering; - soul and body, thought and action, theory and practice, the heavenly and terrestrial elements are to be combined, harmonized in him. ("Tract No. IV." 9)

Mazzini carefully uses the image of the call to action to address mankind's shared belief in liberty and freedom to mobilise people for the Italian cause on a transnational scale, so that their agency would bring an end to the oppression of the Italians by the Papacy and foreign rulers, which mirrors Pettitt's argument that oppression was a pan-European topic of interest as many people and nations suffered from the despotic rule of others (*Serial Revolutions* 10-17). Additionally, the excerpt above radiates Mazzini's attitude towards the suppression of women, which is elaborated on in greater detail later in this chapter. In general, his understanding of oppression as a nation-transcending and unifying topic is visible in further publications of the Society, which manifest it as a topic of transnational interest that requires mutual support.

A more straightforward call to action is found in the Monthly Record from July 1852, in which the author argues that "it is England's duty and best policy to put an end to that Foreign Intervention which is the single and only cause, at once of the perpetuation of Italian slavery, and of the atrocities committed at the expense even of English citizens" ("Monthly Record.", No. XI, July 1852, 3). Here, the unknown author takes on the position of a transnational mediator who calls for the British to aid their oppressed Italian brothers and sisters, thereby taking on Mazzini's position as a transnational mediator within the Italian national movement on the one hand and using his slave rhetoric on the other hand. This example shows that Mazzini's writing style became a self-perpetuating technique in the network of the Society of the Friends of Italy in London. Moreover, the excerpt above also refers to the English citizens suffering from the Italian struggle, which not only alludes to the British volunteers of the early revolutions during the 1830s and 1840s but also to all the British exiles living in Italy. Focusing on spatial mobility, the Monthly Record from July 1852 also notes that an Italian National Committee had been formed as the "visible centre" of the National Italian party, "consisting of M. Mazzini himself; M. Saffi, his colleague in the Roman Triumvirate; and M. Montecchi, who was a member of the Executive Committee", which is "invested, with the consent of a large number of Members of the Roman Assembly, and a still greater number of influential citizens of the Roman States, with the right of protesting in exile against the extinction of the free Roman Republic", thus again highlighting the central role of exiles in the process of Italian nation-making ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIV, August 1853, 2 and "Monthly Record.", No. XI, July 1852, 1). Subsequently, the Monthly Record from July 1852 depicts migration in both directions between Britain and Italy,

locating British citizens at the core of the Italian national movement, which gave the British another reason to mobilize support for the movement and, simultaneously, shaped Britain into a place of Italian political action from abroad, where Italian patriots and exiles could freely work on ideas and tactics for the future of the Italian country and nation.

Lastly, the Monthly Record from July 1852 mentions that the Italian National Committee and the Italian exiles abroad aimed at "maintain[ing] the memory and the moral authority of that [Italian] Republic, until its final revival in better times", thereby alluding to the literal meaning of the word 'Risorgimento', which is 'resurrection' or 'revival' and thus reappropriating the religious rhetoric frequently used by Mazzini to the Italian national movement ("Monthly Record.", No. XI, July 1852, 1). This motif reoccurs in the Monthly Record from August 1853, which demonstrates that the resurrection of Italy has become an image that permeated the writing of the Society of the Friends of Italy from beginning to end. In this record, a shorter publication of Mazzini, entitled "To the Italians. A Few Pages by Joseph Mazzini", was reprinted, which starts with the announcement: "Rome was fallen; but infallibly to rise again", thereby making the resurrection theme the point of entrance of the essay ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIV, August 1853, 2). The fact that the resurrection motif, which was also very prominent in mid-nineteenth-century British women's poetry on the Risorgimento, is used as an opening to Mazzini's essay published in one of the late records of the Society, nicely mirrors Pettitt's thought concerning the self-perpetuating and never-ending revolution (*Serial Revolutions* 2-4). It is the belief in the success of the Italian national movement as a transnational enterprise that Mazzini also promoted via this potent image in the Society's serial publications.

Moreover, Mazzini portrays the National Italian Committee as a nodal point for European cooperation in the context of the Italian Risorgimento, which successfully mobilised transnational support and assembled the masses "under a common and single direction", as "[s]isters on the battlefield" fighting for the resurrection of the Italian country and nation, again using the resurrection motif to add more emphasis here ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIV, August 1853, 2-3). In Mazzini's essay, the call to action is linked to the thought of revolution, displaying the readiness for radicality of the political societies he represents, if it is for the good of the Italian country and nation. Thus, Mazzini reiterates that

> [t]he latest intelligence determined he [Mazzini] to leave London, and I reached the Italian frontier: my colleague Aurelio Saffi, and others among our party, had already preceded me.
>
> The decision was made in Italy: it was spontaneously come to by men, who believed as I have said, that it being once irrevocable[ly] fixed, it would prevail on the wavering to descend also into the field of popular protest. […]
>
> When the definite answer came: *Let us act by all means,* I saw one only duty incumbent on me: to assist and I assisted. ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIV, August 1853, 5)

This passage mirrors another way in which the call to action was applied, namely as directed from the Italian public to Mazzini as the transnational mediator of the Italian movement abroad. It shows how he, remaining true to the principles of the Society of the Friends of Italy and the National Italian party, spontaneously returns to Italy to support the process of nation-making. In a second essay published in the same Monthly Record, Mazzini transfers this readiness for radical action from himself to the entire Italian society, arguing: "We must rise: and if we fall, rise again until we conquer. We must cry to the country: arise! [T]he hour has arrived" ("Monthly Record." No. XXIV, August 1853, 7). The clarity of this statement adds an immediacy to the Italian national movement that was

also perceivable in Mazzini's spontaneous return to Italy in the previous passage quoted and it leads up to his final argument concerning the necessity of the Italian National party to develop into The Party of Action ("Monthly Record." No. XXIV, August 1853, 8). The call for a reorganization of the National Italian party can be read as a call to action in itself and it is immediately followed by yet another call to action when Mazzini addresses "the young men of all parts of Italy to join in a last endeavour" for the liberation and unification of Italy ("Monthly Record". No. XXIV, August 1853, 8).

Thus, the various examples drawn from Mazzini's political writing published alongside the Society's records have demonstrated that the call to action and the resurrection of Italy became potent rhetorical strategies used by the network of Anglo-Italian Mazzinians. Furthermore, it was already observed in chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'" of this book, which examined the political poetry of mid-nineteenth-century British female authors, that the motif of the rebirth of Italy as a free and unified nation became a particularly prominent image of pro-Italian writers, also on a transnational scale.[118]

It would, however, be incorrect to examine the rhetoric focusing on the call to action used by Mazzini, the Society of the Friends of Italy, and the National Italian party without mentioning that their writings also evaluated the possible critical reactions to such a call. The Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy (1851) already examined why the British should respond to a call to action on behalf of the Italian country and nation, trying to answer different related questions, such as: "What have we Englishmen to do with Italy? […] Is there not […] scope enough for benevolent exertion at home, that we should seek a theatre for it abroad?

[118] See chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'" in this book.

[…] Why export our philanthropy to the south of Europe?" ("Address of the Society." 3). Similar to Pécout, who determined the concept of transnational solidarity as motivating the transnational volunteers of the Italian Risorgimento to the greatest extent, the Address of the Society also uses it as the key principle that should mobilise the British, while also discussing the reasons why it might not (421). Firstly, the Address of the Society considers the acts of charity and benevolence performed in Britain and argues that "the men who are foremost in well-doing at home are not also the most ready to promote any good cause abroad", thereby detecting that these principles are not automatically transferrable to a transnational cause ("Address of the Society." 3). Thus, it proposes a re-interpretation of charity and benevolence as not just domestic duties but as human duties to be performed on an international scale ("Address of the Society." 3-4).

Secondly, the Address of the Society mentions a lack of knowledge concerning the actual situation in Italy as a reason for what it calls "the theoretical Indifferentism of Englishmen", which mirrors the concept of British non-intervention that numerous mid-nineteenth-century newspaper articles also criticised in the context of the Italian Risorgimento.[119] Carter, too, observed that the Address of the Society "noted the 'indifferentism', 'apathy' and 'ignorance' of 'Englishmen' to foreign affairs in general" and relates it to the general complaint of "[m]any pro-Italian activists in the United Kingdom […] of the lack of support, or even interest in Italy in the 1850s" (Carter 73). From a British perspective, the Address of the Society claims: "If we *knew* the state of

[119] An analysis of the rhetorical strategies and imagery used by *Reynolds's Newspaper, The Morning Chronicle,* the *Daily News, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* and the *Newcastle Courant* in their coverage of the ongoing events in Italy in the mid-nineteenth century can be found in chapter three "'[P]ut[ting] on their uniforms'" of this book.

Italy, if we but had the actual picture of the condition of that peninsula before our eyes, thus apathy would be shaken off, and our interest in the Italian question would be all but ungovernable" ("Address of the Society." 4-5). This passage also highlights the one-sidedness of the British Italophilia that Gabaccia and McAllister name as reasons for the welcoming of Italian migrants in the first half of the nineteenth century, as it portrays the British as blinded by what they assume to be the cultured and skilled descendants of Italy's great Roman past and, simultaneously, as not sufficiently interested in Italy's actual socio-political situation at that time (Gabaccia 30, McAllister 5-6). This void was to be filled by the publications and lectures of the Society of the Friends of Italy, whose objects are to use every possible means of publication and the British parliament to "promote a correct appreciation of the Italian Question" ("Address of the Society." 2).

Education was also viewed as a key principle to be supported by Mazzini as the brief analysis of "Tract No. IV." has shown, which included his lecture delivered at the First Conversazione of the Society of the Friends of Italy, in which he identified the lack of education as Italy's general problem ("Tract No. IV." 6). Moreover, Mazzini also viewed this problem as a transnational one, which not only applied to Italy but also to Britain and tried to address it by gathering funds for the education of Italian and British subjects around the mid- and later nineteenth century and by founding initiatives focusing on education and self-help for Italian migrants in Britain (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy" 260-270 and Gabaccia 30-34). The idea of self-help is also evident in the Tracts of the Society (1851) when the latter part of Mazzini's lecture centres on the ways in which the British could contribute to the success of the Italian national movement from abroad ("Tracts No. IV." 13-15). In

this section, Mazzini lists the dissemination of knowledge and information on the ongoing events in Italy, the addressing of the British parliament to facilitate a rethinking of the current non-interference policy and, lastly, the gathering of material help as three possible ways that would help the Italians in need. Reading this part of the lecture, it seems as if the principle of self-help was adjusted to the current needs of the Italians and the transnational function of the Society. Addressing the British members of the Society, Mazzini is very precise in his demands, which are almost reminiscent of a handbook telling the British how to support the Italian national movement. Thus, also the rhetoric based on self-help, which is used by the Society of the Friends of Italy is very closely connected to the thoughts of its founder, Giuseppe Mazzini.

Furthermore, when the Address of the Society depicts the necessity of British intervention in the Italian national movement as the "duty of Englishmen to take a deep interest in the affairs in Italy", this idea also resonates with Mazzini's, Isabella's, and Pécout's reinterpretations of the progress of Italian nation-making as a new religion based on transnational solidarity ("Address of the Society." 2-3, Isabella 502-3, 506, Pécout 416). Similar to the questions posed during Mazzini's lecture held at the First Conversazione of the Society (11 February 1852), his speech delivered at the Third Conversazione of the Society, which was held on 28 April of the same year at the Princess's Concert Room, Castle Street, Oxford Street also dealt with two reasons why the British might deny support to the Italian national movement ("Monthly Record.", No. IX, May 1852, 1). Both are closely connected to the ideas of a lack of knowledge and transnational solidarity as a human duty, which have not yet made their way into the contemporary British discourse. Thus, the Society's serial publications are also a way of following the historical

development of the Risorgimento narrative in Britain, and Mazzini's political ideas and the rhetorical strategies and images through which he conveyed them contributed to this development. In this context, Mazzini's later lecture asks: "Why do you (Italians) want to throw yourselves into the gloomy, perilous, uncertain career of revolutions?" which he subsequently answers with a widespread British assumption "of there being an absolute prohibition against engaging in a struggle which would risk the taking away of human life" ("Monthly Record." No. IX, May 1852, 1). In doing so, Mazzini ties onto the first lecture delivered at the Third Conversazione by Professor Newman with the title "The Pace and Duty of England in Europe", which elaborated on Britain's foreign relations and her duties and responsibilities within Europe ("Monthly Record." No. IX, May 1852, 1). These two lectures held on the evening of the Third Conversazione show how the Society of the Friends of Italy aimed at distributing knowledge and awareness of the Italian national movement in Britain, including the idea of transnational solidarity as aiding the maintenance of peace in Europe.

Several further examples will additionally demonstrate that the rhetoric centring on the duty of mankind to interfere in the Italian Risorgimento subsequently became a regular rhetorical feature of the Society's publications, which gained popularity through repetition within the serial format that actively engages with mid-nineteenth-century history and politics (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 2). As mentioned earlier, also the Monthly Record from July 1852, which reports on the Society's first annual meeting, includes an instance of Mazzini highlighting Britain's duty to act when he speaks to the audience as a representative of the National Italian Committee ("Monthly Record.", No. XI, July 1852, 1-3). He does so in the context of the aspired termination of Austrian foreign

oppression in Italy, which could only be achieved if the British were better informed about the ongoing events in Italy and if they understood the transnational scope of the Risorgimento. Mazzini puts his request down to one single sentence: “If public opinion in England were to set itself manfully and fearlessly to go in this channel, we should soon see a change for Italy and for Europe” (“Monthly Record.”, No. XI, July 1852, 3). This lack of British involvement in the Italian national movement is also addressed in a later Monthly Record from December 1852, which remembers Mazzini reading out a petition of the Society against the oppression of Italy by the Austrians and French as well as against the European non-interference policy, where the idea of the duty of humankind to function as one transnational entity is again paired with rhetoric centring on slavery and oppression (“Monthly Record.”, No. XVI, December 1852, 1-6). Lastly, also Mazzini’s essay “To the Italians – A Few Pages by Joseph Mazzini” from 1853 foregrounds the importance of transnational alliances for the success of the Italian national movement, referring to the European nations as “[s]isters on the battle-field” and “divisions of one single army” who need to cooperate to maintain peace and political stability in Europe (“Monthly Record.”, No. XXIV, August 1853, 2-3).

Hence, as Riall has noted, it is evident that Mazzini played a highly influential role in the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in Italy and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, which rests on the international fame he had acquired by the late 1840s (*Garibaldi* 142). In combination with the Society’s serial publications in which he was featured frequently, he significantly shaped rhetorical strategies and images based on transnational solidarity and visions of nationalism as apt to bring an end to oppression, which mobilised widespread transnational support for the

Italian cause. Furthermore, the preceding analysis showed that Mazzini deserves his place in the genealogy of Italian patriots who significantly contributed to Italian nation-making and the ideas of patria as Isabella argued (497). Moreover, the assumption of Riall and Carter, who found that Mazzini consciously used his transnational position as an Italian migrant in London to disseminate a pro-Risorgimento agenda in Britain, was confirmed (Riall *Garibaldi* 142 and Carter 12).

Furthermore, the examination of political texts by Mazzini and the Society of the Friends of Italy identified several rhetorical strategies and potent images coined by Mazzini that helped him and one of the organisations he supported to spread a pro-Risorgimento narrative within and beyond the boundaries of its membership. The most prominent of these strategies are based on transnationalism and the idea of transnational solidarity as breaking up the dichotomy of the concepts of 'at home' and 'abroad' so that the current non-interference policy of the British towards the Italian national struggle should be reinterpreted according to the belief in Italian nation-making as a new and nation-transcending religion. The disregard for national borders is also vital for understanding Mazzini's position as a transnational figure between Italy and Britain, who is capable of mediating the actual events in Italy to a British audience, both as an individual politician and also as a representative of the Society of the Friends of Italy, the National Italian party, and the National Italian Committee. The fact that he founded all three political organisations also places him at the centre of a complex web of transnational politics focusing on the dissemination of information and propaganda concerning the Italian national movement. Moreover, Mazzini was heroicized in the writings of the Society of the Friends of Italy, which added another even more glorious aspect to his

position as an impactful individual in the shaping of a transnational Risorgimento narrative in the 1850s. Lastly, my analysis also considered the critical notions of Mazzini's and the Society's political writings, which focused on the lack of knowledge, indifferentism, and the British non-interference policy that prevented many British from supporting the Italian Risorgimento and it has traced education, adequate information, and means for self-help as the methods through which these shortcomings could be counteracted. Ultimately, my examination has shown that Mazzini was a nodal point for the Risorgimento's transnational agenda when it comes to the relationship between Italy and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, the findings discussed in this chapter illustrate that certain rhetorical strategies and images based on transnationalism and Italian nation-making, heroism, and education were developed by Mazzini, which were subsequently also integrated into the political writings of the Society of the Friends of Italy and thus became tools for disseminating a pro-Risorgimento agenda among the British, which finally also shaped the Risorgimento narrative in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.

4.2 The Society of the Friends of Italy's Transnational Agenda

This section analyses how specific rhetorical strategies and images promoting a particular understanding of transnationalism developed into recurring patterns in the Society of the Friends of Italy's serial publications apart from Mazzini's person. Although Mazzini, who founded the Society of the Friends of Italy in London in 1851 and became, as the previous sub-chapter has demonstrated, a transnational mediatory figure that represented the Italian national movement abroad, a critical reading of the Society's publications shows that they also address the

inherently transnational character of the Italian Risorgimento by identifying foreign oppression as one main reason for the national movement. Additionally, the monthly records and special publications focus on the Anglo-Italian ties of the Society, taking the bi-directional flows of migration between Britain and Italy in the mid-nineteenth century into account and trying to establish a visible place for the Italian national movement in the British media landscape. Lastly, this section concentrates on one further example of the Society's transnational networks by examining the relationship between Mazzini and Kossuth, the Hungarian prime minister and representative of a country facing a similar situation to Italy in the mid-nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that increasing attention is dedicated to this relationship in the Society's serial publications between 1851 and 1853 so that particular rhetorical strategies and images focusing on transnationalism became self-perpetuating mechanisms to generate sympathy for both statesmen and countries, both at home and abroad, as the following analysis demonstrates.

4.2.1 The Risorgimento's Inherent Transnationalism

Up to this point, the terms Italian Risorgimento, Risorgimento, Italian national movement, and Italian cause were used interchangeably as terms that locate the desire for liberty and unification within the national borders of Italy. This used to be the common interpretation of the Risorgimento in scholarly research until the last two decades. In "Special issue: The Italian Risorgimento: transnational perspectives - Introduction", published in *Modern Italy* in 2014, Oliver Janz and Lucy Riall find it striking "to which [extent] the study of the Risorgimento and liberal Italy has remained national, and arguably sometimes parochial, in

interest, focus and methodology”, thereby identifying transnational research on the Italian national movement as a research gap (1). The scholars perceive that the “career paths and a conservative profession” of Italian scientists researching the Risorgimento limited their studies to a national scope, whereas “now much of the impetus for developing a transnational approach has come from foreigners or Italian scholars working abroad”, which also adds an inherent transnational notion to the evolution of transnational Risorgimento research (Janz and Riall 1-2). This thought fits in nicely with the central argument of Italian nation-making as a remote process introduced in the works of scholars such as Gabaccia and Isabella (Gabaccia 22, Isabella 493, 503-504,). By introducing a set of case studies which examine interactions that go beyond the peninsula during the Risorgimento, such as the relationship between the Venetians and Austrians, the phenomenon of the ‘anti-Risorgimento’ initiated by the Catholic Church, or an interpretation of the single Italian states as single ‘nations’ in pre-unified Italy, *Modern Italy* tries to close the research gap with examples that do not consider British-Italian cooperation (Janz and Riall 1-4). Adding to this, this book aims to trace three sources important for the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in mid-nineteenth-century Britain in the poetry of British expatriate women authors in Florence, the press coverage of British working-class radicalism in favour of the Italian national movement, and the publications of the London-based Society of the Friends of Italy. From this, it is evident that most of the analysis concentrates on the close relationship between Italy and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century as decisive for the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in Britain. However, in the context of the Society of the Friends of Italy, other nations also

markedly shaped the Society's transnational agenda as this section will illustrate.

Elaborating on the major reasons for the Italian national movement, the Society of the Friends of Italy views the tradition of foreign rulership in Italy and the Papacy as the two factors of oppression and despotism that led to the Risorgimento. These thoughts are also expressed by the Society's Address (1851), stating:

> From one end of that noble peninsula, to the other, a continuous network of foreign dominion, native official tyranny in the service of the foreigner, and priestly bigotry co-operating for ends of its own, is nailed down over a prostrate and struggling people. ("Address of the Society." 6)

Especially the long history of foreign oppression determines what I call the Risorgimento's inherent transnationalism because the invasions of non-Italian rulers in different parts of the country formed one driving force for the national movement as transnational from the very beginning. While Janz and Riall also refer to the presence of foreign forces in nineteenth-century Italy as a historically acknowledged fact, they add that the interrelations and consequences of this have not yet received sufficient attention in scholarly research (1). Hence, my analysis promotes an awareness of the fact that especially the presence of Austrian troops in southern Italy since the early 1820s must be understood as laying the foundation for an inherently transnational Risorgimento in the mid-nineteenth century. This awareness is gained through a close reading of the publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy, which frequently use a (post-)colonial rhetoric and imagery when addressing the presence of foreign rulers in Italy.

Already the opening paragraph of the Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy uses a (post-)colonial image when it refers to the "continuous network of foreign dominion" by which it alludes to the

lineage of varying foreign rulers governing different parts of the country, whose reign was "nailed down over" the Italians, putting the foreign rulers into a superior position from which they were looking down on and exploiting the Italians according to the principles known from Britain's imperial past, making them "a prostrate and struggling people" ("Address of the Society." 6). These short phrases are rich in traditional (post-)colonial imagery and establish a power hierarchy between the foreign oppressors and the Italians. Such rhetorical strategies used in the Society's serial publications also mirror pan-European political discourses shared by "many colonized peoples, and peoples living under foreign rule", who "considered nationhood as their best hope of emancipation" as Pettitt argues when pointing to the similar issues that inspired national revolutions throughout Europe in the nineteenth century (*Serial Revolutions* 17). Here again, the image of European revolutions as an ongoing movement like a serial distributed throughout Europe strengthens Pettitt's view on the capability of seriality to reflect and, at the same time, influence the political discourses of a particular time.

From a British perspective, the Address of the Society uses these (post-)colonial rhetorical strategies and images as rooted in Britain's imperial history and thus known to British readers, thereby establishing a link between Britain and Italy in terms of knowing about the other country—both concerning its past and present. The (post-)colonial rhetoric continues in the Address of the Society when it puts the role of the oppressor or colonizer into question, asking:

> 'Are the Austrians their masters fit to govern?' If there are marks by which it may be known whether a man is fit to enjoy liberty, there are, doubtless, marks also by which it may be known whether a man is fit to exercise despotism. Face and physiognomy? Look at the portraits of the Austrian Emperors! Past History? Read the Austrian annals! ("Address of the Society." 7)

Here, the (post-)colonial rhetoric becomes even clearer when the Austrians are referred to as the Italians' "masters", thereby establishing a master-slave-relationship that is deeply rooted in (post-)colonial thought and reinforces the power-hierarchy and binary opposition between the superior colonizer and the inferior colonized. Also, the questions posed to determine the Austrians' fitness as oppressors are closely connected to (post-)colonial ideas on physical markers of race that mirror theories on mankind such as the concept of phrenology developed by Franz Joseph Gall in nineteenth-century Britain and the attempt to relate brain size and, together with it, mental capacity to certain racial groups undertaken independently by the American craniologist Samuel Morton and the German anatomist Friedrich Tiedemann in the first half of the nineteenth century.[120] The passage quoted above is an attempt by the anonymous author of the Address to examine the central question of why foreign oppressors would be allowed to take the Italians' liberty away due to certain physical or historical reasons. Moreover, the master-slave-image reoccurs in a letter written by a traveller in Italy that was published in *The Times* and the Society's Monthly Record from January 1854, in which the otherwise unknown author states:

> If the Italians must remain enslaved until they have arrived generally at that state of moral greatness and magnanimity that, in casting off their oppressors and tyrants, they shall commit no act of unnecessary violence, stoop to no deed of revenge, then may they despair of liberty. ("Monthly Record.", No. XXVI-XXIX, January 1854, 14)

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[120] For detailed information on studies of the human skull and brain, consult: Van Wyhe, John. "The authority of human nature: the Schädellehre of Franz Joseph Gall". *The British Journal for the History of Science,* Vol. 35, No. 1, 17-42; Finger, Stanley and Paul Eling. *Franz Joseph Gall: Naturalist of the Mind, Visionary of the Brain.* Oxford UP, 2019; Armstrong-Fumero, Fernando. "'Even the Most Careless Observer': Race and Visual Discernment in Physical Anthropology from Samuel Morton to Kennewick Man". *American Studies,* Vol. 52, No. 2 (2014), 5-29; Hamilton, Cynthia S. "'Am I Not a Man and a Brother?' Phrenology and Anti-slavery". *A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2008), 173-187.

This short abstract shows that the traveller experiences the Italians' status as slaves of foreign rulers during his journey through Italy, which might also be the reason for their rather critical statement concerning the lack of knowledge and readiness to act against the foreign oppressors ("Monthly Record.", No. XXVI-XXIX, January 1854, 14). As a non-Italian traveller, the author might have felt so frustrated by the actual situation of the Italians as enslaved in their own country that they chose this degrading picture of the Italians as not deserving of liberty until they understood that rioting against the foreign rulers was "no act of unnecessary violence" but actually necessary and morally right ("Monthly Record.", No. XXVI-XXIX, January 1854, 14). Still, the fact that the anonymous traveller refers to the Italians as "enslaved" and to the foreign forces present in Italy as "oppressors and tyrants" in their letter from 1854 shows that the (post-)colonial rhetoric and imagery were generally considered suitable for the portrayal of the actual interrelationship between the Italians and their foreign rulers reigning over different parts of the country. In this letter, the traveller does not question the aptness of the foreign ruler to oppress the Italians but criticises the Italians' inability to properly understand their situation as slaves and decide on how to counteract it. In comparison to the letter from 1854, the Society's Address offers a more positive perspective for the Italians.

Like the Address's beginning which centred on the long tradition of the presence of foreign forces in Italy, the second passage also highlights the importance of the past, albeit this time in relation to the Austrian past that would possibly justify their position as oppressors. Whereas these two passages do not examine the present, the Address of the Society builds a bridge from the past to the present by asking the reader to

> [c]ast [their] eye back, then, over the last thirty years; count the martyrs, count the exiles for Italian Independence, from 1815 to 1848; see how Italy fought but the other day, and observe the unabated enthusiasm of her down-trodden populations at this hour. ("Address of the Society." 7)

Re-applying the image of a social hierarchy in which the oppressed Italians stand on the lowest step compared to the superior and powerful foreign oppressors, the passage portrays them as "down-trodden", which also physically locates them in an inferior position ("Address of the Society." 7). However, in shifting the focus to the enthusiasm of the Italians, the Address concludes that "Italians are fit to be free", now reversing the idea of 'fitness' and 'capability' that was first discussed in connection with the Austrian oppressor and applying it to the Italian colonized subjects, which attributes an element of potential power to them ("Address of the Society." 7).

Lastly, this element of potential power is linked to the Anglo-Italian relationship in Risorgimento times by a collective of Italian exiles in Britain which again applies a (post-)colonial rhetoric in the Society's monthly record from October 1851. In an address to the Society of the Friends of Italy in London, a group of workmen from Sardinia expresses its gratitude for the British aid in the transnational Risorgimento, stating:

> The Italian workmen who have come from the Sardinian States […] would neglect a sacred duty of gratitude if they quitted the shores of the Thames without addressing their warmest thanks to you, the friends of their unhappy country, oppressed by the stranger. […] That nationality, oppressed by foreign invasion, […] will arise more rapidly if it meet [*sic*] the sympathy of free nations, and more specifically yours. ("Monthly Record." No. II, October 1851, 3)

This passage applies the common binary oppositions known from (post-)colonial theory such as the concepts of oppressor and oppressed that equal the principle of colonizer and colonized as the one that exercises power over the other or the familiar and the unfamiliar when referring to the foreign oppressors as "the stranger" ("Monthly Record." No. II,

October 1851, 3). While thanking the British for their support of the Italian national movement, the Sardinian workmen also use the Address to strengthen the British awareness of the actual situation in Italy, reinforcing the image of a continued history of foreign oppression and enslavement within its national boundaries that has its roots in transnational border-crossing and is depicted as only finding an end in a transnational mission ("Monthly Record." No. II, October 1851, 3).

Thus, the (post-)colonial imagery and rhetoric used in the different mid-nineteenth-century serial publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy foreground the inherent transnationalism of the Italian Risorgimento by tracing the presence of foreign rulers in Italy as its beginning and by predicting transnational solidarity and help as its potential end. This resonates with the outcomes of the previous chapters of this book, which considered transnational solidarity essential for the success of the Italian national movement and with Pettitt's theory that recurrence can generate an impactful discourse to mobilise oppressed nations within the serial publication (*Serial Revolutions* 10). In this case, the recurring rhetorical strategies and images based on (post-)colonial themes developed into a part of the Society's transnational agenda as well as a strategic pattern used to generate transnational solidarity through its serial publications.

4.2.2 The Society's Anglo-Italian Networks

Whereas (post-)colonial imagery and rhetoric were prominent in the description of the Risorgimento's inherent transnationalism rooted in the presence of foreign oppressors since the early nineteenth century in Italy, other images and rhetorical strategies are used in the Society's publications when referring to the transnational alliances between

Britain and Italy. My close readings of the Society's publications have shown that rhetoric centring on political activism in combination with Mazzini's idea of transnational solidary as a sacred mission and a new religion together with the religious image of the martyr were frequently used to address the Society's British members and readers. Moreover, the distribution of news and information on the Italian national movement beyond national borders via the British press is also emphasised as a marker of a growing interest in the Italian cause in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. This demonstrates how similar issues and debates to those circulated between Britain and Italy – also through the publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy – were of interest to the different European countries during the nineteenth century. Lastly, the motif of exile reoccurs in the Society's serial writings, playing on the bi-directional streams of migrants between Britain and Italy on the one hand, and viewing Britain as a safe place for Italian exiles while also carefully foreshadowing an approaching refugee crisis and the British government's reaction to it on the other. An analysis of several examples derived from the Society's publications will demonstrate how the three motifs, namely religion, the transnational circulation of news, and exile as an act of crossing national borders were consciously applied to strengthen the Anglo-Italian relationship during the time of the Italian national movement.

Already the first publication of the Society of the Friends of Italy uses the image of the martyr in combination with a religious depiction of the historical development of the Italian movement and an appeal for British help. Resonating with what Mazzini had termed a 'new religion', the Address of the Society thinks of it as

> the idea formerly preached by the few has grown to be the hope of many, – when the martyr of today is replaced by the combatant of to-morrow – when a people

> torn and mangled by brute force, decimated of its best men through scaffold, the dungeon, and exile, still, in that weak and ungeneralled state, carries on an incessant struggle, generals itself, or contents itself with captains and bold leaders of bands, and through a long series of repeated and ever stronger attempts, marches on and on to victory. ("Address of the Society." 9-10)

This passage depicts the Risorgimento as a movement that had started as a thought in the minds of only a few people but had subsequently developed into a transnational mass movement by the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, it highlights the long tradition of brutality, imprisonment, murder, and displacement forced upon the Italians by foreign invasion and oppression, which, as one major factor, led up to the Italian national movement ("Address of the Society." 9-10). Thus, the passage ties onto the ideas of famous Italian patriots such as Alfieri, who argued that "where there is a tyrant, there can be no patria", foreshadowing that a large number of Italians would need to go into exile to work on Italian nation-making from abroad (Gabaccia 495-496).

Additionally, the use of the term 'martyr' identifies the supporters of the Italian national movement, whether at home or abroad, as people who sacrifice their lives for the sake of the Italian cause, which takes up Mazzini's idea of the sacredness of the Risorgimento as a religious cause that deserves national and transnational attention. The image of the martyr reoccurs only a little later in the Address of the Society, thereby reinforcing the sacred character of the cause:

> As each martyr changed his place above, for his place beneath, the Italian earth, our thought should have been 'One more for Italy'. And, as these martyrdoms became frequent and numerous, we should have marked the omen with interest, hailing every fresh symptom that the struggle was becoming ripe; and the championship cause being transferred from individuals to the people. This is the law of all heroic movements. ("Address of the Society." 10-11)

The sacrifices that the national movement has caused are portrayed in greater detail in this passage when it refers to the numerous martyrs who

have given their lives for the Italian Risorgimento so that it could develop into a large and powerful mass movement. Additionally, the idea of the 'ripeness' of the Italians to become a unified and free nation, which was already identified in the traditional (post-)colonial depiction of the Italians as people enslaved by foreign rulers within the boundaries of their own country, is taken up by the section quoted above to stress the immediacy and justness of the cause ("Address of the Society." 12).

The elements of immediacy and justness are introduced by the anonymous author of the Address of the Society shortly before he addresses the British readers as a representative of the Society of the Friends of Italy, stating:

> [W]e [the Society of the Friends of Italy] can believe a time might arise when, were we Britons, standing on our own soil, only *wishing* as vehemently the freedom of Italy, as the Italians, standing on theirs, are ready to act for it, the very substance of the earth would lend itself as a conveying medium between us, and the wish of the Island would shoot, as a decisive stimulus, through the act of the Peninsula. ("Address of the Society." 13-14)

Based on the urgency and justness of the Italian national movement, this passage of the Address first addresses the British readers as possible transnational allies in the Italian struggle for unification and liberty. Similarly to the earlier passages on the historical development of the Italian Risorgimento, this excerpt from the Address of the Society retraces the development of the awareness of the situation in Italy and the awakening of transnational solidarity in British subjects. Becoming increasingly direct, the author continues to argue that "[t]he last and chief duty, therefore, incumbent on England in the matter of Italy, is *a course of appropriate national action",* thereby locating the Risorgimento within Britain's national borders and politics ("Address of the Society." 14). Similar to the Society's objects, which named the British government as one important institution for the creation of a Risorgimento narrative in

nineteenth-century Britain, this quotation emphasises the need for transnational aid in addition to the importance of an official re-negotiation of British local and foreign politics ("Address of the Society." 2).

Indeed, the official support by the British government appears to affirm the justness of the Italian national movement as a transnational enterprise, as the Address of the Society states:

> It is necessary that, while all England may be enthusiastically saying *Nay* to the policy of despotism in Italy, Englishmen should have the guarantee of actual knowledge to convince them that, in passing through the organ of their Government, this message is not frittered into something that may sound liker [*sic*] a *Yea* in the ears of foreign Cabinets. ("Address of the Society." 14)

In this way, the Address of the Society attempts to make the support of the Italian national movement an official part of British local and foreign politics ("Address of the Society." 14). As mentioned earlier, in his lecture from 1852 Mazzini considered the rebellious character of the Italian national movement and the idea "of there being an absolute prohibition against engaging in a struggle which would risk the taking away of human life" as possible reasons why the British might not support the Italian national movement ("Monthly Record." No. IX, May 1852, 1). These fears of the British could have been calmed by an official act of the British government making the Italian cause part of Britain's political agenda, linked to the image of armed peregrination for a transnational Risorgimento that Pécout introduced in his enlightening study (414-416, 421).

Lastly, the request for British help is reconnected to the justness of the cause via the use of religious rhetoric in the Society's second monthly record, which states:

> Amid the evils which have for ages oppressed our nation, and the political and religious slavery which weighs upon us, we could not find better advocates for our

> cause than the inhabitants of a country which first led the way in the path of liberty amid European darkness, and which enjoys, as a reward, an unfalsified interpretation of the word of God. ("Monthly Record." No. II, October 1851, 3)

Here, the image of the British as the saviours who will lead the Italians out of the darkness into the light mirrors the biblical image of being led out of the darkness by a higher power.[121] This rhetorical strategy fashions Britain into a role model for the Italian nation striving for unification and liberty and, by portraying Britain in such an elevated light and Italy in need of assistance, attempts to convince the British to offer the Italians transnational aid.

The preceding analysis showed that the central aims of the Society were to disseminate information on the Italian national movement in Britain to make Italian affairs a topic of British local and foreign politics and to generate feelings of solidarity toward the Italians in Britain. These aims are frequently reiterated in the Society's publications, which were also partly reprinted in the British press and vice versa. The fifth monthly record, for example, quoted *The Times's* opinion on British foreign politics as located within the greater realm of European politics, where "[w]e [the British] cannot be certain that the time is not approaching when sacrifices may be required of us for their [the other European countries'] defence at home" ("Monthly Record." No. V, January 1852, 4). Thus, the British press served as another important means for the Society of the Friends of Italy of addressing a large British readership, as was already stated in the Society's objects ("Address of the Society." 2). The Society's third monthly record, for example, includes an extensive list of British rural and urban

[121] See for example Isaiah 9:2: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined" (*The Lion Bible Quotation Collection.* Eds. Martin H. Hanser, Lion Publishing, 1999, 58).

periodicals and newspapers that published the Society's proceedings and publications, among them also one ladies' paper, the *Ladies' Companion*:

> The *British Quarterly Review,* the *Ladies' Companion,* the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Leeds Mercury,* the *Bradford Observer,* the *Newcastle Guardian,* the *Bristol Mercury,* the *Western Times,* the *Oxford Chronicle,* the *Derby Reporter,* the *Kent Herald,* the *Sheffield Free Press,* the *Wolverhampton Herald,* the *Gloucester Journal,* the *Edinburgh Witness,* the *Edinburgh News,* the *Scottish Press,* the *North British Mail,* the *Glasgow Sentinel,* the *Dundee Advertiser,* the *Aberdeen Herald,* the *Aberdeen Journal,* the *North of Scotland Gazette,* the *Fifeshire Journal,* the *Fife Herald,* and the *Banner of Ulster.* ("Monthly Record." No. III, November 1851, 2)

Additionally, the Society's Monthly Record reminds its members that a full reprint of Mazzini's lecture delivered at the Society's First Conversazione was published "in the *Daily News* of the following morning; and accounts more or less complete have since appeared in other newspapers" and also the proceedings of the Second Conversazione "were reported at, greater or less length, in the *Daily News,* the *Morning Chronicle,* the *Morning Advertiser,* the *Observer,* the *Examiner,* the *Dispatch,* the *Leader,* the *Weekly News and Chronicle,* the *Freeholder,* and other metropolitan newspapers" ("Monthly Record." No. VII, March 1852, 1 and "Monthly Record." No. VIII, April 1852, 2). The extensive coverage of the Italian Risorgimento in the British rural and metropolitan press is, on the one hand, a sign of Britain's rapidly-growing media landscape and, on the other hand, reflects Britain's increasing interest in the Italian national movement. This interest is also noted in a later Monthly Record from October 1852, which states that "[a]rticles on Italy, her wrongs, her condition, and her prospects, are visibly more frequent than they used to be; and are characterised by a visibly truer recognition of the actual facts, and a visibly sounder spirit in judging them, and of England's share in them" ("Monthly Report." No. XIV, October 1852, 2). The frequency of reporting on the Italian cause also reflects the progress of the establishment of a Risorgimento narrative in mid-nineteenth-century

Britain. Scholars such as Riall and Pellegrino Sutcliffe have also observed that the Italian cause received growing attention in the mid-nineteenth-century British press, although they simultaneously highlighted the fact that the reports often exclusively focused on the impactful individuals of the Risorgimento, Mazzini and Garibaldi (Riall, *Garibaldi* 129, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "British Red Shirts" 203). Moreover, it is worth noting that the proceedings of the London-based Society of the Friends of Italy were also published in Italian newspapers such as the *Roman Monitor* and the *Italia e Popolo* of Genoa, which demonstrates that the distribution and exchange of news and information on the transnational scope of the Italian national movements operated in both directions between Britain and Italy, just like the bi-directional flows of migration between the two countries ("Monthly Record." No. XIII, September 1852, 2).

The last recurring motif for addressing the Anglo-British ties in the Society's publications centres on exile, whereby different forms of this motif can be identified. The first of these relates to exile as a form of sacrifice for the Italian national movement as indicated in the Society's Address that appeals to its audience to "count the martyrs, count the exiles for Italian Independence, from 1815 to 1848; see how Italy fought but the other day, and observe the unabated enthusiasm of her down-trodden populations at this hour" ("Address of the Society." 7). These sacrifices for the success of the Italian Risorgimento, however, are not only found in the lives of Italian individuals as the Society's serial publications also include British examples, such as the reference to the three Stratford brothers, brave English soldiers who fought in the early wars of Italian independence, who were condemned to death ("Monthly Record." No. VI, February 1852, 2-3). The same monthly record refers to

another Englishman of unknown identity, who had been wounded in Florence, while the next issue contemplates the case of

> [a]n Englishman, Murray, has been condemned to death at Rome. We have not here to judge of guilt or innocence. But what ought to revolt English feeling is, that he has been kept in a horrible prison for three years, that his trial has been conducted in secret, without the assistance of an advocate of his own choice, he being also deprived of the materials for his defence, and left without any of those guarantees and judicial forms, ensuring a fair trial, which are recognised as essential throughout all civilised Europe. ("Monthly Record." No. X, June 1852, 3)

Hence, the bi-national flow of migrants that resembles the lived crossing of national borders between Britain and Italy is recognized in the publications of the Society and the sacrifices each country and nation made for the success of the Italian national movement are acknowledged.

Secondly, exile as a form of contributing to Italian nation-making from abroad, according to the ideas of Isabella and Gabaccia, is highlighted as observed when Italian exiles undertook lecture tours through the most diverse regions of the world to create an awareness of the Italian cause abroad (Isabella 493, 503-505, Gabaccia 22, Riall *Garibaldi* 143). Thirdly, exile is portrayed as a safe place that is found in Britain, "the only country in Europe where refugees of all nations, driven from their own countries on account of their opinions, may reside safely" ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4). In the Society's publications, all three approaches to exile are closely connected as the example of Mazzini as a transnational icon of the Italian Risorgimento in Britain has shown. He, like numerous Italians, was forced to leave his home country, found a new patria in Britain, and envisioned Italy's future from abroad. Thus, the use of the images centring on transnational solidarity as an almost religious principle, the distribution of information on the situation in Italy, and the migration of subjects active in the transnational Risorgimento were central to the creation of a strong sense

of involvement of the British in the Italian national movement and were consciously reiterated in the Society's serial publications to foster the Anglo-Italian ties and promote the Risorgimento's transnational agenda.

4.2.3 Dreaming of Being "[U]ncaged [B]irds":[122] Mazzini and Kossuth and their 'Risorgimenti'

A close reading of the Society's records shows that the Hungarian general and prime minister (1848-1849), Lajos Kossuth, was introduced very early and, throughout the Society's serial publications, was regularly featured as part of the Society's events and discussions in his role as a representative of another struggling European nation. Based on Pettitt's idea of the similar socio-political interests of all European nations struggling for unification and liberty in the nineteenth century, this section examines why Kossuth was integrated into the Society's agenda and which rhetorical strategies and potent images centring on transnationality were used to portray him as a powerful political icon alongside Mazzini, who embodied the Italian struggle for liberty and unification. Lastly, it will be argued that the focus on Mazzini and Kossuth as two highly influential and widely known political figures of the mid-nineteenth century, both of whom sought exile in Britain, was used as an argument to garner British sympathy and mobilise British radicalism for both European national struggles through the Society's serial publications. Hence, this section will demonstrate that Pettitt's argument on the similar aims and interests of oppressed European nations may also be transferred to Britain as a politically stable country, which shows that

[122] Concerning Mazzini's love of liberty, George Jacob Holyoake remembers him seated in a sitting room, "allow[ing] uncaged birds to fly about in it, potent symbols of his love of liberty" (Holyoake qtd. in Claeys 229).

the crucial factor is not the nation's political status but its readiness for political activism and transnational solidarity.

Already the fourth Monthly Report of the Society mentions that an address to Kossuth was issued by the Society to congratulate him "on his release from captivity", to which Kossuth reacted with a visit to one of the Society's meetings to present his reply, "which occupied nearly an hour in the delivery, [and] was, and remains, one of the most important of his declarations – in some respects the most important – to the people in this country" as the anonymous author recalls ("Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 1). Through this, the Hungarian prime minister and the national struggle for liberty he represents are already introduced to the Society's members and their discussion in the first year of the Society's existence. Based on the Society's awareness of exiled patriots from Italy and those from other European nations in addition to the Society's interest in European politics and transnational solidarity, Kossuth's release from captivity is viewed as a reason to congratulate him on regaining his personal freedom. Furthermore, the fact that Kossuth presents his reply to the Society in person establishes a personal connection to the members of the Society and the Society's founder, Mazzini, whose biography was in many ways similar to Kossuth's. This aspect is also noticeable in the Society's address to Kossuth, which argues that "in the English mind no two European names were more closely linked together than those of Kossuth as the Hungarian, and Mazzini as the Italian patriot" ("Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 1). Thus, the monthly record connects the two politicians and thereby embeds Hungary's national movement in the Society's agenda of promoting the liberty and unification of Italy.

Gregory Claeys, who elaborates on "Mazzini, Kossuth, and British Radicalism, 1848-1854" (1989), agrees with the Society's statement on both European politicians resembling their respective national movement in Britain and sheds light on their influence on the return of socialism and mid-nineteenth-century working-class radicalism in Britain (226). Claeys recalls that Mazzini, who migrated to Britain in 1837, and Kossuth were already well-known in the British radical circles when Kossuth went into exile in Britain in 1851 (227). Regarding Kossuth's beginnings in Britain, it is worth noting that "in a very short period he gained what one of the chief radical papers referred to as a 'gigantic influence' among both middle and working-class political reformers" that became visible in the fact that "[m]illions heard him during a speaking tour that lasted only a few short weeks" after his arrival in autumn 1851 (Claeys 227). Additionally, Claeys argues that British radicalism was never stronger than when Kossuth was released and "the struggle for Hungarian independence was going on" and quotes the Owenite Robert Buchanan as stating that "the one country on which all eyes were fixed and towards which all hearts were turned [in 1848], was Hungary, the land of Kossuth and of heroes" (245). This leads Claeys to the conclusion that "[t]he Hungarian revolution aroused, if anything, even wider enthusiasm in Britain than did the Italian cause" (245). This enthusiasm of the British for another nation's socio-political revolution again resonates with Pettit's suggestion to read nineteenth-century European history like a serial and to perceive the recurrence of similar movements and debates in different European countries – in this case, Italy and Hungary – as expressions of similar interests and aims that became tangible as moving through Europe and the Society's serial publications.

Furthermore, this depiction of British enthusiasm for Kossuth is strongly reminiscent of Garibaldi's reception in London in 1864, which developed into a mass festivity with people travelling to the capital from the remotest regions of the country to see the Italian hero after the successful Battle of the Two Sicilies (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Garibaldi in London"). Yet, such heroic appraisals were not only directed at Kossuth but also to Mazzini, who was depicted as a republican hero by his ardent followers David Masson, later Professor of English Literature at the University College, London, George Jacob Holyoake, radical writer and owner of a publishing house in Fleet Street, London, and William James Linton, British radical and wood-engraver, who views Mazzini as "the greatest man in this nineteenth century […] [,] the Prophet of the future" (Claeys 229, 238).[123] Furthermore, as chapter 4.1 "'We must rise: and if we fall, rise again until we conquer'" of this book has demonstrated, the Society itself also portrayed Mazzini as a heroic figure of the Italian national movement as a brief quote from the Society's fourth Record summarizes by arguing that "[i]t is unquestionable that Joseph Mazzini is the personification of the wants and desires of Italy" ("Monthly Record.", No, IV, December 1851, 2).[124] Lastly, through his friendships with impactful British individuals such as John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle, Mazzini became part of the circles of British middle-class reformers while simultaneously also attracting the sympathies of a large portion of the British working class with his liberal and socialist aims (Claeys 229).

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[123] For detailed information on Mazzini's relationship with the relatively unknown William James Linton, consult: Thom, Martin. "William James Linton and Giuseppe Mazzini: democratic politics, religion and the pictorial culture of early Victorian London, 1837-1845". *Mélanges de l'École fançaise de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, January 2018, 71-83. *OpenEdition Journals,* https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrim.3677.

[124] See chapter 4.1 "'We must rise: and if we fall, rise again until we conquer'".

Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, Mazzini and Kossuth were both turned into cultural and political icons representing the desire for liberty in their respective countries, Italy and Hungary, and who re-negotiated images of nationhood and processes of nation-making from British exile.

Aware of the political function of these individuals, the Society concentrates on another crucial similarity in its address to Kossuth, expressing "its belief that the cause of Italy and the cause of Hungary are 'in reality identical'" ("Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 1). At this point, the validity of Pettitt's theory about the similar interests of all oppressed European nations is again confirmed and, additionally, her interpretation of seriality as "achiev[ing] commonality without erasing difference" can be understood as part of the Society's definition of similarity (*Serial Revolutions* 2 and 10). Thus, the Society's publications introduce the Hungarian situation at a very early point in time, on the one hand, and it rates it as following similar socio-political aims as the Italian national struggle and as being equally important, on the other hand. With this strategy, the Society also attributes the aims of liberty and unity that it has defined for the Italian Risorgimento to the Hungarian national movement, thereby expanding the Society's transnational agenda. The Society uses its serial publications to keep the ongoing national movements in Hungary and Italy uppermost in its readers' minds and uses a language based on transnational solidarity and similarity to strengthen the support for both revolutions within its transnational networks. This is a further example of Pettitt's interpretation of nineteenth-century pan-European revolutions as a series of socio-political events circulated through, and fuelled by, the serial format (*Serial Revolutions* 4).

The next monthly record (No. V, January 1852) considers whether the Society should also focus on Hungary but postpones the decision for the moment until explicit measures to support the Hungarian cause financially are undertaken in May 1852. The ninth monthly record proposes

> to raise a Fund to the joint credit of Kossuth and Mazzini, to be accumulated in annual subscriptions of one shilling from all persons willing to contribute, and to be placed at the disposal of the European movement, as represented in the persons of its two acknowledged leaders. ("Monthly Record.", No. IX, May 1852, 3)

The establishment of this fund shows that the Society decided to take measures to support Hungary's national cause, while the excerpt quoted above also represents the rhetoric used by the Society that turns both Kossuth and Mazzini into heroic representatives of their respective nations and national struggles. Thus, the discussion of the Hungarian situation furthermore demonstrates the Society's political agenda as focussing on the entire Europe as is also stated in the Monthly Report from May 1853 which addresses the good progress of the fund, which is "to be placed at the joint disposal of MAZZINI and KOSSUTH, for the cause of European Freedom" ("Monthly Report", No. XXI, May 1853, 4). At the same time, the appropriation of this rhetoric to both Mazzini and Kossuth demonstrates that it has become more universal, just like the concept of the Risorgimento, which had become a concept that could also be transferred to a national struggle other than that of the Italians. Hence, these concepts gained an inclusivity that fostered the bond between Italy and Hungary in the mid-nineteenth century and their joint ventures are again expressed in the monthly record from August 1853, which states:

> By circulars, addresses, and messengers, the name and voice of Italy were made to have a powerful echo among the ranks of European democracy, which were divided before 1848, but which are now joined for a common purpose. The alliance between us and the Hungarians, [is] more visible since the revolutionary

> Hungarian element is personified in one man. ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIV, August 1853, 3)

Together, these quotations place European freedom at the core of the Society's political agenda and introduce it as a recurring motif to its British readership in the Society's monthly records.

From 1851 onwards, the Society's publications repeatedly addressed the Hungarian cause and introduced its representative, Lajos Kossuth, to the Society's members and other readers. This repetition mirrors a central characteristic of the nineteenth-century serial format, also with regard to the Society's publications, which established a language based on common rhetorical strategies such as religion, transnationality, heroism, and exile, which resemble the Society's core aims and values. Within the serial format, the application of this language served as a mouthpiece for the struggling nations of Italy and Hungary, which gained a voice within the Society's agenda and serial publications. Moreover, these publications were often, at least partly, reprinted in various British newspapers, such as the *Daily News,* thereby reaching an even bigger audience ("Monthly Record.", No. IV, Dec. 1851, 1). Especially when it comes to the mobilization of British working-class radicalism for the Italian cause, the rural and urban press represented a powerful means of distributing information on the situation in Italy as was examined earlier in this book.[125]

This chapter showed that Garibaldi was an extremely effective symbol for fostering working-class sympathies in the mid-nineteenth-century British press. However, he remains a side figure in the Society's serial publications, which put their emphasis on Mazzini's and Kossuth's roles in the acquisition of support for the European movements for

[125] See chapter 3.2 "'Here we are, ready to fight'" in this book.

national freedom. Positioning the Society's publication within the greater scope of the British press, Claeys found that Kossuth was frequently reported on in the British liberal and radical press and Kirstie Blair analyses poetry centring on Kossuth and Garibaldi as two impactful individuals in European national movements, that was published in the Scottish newspaper press in her article, "'Whose cry is Liberty, and Fatherland': Kossuth, Garibaldi and European Nationalism in Scottish Political Poetry", concluding that Kossuth was a central topic in these works (Claeys 247, Blair 71). This supports Claeys' view that the Hungarian revolution might have generated an even higher level of enthusiasm among the British public than the Italian Risorgimento as Kossuth was also mentioned frequently in the Scottish national press and the Society's publications, whereas Garibaldi was shaped into a powerful political icon in the British press but received only very little attention in the Society's publications (245).

Following Claeys' and the Society's approaches, a strong transnational network of Italian and British 'disciples' of Kossuth and Mazzini and the national movements they represented was crucial for the establishment of a central place for European national liberty within British foreign politics. To promote this interest in European national liberation, the Society emphasises related political topics and undertakes measures to support especially the Italian and Hungarian 'Risorgimenti' in its serial publications. Here again, agency is created through transnational alliances and the principle of equal importance (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 2). Direct action is not only visible in the shared fund that the Society set up for Mazzini and Kossuth but also in the Society's aim to prevent the "extradition or expulsion of the political refugees [in Britain] – particularly Kossuth and Mazzini" as desired by Austria, Prussia

and France ("Monthly Record.", No. XXI, May 1853,1, "Monthly Record.", No. XIX, March 1853, 4). Furthermore, Kossuth's presence at several of the Society's meetings and his public speeches at these events display another means by which European politics were brought to the centre of the Society's attention.[126] As mentioned earlier, Kossuth's speeches were received with great enthusiasm by the British public. In fact, Kossuth was aware of the fact that he needed the platform to reach out to an even larger British audience than represented by the members of the Society, as indicated when he speaks at one of the Society's meetings in June 1852 to thank the British for their "expression of sympathy towards me [Kossuth], that is towards my country, from 10,000 English working men" while adding that even stronger support is needed for the success of the European national movements for liberty and unification ("Monthly Record.", No. XXIII, June 1853, 1).

Reading the Society's publications alongside Claeys' examination, it becomes evident that the Society's measures to support the Hungarian and Italian national movements often had repercussions in other kinds of serial print also related to British radical circles. In this sense, George Jacob Holyoake, member of the Society and ardent supporter of the Italian national movement, reports of a "shilling fund" that was set up "for Mazzini, Kossuth, and the Pole Worcell […] among miners and weavers" in Britain in the early nineteenth century ("Address of the Society." 2, Claeys 244). Furthermore, especially Mazzini's heroic appearance was emphasised by his British middle-class supporter, David Masson, who referred to him as a "slight figure, in a dark and closely-fitting dress, […]

[126] See: "Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 1; "Monthly Record.", No. XV, November 1852, 1; "Monthly Record.", No. XXI, May 1853, 1; "Monthly Record.", No. XXIII, June 1853, 1.

the features fine and bold rather than massive, the forehead full and high under thin dark hair, the whole expression impassioned and sad, and the eyes large, black, and preternaturally burning", which is strongly reminiscent of the ideal of the national hero that was commonly applied to Garibaldi as a charismatic figure representing the Italian struggle for unification and liberty (Masson qtd. in Claeys 229). Wherever the image of the hero was re-negotiated and de-politicised in Garibaldi's example, it is now re-politicised with Mazzini, whose "slight figure" and fine features do not represent the physical capacity for warfare but rather indicate the importance of clear political action on a European level (Masson qtd. in Claeys 229). However, Mazzini is no less determined to follow his mission than Garibaldi, as the burning in his eyes attests to (Masson qtd. in Claeys 229). In addition to Masson, Holyoake also addresses Mazzini's determination for the cause of Italian liberty when he refers to a situation in a sitting room with Mazzini, where he "allowed uncaged birds to fly about in it, potent symbols of his love of liberty", which is a wonderful image of the future Mazzini envisions for Italy (Holyoake qtd. in Claeys 229). The message of liberty and unification was also carried to the public by Mazzini's loyal friends and disciples John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle as well as Lord Dudley Stuart, William Ashurst, William James Linton, and Joseph Cowen, with the last four also being members of the Society ("Address of the Society." 2, Claeys 230, 238).

Apart from Mazzini's impressive persona, Kossuth's heroic appearance is also celebrated in British radical circles as Isaac Ironside, a Sheffield Owenite, who later tried to prevent the British from volunteering for Garibaldi's mission in 1860, states: "No pen can describe his [Kossuth's] reception [...] thousands of people were pressed round him to embrace him, hundreds of persons were shedding tears. There

never has been such a scene in Southampton" (Ironside qtd. in Claeys 246). These examples from the transnational networks of exiles in Britain and the British middle- and working classes emphasise the significance of strong, interrelated social circles determined to support the success of the Italian and Hungarian 'Risorgimenti' by promoting European national liberty as an important part of British foreign politics on the one hand, and by remodelling Mazzini and Kossuth into powerful political icons on the other hand. Based on these shared values, the aims and intentions of the Society were disseminated far beyond the circles of the Society's members and the readers of its serial publications. Via such potent images and recurring rhetorical strategies based on religion, transnational solidarity, exile, and heroism – especially in relation to the exiled political leaders of the Italian and Hungarian national movements – the Society's serial publications function as a platform through which the struggling nations are given a voice that is to be transmitted throughout the transnational networks of the Society. The preceding analysis showed that this voice developed into an impactful political agenda that generated physical and financial help in addition to ardent support for both national movements through the circulation of the Society's serial publications.

4.3 "[B]reathing the free air of England":[127] Risorgimento Exiles in Britain

As described earlier, the Society of the Friends of Italy was a political organisation founded in May 1851 by Giuseppe Mazzini, an Italian exile

[127] Lord Malmesbury, Foreign Secretary under the Earl of Derby and member of the House of Lords, quoted in the "Appeal to Electors" published in July 1852 by the Society of the Friends of Italy (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4).

in Britain, whose principles were rooted in the ideals of transnational solidarity based on the spatial mobility of the supporters of the Italian national movement. The following examination identifies and interprets how exile and migration were renegotiated in the Society's publications as part of its transnational agenda. Thus, this chapter contributes to the closure of the research gap centring on the transnational scope of the Italian Risorgimento identified by Janz and Riall in their 2014 article, "Special Issue: The Italian Risorgimento: Transnational Perspectives" and aligns with Diana Moore, Gilles Pécout, Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, and Patricia Cove, who elaborated on other nation-transcending aspects of the Italian national movement in their transnational approaches (1).[128]

In this context, three key ideas will be of particular interest. Firstly, the analysis will consider Britain as a role model for the European nations that are still struggling for national unity and liberty, first and foremost Italy, according to Pettitt's perception of Britain as a politically stable and powerful country throughout the nineteenth century (*Serial Revolutions* 19). Secondly, the foreshadowing of a possible refugee crisis, that subsequently became an urgent topic in British politics, will be traced in

[128] See: Moore, Diana. *Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890.* ProQuest, ProQuest Number: 10744494, 2017; Pécout, Gilles. "The International Armed Volunteers: Pilgrims of a Transnational Risorgimento". *Journal of Modern Italian* Studies, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2009, 413-426; Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "British Red Shirts: A History of The Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)". *Transnational Soldiers – Foreign Enlistment in the Modern Era,* eds. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 202-218; Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Mazzini's Transnational Legacy amongst British Co-operators (c. 1885-1949)". *Labour History Review,* Vol. 77, No. 3, 2012, 267-287; Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "The Toynbee Travellers' Club and the Transnational Education of Citizens, 1888-90". *History Workshop Journal,* Vol. 76, No. 1 (11 August 2013), 137-159; Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Liberal Italy and the Challenge of Transnational Education (1861-1922)". *History of Education,* Vol. 44, No. 5, 2015, 618-630; Cove, Patricia. *Italian Politics in Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019.

the Society's serial publications as a marker of transnational interest. Thirdly, the representation of the increased radicalism of Italian exiles in Britain that validated the fear of a refugee crisis in the later nineteenth century will be approached critically. Based on the Society's publications and Donna R. Gabaccia's approach to exile and migration, which perceives exiles as central to Italian nation-making from abroad, the following sub-chapters identify and interpret the Society's strategies to advocate for a legitimate place for Italian exiles in Britain after the defeat of the revolutions in Italy 1848 while also considering the challenges their presence caused for British politics (21-22).

4.3.1 "[T]hese refugees [...] shall have a home amongst us":[129] Britain's Liberal Politics Concerning Italian Exiles

One of Mazzini's letters from 1849, which accompanies the Society's collected publications, already emphasises the special status of the British in the support network of the Italian national movement on the one hand, and the role of Italian exiles in Britain therein in great detail on the other hand. Addressed to Mr De Tocqueville and Mr De Falloux, Ministers of France, Mazzini introduces the newly founded Italian Refugee Fund to the statesmen and calls for subscriptions at home as well as abroad (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" v-vi). The letter states that a committee of British, mostly middle-class, gentlemen, among them Lord Beaumont, Lord Dudley Cutts Stuart, M.P., T. Milner Gibson, M.P., C.D.O. Jephson Norreys, Bart., M.P. and W.H. Ashurst, Charles Dickens, Walter Savage Landor and W.M. Thackeray, all future members of the Society, voted for the foundation of the Italian

[129] From: "Monthly Record", No. VI, February 1852, 4.

Refugee Fund following the revolutions in Italy in 1848 as an act of transnational solidarity (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" v). Furthermore, it is mentioned that this act of "generosity and love of justice which distinguish[es] the English people among all the nations of the earth […] [is] appealed to, on behalf of the Italian refugees in England, under circumstances unparalleled in history", highlighting the feelings of transnational solidarity this act is based on and, at the same time, pointing to the outstanding position of Britain as particularly sympathetic and generous towards the Italians in comparison to all other countries (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" v). Thus, the important topic of exile and migration already influenced the Italo-British networks even before Mazzini founded the Society in 1851.

Mazzini's letter is densely filled with quotes on Britain serving as a role model for the welcoming of Italian exiles in the aftermath of 1848, viewing them as "the soldiers who defended that Government against the united arms of bigotry and despotism, and defended it successfully", which again highlights the presence of foreign rulers in Italy and the Papacy as two shared enemies of Italy and Britain (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi). As the previous chapters of this book showed, these similarities were emphasised to establish common ground for Britain and Italy throughout the British multi-media landscape. Apart from such political aspects, however, in accordance with Fludernik's approach on 'experientiality' as being crucial for the creation of a historical narrative, Mazzini's letter from 1849 also focuses on the personal feelings of Italian exiles seeking refuge in Britain after the failed revolutions of 1848:

> It is not the only sorrow of the Italian exiles that a novel cause is, for the time being, lost. Proscribed, and driven from their watch over the beautiful country of their birth and their affections, they seek a refuge here in England, as almost the only

> free land where they may set foot. (Fludernik *'Natural' Narratology* 29 , Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi)

Thus, the letter addresses the reader's rationality by foregrounding the long history of foreign rulership in Italy and the Papacy as two main reasons why Italy is struggling for independence and unification and, additionally, it establishes a personal connection with its reader by appealing to universal sentiments such as sorrow, fear, a sense of belonging, and empathy. Moreover, especially the sentiment of empathy is highlighted when Mazzini explains why the committee of the Italian Refugee Fund was formed on the basis of helping those Italian exiles who come to Britain to seek refuge,

> [h]aunted by their, and the world's enemies; forlorn and penniless; reduced to indigence; bereft of almost all that makes life dear, and bringing nothing from the wreck beyond the Mediterranean Sea but Home in the eternal might of the principles they have upheld. (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi)

Empathy is also crucial for Fludernik's approach to 'experientiality' as it sets the limits to our understanding of other people's experiences and historical events (*'Natural' Narratology 29*). Reading Fludernik's theory alongside Mazzini's letter, it becomes evident that his rhetorical strategies are part of the bigger aim to contribute to a transnational Risorgimento narrative that is based on mutual solidarity and shared experience. Hence, the fears and sorrows of the Italians are emphasised in the same way as the empathy of the British towards the Italians promoted in Mazzini's letter also aims to raise sympathy for Italian exiles and the Italian Refugee Fund in France. This rhetorical strategy of addressing both the reader's ratio and emotions aligns with Mazzini's intertextual message of promoting transnational support for the Italian national movement and Italian exiles all across Europe and beyond.

This strategy reoccurs in Mazzini's lecture presented at the First Conversazione of the Society on 11 February 1852 and published in the Society's Tract No. IV, in which he describes the precarious situation of the Italians at home or seeking refuge abroad from his perspective as a representative of the Italian national party, stating that "[p]risons are full; thousands of exiles are wandering in loneliness and starvation, from Monte Video to Constantinople [...]. Go wherever you will, that living protest of the Italian national party, the Italian emigration will meet your eye" (10). Although the lecture was held three years after Mazzini sent the letter quoted earlier to the French statesmen De Tocqueville and De Falloux, it refers to almost the same sorrow and fears that the letter did in 1848, and thereby establishes a series of continued loss of the home country and seeking for a 'new patria' where there is unity and liberty, which can be likened to Pettitt's theory on the presence of similar topics in Europe throughout the nineteenth century that also becomes visible in the sequence of pan-European revolutions she analyses in *Serial Revolutions* (Pettitt 10). Returning to Britain's sympathy towards the Italian national movement in the mid-nineteenth century, including Italian migration to Britain, also Mazzini's lecture acknowledges Britain's solidarity and advocates for further support, again reflecting rhetorical strategies based on transnational aid and mutual understanding.

Both Mazzini's letter from 1848 and his later lecture from 1851 mention a lived expression of the Italian national movement abroad, which is visible in the Italian exiles seeking refuge from where they can be politically active on behalf of their home country. The earlier letter refers to this sign as the "principles they [the Italian exiles] have upheld" during the early revolutions and in his lecture held at the First Conversazione Mazzini refers to this sign as the "living protest of the

Italian national party" and movement, which resonates well with Pettitt's idea of exiles continuing "to build international alliances and associations in the wake of 1848" (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi, "Tract No. IV." 10, Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 17). Pettitt makes this suggestion in connection to the French Revolution, after which "Mazzini had sought shelter in London, where he planned the next stage of his Italian Internationalist campaign" and both his letter and his lecture series demonstrate how he, as an Italian exile himself, attempted to turn Italian migration into a potent image resembling the transnational and spatially mobile character of the Italian Risorgimento (*Serial Revolutions* 17). The fact that Pettitt first applies her theory to Mazzini, who then transports it onto the community of Italian exiles in Britain and the members of the Society of the Friends of Italy, disseminates the idea like a domino effect, which again mirrors the dynamics of the serial as rapidly circulating debates among its readerships, whether locally or internationally.

Additionally, Mazzini's strategy perfectly mirrors Foscolo's interpretation of "exile as the ultimate form of attachment to one's patria" (Gabaccia 496). As one of the Italian patriots Gabaccia regards as crucial for the development of an understanding of nationalism in Italy, Foscolo conceptualised the possibility of going abroad and seeking a 'new patria', which Alfieri understood as the most dramatic way of trying to rescue one's fatherland from abroad (Gabaccia 496). Foscolo's approach becomes evident in Mazzini's letter and lecture when the emotional state that drives Italian exiles to leave their country and nation behind during the ongoing national movement is considered alongside the pure fact that Italian migration worldwide had become a notable topic in politics in Britain and other countries. According to Foscolo's idea, the sorrow and

loss referred to by Mazzini are sacrifices the Italian exiles made for the sake of rescuing their patria from abroad. As Mazzini stated in his lecture, they kept nothing more than hope in the principles they fought for, i.e. national unification and liberty (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi). By attempting to find a 'new patria' in Britain and other countries, Italian exiles were torn between the ongoing national movement in their home country and the challenge of finding a place in their new country of residence and its society. Isabella sheds light on this internal challenge the separation from Italy posed to Italian exiles and perceives a rupture between their personal and public duties (500). This rupture becomes visible in the political activity of many Italian exiles abroad, which became increasingly radical towards the end of the nineteenth century. Isabella's interpretation also ties into Foscolo's understanding of exile as the biggest sacrifice of patriots to rescue the home country from abroad as it examines the areas in which the sacrifices are made on the level of the individual exile.

Lastly, Mazzini's letter again emphasises Britain's special role as "almost the only free land" where exiles could find a new home in the mid-nineteenth century, which, given that the letter was addressed to two French statesmen, portrays Britain as a particularly advanced, politically stable, and liberal country that welcomed Italian exiles during the times of the Italian national movement (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi). In his letter, Mazzini outlines the possibility for Italian exiles in Britain to find a new home there, which resonates with Alfieri's idea of a 'new patria' that could only be found in a place where liberty already existed, which once more highlights the especially well-organised political state of Britain as superior in comparison to numerous other countries in the world at the time (Gabaccia 496). A close reading

of the Society's serial publications shows that this special status that marks Britain as superior in comparison to other countries in terms of its political stability and liberal sympathy towards Italian exiles in the mid-nineteenth century was a recurring theme and repeatedly emphasised.

Thus, also the second Monthly Record contributes to the idea of Britain as particularly welcoming towards Italian exiles by quoting from an "address of thanks to the Society of the Friends of Italy in England, bearing the signatures of sixty-five out of eighty Sardinian operatives" sent to Britain to represent the skilled labourers of Italy, who want to express their thanks to the Society as a nodal-point of British sympathy and aid towards the Italian cause ("Monthly Record.", No. II, October 1851, 2). This example demonstrates that not only Italian exiles in Britain felt welcome but that also their fellow statesmen at home were aware of Britain's consistent solidarity towards the Italians and their country, which they knew from the earlier phases of the Risorgimento. Furthermore, it shows the effort that was undertaken by the Italians to strengthen their relationship with Britain. The second monthly record reports that the address of thanks by the Sardinian workmen was widely published in the British press in the autumn of 1852, which demonstrates that the aims of fostering the ties between Italy and Britain also transcended the boundaries of the Society ("Monthly Record.", No. II, October 1952, 2). In addition to the message composed by the Sardinian workmen, the second Monthly Report also recalls two examples of members of the Society who were approached by Italians abroad to receive thanks for the actions of the Society but also to hear about the sympathy and support the Italians may expect of Britain and the Society, which again illustrates how the Italians at home and abroad were aware

of the transnational scale of the Risorgimento ("Monthly Record.", No. II, October 1952, 2).

It would, however, be unjust to only focus on the positive aspects that the Society's publications portray concerning the situation of Italian exiles in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century as especially the publications from 1852 also adopt a critical view on this topic. In preparation for the general elections in July 1852, the Society identified the topic of migration as an important and critically perceived issue that was added to the political agenda by other European countries, mostly Austria and France, and which it discussed in several of its publications. Thus, the monthly record from February 1852 commences by reiterating the popular idea of Britain as the only country in Europe where exiles could seek refuge and a "home of freedom" before proceeding to present the Society's opinion on migration:

> To decide that men of free opinions, to whatever country they belong, shall have perfect liberty to reside within the bounds of Great Britain – shall walk unmolested in our streets, and speak and act to the fullest and freest extent allowed by our native laws, – this is a matter of our own soil – a right, the maintenance of which we are about to see after, though all the despots in the world should clamour against us; - a right, the abnegation of which, under any circumstances, would be a disgrace to our nation, and a sign that all spirit – all life – had died out of it. ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4)

In this excerpt, the Society indicates that it supports exile and migration, and it argues that exiles must be integrated as equal members of British society who share the same rights as British citizens. Hence, it positions itself against the critical voices from other European countries that perceive exile and migration as a possible threat. The Society's statement thus refers to the image of Britain as a free country where exiles could find refuge and second home and, additionally, the quote above argues that "all spirit […] [would have] died out of" Britain if it denied exiles refuge ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4).

This portrayal establishes a connection to the highly popular image of the (seemingly) dead Italy that will experience a resurrection through the successful Risorgimento, which is used by the Society and occurs frequently in poetry on the Italian national movement. For instance, this image was also commonly used by the British female poetesses who gathered around Elizabeth Barrett Browning and settled in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, as was examined in chapter 2.3 "Women Reforming Politics" of this book.[130] The key idea behind this image is that the segregation of the single Italian states, their disunity in terms of their language, economies, and politics and the presence of different foreign rulers weakened Italy so much that she died or, in other accounts, fell into the passive state of sleep. However, especially the poetry composed by Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her female circle in Florence sees the possibility of resurrection within the Italian national movement and, according to their interpretation, the goals of unification and liberty will re-empower Italy so that she finds her way back to the active state of life and can act on her own again. The sixth Monthly Record now reverses this popular image and applies it to Britain. It first acknowledges Britain's status quo as a free country and nation and then argues that a denial of liberty to exiles, i.e. one of the shared ideals of Britain and Italy, would weaken its position as the country of freedom and kill the country's soul ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4). The Appeal to Electors, published by the Society in July 1852 refers to this weakening as "the last act of self-degradation on the part of Great Britain", taking up the idea of the reversed resurrection (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). Thus, whereas Italy is striving for rebirth through the national movement,

[130] See for example: "Monthly Record". No. XXIV, August 1853, 2-3 and chapter 2. "'Waking the Sleeping Female'" in this book.

Britain would go in the opposite direction by no longer granting exiles the same liberty as her own citizens. It is worth noting that the Society was aware of these common rhetorical strategies and images and consciously reappropriated them in its serial publications to establish further parallels between Britain and Italy and to vocalize them in recurring rhetorical strategies and images to support its central transnational agenda—also concerning exile and migration.

Furthermore, monthly record number six considers the possibility that future British statesmen might opt for changing the current policy towards exiles due to the ongoing international debate and the pressure from abroad. The record talks about frequent critique uttered by other states because Britain still offered refuge to exiles and, according to the Society's opinion, it condemns this critique by citing the general opinion in Britain that

> [*w*]*ho shall remain, and who shall not remain, within Great Britain, is a question of our own soil, with which you* [the foreign powers] *have nothing to do; and we decide that these refugees, so long as they do not transgress our laws, shall have a home amongst us.* ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4)

This opinion again resonates with the ideas of the Italian patriots Alfieri, Foscolo, Mazzini, and Pettitt who all think it possible to find a second patria abroad where a free life can be lived and the re-organization of the home country can be contributed to from abroad (Gabaccia 495-496, Isabella 500, Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 17-19). To add more credibility to this statement, the monthly record argues that all British institutions should defend the general opinion on the presence and status of exiles in Britain, which the Society also regards as a crucial agenda for the future British government after the general election in July ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1842, 4). Following Pettitt's idea of a serial revolution, the Society's publications became increasingly political as the elections

drew closer, by reiterating its political agenda for Italy in its serial publications to circulate it transnationally.

This becomes especially evident in several monthly records and the Appeal to Electors, which was a special issue published shortly before the election in July 1852. In both publications, the Society identifies the Refugee Question as an essential topic for the elections and uses its platform to critically address the issue. Thereby, it uses a role-playing technique and acts as if its publications asked a candidate what the Society regards as being crucial questions related to the topic. The eighth monthly record, for example, asks how a possible candidate would act in Parliament if expulsion or restricted liberty was forced upon political exiles in Britain, a constant concern that reoccurs in the monthly records X, XI, and in the Appeal to Electors ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1842, 4). With this role-play strategy, the Society aims to train its members and readers in adopting a critical standpoint in the approaching elections while also further manifesting its opinion on the importance of the presence and liberty of exiles in Britain. It has already become evident that the Society was built on transnational Anglo-Italian networks, including the bi-directional flows of migration between the two countries, and viewed those Italian patriots in Britain who contributed to Italian nation-making from abroad as "living agents" of the Italian Risorgimento following the Italian patriot, Farinza (Gabaccia 22, Isabella 493, 503-504). Counteracting this belief, however, the Appeal to Electors issued by the Society of the Friends of Italy in July 1852 shortly before the general elections also considers it possible that the new British parliament will "play into the hands of foreign despotic courts" by informing them about the presence and movement of exiles in Britain, referring, for example, to

Lord Derby's[131] opening speech as Premier (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). Thus, even though the Society promotes liberty for exiles in Britain, it also acknowledges the ongoing political debates that might threaten the rights of exiles in Britain.

To make its concerns clearer to its readers, the Society returns to the strategy of role-playing in the Appeal to Electors and in this publication it phrases two sample questions to be posed at Election meetings. The first asks if the candidate would "*do your best to maintain intact the right of this country to afford an asylum to Political Refugees; and will you oppose any attempt on the part of our Government, whether by letter-opening or espionage* […] *to restrict or impair this right?"* (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). In this way, the Society's central aim of maintaining the rights of exiles in Britain, which it regards as decisive for the reputation of the country as being free, liberal, and superior in comparison to other European and non-European countries, is again manifested in the minds of the readers before the Society also considers the bi-directional aspect of migration between Britain and Italy.

Opening up the discourse on bi-directional migration, the Appeal to Electors reminds its readers of the cases of Mather and Murray, both British gentlemen, who experienced injustice in despotic countries (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). Murray's fate was already referred to earlier in the monthly record from June 1852, which mentioned that he

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[131] Edward Stanley, the 14th Earl of Derby, was the leader of the Conservative Party from 1846 to 1868 and thrice prime minister in the years 1852, 1858, and 1866. He supported the abolition of slavery, and the promotion of education and reformation and is remembered as a key figure in British politics who significantly influenced British Conservatism (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Edward Stanley, 14th earl of Derby". *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 25 March 2022, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-George-Geoffrey-Smith-Stanley-14th-earl-of-Derby. Accessed 4 September 2022.)

had been sentenced to death in Rome without a fair trial. Following the tales of insult and injustice, the monthly record from February 1852 referred to the three Stratford brothers who were condemned to death by an Austrian council, and an Englishmen who had been wounded and illtreated by an Austrian officer in Florence ("Monthly Record.", No. X, June 1852, 3, "Monthly Record." No. VI, February 1852, 2-3). Together, these accounts demonstrate that mistreatment and legal injustice did not just apply to political refugees from other nations in Britain but also to British subjects abroad, which highlights the Society's agenda that the new British parliament must not bow to the pressure to share information on exiles in Britain with other countries or even change its political stance on exiles and political refugees as this would reduce them to the same level as the despotic countries surrounding Britain, in which British subjects experience injustice and murder. Lastly, the Society uses such examples to promote its ideal of Britain as the "home of freedom" where every citizen, whether British or not, will be "breathing the free air" ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4, The Society of the Friends of Italy 4).

4.3.2 The Foreshadowing of a Refugee Crisis: Italian Reformists and Radicals in Mid- to Late-Nineteenth Century Britain

As the previous section showed, the Society's serial publications foreshadow the possibility of a refugee crisis in Britain due to the pressure from other European countries, mostly Austria and France. Especially in 1852, the year of the general elections, the Society's publications frequently address the Refugee Question as a central topic for the election. It thus becomes visible how the questions concerning a possible redefinition of British politics and laws on exile and migration

became an urgent and highly debated topic in mid-nineteenth-century British politics. Within the framework of this debate, as a London-based transnational socio-political organisation, the Society clearly advocates against a reformation of the current laws in several of its publications.

Describing the status quo, monthly record number six and the Appeal to Electors both mention that exiles and political refugees were able to find refuge and live freely in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4, The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). Supporting these insights, Pietro di Paola briefly recapitulates the history of Italian migration to Britain in his monograph *The Knights Errant of Anarchy – London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)* and describes that, "[u]nlike other European countries, England consistently allowed free entry to religious and political refugees and consequently became one of the most prominent centres of political emigration in Europe", mirroring the Society's viewpoint which it also perceives as being the British general opinion (18, "Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1842, 4). According to my interpretation of the ongoing debate, the Society advocated for an increased understanding of (political) exile as not just the physical migration of foreign subjects but as a more holistic concept that also includes the re-location of socio-political discourses and debates through migration.

Also the following statement from one of Mazzini's publications from 1854 demonstrates that every exile and political refugee takes their own set of ideas and concerns with them, stating: "You speak of a place of refuge. Do you offer it to man or only to his body? We carry our country with us on the sole[s] of our feet", (Mazzini, "The Alliance of England" 4). As is typical for Mazzini, he again includes the duty to act in the context of the political refugees of the Italian Risorgimento in this publication

addressed to a British readership, when he refers to these refugees as a group that includes himself. He states: "We carry away with us [...] our ideas, our vows, our love, the remembrance of our dead and dying brethren, the great hopes that God whispers to us in our cradle, the idea of duty which binds us to their realization" (Mazzini, "The Alliance of England" 4). Hence, it becomes clear that Italian exiles and political refugees do not leave their personal and national struggles behind when entering Britain but carry all these challenges with them. This thought is also taken up by Pécout, who argues that Italian migration during the Risorgimento was "driven by different forges that are rooted in individual commitment, cultural circulation, reciprocal borrowings and irregular and non-state led forms of mobilisation" and it alludes to Isabella's and Gabaccia's approaches to nation-making from abroad (421, Isabella 493 and 503-504 and Gabaccia 21-22). Hence, both mid-nineteenth century and current approaches also ascribe a metaphysical layer to exile and political refuge during the Italian Risorgimento that accompanied Italian subjects abroad.

The spatial movement of Italian exiles and refugees fuelled the debate about a possible restriction of the rights of exiles and political refugees in Britain that subsequently developed into an important political issue, not only for the upcoming election in 1852 but also in general for the Society. As the bi-directional flows of migration between Britain and Italy were constant throughout the nineteenth century, Italian subjects settled in Britain from the early nineteenth century onwards and found their places in society and the political debate on the Italian Risorgimento. The ideas central to the Italian Risorgimento are concerned with different notions of nationalism, many of which are also visible among the exiles and refugees. Earlier in this book, it was argued

that nation-making from abroad was an idea discussed by Isabella and Gabaccia in their ground-breaking approaches to the Italian national movement (Isabella 493 and 503-504 and Gabaccia 21-22). Gabaccia, for example, recapitulates the idea of Emilio Farinza, an impactful Italian patriot, who found that exiles and political refugees were "living agents of Italian nationalism", and who attempted to reinterpret pre-Risorgimento ideas on nationalism in accordance with the Italian aims of unification and liberty of the mid-nineteenth century (21-22). These aims are also the fundament of the Society's agenda as a transnational organization promoting Italian national independence in addition to political and religious liberty ("Address of the Society." 2). Through the Society's serial publications and its standpoint in the debate on the Refugee Question, it repeatedly advocated for the rights of Italian exiles and refugees in Britain and objected to the French and Austrian proposals of restricting these rights and monitoring exiles and refugees. The publications thus used serial print to influence the discourse on being an exile and a refugee as a physical and metaphysical experience that prevailed throughout the nineteenth century, manifesting this idea within its international networks.

In his monograph *Italian Nationalism and English Letters,* Harry W. Rudman defines a genealogy of Italian exiles in London as part of his analysis. His work should be mentioned here because he also notes that "the newspapers were giving much space to refugees from all lands" in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, thereby indicating when the interest in exiles and refugees, which led to the Refugee Question by the middle of the century, began to grow—also in serial print (199). Thus, like Pettitt, Rudman acknowledges the importance of serial print when it comes to the transnational dissemination of socio-political

discourses and revolutions. Furthermore, Rudman differentiates between three waves of Italian migrants: the first generation that went into exile during the 1810s and 1820s, the second generation leaving Italy for London during the 1830s, and those Italians who migrated after the failed revolutions of 1848. The Italian patriot Ugo Foscolo, for example, was already exiled in 1816 and was quickly taken up into London's intellectual circles, just like Gabriele Rossetti (who arrived in the metropolis in 1824), and Anthony Panizzi, "one of the principal unofficial agents of the Italian cause" (Rudman 180 ff.). This first generation of Italian exiles in Britain was followed by another wave of migrants including Count Giuseppe Napolone Riccadi, Giovanni and Agostino Ruffini, Antonio Gallega, Giuseppe Mazzini, and Count Camillo Benso di Cavour during the 1830s (Rudman 209 ff.). Lastly, according to Rudman, the failed revolutions in 1848 led to another wave of Italian political refugees migrating to London, among them father Alessandro Gavazzi, who was the chaplain of Garibaldi's men in the Alps, James Lacaita, who is remembered as a "persona gratissima in English society" and whose ideas were crucial for Italian nation making from abroad, in addition to Aurelio Saffi, one of Mazzini's closest allies and triumvir of the Roman Republic and Felice Orsini, who became one of the most remembered Italian patriots in British exile (231 ff.). Thus, Rudman's lineage of Italian patriots seeking refuge in Britain runs alongside the political events of the Italian national movement. Gabaccia, in her analysis of nineteenth-century Italian labour migration to Britain, perceives the same phenomenon and rightly concludes: "[e]ach moment of Risorgimento political crisis produced a short, sharp emigration of activists" (21). Hence, according to Gabaccia's and McAllister's findings, the number of Italian migrants entering Britain rose from several hundred in the 1820s

and 1830s to approximately 100,000 annual migrants by the 1860s (Gabaccia 35 and McAllister 5). Di Paola, who focuses on the period between 1880 and 1917, quotes Gabaccia's observation that Italian migration to Britain did not stop but became progressively radical as "[a]narchist exiles made up 57 percent of these [labour activists] in the 1870s, 63 percent in the 1880s, and 21 percent in the 1890s" and analyses their contribution to the dissemination of revolutionary ideas in Europe and beyond (Gabaccia qtd. in Di Paola 2).

The continuity of, or according to Pettitt, the seriality of Italian migration to Britain that accompanied the crucial events of the Risorgimento, on the one hand, and became increasingly radical, on the other hand, was a factor that influenced the upcoming debate on the restriction of the rights of exiles and refugees, which was especially heated in the less Italophile countries such as Austria and France. Especially Orsini's attempt to assassinate Napoleon with bombs produced in Birmingham in the mid-nineteenth century is one example that will certainly have prompted this debate (Rudman 20 and 239 ff.). Rudman observes that Orsini had George Jacob Holyoake test the bombs beforehand, which demonstrates that the attack was not just an individual but a collective undertaking by the pro-Risorgimento Anglo-Italian circles (240). As indicated previously, most of the educated Italian political refugees were welcomed into the British intellectual circles, many members of which were also (future) members of the Society of the Friends of Italy, which demonstrates that migration was not a phenomenon that happened in isolation. While many Italians lived in the London suburbs, which Leone Corpi called "Italy's 'colonies' abroad", they also exchanged ideas with like-minded British (qtd. in Gabaccia 35). This reinforces my view introduced earlier concerning the idea of exile having

both a physical and also a metaphysical level, whereby subjects first undergo spatial movement while carrying all their central, cultural, and socio-political ideas and challenges with them.

It was especially the Society's founder and second-wave Italian refugee, Mazzini, who addressed the emotional side of seeking refuge abroad in the Society's publications. Attempting to promote the Italian Refugee Fund for Italians seeking refuge in Britain, he pens a letter to the French statesmen De Tocqueville and De Falloux, politicians otherwise not particularly fond of the topic of migration and the Italian cause. In this letter from 1849, Mazzini states that after the failed revolutions of 1848, it was "not the only sorrow of the Italian exiles that a novel cause is, for the time being, lost" (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi). Furthermore, Mazzini continues: "Proscribed, and driven from their watch over the beautiful country of their birth and their affections, they seek a refuge here in England, as almost the only free land where they may set foot" and only a little later adds that these Italian exiles felt "[h]aunted by their, and the world's enemies; forlorn and penniless; reduced to indigence; bereft of almost all that makes life dear" (Mazzini, "A Letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville & De Falloux" vi). These excerpts depict the emotions of loss, a lack of safety and comfort as well as financial insecurity and the fear of an uncertain future as innate to the experience of exile, which again underpins my argument that exile and migration must be understood as being both physical and metaphysical. Considering exile and migration, it should be kept in mind that the majority of Italians who sought refuge abroad did so because they were forced to or because they could no longer endure the situation at home during the Italian Risorgimento. In one of his lectures from 1852, Mazzini described the current situation in Italy as tumultuous, a place in the

middle of the revolution where the prisons are overcrowded and "thousands of exiles are wandering in loneliness and starvation" abroad, highlighting that it was the political instability at home that drove many Italians into exile ("Tract No. IV."10).

The situation Mazzini portrays highlights the fact that the 'feelings of home' have vanished due to the political instability in mid-nineteenth-century Italy and that it is thus a feeling of loss that forced many Italians to leave their fatherland behind, carrying with them ideas about nationalism and patria, which many of them, most prominently those patriots enlisted by Rudman, attempted to implement in Italy from abroad. While Mazzini's descriptions of exiles' emotions are mid-nineteenth-century examples published with the Society's records, as was noted earlier, Italian migration to Britain continued throughout the century. The example of Pietro Gori, an Italian exile in London highlights the similarities of his experiences in 1895 and those mentioned by Mazzini in the 1840s and 1850s. Gori wrote the following lines as part of a letter:

> I did not want to talk about it, but this rebellious nostalgia for cherished friends from whom I am separated by so much uncertainty and, soon, by the widening vastness of the sea jumps from my pen. I did not wish to describe, my dear Edoardo, my deep feelings when I parted from you and the affectionate Razzia. At the moment of boarding, you represented the unforgettable Italian camaraderie to me. Because it is easy to consider yourself cosmopolitan by principle, but feeling has its own imperious laws. (Di Paola 1)

Here, he mirrors the ideas of nostalgia according to which a falsification of memories of the past into a euphemized version is possible and which, according to Isabella, goes along with the separation from one's patria (500). Furthermore, Gori acknowledges that the actual difficulty of going to exile lies in the emotional baggage that the refugee takes with him. In his case, he emphasizes the feeling of leaving his Italian comrades and

friends behind and the uncertainty of his future, which mirrors the same emotions that were central to the feeling of loss experienced by earlier generations of Italian migrants in Britain as elaborated on by Mazzini.

To accurately portray how exiles dealt with their emotions and fears, the following section will focus on the more radical and aggressive expressions of these sentiments. Especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, Italian migrants in Britain became increasingly radical as Rudman and Di Paola, among numerous other scholars, have noted. In fact, the names of some Italian patriots in Britain are remembered so well because of the particularly drastic actions they undertook in the context of their experience of migration. As was briefly alluded to earlier, Orsini, was a member of the third wave of Italian exiles coming to London after 1848. After his failed attempt to assassinate the French emperor Napoleon III in 1858, the British government was urged by the French to prevent Italian political refugees from settling in Britain (Rudman 20). However, "the measure failed to become a statute because the liberals defeated it and overthrew Palmerston's cabinet in their resentment at his succumbing to foreign displeasure", mirroring that, by 1858, the British general opinion was still what the Society foretold it to be in its sixth monthly record from February 1852. In this publication, the Society argued that the British general opinion on the Refugee Question was a sympathetic one that disapproved of the introduction of laws restricting or even forbidding exiles from settling in Britain ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4). According to the Society, this general opinion should be defended by all British institutions, including Parliament ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4). Six years later, Palmerston's cabinet was replaced because it did not adequately reflect the British general opinion on the Refugee Question. Thus, Orsini's and

Palmerston's lives demonstrate how individuals significantly influenced the perception of Italian migrants in Britain, also on a European scale. However, the collective impression of the growing radicalism of Italian exiles in Britain also contributed to the growing challenge of the Refugee Question in Britain and beyond. Rudman recalls that, besides Orsini, "[t]here was, for example, the Italian who in 1857, at Panton Street, Haymarket, in London, stabbed four spies supposed to be in the pay of Napoleon III" (20). Di Paolo adds that most of the later Italian political refugees in Britain "were poor, they did not have special skills, they could create domestic problems if they joined domestic left-wing movements (the Chartists, for example), and they caused diplomatic difficulties with other countries" as became apparent in the direct effects of Orsini's failed assassination attempt (19).

Although all these examples together fuelled the European debate on restricted rights for refugees and exiles in Britain, the general British Italophilia prevailed. What began as a sympathy towards a small and educated Italian elite coming to Britain to live there and to enrich the educated circles with grandeur and their general 'Italianness' subsequently became a British tradition of support for the Italians over the course of the nineteenth century. These transnational ties were strengthened especially in the context of the Italian national movement in which the British took on a supportive function in many ways, as this book has shown in detail. Subsequently, the relationship between Britain and Italy and their subjects became a constant throughout the century, also when it comes to the discourse on Italian refugees and exiles entering Britain. According to the analyses of Gabaccia, Rudman, and Di Paola, the long tradition of Italian migration to Britain resulted in the fact that the acceptance of Italian migrants had become a British principle over time

(Gabaccia 21, Rudman 180 ff. and Di Paola 2 and 19). In fact, Italophilia had become inherent to the British general opinion throughout the nineteenth century, not least due to the large-scale work of transnational networks and organisations such as the Society of the Friends of Italy and impactful individuals such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Holyoake.

The Society's Appeal to Electors already promoted this opinion in 1852, stating: "If there is any way in which England, at the least expense of thought or trouble to herself, can serve the cause of Continental freedom, it is by affording the right of asylum to Political Refugees" (The Society of the Friends of Italy 4). Together, these transnational subjects created a visible space for the situation of the Italians at home and abroad using the platform, the Society's serial publications, and the British press to mobilise support for Italy. Thus, the fact that Italian exiles and political refugees could play "a primary role in discussing foreign political models, in assimilating and spreading progressive ideas which were thus absorbed into Italian culture" and contribute to Italian nation-making from abroad to a notable extent was only possible because Britain remained one of the very few countries where these migrants could settle freely due to the country's liberal politics concerning exiles and refugees (Isabella qtd. in Di Paola 26). Still, the previous analysis also demonstrated that the Society, as a transnational political organization, was attentive to the development of Italian migration in Britain and noted the increased radicalism that caused other European nations to urge Britain to renegotiate her laws on exiles and political refugees in the mid-nineteenth century.

Thus, the history of Italian exiles in Britain is another nodal point that strengthened the Anglo-Italian relationship throughout the

nineteenth century, also via the serial publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy, which formulated and reiterated rhetorical strategies and potent images to give an expression to exile experiences and the socio-political agenda of Italian exiles in Britain in accordance with Fludernik's interpretation of 'experientiality'. Through a constant reiteration of these strategies and metaphors, they turned into self-perpetuating mechanisms that spread through the Society's transnational circles, generating strength and support based on a feeling of proximity following Pettitt's idea of a serial revolution (*Serial Revolutions* 34). Furthermore, the Society's publications renegotiated the term 'transnational' consistent with the view of Janz and Riall, Moore, Pécout, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Cove, and Arielli, who all understand it as an act of spatial mobility of individuals or social groups across national borders.[132]

These theories, however, were appropriated by the Society according to its political agenda by means of introducing a language based on rhetorical strategies and images centring on transnational solidarity, the national movement as a religious undertaking, and heroism. These themes reflect the Society's objects, which constitute that the Society will make use of every means of communication in order to

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[132] See: Janz, Oliver and Lucy Riall. "Special issue: The Italian Risorgimento: transnational perspectives – Introduction". *Modern Italy,* Vol. 19, No. 1 (2014), 1-4, Moore, Diana. *Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890.* ProQuest, ProQuest Number: 10744494, 2017, Pécout, Gilles. "The International Armed Volunteers: Pilgrims of a Transnational Risorgimento". *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* Vol. 14 No. 4, 2009, 413-426, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "British Red Shirts: A History of The Garibaldi Volunteers (1860)". *Transnational Soldiers – Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era,* eds. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 202-218, Cove, Patricia. *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture,* Edinburgh UP, 2019, Arielli, Nir and Bruce Collins. *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

promote the Italian cause in Britain and to make it a part of Britain's politics ("Address of the Society." 2). The rhetorical strategies and images identified aimed to give the Italian national movement and its core ideas of liberty and unity a voice that was circulated among the Society's transnational networks and beyond. The symbiosis of the Society's chosen format of the serial and the themes centring on liberty and unity cultivated an approach that found support among many readers as the serial quickly adapted to the ongoing debates and was apt to circulate them within the Society's transnational networks.

Thus, both the format and the recurring rhetorical strategies and images within the Society's serial publications reappropriated the term 'transnational' according to the Society's political agenda that aligns with Pettitt's idea of serial revolutions, thereby enabling the reader to actively engage with history (*Serial Revolutions* 2). My analysis has shown that the Society's serial publications respond to ongoing socio-political debates, integrate important voices and also controversial opinions, and promote nation-making from abroad as an opportunity for Italians in exile while encouraging those from other nations to support the Italian Risorgimento. Hence, in the Society's publications the term 'transnational' not only refers to a border-crossing but establishes a coherent and consistent rhetoric and imagery that centres on transnational solidarity and mutual help for the vast undertaking of Italian unification throughout the nineteenth century.

5. “[F]it to be free”:[133] Late-Nineteenth-Century British Feminists Redeploying the Risorgimento

In his 1866 novel *Vittoria,* George Meredith describes the situation in mid-nineteenth-century Italy through the eyes of an Austrian General in Lombardy and thereby touches on some of the most crucial motifs used in British (non-)fiction of the time. First of all, the General feminizes the Italians, indulging in a fantasy of misogynist and xenophobic violence, arguing that they

> wanted – yes, wanted – (their instinct called for it) a beating, a real beating; as the empathetic would say in our vernacular, a thundering thrashing, once a month or so, to these unruly Italians, because they are like women! It was a youth who spoke, but none doubted his acquaintance with women, or cared to suggest that his education in that department of knowledge was an insufficient guarantee for his fitness to govern Venezia. (Meredith 86-87)

Meredith, an ardent supporter of the Italian national movement, decided to highlight the abusiveness of Austrian rule over Italy in his novel and expresses this misuse of power by establishing a binary opposition between the masculine Austrian General and the ‘feminine’, and thus allegedly weaker, Italians. Thereby, he takes up one of the key motifs of mid-nineteenth-century British writing on the Italian cause, which centres on the portrayal of Italy as a passive female figure. In Meredith’s novel, Italy is portrayed by its citizens, namely those who are situated in an inferior position in the aforementioned description. However, other sequences from *Vittoria* demonstrate that the Italians are representatives of their native country, which becomes evident when the novel’s female protagonist, Vittoria Campi, performs as the character of Camilla, who

[133] “Address of the Society of the Friends of Italy.” London: Published at the Offices of the Society, 10, Southampton Street, Strand, 1851, 7.

represents the hopes and dreams of revolution in Italy, in the opera. This operatic character reminisces about her mother as

> folded in a black shroud, looking formless as death, like very death, save that death sheds no tears … She threw apart the shroud: her breasts and her limbs were smooth and firm as those of an immortal Goddess: but breasts and limbs showed the cruel handwriting of base men upon the body of a martyred saint. (Meredith 176-177)

Here, Camilla, who is identified as a “Young Italy figure” by Cove, laments the decay of her mother from a Goddess into a passive and dying figure (159). In this excerpt, pre-Risorgimento Italy is represented by the decaying mother figure, who has endured decades of foreign oppression, signified by the “cruel handwriting of base men” like in the earlier quotation from Meredith’s novel, and is now dependent on the revolutionary ideas of the national movement, represented by her daughter, Camilla, to find her way back to life (Meredith 177, Cove 159).

As the analysis of British women’s poetry in chapter two of this book, “Waking the Sleeping Female” demonstrated, the resurrection of personified Italy became a prominent motif in British political writing on the Italian Risorgimento. Analysing the political poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy in terms of recurring ideas and patterns in their approaches to the Italian Risorgimento, it becomes evident that the female gender was applied to represent Italy’s path towards unification and liberty at a time when all political women’s writing was written and read alongside the women’s rights movement. The femininization of Italy in Braddon’s shorter poems “Garibaldi” and “Si and No”, but also her narrative poetry “Casa Guidi Windows” and “Aurora Leigh” as well as Rossetti’s “Goblin Market” are some examples of poems deploying the resurrection motif. It is especially intriguing that Ling’s political approach to “Goblin Market”, “Rossetti and the Risorgimento: An Allegorical Reading of *Goblin Market”*

(2017), identifies the two female protagonists as representatives of Italy and Britain. According to Ling, Lizzie, who resembles Britain, helps Laura find a way out of the oppression by the Goblin merchants, which represents the next step in woman's emancipation in which male aid is no longer required. The motif of female solidarity that transcends national borders and class differences is decisive for the success of Laura's liberation from the oppression of the Goblin merchants. Transferring this idea onto the Italian Risorgimento, it is notable that the poem allocates a fixed place for women within the Italian national movement on a transnational scale. Furthermore, the poem identifies the foreignness of the Goblin merchants as a factor that brings decay to the Italian country and nation represented by Laura. Thus, the prominent motif of the dying and decaying Italy also recurs in Rossetti's poem, which is furthermore highlighted by the (post-)colonial rhetoric used for the relationship between the Goblin men and the local, seemingly all-female, society.

Similar to Rossetti's poem, Barrett Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows" focuses on the metamorphosis of feminised Italy with the help of Britain and it thereby renegotiates women's gender and political identity (also economically) in relation to nineteenth-century ideas of nationality and identity. In this sense, the ending of "Casa Guidi Windows" is a call to action that must be related to both the Italian national movement and the woman's rights movement, asking: "When nations roar/ Like lions, who shall tame them, and defraud/ Of the due pasture by the river-shore?" (Barrett Browning "Casa Guidi Windows", Part I, lines 667-669). This ending again manifests a place for women in European literature and politics. Additionally, Braddon's second narrative poem, "Aurora Leigh", analyses the challenges posed to female

identity with regard to Aurora being torn between her Italian past and her British future, and also by condemning contemporary stereotypes, when Marian is depicted as a 'fallen woman' because she is a single mother, and, lastly, the poem considers all-female households possible, as shown when Aurora invites Marian to move into her flat with her child, which re-emphasises the importance of female solidarity for the success of the Italian national movement but also for the success of the women's rights movement, as shown in chapter 2.3 of this book, "Women Reforming Politics" (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7:70, 7:120-127).

As women are accorded a particular space within the reinvention of Italy in expatriate British women's poetry, it is interesting to also examine the parallels between their personal biographies and their political writing. Chapman's monograph, *Networking the Nation – British and American Women's Poetry and Italy, 1840-1870,* is an extremely helpful historical source that examines why these female authors decided to move to Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, while Pettitt's *Serial Revolutions* focuses on, among others, Barrett Browning's biography to examine her place in the revolution (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 38). Chapman argues that these women moved to the centre of the revolution to be part of it and to become members of a class-transcending, transnational network of supporters of the Italian national movement who campaigned for the rights of a country and nation other than their own (xxv-xxvi). Taking into account the reasons that motivated these British female authors to settle in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, it is evident that they also aimed at a renegotiation of what it means to be a woman, including questions of identity and those centring on nationality. The British expatriate poetesses do so themselves, for example when Barrett Browning states: "I'm a citizeness of the world

now, you see, and float loose", and also in their poetry (Browning 17:70). Hence, Barrett Browning's "Aurora Leigh" features an all-female household when Aurora and Marian live together in Italy and imagines an "Italy of women" after the revolution (Barrett Browning "Aurora Leigh", 7:120-127 and 8:358). However, it is also important to note that other poems are less revolutionary in their redefinition of the female gender, such as Barrett Browning's "Mother and Poet", which examines the role of the mother as loving and crucial for the moral education of the nation, an idea that reoccurs in Blagden's "The Invitation", which examines the interconnection of womanhood and the making of a nation (Barrett Browning "Mother and Poet", l. 89 and Blagden "The Invitation"). By remodelling the concepts of nationality and identity into a more cosmopolitan perception of the self, women like Barrett Browning proceeded in manifesting a space for women in mid-nineteenth-century literature and politics and began to establish the links between 'maternalization' and nationhood in the British context.

Thus, this network of women consisting of Barrett Browning, Theodosia Garrow Trollope, Isa Blagden, and Eliza Ogilvy, who all settled in Florence, can be addressed as part of the earlier nineteenth-century movement for liberation and unification. As mentioned earlier, these poetesses remediated the ongoing events in Italy in their first-hand accounts and shaped the transnational Risorgimento narrative with their political poetry. Besides particular rhetorical strategies and images that were elaborated on in detail in chapter 2.3 of this book, "Women Reforming Politics", also their portrayals of the impactful individuals of the Italian national movement, Mazzini and Garibaldi, transported the Italian cause to Britain and influenced the transnational Risorgimento narrative from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Their biographies

can be viewed with much insight through the lens of Pettitt's theory presented in *Serial Revolutions,* in which she perceives the term 'serial' as an ongoing sequence of transnational revolutions in Europe (2). Consistent with Pettitt's view, the political actions and poetry of these earlier women inspired others to join the movement in the second half of the century. The later women used the close ties to the Italian national movement and political writing tradition of their forerunners as a mouthpiece for their own political agenda, which combined their interest with the British women's movement that was gaining traction in the later nineteenth century.

In this context, women such as Emilia Ashurst Venturi, who was a close friend of Mazzini and used to be the editor of the feminist periodical *The Shield* between 1871 and 1866 or her sister, Caroline Ashurst Biggs, who co-edited the *Englishwoman's Review* from 1871 to 1889 also reported on the developments in Italy in these formats (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Victorian Radicals" 195). Whereas other (proto-)feminist periodicals such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1865-1923), *The Women's Penny Paper* (1880-1890), *The Woman's Herald* (1891-1893), and *The Woman's Signal* (1894-1899) scarcely reported on the situation in Italy, especially the *Englishwoman's Review* dedicated a great deal of space and attention to the Italian Risorgimento, as Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe notes in her chapter "Italian Women in the Making: Re-reading the *Englishwoman's Review* (c. 1871-1889)" from 2015. Moreover, Florence Fenwick-Miller, a prominent journalist who contributed the "Ladies' Column" to the *Illustrated London News* and was editor of the *Woman's Signal* (1895-1899) combined the aims of both the Italian national movement and the British women's movement in her publications.

Tying onto this, Eloise Brown, who analyses the pacifist notions of the British women's movement (1870-1902) in *"The Truest Form of Patriotism"*, views Fenwick-Miller as a "member of the 'transitional generation'" of women, whose lives developed alongside the women's movement (Brown E. 38). As Brown recapitulates, Fenwick-Miller

> had become involved in the women's movement at the age of eighteen, trained in medicine at the University of Edinburgh only two years after Sophia Jex-Blake had forced this institution to accept women as students, and was elected onto the London School Board at the age of twenty-two. (Brown E. 38)

Thus, Fenwick-Miller's biography was infused with the women's movement, making emancipation a central aim of her personal and professional agenda. This is also visible when she takes over the *Woman's Signal* in September 1895, as she came to an agreement with the World Woman's Christian Temperance Unition (WWCTU) president, Lady Henry Somerset, that all the Union's issues would be published in the paper (Brown E. 38). As a result, the periodical became a mouthpiece of late-nineteenth-century British feminism. Like other contemporary feminist periodicals such as *Shafts* (1892-1899), under Fenwick-Miller's editorship, the *Woman's Signal* "focused upon change through legal and political channels rather than through social behaviour" (Brown E. 38). This political interest, Brown argues, linked the women's rights movement "to wider arguments on the importance of national representation and influence for women, and how this intersected with their potential role in the empire and nation", such as the Italian national movement as another nineteenth-century social movement for emancipation and liberation (Brown E. 41). According to Brown, Fenwick-Miller perceived the British women's movement as coinciding with other social movements for emancipation during the nineteenth century in the "imagined international arena" (Brown E. 41). Thus, Brown

anticipates Pettitt's point of view that social movements and revolutions inspired and fuelled each other on a transnational scale throughout the progressive nineteenth century.

In the case of Fenwick-Miller's "Ladies' Column", questions centring on nationalism and gender roles are reported as joint issues under the larger aims of emancipation and were mediated as a powerful political agenda. This is visible in the issue from 15 June 1895, which focuses on Privy Councillor James Stansfeld resigning from his position and briefly recapitulates his political career. The article mentions that Stansfeld was an ardent supporter of several movements, among them the women's movement, which he referred to as having "advanced all along the line with a rapidity never equalled in any revolution of similar magnitude" in one of his speeches, as well as of the Italian national movement (Fenwick-Miller 750). Furthermore, when it comes to women's education and rights for women, Stansfeld, for example, supported women's medical education and was elected treasurer of the London School of Medicine for Women (Fenwick-Miller 750). This aim of Stansfeld's links to Fenwick-Millers' biography. Additionally, she describes Stansfeld as "the chief supporter in this country [Britain] of Mazzini and other strugglers for Italian independence" and adds that he "gave up his seat in the Ministry of the day in order to defend the sanctity of the Italian refugees' correspondence which the then Liberal Postmaster-General was allowing the Austrian masters of Italy to violate" (Fenwick-Miller 750). This statement alludes to the Post Office scandal of 1844 when British MP Thomas Slingsby Duncombe petitioned in the House of Commons that the British government should reveal the secret opening of Mazzini's private letters and the sharing of information taken from these correspondences with other European governments (Cove 95). Moreover, Maurizio Masetti

adds to this that Mazzini vehemently criticised the wrongful nature of the government's deeds as an act of illegitimate intrusion into his private correspondences (203). According to Cove and Masetti, the 1844 Post Office scandal was a large-scale media event and the resulting "Parliamentary debates divided not just Parliament but also English public opinion" and damaged the public's trust in the government (Cove 95-124 and Masetti 203).[134]

Subsequently, the example of Fenwick-Miller's "Ladies' Column" aligns the British women's movement with the Italian national movement, viewing both as using similar rhetorical strategies and metaphors rooted in liberation and emancipation. Furthermore, it uses Mazzini as a figure known from the political writing of the earlier circle of women, which continues to function as a motif for unification and transnational sisterhood. The shared rhetorical repertoire of the women's movement and the Italian Risorgimento is also essential for the way of reporting developed in the *Englishwoman's Review* under Caroline Ashurst Biggs's editorship (1871-1889). In her 2015 article, "Italian Women in the Making: Re-Reading the *Englishwoman's Review* (c. 1871-1889)", Pellegrino Sutcliffe focuses on the importance of Ashurst Biggs's paper for the creation of transnational solidarity among British and Italian women and women's emancipation in Italy in general. Focusing on the existing research on this topic, Pellegrino Sutcliffe notes that the majority of the sources examine the earlier stages of the Italian national

[134] See: Patricia Cove's chapter "Spying the British Post Office, Victorian Politics and Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White*" in *Italian Politics and Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Edinburgh UP, 2019, 95-124) and Maurizio Masetti's chapter "The 1844 Post Office Scandal and its Impact on English Public Opinion" in *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries – Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions* (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft Online, Band 139, 203-214).

movement and notes that until that point in time, only Maura O'Connor and Anne Summers had elaborated on the phase after 1860 (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Italian Women in the Making" 181-182).[135] O'Connor points out that the representation of the role of British women, as portrayed in the *Englishwoman's Review,* runs along the established lines of women's (maternal) influence, making use of a (post-)colonial rhetoric that is often applied to the situation of pre-unified Italy (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Italian Women in the Making" 182). To counteract O'Connor's approach, Pellegrino Sutcliffe sides with Summers's view that "applying neo-orientalist readings beyond empire runs the risks of simplifying the world in which emancipationist women exercised their judgement on international causes" (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Italian Women in the Making" 182). In this respect, Summers and Pellegrino Sutcliffe see the need for an alternative approach to transnational female solidarity, which Pellegrino Sutcliffe finds in women's education ("Italian Women in the Making" 182). She argues that "Italian women were learning how to claim their role as 'women-citizens'" and active subjects within the Italian Risorgimento and the transnational women's movement (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Italian Women in the Making" 182-197). Her argument finds support in numerous articles from the *Englishwoman's Review*, which perceive Italian women as inherently patriotic, yet still on their way to becoming politically active members of society.[136] In this context,

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[135] See: O'Connor, Maura. "Civilizing Southern Italy: British and Italian Women and the Cultural Politics of European Nation Building". *Women's Writing.* Vol. 10, No. 2, 2003, 253-268 and Summers, Anne. "British Women and Cultures of Internationalism, c. 1815-1914". In D. Feldmann and J. Lawrence (eds.) *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History.* Cambridge UP, 2011, 187-209.

[136] See for example: "From Italy". *Englishwoman's Review,* 1 January 1874; "Past and Present Italian Women". *Englishwoman's Review*, 15 May 1878, and "Past and Present Italian Women". *Englishwoman's Review*, 15 June 1878.

Pellegrino Sutcliffe views British women as ahead of their Italian sisters but does not position them as superior as O'Connor's approach did ("Italian Women in the Making" 184).

Instead, Pellegrino Sutcliffe perceives Ashurst Biggs's intervention valuing the role of women in nineteenth-century socio-political revolutions as crucial to be equal to Fenwick-Miller's approach in the "Ladies' Column" ("Italian Women in the Making" 182 and Fenwick-Miller 750). According to Pellegrino Sutcliffe, this centrality of women is also visible in the prominent metaphor of "Italy's resurgence" ("Italian Women in the Making" 183). On the basis of these examples, I argue that the fact that Italy was traditionally feminized throughout all literary genres and types of media, as the previous chapters have shown, definitively speaks for a gendered reading of the Italian Risorgimento that is also found in the *Englishwoman's Review*. Whereas other nineteenth-century British periodicals such as the *Pall Mall Gazette,* the *Women's Penny Paper, The Woman's Herald,* or the *Woman's Signal* only rarely reported on women's situation in Italy,[137] the *Englishwoman's Review* dedicated much attention to it and displayed a transnational approach based on the concept of female solidarity and the importance of women's education, which Pellegrino Sutcliffe rightly views as "groundbreaking" ("Italian Women in the Making" 184-186). Additionally, the tradition of women's interest in the Italian Risorgimento was also important for developments in the later nineteenth century as the mid-century cohort of British women such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her female circle in Florence defined rhetorical strategies and images centring on the

[137] One rare example of these periodicals reporting critically on the situation of Italian women is "Italian Women". *Women's Penny Paper,* 13 July 1889. It centers on the apathy of Italian women towards emancipation and progress in general.

principles of Mazzini, which were known and also used by later generations of women, thereby creating "[a] transnational network of Mazzinian women [that] provided a valuable source of information for the emancipationist" *Englishwoman's Review* ("Italian Women in the Making" 188). Thus, I would argue that the rhetorical strategies coined by the earlier women and Mazzini were used by the later generations of British women as signals for the joint emancipationist movement of women and the Italian nation throughout the nineteenth century.

This is visible, for example, in "Past and Present Italian Women", an article published in the *Englishwoman's Review* on 15 May 1878, which honours Mazzini's constant pursuit to facilitate women's education as crucial for women's emancipation on a transnational scale (201). It quotes from Mazzini's letter to the working class from 1858 in which he states:

> At the present day one half of the human family – that half from which we seek both inspiration and consolidation, that half to which the first education of childhood is entrusted – is by a singular contradiction declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and excluded from the great Unity. ("Past and Present Italian Women", *The Englishwoman's Review,* 15 May 1878, 201)

In this article, Mazzini links women's emancipation to that of the British working class, thereby both regarding and describing women as a specific social class of their own. He also addresses women and men as equal in general, and as equally powerful in socio-political revolutions ("Past and Present Italian Women", *The Englishwoman's Review,* 15 May 1878, 201). Mazzini's interest in women's emancipation is also expressed in a letter to a friend from 1870, in which he expresses "how eagerly I [Mazzini] watch from afar and how heartily I bless the efforts of the brave, earnest British women who are striving for the extension of the suffrage of their sex" ("Past and Present Italian Women", *The Englishwoman's Review,* 15 May 1878, 201). Both of these examples were also published together

with the note on Mazzini's death (10 March 1872) in the issue from 1 April 1872, which additionally demonstrates how closely linked the *Englishwoman's Review* perceived women's education and emancipation to be in Mazzini's political thinking ("Joseph Mazzini" 109). Thus, women's emancipation was crucial for Mazzini's publicised socio-political agenda, which understood women and men as equal and, hence, ascribed a powerful role to both within socio-political revolutions in Britain and Italy.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the rhetorical strategies influenced by Mazzini's ways of thinking did not die with him but developed into recurring patterns within mid- to late-nineteenth-century women's writing. Thus, these patterns kept on supporting the ongoing socio-political movements for emancipation in accordance with Pettitt's perspective on the never-ending circle of revolutions striving for liberty and emancipation (Pettitt, *Serial Revolutions* 10-17). Ashurst Bigg's periodical remembers Mazzini's view on women in "Events of the Quarter" on 1 April 1871 and 1 July 1872 and in "The Property of Married Women" published on 1 January 1873 ("Events of the Quarter", 1 April 1871, 11, "Events of the Quarter", 1 July 1872, 193, "The Property of Married Women", 1 January 1873, 71). These articles mirror Mazzini's socio-political agenda building on the transnational promotion of women's rights, which has its roots in Mazzini's life in exile in France and Britain where he encountered women in subordinate positions of society on the one hand and also exchanged perspectives with other political thinkers on women's suppression on the other hand. Building on this experience, Mazzini devised a political agenda that fought for increased women's rights and visibility in society as crucial for the development of every nation in general and as essential for the process of nation-making

in particular.[138] Thus, Mazzini's agenda also supported the struggle for married women's right to own property as part of the emancipationist movement of later-nineteenth-century Britain, which was reported on and discussed widely at the time. A close reading of Ashurst Biggs's newspaper shows that Mazzini's emphasis on the importance and the rights of women turned into a self-perpetuating rhetorical strategy throughout the years of publication of the *Englishwoman's Review* ("Events of the Quarter", 1 April 1871, 11, "Events of the Quarter", 1 July 1872, 193, "The Property of Married Women", 1 January 1873, 71). These examples demonstrate how the support accorded to Mazzini also prevailed in later generations of British women, who, based on the principles of their predecessors such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her female circle in Florence, fostered transnational female solidarity according to Mazzini's ideas. These socio-political appeals to Mazzini's legacy maintained the remembrance of his pro-women support and inspired generations of female supporters of his visions for the Italian national movement by depicting both social revolutions as following the similar aim of emancipation.

The interconnection between female militancy for the women's movement and the Italian national movement is also visible when Garibaldi, who, in contrast to Mazzini, was traditionally remembered as a 'war-hero', is referenced in British women's suffrage writing into the

[138] For a more detailed overview of Mazzini's pioneering work in the promotion of women's rights, see: Dal Lago, Enrico. "'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,* Vol. 13 (2012), 293-319; Falchi, Federica. "Democracy and the Rights of Women in the Thinking of Giuseppe Mazzini". *Modern Italy,* Vol. 17 (2012), 15-30 and Moyn, Samuel. "Giuseppe Mazzini in (and beyond) the history of human rights". *Revisiting the Origins of Human Rights,* eds. Pamela Slotte and Miia Halme-Tuomisaari, Cambridge UP, 2015, 119-139.

early twentieth century. This once again demonstrates the longevity of the metaphors and rhetorical strategies related to the influential individuals of the Italian Risorgimento. Whereas most British (proto-)feminist periodicals, among them the *Englishwoman's Review,* rarely focused on Garibaldi after the 1860s, Edith Ayrton Zangwill, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and Ray Strachey used him to call for women's political activism in their monographs from the 1920s. These three British activists portray Garibaldi as one of the most well-remembered representatives of the Italian Risorgimento who, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, still functioned as a symbol of emancipation. Thus, the rhetorical strategies introduced by mid-nineteenth-century British women such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her female network in Florence, which combined the aims of the Italian movement with those of the international women's rights movement, had developed into an ongoing literary tradition by this time.

Edith Zangwill puts Garibaldi's words into the mouth of the leader of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in Britain, who uses them to encourage Ursula Winfield, the protagonist of Zangwill's semi-biographical novel *The Call* (1924), to become a supporter of the movement (247). The leader approaches Ursula with the words: "Come with me. I offer neither pay, nor quarters, nor provisions; I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, and death. Let him who loves his country in his heart, and not with his lips only, follow me", thereby directly transferring one of Garibaldi's quotes on the Italian national movement to the women's movement, which again foregrounds how both movements were linked in their rhetorical repertoire (Zangwill 247). Zangwill's novel centres on the struggle of Ursula, a female scientist, who aims to be treated equally to her male colleagues, which is a reference to

the biography of Zangwill's stepmother, Hertha Ayrton, a scientist (Zangwill 205). Since Hertha Ayrton remained in contact with the suffragettes throughout her life and supported the WSPU financially, the meeting with the women's rights leader who quotes Garibaldi in Zangwill's novel might be an allusion to an actual crucial encounter with Emmeline Pankhurst or one of her daughters (Zangwill 205 and 247).

Adding to this, Millicent Garrett Fawcett's autobiography, *What I Remember* (1924), traces how the events of the Italian national movement inspired her own biography and political career as a women's rights activist. At the beginning of the book, she remembers a particular evening during a visit to London in her childhood, when a person entered the platform at Albert Smith's entertainment to proclaim that Felice Orsini had attempted to murder Napoleon III (Garrett Fawcett 15). Orsini's assassination attempt, as outlined in chapter 4.3.2 "The Foreshadowing of a Refugee Crisis" of this book,[139] fuelled the French campaign against Italian exiles in Britain as the Italian exile, Felice Orsini cooperated with the British Risorgimento supporter George Jacob Holyoake in the testing of bombs manufactured in Birmingham and intended for the assassination of Napoleon III in January 1858 (Rudman 30). Garrett Fawcett describes that she remembers this day, 14 January 1858, not just as the day of Orsini's attempt to kill Napoleon III but also as her "first experience of anything approaching contact with the tragedy of revolutionary politics", which was going to be decisive for her later political career (15). Born on 11 June 1847, it is impressive that Garrett Fawcett remembers this evening as decisive in her autobiography even

[139] See: "'Let Italy be made a free Nation'" 257-260 and Rudman, Harry W. *Italian Nationalism and English Letters – Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian Men of Letters.* AMS Press, 1966.

though she was only 11 years old in 1858. Moreover, a chapter on Garrett Fawcett's older sisters' time at school called "Miss Browning's School and What Grew Out of It" shows that the impactful individuals of the Italian Risorgimento accompanied Garrett Fawcett throughout her life. In the chapter, she expresses her admiration for (proto-)feminist women such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Luisa Browning, headmistress of her sisters' school at Blackheath, in addition to Mary Wollstonecraft, Mrs Godwin, the Shelleys, and Emily Davies, who became a dear friend of Garrett Fawcett's sister Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (38-40). Elizabeth Garrett Anderson is not just remembered as a supporter of the women's movement but also as the first woman to have obtained a degree in medicine in Britain in 1865.[140]

Focusing on the last-mentioned (proto-)feminist, the biography values Miss Davies's aims of peaceful emancipation, women's education, and the franchise for women, which all became highly influential in Garrett Fawcett's later life (40). When it comes to her sister Elizabeth, Garrett Fawcett explicitly remembers one evening in 1861 at Alde House drawing room when Elizabeth had George, their youngest brother, on her lap and recounted

> what was uppermost in her own mind at the time: Garibaldi and the freeing of Italy from the Austrians, Carlyle's *Cromwell,* Macaulay's *History of England,* and modern political events and persons, such as Lord Palmerston, and the chances of a Reform Bill. (41)

Moreover, the fact that Millicent Garrett Fawcett remembers her older sister talking about Garibaldi strengthens the impression that her own life developed alongside the Italian national movement. This was also

[140] For further biographical information on Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, please consult: Manton, Jo. *Elizabeth Garrett Anderson.* Routledge Library Editions: Science and Technology in the Nineteenth Century, Vol. 5. Routledge, 2018.

evident when Garrett Fawcett herself met Garibaldi in Rome in 1874. She remembers this meeting as being "one of […] [her] most cherished memories to have stood in that noble presence, to have heard his voice, to have pressed his hand", which ties onto Fludernik's theory of 'experientiality' as crucial for the perception of contemporary history. In "'Natural' Narratology", Fludernik, argues that "[a]ll experience is […] stored as emotionally charged remembrance, and it is reproduced in narrative form because it was memorable, funny, scary, or exciting", which is directly transferrable to Garrett Fawcett's memory of her highly emotional meeting with Garibaldi (29). In the excerpt quoted above, Garrett Fawcett remembers meeting Garibaldi with all senses, which adds a sensory aspect to Fludernik's idea of 'Experientiality', especially when it comes to Garrett Fawcett so precisely remembering Garibaldi's voice and the touch of his hand. In the excerpt, it appears as if this encounter with Garibaldi was inscribed in Garrett Fawcett's memory, which again demonstrates her genuine admiration for Garibaldi, whose heroic action for Italian unification inspired her to strive for women's emancipation throughout her life (Garrett Fawcett 106).

Likewise, Ray Strachey, one of Garrett Fawcett's friends, uses Garibaldi as a rhetorical fanfare in connection to women's education in her historiography of the women's movement, called *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (1928). Ray Strachey was a woman's rights activist who occasionally adopted an ironic tone when describing the development of schools for girls in an ironic tone in her monograph (ventriloquizing patriarchal anxieties about these new institutions). Thus, her historiography traces "the development of the organised movement for women's education […] [in] 1848 and 1849, when Queen's College and Bedford College for Ladies had been opened",

adding to this that further of these "dangerous schools to appear was the North London Collegiate School, founded by Miss Buss in 1850; and […] Cheltenham College, founded in 1854 and taken over by Miss Beale in 1858" (Strachey 124-126). Strachey recalls that both Miss Buss and Miss Beale had attended evening classes at Queen's College before taking up their positions as headmistresses (126-127). Additionally, Strachey juxtaposes strategically the women's cause and Italian radical nationalism when emphasizing explicitly that "Garibaldi's sons were at one time among its [Barbara Leigh Smith's co-educational reform school] pupils, and all that group of Radicals which included Mill, Carlyle, and Mazzini know of and discussed its plans" (130). Thus, combining the aims of the supporters of the Italian national movement with those of the women's movement, Strachey, like Garrett Fawcett, represents the aims of both movements as similar. She also imitates an anti-emancipationist voice when referring to the advancements in education as 'dangerous' and when calling the group of women's rights supporters – which includes Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill - 'Radicals'. *The Cause* subsequently demonstrates that later British women redeployed certain individuals of the Italian Risorgimento, and also the ideas and rhetorical strategies associated with them, as symbols of socio-political progress within the context of the British women's movement.

Thus, Italian patriots such as Mazzini and Garibaldi had been shaped into rhetorical strategies and powerful metaphors by mid-nineteenth-century British women, thereby establishing the beginnings of a linguistic tradition that lasted for several generations of women who still used these decisive individuals as symbols of emancipation and education in both contexts, namely the Italian Risorgimento and the British women's movement. In the sense of Pettitt's theory in *Serial*

Revolutions, this female writing tradition shows that the revolution continued, spanning generations of British throughout the tumultuous nineteenth century. Wagner suitably takes up a similar thought, stating that the Italian national movement did not only cause a rethinking of "British attitudes towards the [c]ontinent and [c]ontinental rivals (France as well as Austria in particular)", but also prompted discussions in Britain (n.p.). As my book has shown, these debates were based on questions of identity and nationalism, which were extensively re-negotiated in the mid-nineteenth century in the British periodical press and women's political poetry, and which subsequently coined certain rhetorical strategies based on the Italian patriots that were still used by later generations of British women activists and writers, who kept on fighting for a visible place for women in society.

6. Conclusion: The Risorgimento in Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Popular Culture

In order to showcase a broader picture of mid-nineteenth-century British popular culture re-negotiating the Italian Risorgimento, this book has considered British (expatriate) women's poetry, whose role was central to the previous chapter, alongside the British press and the political publications of the Society of the Friends of Italy as influential in the creation of a British Risorgimento narrative. The following pages summarize the key findings of chapters three and four of this book, which examined how rhetorical strategies linked to the Italian Risorgimento were used in the British press and the publications of Mazzini's London-based Society of the Friends of Italy to mobilise large parts of British society to support the Italian national movement. Chapter three showed that, whereas British women's poetry focused on female solidarity as

crucial for the success of the transnational Italian Risorgimento, the British press emphasised the importance of working-class solidarity. Tying onto this idea in more general terms, Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter summarize the tone and key idea of the mid-nineteenth-century periodical press focusing on working-class solidarity as follows: "The working man […] thinks not in the abstract terms of social and economic relations […] but in a more concrete way […] his pride is being a worker and his solidarity with other workers" (33). Thus, Mazzini and Garibaldi again were central as key figures of the transnational Italian Risorgimento to whom British working-class men could devote their attention and enthusiasm. Mazzini, for example frequently used a rhetoric centring on slavery and the oppression of the working class by foreign rulers in his political writing, which was also reprinted in, for example, *Reynolds's Newspaper.*[141] The members of the British working class could perfectly relate to this rhetoric, as they found themselves in the lowest position of the social hierarchy, while the expressions used could equally be transferred to Italy, a country torn apart and ruled by foreign powers for centuries. Together with the workingmen's solidarity that was promoted in the periodical press, Mazzini's political writing, published with the tracts of the Society of the Friends of Italy, generated radical support among large sections of the British working class.

An even more prominent symbol of the cultural and political values of the Italian national movement, however, was Garibaldi, who was internationally known as a 'war hero' by the mid-nineteenth century and was thus a role model of masculinity that British workingmen were very

[141] See: Mazzini, Giuseppe. "Mazzini on Slavery". *Reynolds's Newspaper,* 4 June 1854, 16. BNCN, https://nl.sub.uni-goettingen.de/id/WO1_RDNP_1854_06_04?page=16#, Accessed 19 January 2022.

likely to look up to. The British satirical magazine, *Punch,* also ascribed a heroic role to Garibaldi in the Italian Risorgimento by publishing various cartoons of the Italian General throughout 1860.[142] Garibaldi's followers expressed their unity by wearing red as *The Times* reports on various occasions. On 17 July 1857, for example, *The Times* notes that his supporters "put on their uniforms, consisting of a Phrygian cap, green shirt, and red trousers, after the fashion of Garibaldi" and a month later, the newspaper states that Sicily was "still crowded with Garibaldi's own red flannel shirts or with men in the sail-cloth jacket, which has also been adopted as a uniform for a Garibaldian volunteer" ("Italy", *The Times,* 17 July 1857, 10 and "Sicily" 5). Dedication to Garibaldi and his cause was expressed in various ways throughout the mid-nineteenth century, like when Anthony Trollope's novel *He Knew He Was Right* (1869) turns the Garibaldian volunteers with their red shirts into game figures, with whom the protagonist's son plays.[143] Furthermore, the 'Great Men' of the Risorgimento were the subjects of many Victorian canonical works, such as Charles Dickens's *Pictures of Italy (1846)* and *Little Dorrit* (1855-1857), Giovanni Ruffini's *Lorenzo Benoni* (1853) and *Doctor Antonio* (1855), Wilkie Collins's *The Woman in White* (1860), George Meredith's *Emilia in England* (1862) and *Vittoria* (1866), Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *The Black Band* (1861-1862) and *Run to Earth* (1868), George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871), and Alfred Lord Tennyson's poems "Garibaldi" (1864) and "To Ulysses" (1889). Moreover, musical shows together with

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[142] See for example: "Garibaldi The Liberator: Or, The Modern Perseus". *Punch,* 16 June 1860, 243; "The Hero and the Saint". *Punch,* 22 September 1860, 115; "A Good Offer. Garibaldi: 'Take To This Cap, Papa Pius. You Will Find It More Comfortable Than Your Own'". *Punch,* 29 September 1860, 125; "The Man in Possession". *Punch,* 6 October 1860, 135; "The Rub". *Punch,* 27 October 1860, 165; "Right Leg in the Boot at Last. Garibaldi, If It Won't Go On, Sire, Try A Little More Powder". *Punch,* 17 November 1860, 195.

[143] Trollope, Anthony. *He Knew He Was Right.* Oxford UP, 2009. 177.

lectures, theatre plays, and panoramas were dedicated to Garibaldi and advertised throughout the British press and the "Garibaldies" biscuits were sold in many British bakeries from 1860 onwards (*Garibaldi* 137, "Philharmonic Hall. Mr. Mason Jones" 1, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment'" 135-137).[144] These examples demonstrate that transnational support for the Italian Risorgimento prompted by Garibaldi had repercussions on contemporary British popular culture.

Another factor that generated support was the shared Francophobia of the Italians and the British, who traditionally feared an invasion by the French, as the analysis of the weekly foreign affairs column of *Reynolds's Newspaper* provided in chapter 3.1.2 "Reynolds's Newspaper's Weekly Foreign Affairs Column" has already shown. In this regard, the scepticism towards the French was turned into a motif that united the British and the Italians within the Italian national movement. Furthermore, my examination of the press coverage on the Italian Risorgimento revealed that British working-class support during the volunteer movement from 1859 came from all parts of Britain, demonstrating that both the rural and urban press were decisive for the radicalisation of this particular social group. When focusing on this particular year (1859), it is evident that industrialists played an important role in the recruiting of volunteers, as "[m]any of the Volunteer corps raised in the various parts of the country were virtually the private armies of big entrepreneurs or industrialists", Rose notes (104). Moreover, it should be understood that volunteering affected all aspects of life in 1859, and when public meetings on the Italian cause were held

[144] For detailed information on the Garibaldi panoramas in Britain, consult: Pellegrino Sutcliffe, Marcella. "Marketing 'Garibaldi Panoramas' in Britain (1860-1864)". *Journal of Modern Italian Studies,* Vol. 18, No. 2, 232-243.

in numerous towns and cities, volunteer unions and corps were formed, funds were set up, and subscriptions were collected, while a new way of thinking also evolved that regarded volunteering for the Italian national movement as morally purifying and transnationally uniting the working classes (Rose 104-107). Hence, this permeation of all areas of life resulted in the successful and class-transcending mobilisation of the British public for the Italian Risorgimento with "130,000 citizen-soldiers" being recruited "between May, 1859, and June, 1860" (Rose 97).

Furthermore, this book has shown that the long tradition of bi-directional migration between Britain and Italy, which had its roots in the early part of the nineteenth century, supported the transnational solidarity of the two countries together with renegotiations of transnational visions of nationalism and patriotism, especially when it comes to volunteering abroad. This is especially apparent, for example, in 1860, when Garibaldi also recruited volunteers in Britain for his expedition to Italy. In chapter 3. "'[P]ut[ting] on their uniforms'[145]", an analysis of *The Morning Chronicle, The Times, The Liverpool Mercury,* the *Newcastle Courant,* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* demonstrated that the strategies used by the British press during the 1859 volunteer corps movement reoccurred in 1860 and were still useful for the – more or less secret – recruitment of Garibaldi's Thousand. Thus, the motifs of heroism, transnational solidarity, and masculinity remained successful. However, the legal challenges based on the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act also remained, which is why the recruiting process had to be conducted discreetly, for which especially Holyoake, who owned a publishing house in London, and Captain Styles, whose identity and military career largely remained unknown, were decisive. Additionally, my analysis also

[145] From: "Italy", *The Times,* 17 July 1857, 10.

foregrounded the financial shortcomings of the British Legion in addition to the questionable reputation of its later British volunteers. These factors undoubtedly contributed to the rapidly vanishing British interest in the British Legion by the end of 1860. Whereas the earlier volunteers were still remembered by the British press and Garibaldi's fame had turned into a timeless phenomenon, the public interest in the British Legion waned by the end of 1860, which is particularly visible in the absence of articles on the 1860 volunteers in the British press. Garibaldi's visit to London in 1864 after the successful battle of the Thousand in 1860 demonstrates that British enthusiasm for the Italian general was still very high. As Mack Smith recalls, Garibaldi approached London by train and encountered approximately half a million people waiting for him in the metropolis (140). He suggests that Garibaldi received "a more triumphant welcome than any other visitor to England" did previously (140). Taking a closer look at the cultural effects surrounding Garibaldi's visit, Lucy Riall notes that a cult had evolved that she calls 'Garibaldimania', which became visible in people's enthusiasm for the Italian patriot himself on the one hand, and also in Garibaldi figurines, as well as Garibaldi-inspired sheet music and clothing that reminded of the Garibaldi volunteers (Riall, *Garibaldi* 335). My analysis in chapter two, "Waking the Sleeping Female" furthermore demonstrated that British women's poetry reflected the Italian general's heroic characteristics as part of its rhetorical repertoire. All these examples show that the admiration for Garibaldi had become part of British popular culture by the mid-nineteenth century.

Lastly, chapter four "'Let Italy be made a free nation'", provides insight into The Society of the Friends of Italy, a British – mostly middle-class – political organisation that was founded by Mazzini to accurately

depict the Italian national movement in Britain. Transnational solidarity was as crucial for the Society's networks as it was for the British expatriate poetesses and working-class men. However, what is decisive for the Society is the idea of nation-making from abroad, which assigns exiles and political refugees a crucial position within the transnational Italian Risorgimento. As mentioned earlier, the bi-directional flows of migration between Britain and Italy had already begun in the 1820s and 1830s as Gabaccia and Isabella note and which, according to McAllister, led to a general Italophilia among the British, which Pécout, Pellegrino Sutcliffe, and Shankland also acknowledge in their research on the Italo-British relationship during the nineteenth century. Mazzini himself is part of this long tradition of Italian migration and was decisive for the foundation of a political agenda of the transnational Risorgimento with his political writing, public speeches, and formation of transnational political organisations. Honouring his central position within the transnational Risorgimento, Riall describes Mazzini as "the single most important reason for the high profile of the Italian question in Britain", whose image "was appropriated by the supporters of radical politics and linked to that of national heroes like Milton or Cromwell" (*Garibaldi* 142). This indicates that Mazzini already became the transnational symbol of the Italian Risorgimento from the 1830s onwards, when he settled in London and became an influential individual whose ideas on Italian nationalism as expressed in his political writing and the publications of the Society, significantly shaped public opinion and attempted to break up the dichotomy of 'at home' and 'abroad' to be more inclusive for exiles and political refugees. In contrast to the radicalisation of British working-class men, Garibaldi was less decisive in the acquisition of British middle-class sympathies, which shows that it was Mazzini's political ideas that

already gathered British middle-class sympathies from the early nineteenth century, whereas the British working class needed a military leader to assign its radical enthusiasm to.

Besides Mazzini's central role within the Society of the Friends of Italy, chapter four also examined other facets of its transnational agenda, which are again rooted in the long tradition of transnational migration and foreign rulership in Italy. Thus, the presence of other nationalities in Italy in combination with the continuous migration of Italians abroad is identified as laying the foundation for the transnational Risorgimento, which can only be successful when thinking beyond the Italian borders. Here again, the idea of nation-making from abroad comes into play, which attributes great importance to Italian exiles abroad and transnational exiles in Italy. These exiles were commonly stylised as martyrs sacrificing their lives for the unification and liberation of Italy in Mazzini's political writing, in which he introduces his idea of nationalism as a new religion to further justify the rightfulness and immediacy of the Italian cause, an idea that was also applicable to the political situation of Hungary in the nineteenth century. The publications of the Society focus on the parallels between the Italian and the Hungarian national struggles, both represented by one important statesman each, arguing: "[I]n the English mind no two European names were more closely linked together than those of Kossuth as the Hungarian, and Mazzini as the Italian patriot" ("Monthly Record.", No. IV, December 1851, 1). Thus, Kossuth and Mazzini function as patriots and transnational mediators of their countries' urge for unification and liberty, which gives these national movements a European scope and secures them a place on the European political agenda.

Lastly, this book concentrated on the growing immediacy of the Italian question in Britain as shown by the topic becoming the focus of the Society's publications and political agenda (1851 – 1853). In his monograph, Di Paola briefly summarized the history of Italian migration to Britain as follows: "[u]nlike other European countries, England consistently allowed free entry to religious and political refugees and consequently became one of the most prominent centres of political emigration in Europe", thereby foregrounding Britain's liberal politics towards exiles and political refugees in general (4). However, other European countries, especially Austria and France, arguably forced the Italian question onto Britain, requesting a restriction of rights for exiles and political refugees. Addressing the general British Italophilia, the Society portrays Italian migration as a visible sign of the Italian national movement and argues that these people who have experienced loss and trauma are seeking a new home abroad ("Tract No. IV." 10). In this context, the Society also considers the long tradition of peaceful coexistence of British and Italians in Britain as vital, while also acknowledging that the first wave of Italian migrants mostly came from the educated middle classes whereas, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, numerous unskilled Italians settled in Britain, most prominently, in London (Di Paola 19). Still, the Society's publications heavily promote the current British general opinion towards exiles and prepare their readers for the approaching general election in 1852 with the essential message that a departure from the liberal politics concerning exiles and refugees would take Britain to the same level as the other despotic countries surrounding it and Britain would lose its status as the "home of the free", which, up to now, represents Britain's status as

a politically stable and liberal world power ("Monthly Record.", No. VI, February 1852, 4).

To conclude, my cultural studies approach to three British social groups and three different formats of literary writing has shown that the discussion concerning the Italian national movement reached every part of Britain, whether rural or urban, in addition to every social class. Following this, certain motifs and rhetorical strategies based on solidarity, resurrection, and heroism turned into literary traditions as self-perpetuating methods for the mobilisation of support and sympathy among the British—whether at home or abroad. Additionally, the personal lives of the expatriate British poetesses grouped around Barrett Browning, in addition to Mazzini's and Garibaldi's biographies, together with numerous other Italian and British patriots who migrated to either country during the nineteenth century, are a strong indicator for the transnational scope of the Italian Risorgimento. Moreover, the fact that large parts of British society showed sympathy for the Italian cause and found ways of supporting it, whether actively by volunteering or in more passive ways such as financial support, had repercussions on the British popular culture and politics of the nineteenth century, as the analyses presented in this work have shown. My analyses were largely inspired by the research of Lucy Riall and Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, both historians and Risorgimento experts, to whose enlightening work on the Italian national movement my book adds a cultural and literary studies approach.

By identifying and interpreting a repertoire of rhetorical patterns and motifs in mid-nineteenth-century British (expatriate) literature, this book has demonstrated that rhetorical strategies centring on transnational solidarity, the resurrection of the Italian nation-state, and

heroism were crucial for acquiring British support and it has shown that these patterns permeated all areas of mid-nineteenth-century British popular culture. Thus, this book has narrowed the research gap on the transnational scope of the Italian Risorgimento identified by Janz and Riall in 2014 (1). The essential finding of this book is that this repertoire of motifs and potent rhetorical strategies that was coined in the mid-nineteenth century functioned to mobilise large parts of the British public in support of the Italian national movement and, in so doing, these strategies revitalised with new meaning the concepts of nationalism and transnational solidarity that had previously been drained by the long presence of foreign rulers in Italy and the fragmented state of the Italian country and nation. Furthermore, these rhetorical strategies and images turned into a literary tradition that remained of paramount importance for both Italian national and women's emancipation throughout the nineteenth century. Thus, this book has demonstrated that the creation of a British Risorgimento narrative was decisive for the success of the Italian national movement concerning various aspects, including the tradition of transnational solidarity, volunteering, Britain's liberal politics towards Italian exiles and political refugees, and the general Italophilia of the British, which had become part of mid-nineteenth and early twentieth-century British popular culture.

7. Appendix

7.1 The Newcastle Courant

The *Newcastle Courant* is the oldest weekly newspaper among the newspapers analysed in this book. It was established on 29 July 1711 by John White Jnr., which simultaneously made it the "oldest newspaper published north of the [river] Trent" (Milne 147 and "Newcastle Courant: With News Foreign and Domestick (1711-1902)" [*sic*] 446). In general, the *Newcastle Courant* was "[t]he second newspaper published in Newcastle and the second in the Northern Region (also the first successful newspaper as its only predecessor, the Newcastle Gazette, lasted only 2 years)" (Newsplan qtd. in "Newcastle Courant"). It was widely circulated in Newcastle, North and South Shields, Sunderland, Durham, and the Northern counties with an average weekly circulation number of 4,118 between 30 June 1840 and 30 June 1843 and more than 5,000 in 1848 (Mitchell qtd. in "Newcastle Courant", Milne 180 and "Newcastle Courant: With News Foreign and Domestick (1711-1902)" [*sic*] 447). The *Newcastle Courant* was published between August 1711 and June 1884, after which its title changed to the *Newcastle Weekly Courant* under Robert Redpath ("Newcastle Courant: With News Foreign and Domestick (1711-1902)" [*sic*] 447). In total, 8,381 issues of the *Newcastle Courant* appeared during the 173 years of its existence and were sold for 6d in 1806, which fell to 4 1/2d in 1838 ("Newcastle Courant" and "Newcastle Courant: With News Foreign and Domestick (1711-1902)" [*sic*] 447). While the *Newcastle Courant* was a conservative weekly newspaper, which "[a]dvocate[d] no party politics" and took "particular interest in the agricultural, shipping, and mining welfare of the district, and devote[d] some space to literature" it also reported on the Italian Risorgimento and the attitude of the British working class towards the

Italian cause throughout the nineteenth century (Pellegrino Sutcliffe, "Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861)" 130 and Mitchel qtd. in "Newcastle Courant").

7.2 The Morning Chronicle

Approximately fifty years after the *Newcastle Courant,* the *Morning Chronicle* was established by William Woodfall (between 1769 and 1770) as the *Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser,* a London daily newspaper. According to Mitchell's report from 1846, it "[a]dvocate[d] moderate constitutional liberalist apart from, and in opposition to, the more ultra and violent views of extreme, or 'radical' policy" (qtd. in "Morning Chronicle" and "Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 426). In the 1770s and 1780s, the *Morning Chronicle* supported the interests of manufacturers by, for example, promoting free trade and it reported extensively and in close detail about foreign affairs (Mitchell qtd. in "Morning Chronicle"). Until the end of the eighteenth century, the *Morning Chronicle* was a rather small newspaper, which was sold to James Perry in 1789 "for a few hundred pounds", yet, already by that time, it was "[o]ne of only nine daily newspapers, five of which were advertising journals and all of which were published in London, being published in Great Britain" (Aspinall qtd. in "Morning Chronicle" and Asquith 703). The year 1789 marked a turning point in the newspaper's development, not just due to its new owner but also concerning its political message as the *Morning Chronicle* became increasingly radical ("Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 426).

In his article, "Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790-1821", Ivon Asquith analyses the historical developments of the press in

general and specifically focuses on the progress of the *Morning Chronicle* under James Perry. Simkin and Asquith both characterise Perry as a strong Whig supporter and Asquith points to the fact that the *Morning Chronicle* became “the leading Whig daily newspaper” during the thirty years with Perry as owner and editor (Simkin n.p. and Asquith 703). This was also due to Perry’s selection of contributors to the newspaper, which included many famous radicals such as Richard Sheridan and Henry Brougham (Simkin n.p.). This new way of radical political reporting not only appealed to an ever-growing readership but also caused personal troubles for Perry, who had to defend himself in court various times and was even sent to Newgate Prison on one occasion (Simkin n.p.). Barker argues that “Perry’s constant advocacy of Whig principles kept [the] Morning Chronicle in the eye as the leading opposition paper in the 1790s and early nineteenth century” (Barker qtd. in “Morning Chronicle”). Hence, the newspaper kept its radical political focus and published critical articles on topics such as parliamentary reform and foreign affairs, which lead to an increase in sales, so that the newspaper “had a circulation of 7,000” by 1810 and “Perry was now able to recruit Britain’s best radical journalists, including William Hazlitt and Charles Lamb” (Simkin n.p.). Jones even hails the *Morning Chronicle* as “London’s leading daily” newspaper “[a]t the beginning of the nineteenth century”, indicating that the times of low sales numbers were over (Jones qtd. in “Morning Chronicle”). The newspaper’s political focus and the political background of its owner and contributors resulted in the fact that its readership mostly consisted of “Whig or opposition supporters” (Harris qtd. in “Morning Chronicle”).

In 1821, when James Perry sold the *Morning Chronicle* to John Black, its capital value had risen to 42,000 British pounds, which

demonstrates that the radical political focus secured the newspaper a large readership and high sales volumes compared to the 1770s when Perry bought it for less than 1,000 pounds (Asquith 703). Black recruited Henry Mayhew, James Grant, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Dickens for the *Morning Chronicle,* who manifested a critical political way of reporting on the one hand, and a broad variety of topics and fields of interest on the other (Simkin). Mill views Black "as the first journalist who carried criticism and the spirit of reform into the details of English institutions" and describes him as "the writer who carried the warfare into these subjects", thereby stressing the importance of radical political writing in the periodical press and highlighting Black's significance as an inspiring role model in this context (Simkin n.p.). Black was succeeded by William Innell Clement and John Easthope (1834), also strong Whig supporters, "to wage a war against *The Times"* ("Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 426). By 1836, the *Morning Chronicle* had become a four-page daily that was sold for a considerable amount of 7d ("Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 427).

In 1849, "Henry Mayhew suggested to the editor, John Doubles Cook, that the newspaper should carry out an investigation into the condition of the labouring classes in England and Wales", to which Cook agreed and sent out a team of journalists for this undertaking (Mitchell qtd. in "Moring Chronicle" and Simkin n.p.). Mayhew was inspired by this initial idea to discuss it in greater detail in his famous monograph *London Labour and London Poor,* which was published in 1851 ("Morning Chronicle"). According to Simkin's article, this "was the first time in history that a project like this was undertaken by the newspaper" (n.p.). The considerable effort that was made to undertake a sociological survey of the working classes in England and Wales demonstrates the class-

transcending interest of the *Morning Chronicle* and is only one example of its inclusive character, which is also visible in the *Morning Chronicle* being the first English newspaper to employ a woman in 1848 ("Morning Chronicle"). In a later publication from 1851, Mitchell describes that the *Morning Chronicle* "is favourable to popular education; and has strongly advocated the necessity of state interference, for the purpose of improving the quality of that instruction which is given to the schools devoted to the children of the working classes" relying on the assumption that better education might reduce crime rates and increase these children's opportunities in life, which also highlights the class-transcending aspect of the newspaper (Mitchell qtd. in "Morning Chronicle"). Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, the *Morning Chronicle* had developed into a widely read daily London newspaper, which offered a broad variety of topics ranging from short stories and reviews of theatre plays to court and parliamentary reports and foreign affairs to a large readership while maintaining its radical character. Many of its political views were crucial for its reporting on the Italian Risorgimento and the way these articles presented information on the Italian cause to a specific segment of the British readership. According to Simkin and the Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland (DNCJ), the *Morning Chronicle* was last published in 1862, although the British Newspaper Archive mentions 1865 as the last year in which the daily newspaper was issued (Simkins n.p., DNCJ, "Morning Chronicle (1770-1862)" 427 and "Morning Chronicle"). During the roughly 100 years of its existence, 18,432 issues of the daily newspaper were published ("Morning Chronicle").

7.3 The Times

Twenty years after the radical *Morning Chronicle* ceased its publication, *The Times*, one of Britain's most impactful and still-running daily newspapers was founded in London. It is commonly regarded as one of the "big three" British newspapers next to *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* and was originally called *The Daily Universal Register* when its first issue was published on 1 January 1785 by its owner, John Walter ("The Times" and Reid n.p.). The newspaper's name was changed to *The Times* in 1788. Since 1785, the newspaper addressed a wide range of topics as Walter aimed to attract a broad readership by reporting on political debates, amusements, and trade. From 1788 onwards*, The Times* began to publish commercial news as well as scandals, which secured it an even larger readership (Reid n.p.). The success the paper achieved under John Walter continued, when his son John Walter II, "took over the newspaper and expanded it from 4 pages to 12 large pages" in 1803, although *The Times* only became one of Britain's most impactful daily newspapers when John Walter III took over the ownership of the newspaper in 1848 (Reid n.p.).

In the mid-nineteenth century, *The Times* became known for its high standards of reporting and its traditional accuracy, in addition to its independent, strong, and outspoken editorial views ("The Times"). Consequently, the daily newspaper was also regarded as a reliable source by other contemporary newspapers and as having a notable influence on British public opinion (Reid n.p.). This explains why *The Times's* coverage of the Italian Risorgimento in the mid- to late nineteenth century is also interesting to examine for the rhetorical strategies, images, and metaphors it used to convey a certain message to its British readers, which sometimes contained an ironic tone. Furthermore, *The Times'*

popularity is visible in its circulation numbers, which rose from 5,000 in 1815 to an average circulation of 42,384 copies per year in 1852 ("The Times" and Reid n.p.). From 1861 to 1914, the paper was sold at a rather high price of 3d, even though its popularity was troubled by financial problems during that time ("The Times (1785-)" 628). After four generations of the Walter family, *The Times* was purchased by Lord Northcliff, owner of the *Daily Mail* in 1908, who slowly restored the financial success of the daily newspaper, although the paper's editorial reputation faced significant challenges until Lord Northcliff died in 1922 after which *The Times* was sold to John Jacob Astor, son of the first Viscount Astor of *The Observer* ("The Times" n.p. and Reid n.p.). The changing owners of *The Times* coincided with problems with overspending and the leaking of a forgery against the Irish nationalist politician, Charles Stewart Parnell, marking a time of serious struggle and low circulation numbers for the otherwise so well-reputed daily in the late nineteenth century (Reid n.p.). Sir William Haley, later director general of the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC), became the newspaper's editor during the 1950s and worked hard to restore *The Times'* success, adjusting the paper's topics according to the current interests of its readership and modernizing the layout of the daily newspaper, before it was sold to the Canadian media entrepreneur Roy Thomson in 1966, who later sold it to Rupert Murdoch in 1981, under whom the daily newspaper briefly ceased publication from December 1978 to November 1979 ("The Times" n.p. and Reid n.p.). After this short break, *The Times* returned in November 1979, selling 200,000 additional copies than before the break, and also its sister weekly, *The Sunday Times,* which was first published in 1866 under Murdoch, became highly

successful and advanced to being the most widely-sold British national high-quality paper (Reid).

7.4 The Liverpool Mercury

In 1811, *The Liverpool Mercury* was established as a weekly newspaper by Egerton Smith ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). Whereas various scholarly sources are found that examine *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the *Newcastle Courant*, *The Times,* and the *Morning Chronicle*, it is hard to find reliable information on the historical development of *The Liverpool Mercury* apart from the description provided in The British Newspaper Archive, which is surprising as the "paper could claim in its regular advert that the weekly 2nd edition of the paper contained 'seventy-two long columns making it one of the largest newspapers in the world' by 1880" ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). Throughout the nineteenth century, *The Liverpool Mercury* became known as a liberal reformist weekly newspaper which aimed at "continual and peaceful progress" ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.).[146] After the death of Egerton Smith in 1841, the newspaper was inherited by his widow and son and a "limited company named after Smith was […] established with business partners" ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the newspaper greatly expanded, which was also since Liverpool as an industrialised coastal city grew significantly throughout the nineteenth century, counting a population of 77,000 in 1801 which increased to 700,000 towards the end of the century, "as the city absorbed workers seeking employment on ships, in its docks and allied industries" ("The

[146] *The Liverpool Mercury's* proprietors described their aims as such in the issue from 1 January 1850.

Capital of Drinking" n.p.). Moreover, the newspaper's circulation was no longer limited to Liverpool and its "surrounding rural areas of Lancashire and Cheshire," but now also reached Wales, the Isle of Man, and London ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.).

Thus, *The Liverpool Mercury* had to compete with other British daily newspapers as well as newspapers from overseas in the cities and it became known for its detailed and critical "coverage of local social issues" in both urban and rural areas ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). The British Newspaper Archive reports that "[r]egular columns, such as those by Hugh Shimmin", a Liverpool local artist, "in 1855-1856, exposed the poverty and degradation of urban life", foregrounding one of the severe socio-political problems Liverpool and the surrounding areas faced in the nineteenth century ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). In his monograph, *The Licenced City: Regulating Drink in Liverpool, 1830-1920,* David Beckingham identifies crime, unsanitary living conditions, and poverty as the three greatest problems of nineteenth-century Liverpool (1-26). These socio-political issues were frequently addressed in *The Liverpool Mercury*, especially from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, when editors published critical articles on these topics to "lead political campaigns for housing, public health and moral reform in Liverpool", which uncovers the radical notion of the newspaper at this particular time in history ("Liverpool Mercury" n.p.). As the previous description has shown, *The Liverpool Mercury* focused especially on the situation of the working class in Liverpool and its surrounding areas, although it also frequently reported on the ongoing Italian Risorgimento around the mid-nineteenth century, introducing Giuseppe Garibaldi as a man of both the working class and the Italian cause to its British readership. Hence, common nineteenth-century socio-political working-class issues were

retraced in the Italian national movement in the articles of *The Liverpool Mercury,* so that it developed a similar radical approach to the Italian Risorgimento as it did to local problems and deficiencies. *The Liverpool Mercury* ceased publication in 1990. Until then, 15,294 issues of the daily newspaper were published.

7.5 Reynolds's Newspaper

As the youngest of the four newspapers analysed here, *Reynolds's Newspaper* was founded by novelist and radical journalist George William MacArthur Reynolds on 5 May 1850 as *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper,* subsequently changed its name to *Reynolds's Newspaper* in February 1851, and "soon became a very successful Sunday newspaper, especially in the North of England", the same region that the conservative weekly newspaper the *Newcastle Courant* covered widely ("Reynolds News" p.m. and "Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851); Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 540). While it was initially sold at 4d, the price decreased to 1p after the repeal of the newspaper stamp regulations, which also made the newspaper affordable for members of the working class ("Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851); Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 540). The Sunday radical weekly newspaper began "as a Chartist organ", was sold at one penny and attracted a large working-class readership (Brophy qtd. in "Reynolds News" n.p.). In his monograph, *The Metropolitan Weekly and Provincial Press,* from 1872, James Grant assumes the *Reynolds's Newspaper* to have a weekly circulation of 350,000 copies, which decreased to 300,000 per week by the time of the newspaper's founder's death in 1879 (Grant 97 and King n.p.). The DNCJ suggests a circulation of over 200,000 copies per week at home and abroad by the 1870s ("Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851);

Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 541). Although its circulation numbers decreased, Engel mentions the newspaper as one of the "most widely read paper[s] of Victorian England, superseding Bell's Life, the Weekly Dispatch and the Weekly Chronicle" and the Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland claims that "it was the most popular post-Chartist radical newspaper until at least the twentieth century", which highlights the remarkable success of *Reynolds's Newspaper* in the nineteenth century (qtd. in "Reynolds's Newspaper" and "Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851); Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 541).

In "British Red Shirts: A History of the Garibaldini Volunteers (1860)", Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe argues that, from the mid-nineteenth century, *Reynolds's Newspaper* remained "for many decades republican, indeed Mazzinian, both in tone and style", narrowing down the newspaper's radical lens to the ongoing Italian national movement which was largely supported by the British (207). Grant further stresses that the newspaper's "circulation in the manufacturing districts, where the democratic sentiments are almost universal among the working classes, is great" and he argues that "[t]here is no paper in her Majesty's dominions in which democratic principles are advocated with the same boldness and vigour as in *Reynolds's Newspaper",* foregrounding the newspaper's radical character (97). This point of view is shared by Mitchell, who, in 1854, stated that *Reynolds's Newspaper* "[a]dvocates the widest possible measures of reform" and "is now the leading working man's newspaper" and Ellegård, who in his 1971 article "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain: II. Directory", examines the readership and characteristics of various nineteenth-century newspapers and depicts *Reynolds's Newspaper* as "[t]he most

outspokenly radical paper of the day" (Grant qtd. in "Reynolds's Newspaper" and Ellegård 7). Moreover, Grant's analysis of *Reynolds's Newspaper* focuses on the high quality and readability of the paper even though it is a radical weekly mostly read by the northern English working class (98). According to Grant, its broad array of topics, reaching from mostly radical political issues, with a special focus on foreign news, to a weekly paragraph on gardening must have been carefully chosen and intelligently edited (98 and Brophy qtd. in "Reynolds's Newspaper").

In this point, Mitchell's description of the newspaper largely contrasts Grant's, as he argues that there "is a great deal of strong nervous writing in this journal, thickly spiced with abuse of the privileged orders, which causes it to be eagerly read by a certain class" (qtd. in "Reynolds's Newspaper"). Through its choice of topics and ways of presenting them, the newspaper implemented a "mixture of radical politics, practical advice and gossip", thus mirroring the popular interests of the time and personally engaging with its readers ("Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851); Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 541). The focus on the readers' interest is also visible in the analysis of Mitchell, who admits that "[t]he news and literary departments of the paper are respectably conducted; and, but for its violent politics, it might be characterised as a good family paper" (qtd. in "Reynolds's Newspaper"). Whereas Grant and Mitchell reduce the newspaper's readership to a working-class background, Ellegård also includes the lower middle classes, as long as the readers shared a radically democratic political opinion and a lower educational background (7). Scholarly research on the newspaper also disagrees concerning the political agenda of *Reynolds's Newspaper,* which Ellegård defines as radically democratic while Grant, McLaughlin-Jenkins, and the Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and

Ireland characterise it as taking on a radical republican position (Grant 97, McLaughlin-Jenkins 446 and "Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper (1850-1851); Reynolds's Newspaper (1851-1967)" 540). However, all scholars agree on the radical political character of *Reynolds's Newspaper.*

When it comes to the newspaper's historical development, the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Bradford offer valuable details on the publication and development of the *Reynolds's Newspaper* during its 115 years of publication, beginning with the fact that "[t]he Reynolds family retained the paper until 1894, when, under proprietor Sir Henry Dalziel and editor William Thompson, "Reynolds Newspaper" became the Sunday paper that reflect [*sic*] the Liberal Party's views" ("Reynolds News" n.p.). Bradford's Special Collections indicate that the newspaper changed its name eight times in total and was called *Reynolds's Newspaper* from 16 February 1851 to 23 February 1923, which includes the period of the Italian Risorgimento and the subsequent analysis of reports of the Italian unification in the newspaper as presented in this book ("Reynolds News" n.p.). According to the British Newspaper Archive, 4,611 issues of the weekly newspaper were published between 1850 and 1938 ("Reynolds Newspaper" n.p.).

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