

Department of Humanities, Northumbria University

Honours Dissertation

Tyneside and the Italian Risorgimento, 1848–1861

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List of Abbreviations

MP= Member of Parliament

The titles of the following newspapers are shortened:

Daily Chronicle and Northern Counties Advertiser/ Newcastle Daily Chronicle= Daily Chronicle

Durham County Advertiser/Durham Advertiser = Advertiser

Gateshead and County of Durham Observer/ Gateshead Observer= Observer

Newcastle Chronicle (weekly)= Chronicle

Newcastle Courant = Courant

Newcastle Guardian= Guardian

Newcastle Journal= Journal

Northern Tribune= Tribune

North and South Shields Gazette and Northumberland and Durham Advertiser/ Shields

Gazette= Gazette

Northern Weekly Standard= Weekly Standard

Introduction

The Risorgimento was the movement dedicated to Italian national ideas, and the insurrections and wars committed by its supporters, which unified Italy.¹ Post-Restoration it developed in opposition to Austrian domination, and by 1848 was a truly national movement, as demonstrated by the anti-Austrian alliance of the Pope, reactionary Naples, conservative Piedmont, moderates and democrats. However, this alliance broke down, and Pius IX issued an allocution stating he would never support the Risorgimento.² This dealt the Neo-Guelph idea of a Papal-led Italian confederation a 'fatal blow'.³ Moderates then began to rally behind Piedmont, which maintained the last Italian constitution.⁴ However the republicans held the initiative at the start of the period, with their heroic struggles in Venice and Rome.

While mid-nineteenth century Tyneside had an influential radical community, the region was politically dominated by the Liberal-Whigs, due to the limited franchise. During the years under examination all but one MP returned for Tyneside was a Liberal.⁵ Tyneside had a large Catholic community, consisting of working-class Irish Famine immigrants and the old gentry.⁶ Understanding this community is important as reactions to the Risorgimento were heavily influenced by the religious dimensions of the Italian question. This dissertation will concentrate on Tyneside's urban population, as it left more of an archival record.

Tyneside's engagement with the Risorgimento has been well-documented, with the works of Sutcliffe especially providing a valuable account. The works of Allen and Todd on Joseph Cowen also provide a detailed analysis of the reactions of Tyneside radicals to events in Italy. However, in doing

¹ Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society, and National Unification* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p.1

² Harry Hearder, *Italy in the Age of Risorgimento 1790-1870* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), p.203

³ Martin Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 2nd Edition (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1998), p.56

⁴ Spencer M. Di Scala, *Italy from Revolution to Republic 1700 to the Present*, 4th Edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2009), p.81

⁵ See Appendix 1

⁶ Thomas J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North East 1832-1874* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1975), p.20

so, they do not provide an in-depth analysis of more moderate support for the Risorgimento. Most works minimise the split between liberals, who only began to truly support rather than sympathise with Italy in 1859, and the radicals who were committed earlier. This dissertation will clarify these differing positions. The opposition to the Risorgimento has received far less coverage among historians of the North East. While Bush's *"Papists"* provides an in-depth examination of the Catholic opposition, there is little written on conservative or moderate liberal opposition.

As this dissertation explores, numerous regional newspapers provide insight into the opinions of the élites responsible for their publication, and an idea of what the working-class used to form their own opinions, as they have left relatively little record of their attitudes. Most regional newspapers were liberal, and, apart from the short-lived *Northern Tribune*, radicals would not have their own newspaper until 1859 when Cowen assumed control of the *Daily Chronicle*.⁷ However, conservative papers such as the *Newcastle Journal* and *Newcastle Courant* are available to provide an alternate view of events.

Chapter one will examine reactions to the 1848 war and the Roman struggle of 1849. It will demonstrate that the latter received far greater attention due to its religious and political connotations. It will highlight how the institution of the Catholic Hierarchy greatly strengthened popular 'No Popery' and examine how this affected the opinions of a minority of liberal Catholics who had previously been willing to sacrifice the Papacy's temporal power. It will further demonstrate that following the creation of the Hierarchy liberals were more enthusiastic in their support for the Risorgimento, as demonstrated by reactions to the Gavazzi lectures and the persecution of the Madiari.

Chapter two will concentrate on the rise of clear radical support for the Risorgimento, demonstrated in the 1854 Garibaldi visit, the response to the Address of the Italian working-men, and the reaction to the Jessie Mario lectures. The chapter will also demonstrate that liberal sympathy still existed, despite a reduction in the strength of 'No Popery', as evidenced by the

⁷ See Appendix 3

response to the Orsini lecture. The chapter will also show the split between liberal support for the Piedmontese monarchy and radical support for Mazzini became clear from 1854 to 1858.

The final chapter will show that the 1859 war was received with lukewarm feelings by liberals, due to their distrust of Napoleon's intentions, and by the radicals for the same reason, as well as their distrust of Piedmont. It will demonstrate that the Liberal-Whig elites began to show support for the Risorgimento, even if it was muted. The chapter will also show that Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily brought fervent support from all liberal and radical sectors, with a small number of volunteers even taking up arms in the struggle. Furthermore, it will show that, while other British conservatives began to demonstrate support for this endeavour, Tyneside conservatives were still largely hostile.

This dissertation will argue that for the most part Tyneside supported the Risorgimento. Radicals supported the Mazzinian movement, and at points helped to finance or arm it. At first, liberals were only sympathetic to the Italian struggle, especially when it opposed the Papacy. Even when this sympathy began to translate into support in 1859, it was support for independence, and the strengthening of Piedmont, rather than unity. The rise of 'No Popery' and the fallout of 1848-1849 left the majority of Tyneside Catholics in opposition to the Risorgimento, as both of its strands, and their sympathisers in England, began to show open hostility to the Papacy. The initial conservative reaction was muted, until the mania of 1860. The Crawshay case highlighted opposition to the Risorgimento's republican tendencies and the belief that the Mazzinians were linked to Russia. The support and contributions of Tyneside to the Risorgimento were greater than any other region in Britain, due to the interactions of the powerful radical and liberal communities, who both came to support the anti-Papal stance of the Risorgimento, and its ideas of international brotherhood and solidarity, in opposition to Britain's despotic enemies.

Chapter One: Rome, liberal sympathy and No Popery, 1848-

1853

The 1848 Italian War of Independence received no official consideration on Tyneside beyond newspaper articles. The *Newcastle Guardian* was mildly positive on the role of Sardinia and the Pope, stating that Charles Albert of Piedmont 'headed' the effort to 'emancipate Italy', while acknowledging the war was born 'partly out of the liberal policy' of Pius IX.⁸ While the *Gateshead Observer* had similar accolades for the Pope, it called the actions of Piedmont's 'intractable' citizens in driving their 'hot-headed' king back into war with Austria, 'pugnacious in the extreme'.⁹ As Piedmont had not undergone constitutional reforms, Tyneside liberals did not overtly support it. In an 1849 meeting to discuss Rome, the prominent liberal John Fife demonstrated this when he argued that 'had Charles Albert played a nobler part, Italy might have freed herself'.¹⁰ It is true that the actions of the House of Savoy lent credence to the view that the war was one of Piedmontese aggrandisement, and this helped seal the collapse of the Italian alliance.¹¹ This lack of Tyneside liberal affinity was also shown in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, which called Tuscany 'the best governed' Italian state.¹² This view was likely due to Tuscan tolerance towards Protestants.¹³ While this would change due to the anti-Protestant reaction in Tuscany post-1848, it further highlights that from 1848 to 1849 Tyneside liberals were not fully opposed to the Catholic Church in Italy, or fully behind Piedmont.¹⁴ While the 'thralldom and bondage' of Austria was almost universally opposed, Catholics and despots made up both sides of the war, so there was no state or hero to rally behind, and Tyneside liberals, and even radicals, paid little

⁸ *Newcastle Guardian*, 7 July 1849

⁹ *Gateshead Observer*, 7 Apr. 1849

¹⁰ *Guardian*, 14 July 1849

¹¹ Di Scala, *Italy from Revolution to Republic 1700 to the Present*, p.94

¹² *Newcastle Chronicle*, 15 Sep. 1848

¹³ D. G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.15

¹⁴ *Ibid*

attention to events in Italy.¹⁵ The conservative papers paid even less heed. The *Journal* merely stated the existence of an 'alliance offensive and defensive' of 'all the Italian states' against Austria.¹⁶

The 1849 Roman struggle eclipsed the concurrent Venetian endeavour, which lacked the religious and political connotations of the Pope and the French intervention.¹⁷ Liberal sympathy for Rome began to be expressed, albeit in conjunction with, and subordinated to, sympathy for the Hungarian patriots. This was demonstrated by two Newcastle Lecture Hall meetings. The first, on 6 July, was chaired by Fife, supported by the prominent liberal George Crawshay.¹⁸ The stated intention of the meeting was to assist Hungarian exiles, while also 'expressing sympathy' with the Roman patriots.¹⁹ The *Courant* admitted that the meeting was 'crowded', but the *Guardian* went further, describing the meeting as 'one of the largest, most enthusiastic, and influential ever held in Newcastle'.²⁰ Regardless, it is certain that a large attendance was present to express their sympathy. Reverend G. Bell moved a resolution which disapproved of the conduct of the French expedition.²¹ The resolution passed with only one dissentient, but it was the only practical result in relation to Italy, beyond Fife's positive statements, and Crawshay's defence of the 'character of Mazzini'.²² The second meeting was held on 19 November, to aid Hungarian refugees, and 'express an opinion on the affairs of Italy'.²³ It was once again chaired by Fife, with the support of Crawshay and the Catholic orator Charles Larkin.²⁴ It was crowded to the point where 'hundreds had to stand'.²⁵ Crawshay concentrated on the plight of the Hungarians, then Larkin gave a two-hour speech, which, while defending the spiritual power of the Pope as 'of enormous consequence', was strongly disparaging of the Papacy's temporal power, and its 'arrogant loftiness of pretensions to an absolute despotism'.²⁶ Larkin

¹⁵ *Guardian*, 9 Dec. 1848

¹⁶ *Newcastle Journal*, 15 Apr. 1848

¹⁷ Demonstrated by a general reading of the regional newspapers

¹⁸ *Newcastle Courant*, 13 July 1849

¹⁹ *Guardian*, 14 July 1849

²⁰ *Courant*, 13 July 1849

²¹ *Guardian*, 14 July 1849

²² *Courant*, 13 July 1849

²³ *Journal*, 24 Nov. 1849

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ *Courant*, 23 Nov. 1849

²⁶ *Guardian*, 24 Nov. 1849 and *Chronicle*, 23 Nov. 1849

forwarded a motion, which passed with only two dissentients, memorialising the meeting's 'regret' over the French expedition, and its 'forcible putting down' of the Republic.²⁷ While the meeting provided a fund to aid the Hungarians, it had no practical effects for Rome.²⁸ While the Newcastle meetings were not unique, they were seen by the *Shields Gazette* as amongst the 'most important' in the country, due to the enthusiasm of those in attendance.²⁹

Historians have traditionally agreed that public opinion in Britain only became 'sensitive to the Italians plight' after the French intervention.³⁰ While Sutcliffe mentions that revisionist historians have begun to challenge this interpretation, the attitude of press reporting and the expressions of the meetings demonstrate that on Tyneside at least, the traditional view holds true.³¹ Liberal opinion before 1850 concentrated on sympathy for particular incidents, not for the general struggle of Italy. As Shankland states, 'appalled sympathy for the victims' of French and Austrian oppression was clearly demonstrated, while support for the Risorgimento movement was not.³²

The fact that Larkin took an anti-temporal stance, at a time when the Pope had been driven from Rome, demonstrates Bush's argument that Tyneside Catholics were 'firmly united' against any change to the temporal status, as they saw the question of spiritual and temporal power as 'one and the same', requires slight adjustment, as there were initially some who viewed them separately.³³ Indeed, Larkin stated he regarded the two as 'inconsistent', and argued that in exile the Pontiff was dependent 'on the alms of Christian nations', rather than on 'arms'.³⁴ However, Newcastle Catholics did open a 'collection in aid of the exiled pontiff', which raised £92.8s.9d., and soon spread to the rest of the Northern District, with the 'zeal' of the people in making their contributions being honoured by

²⁷ For the dissentients see *Courant*, 23 Nov.1849 For 'regret' see *Chronicle*, 23 Nov. 1849

²⁸ *Chronicle*, 23 Nov.1849

²⁹ *Shields Gazette*, 13 July1849

³⁰ Marcella P. Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Royal Historical Society by the Boydell Press, 2014), pp.58-59

³¹ *Ibid*, p.58

³² Hugh Shankland, *Out of Italy: The Story of Italians in North East England* (Kibworth Beauchamp: Troubador Publishing Ltd, 2014), p.49

³³ Jonathon Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845-70* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp.111-113

³⁴ *Guardian*, 24 Nov.1849

the District Vicar Apostolic and Pius IX.³⁵ An address from the laity and clergy of the District, which included Tyneside, was sent to the Pope in 1849. It was not unique, as similar addresses came from the other Districts. However, the Northern Address gave the clearest defence of the temporal power, calling for the 'glorious and happy return' of the 'Father and Prince' to Rome, to make it 'once more united and happy'.³⁶ The address demonstrates that, amongst the clergy at least, the defence of the spiritual and temporal as one and the same on Tyneside, and in the North-East in general, was absolute from as early as 1849. The enthusiasm of the laity is more difficult to judge, as the use of a signature of support for the address was deemed voluntary, 'not necessary'; with a lack of dissent regarded as showing acceptance.³⁷ However, it is certain that Larkin represented no more than a minority of liberal Catholics on Tyneside, and these few supporters did not make themselves heard, in the way the regional Church made its opposition to the Risorgimento's assault on the Papacy known. The vast majority of the laity almost certainly sided with the Church. This was because the Risorgimento movement was seen as an attack on not just the temporal dominions, but the Church itself by most Catholics, from the Pope down.³⁸ Sutcliffe is somewhat overstating it when she argues that Pius IX's Allocution of 1848 had made the Risorgimento an anti-Catholic cause 'overnight'.³⁹ Riall's point that that the events of 1848-9 destroyed 'the hope of reconciling Roman Catholicism and Italian nationalism' is the more apt one.⁴⁰ As a result of the anti-liberal Papal reaction following the fall of Rome, and the Protestant response to that reaction, a firm division was drawn on Tyneside over the religious and political question of Italy, which would soon guarantee the opposition of even the handful of liberal Catholics.

³⁵ For the 'collection' see *Guardian*, 10 Mar. 1849 For the collection total see *Gazette*, 18 May 1849, Number 13 For the 'zeal' and honour see William Hogarth, *Letter to the Clergy*, 29 Nov. 1849, RCD 1/11/14

³⁶ *Address of the Clergy and Laity of the Northern District to His Holiness Pope Pius IX*, 1 Mar. 1849, RCD 1/11/28

³⁷ William Hogarth, *Letter to the Clergy*, 1 Mar. 1849, RCD 1/11/28

³⁸ *Encyclical Letter of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth*, 13 Feb. 1860, RCD 1/16 and Owain Wright, *British Foreign Policy and the Italian Occupation of Rome, 1870*, *The International History Review*, vol. 34, no. 1 (March 2012), p.163

³⁹ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.61

⁴⁰ Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento*, pp.67-68

On 29 September 1850 Pius IX instituted a territorial church hierarchy in England.⁴¹ This fuelled widespread anti-Catholicism, with No Popery making a strong impact on Tyneside.⁴² Interest in Italian affairs increased significantly as a result, and as the Risorgimento had become an 'anticlerical movement', support began to be exhibited for it.⁴³ Bush argues that during the 'early 1850s anti-Catholicism and Radical internationalism essentially combined'.⁴⁴ He refers to the enthusiastic reaction to the Gavazzi lectures, where these attitudes were 'particularly evident'.⁴⁵ He is correct to do so, although liberal internationalism would be the far more apt terminology, as the support being demonstrated was for ideas of liberty and mixed-monarchy, not radical democracy or republicanism. The apostate monk Gavazzi lectured across the North-East in 1851, with his 3rd lecture in Newcastle, on 13 October, providing the clearest consolidation of his religious and political views on Italy.⁴⁶ It was chaired by Fife, supported by Crawshay and Reverends J. Pringle and G. Harris.⁴⁷ Liberal and conservative papers were incredibly positive in their reporting. The *Journal* went as far as to say that 'seldom' had 'so great a sensation' been made by the presence a 'single individual'.⁴⁸ The lecture was well attended, with the *Guardian* describing the Lecture Hall as 'filled to overflowing', and the *Courant* acknowledging the audience as 'numerous'.⁴⁹ Both the *Chronicle* and the *Journal* described the audience at Gavazzi's lectures as respectable.⁵⁰ Thus, an anti-Catholic lecture on Italy drew not just the appeal of many, but the appeal of both conservative and liberal elites. In the lecture, Gavazzi called for Italian independence, and the 'liberty to establish a free government'.⁵¹ He stated 'we' (Italians) 'do not want...Socialism...Communism...Republicanism'.⁵² He also decried the 'aim of Popery' as 'discord and slavery of mankind', and claimed to speak the 'sentiments of the...moderate men of

⁴¹ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, p.8

⁴² *Ibid*, p.10

⁴³ Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, p.57

⁴⁴ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.114

⁴⁵ *Ibid*

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

⁴⁷ *Guardian*, 18 Oct.1851

⁴⁸ *Journal*, 11 Oct.1851

⁴⁹ *Guardian*, 18 Oct.1851 and *Courant*, 17 Oct.1851

⁵⁰ *Chronicle*, 17 Oct.1851 and *Journal*, 11 Oct.1851

⁵¹ *Journal*, 18 Oct 1851

⁵² *Ibid*

Italy'.⁵³ This he certainly did, as he praised Piedmont as the only state where 'an Italian heart...beats in the government', and it was Piedmont that Italian moderates had rallied behind, due to its ongoing constitutional reforms.⁵⁴ It was the combination of the anti-Catholic, the pro-Piedmont and the anti-socialist, which led the audiences at the Gavazzi lectures, especially those of a liberal persuasion, to listen, 'rivetted...with sympathetic delight'.⁵⁵ While the lectures were a form of popular entertainment, there is no doubt of the enthusiasm of the attendees for the message being presented; that the Risorgimento involved fighting for English-style religious and political freedoms, against Popish and Austrian tyranny.⁵⁶

The reaction to the Gavazzi lectures highlight key changes in the thinking of Tyneside liberals, and to some extent, conservatives. No Popery had hardened opinions of the Papacy, whose spiritual power was now placed on the same level of disgust as the temporal.⁵⁷ The struggle of Italian patriots against the Papal temporal power became understandable, as English Protestants saw themselves as being oppressed in their own country by the political power of the Pope, in what they perceived to be the same manner as in Italy, and thus the Italian struggle became more attractive.⁵⁸ Indeed, Gavazzi had pointed out, in a North Shields lecture, that the English were previously 'little acquainted' with the Italian question, and argued that it was the 'aggression' of the Pope 'on their own national independence' which drew them 'forcibly' onto the issue.⁵⁹ Wright argues this was true for the British working-class in general, with the 'association of the Pope with temporal despotism' being responsible for their rising 'sympathy for the Italian national cause'.⁶⁰ An increased respectability of the Italian cause is demonstrated by the fact that in the early 1850s Mazzini was an acceptable figure to many in British society. A *Guardian* report following the failed 1853 Mazzinian uprising in Milan, stated no

⁵³ *Chronicle*, 17 Oct. 1851 and *Ibid*

⁵⁴ For Gavazzi's statement see *Guardian*, 18 Oct. 1851 For a demonstration of the historiographical agreement on moderates rallying to Piedmont, see Di Scala, *Italy from Revolution to Republic*, p.81

⁵⁵ *Chronicle*, 10 Oct.1851

⁵⁶ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, pp.25-26

⁵⁷ *Guardian*, 9 Nov. 1850 and *Journal*, 2 Nov. 1850

⁵⁸ C. T., McIntire, *England Against the Papacy 1858-1861* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.31

⁵⁹ *Gazette*, 17 Oct.1851

⁶⁰ Wright, 'British Foreign Policy and the Italian Occupation of Rome', p.168

leader ever displayed 'civil courage and moral firmness to...a more eminent degree'.⁶¹ At the time Mazzini was associated with the defence of Rome, which had changed 'relations between the Italian Risorgimento and the Protestant world'.⁶² Also, as Sutcliffe argues, the fall of Rome was seen to have 'averted' the Republican 'threat' in Italy.⁶³ As a result, Mazzini's popularity was initially able to spread to not just liberals, with their 'growing sympathies' for Italy, but to 'more conservative observers' who opposed the twin French-Papal threat.⁶⁴ Mazzini was not overtly linked to anti-monarchism, so, as Claeys states, his 'noble' and 'distant' cause, enabled the British to take pride in 'the superiority' of their mixed monarchy to continental models, while, as Sutcliffe argues, interacting with the 'carefully crafted' message of Mazzini, which appealed to their ideas of 'liberty and humanity'.⁶⁵ The Risorgimento became appealing, due to the intersection of anti-Catholic and pro-liberal arguments. As Bush puts it, Italy was a land where 'Catholic persecution and political despotisms were very much entwined', so Gavazzi's proclaimed aims for the Risorgimento, 'national independence, the fall of Popery, and the extirpation of the Jesuits' were well received on Tyneside by the majority of Protestants.⁶⁶ Bush argues that No Popery with Risorgimento overtones received 'a great deal more attention' on Tyneside than elsewhere.⁶⁷ While the *Gazette* stated that the enthusiasm of the regional response to Gavazzi was 'unparalleled', this is an exaggeration, as Gavazzi was attended by crowds in other places, including London and Edinburgh.⁶⁸ The response of Tyneside liberals to the Risorgimento in the early 1850s was not particularly unique.

A Newcastle Guildhall meeting on 16 March 1853 further demonstrated the hardened religious divide on Tyneside created by the Risorgimento. Two Protestant Tuscans, the Madiari, had

⁶¹ *Guardian*, 19 Feb.1853

⁶² Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.62

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.77

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.77 and p.82

⁶⁵ Gregory Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism, 1848-1854', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 28. No. 3 (1989), pp.231 and 76

⁶⁶ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.109 and *Chronicle*, 17 Oct. 1851

⁶⁷ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.110

⁶⁸ *Gazette*, 10 Oct.1851, *Reynold's Newspaper*, 2 Mar. 1851 and *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 Aug. 1851

been imprisoned for reading the scriptures.⁶⁹ An 'extensively signed requisition' of 'influential' names led the mayor, N. G. Lambert, to convene the meeting.⁷⁰ Despite the demonstration of widespread liberal interest, the Whig elite of the City Council still took little part, with Lambert merely stating the facts of the case, then leaving the floor open.⁷¹ Fife succinctly, and clearly, demonstrated the links between liberal thought on freedoms and religion when he stated that 'the Roman Catholic faith' was 'more convenient to the despots of the continent'.⁷² He demonstrated the 'rhetoric of middle-class sympathizers' with the Risorgimento, that Finn describes as linking ideas of 'Christian charity...international brotherhood, and English radical traditions'.⁷³ Although once again, liberal would be the more accurate terminology. Larkin spoke in opposition to a resolution condemning Tuscany; however, he was received with such hostility that he left.⁷⁴ His opposition demonstrates that by this point, due to the anti-Catholic backlash, Bush's argument on the wholehearted opposition of Tyneside Catholics to the Risorgimento is correct, as even Larkin had been converted to the wholehearted defence of the Papacy.⁷⁵ While Lord Dudley Stuart claimed the meeting's opposition to the Papacy was only a question of the temporal, not the spiritual, after 1850 Catholics did see them 'as essentially one and the same', while anti-Catholics thought the same of 'Papal power' and 'despotic government'.⁷⁶ The Madiari affair 'reinforced' the 'perception' that the Catholic Church was a 'severe restriction on religious and political liberty'.⁷⁷ As Paz states, for the majority of British liberals by this point, 'to be liberal was also to oppose that church'.⁷⁸ Support for Piedmont rose amongst liberals, as it was seen more and more as the 'guardian of Italian political and religious liberty'.⁷⁹ This was due to

⁶⁹ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, p.15

⁷⁰ *Journal*, 19 Mar.1853

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² *Guardian*, 19 Mar.1853

⁷³ Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848-1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.164

⁷⁴ *Guardian*, 19 Mar. 1853

⁷⁵ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.112

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp.111-113

⁷⁷ John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p.283

⁷⁸ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, p.26

⁷⁹ Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860*, p.283

the kingdom's conflict with the Papacy, and its increasingly liberal institutions, which saw Piedmont ruled by a constitutional monarch and men of property, in a way which allowed British liberals to see a mirror of their own system, and believe that Piedmont was following the 'best society in Europe'.⁸⁰

From 1848 to 1853 there was little expression of independent radical opinion towards the Risorgimento on Tyneside. The historiography concentrates on one reason for this, the lack of the presence of Joseph Cowen in a leadership role. Allen strongly argues this point, stating that it was only under 'Cowen's leadership' that Tyneside radical politics 'intensified and embraced international causes'.⁸¹ She further points out that Cowen only decided to 'take control of the local movement' in the mid-1850s, as demonstrated by his actions during the 1854 Garibaldi visit.⁸² Bush states that 'support for the Italian cause' on Tyneside only began 'gathering momentum' in the 1850s, and uses the works of Allen and Todd, and their emphasis on the 'rising influence' of Cowen, to support his point.⁸³ His emphasis on Cowen shows he is referring primarily to radical support, and the concentration of his evidence in the latter half of the decade demonstrates his agreement with Allen on the reasoning behind the lack of an earlier response.⁸⁴ It is true that the influence of Cowen on the Risorgimento question was not clearly felt until 1854, and that this hindered wider engagement with the question. However, this alone is not sufficient to explain the lack of radical expression on the matter, as in 1848 2,000 working-class radicals in Newcastle had organised a Lecture Hall meeting to support the French Revolution.⁸⁵ Prior to the 1851 coup of Louis Napoleon, British radicals concentrated on the democratic struggle in France.⁸⁶ However, as Shankland states, sympathy for Italy after 1848 and 1849 'affected substantial sections of the working class' of Tyneside.⁸⁷ This was

⁸⁰ For Piedmontese-Papal conflict see Ivan Scott, *The Roman Question and the Powers 1848-1865*, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), p.141 For liberal institutions and the 'best society', see McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, pp.3-6

⁸¹ Joan Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside 1829-1900* (Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007), p.6

⁸² *Ibid*, p.40

⁸³ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.113

⁸⁴ *Ibid*

⁸⁵ *Guardian*, 4 Mar. 1848

⁸⁶ see Iorweth Prothero, *Radical Artisans in England and France 1830-1870* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press), p.112

⁸⁷ Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.49

certainly true for the radicals. While demonstrating their support at meetings ran by liberals, they were unable to express their views independently, due to the weakness exhibited by the now 'lethargic' and divided middle-class leadership, and their distraction by events in France.⁸⁸ It was only with the rise of Cowen, as, what Davis calls, the 'unchallenged king of Tyneside radicalism', that sufficient leadership and resources were available to give European nationalist leaders 'the ear of the working classes' of the North, enabling those who held radical sympathies to demonstrate their thoughts on the Risorgimento independent of liberal direction.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Claey's, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism', p.237

⁸⁹ John Davis, Garibaldi and England, *History Today*, vol. 32, no. 12 (1982), p.24 and E. D. Spraggon, 'The Radicalism of Joseph Cowen' (M.A. Dissertation, Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic, 1985), p.54

Chapter Two: Liberal interest and the rise of clear radical support, 1854–1858

Garibaldi spent a month on Tyneside in 1854, as the ship he captained, the *Commonwealth*, took on coals en-route to Genoa.⁹⁰ A Lecture Hall meeting organised by Cowen called for ‘a massive demonstration of pro-Italian sympathies’, to honour the visit.⁹¹ However, Garibaldi refused. The liberal and radical press attributed this to his ‘modesty’, but the reasoning lay with his changing political views.⁹² Evidence of the patriot’s changing politics lay in his urging to Mazzini earlier that year to adopt the monarchist programme.⁹³ Thus, as Riall argues, Garibaldi was ‘reluctant to commit himself to political action’ in the form of a radical demonstration, as he had ‘abandoned Mazzini and republicanism’.⁹⁴ It was decided at a second meeting to present Garibaldi with an address ‘of welcome and sympathy’, and a penny subscription was opened to purchase him a sword and telescope.⁹⁵ The subscription was successful, raising £10.13s.3d., through meetings which attracted ‘hundreds of subscribers’.⁹⁶ The *Tribune* stated these funds were raised by ‘some hundreds of working men’.⁹⁷ Allen confirms that it was ‘a penny subscription from the Tyneside community rather than the doles of an elite’, albeit clarifying that £1.16s.10d. of the cost was paid by Cowen.⁹⁸ While the funds raised were not massive, nor was their use of a revolutionary nature, the character of those involved demonstrated that Tyneside radicals had begun to express an independent opinion on the Risorgimento.

⁹⁰ Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside 1829-1900*, p.44

⁹¹ Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.51

⁹² *Chronicle*, 14 Apr.1854 and *Northern Tribune*, May 1854

⁹³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi invention of a Hero* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p.120 and p.124

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.124-125

⁹⁵ *Tribune*, May 1854

⁹⁶ For the funds raised see Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside*, p.168. For the subscribers see Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.51

⁹⁷ *Tribune*, May 1854

⁹⁸ Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside 1829-1900*, p.35 and p.168

The sword and telescope were presented onboard the *Commonwealth* by a deputation led by Cowen, which consisted of regional radical leaders and the Liberal Newcastle Councillor William Newton.⁹⁹ While Bush calls the leaders ‘notable liberals’, this is due to the overlap of the term with radical.¹⁰⁰ The republican tinge to the proceedings, and the composition of the deputation confirmed that the response to the visit was a radical one. The lack of liberal press interest confirms this. The *Guardian* only mentioned the presentation ‘on behalf of the sympathisers of European freedom’ in a short paragraph.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile the *Chronicle* reported Garibaldi’s refusal of any demonstration to ‘honour the visit’, without commenting on the political connotations of such a demonstration.¹⁰² Cowen read an address which greeted Garibaldi ‘as Republicans to a Republican’, and called him the ‘worthy helpmate of Mazzini’.¹⁰³ As Sutcliffe points out, it combined the ‘language of brotherhood and republican solidarity’ and ‘celebrated’ Mazzini and Garibaldi.¹⁰⁴ This underlined some of the reasoning behind radical support for the Risorgimento, in the form of internationalism, as well as the personal and political attractiveness of the movement’s leaders. Mazzini’s republicanism, anti-socialism, and anti-Papal stance were popular amongst Tyneside radicals, as few of them held socialist leanings, and Cowen’s influence had helped republicanism ‘obtain unusually high popular support’ on Tyneside, as Allen demonstrates.¹⁰⁵ In Garibaldi’s response he did not return republican sympathies, merely stating that he sought ‘the freedom’ of his ‘native land’; he made no mention of democratic or monarchist ideals.¹⁰⁶ His statement that Italy would ‘one day be a nation’ confirms Riall’s argument that he was still dedicated to ‘nationalist ideals’.¹⁰⁷ This was despite the fact that the moderate party he was turning to were not unionists, being dedicated instead to ‘anti-Austrian’

⁹⁹ Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.53 and *Tribune*, May 1854

¹⁰⁰ Bush, *“Papists” and Prejudice*, p.122

¹⁰¹ *Guardian*, 15 Apr. 1854

¹⁰² *Chronicle*, 14 Apr. 1854

¹⁰³ *Tribune*, May 1854

¹⁰⁴ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.93

¹⁰⁵ For Mazzini’s radical popularity see Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.48 For the unpopularity of socialism with Cowen, as an example of the position of Tyneside radicals, see Claeys, ‘Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism’, p.236 For Tyneside republicanism, see Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside*, p.34

¹⁰⁶ *Tribune*, May 1854

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid* and Riall, *Garibaldi*, p.124

ideas of independence, through Piedmontese aggrandisement.¹⁰⁸ Garibaldi's movement towards Piedmont was part of the 'broader trend' in the 1850s that Riall highlights as common in Italian nationalist circles, among not just moderates, but also 'disillusioned' Mazzinians.¹⁰⁹

However, in 1854 Garibaldi's transition to monarchism was, on Tyneside at least, still 'under wraps'.¹¹⁰ Thus, the radical leadership were able to use his 'popular appeal' to broaden 'public awareness' of the Mazzinian Risorgimento, 'taking it to the working classes', and creating an enthusiastic response, unique to Tyneside.¹¹¹ While well-known due to the defence of Rome, Garibaldi had spent the years between 1849 and 1854 in relative 'obscurity'.¹¹² For example, his presence in Liverpool in 1850 received 'little press attention', and no meetings or demonstrations were held.¹¹³ Garibaldi was still painted as a radical, at a time when liberal opinion on Italy was both stagnating and turning against Mazzinian republicanism, and the lack of Tyneside liberal engagement with his presence highlights this trend. Enthusiasm for the Risorgimento had died down with the reduction in the popularity of No Popery, and the 'general lull' in Italy at the time.¹¹⁴ While Piedmont was receiving liberal accolades for its reforms, the Italian cause was not widely popular.¹¹⁵

Despite the difference between Garibaldi's beliefs and the radical interpretation of them, there is no doubting the significant impact the visit had. It was undoubtedly, as Sutcliffe states, the 'seedbed' for the 'special relationship' between Garibaldi and Tyneside radicals, having opened up contact between Garibaldi and Cowen.¹¹⁶ Later demonstrations of support for the Risorgimento would link it to Tyneside, using a sense of pride in the local response to the visit, and the links it

¹⁰⁸ Riall, *Garibaldi*, p.117

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.117 and p.120

¹¹⁰ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.93

¹¹¹ Patricia F. Brison, *Garibaldi on the River Tyne* (Vetralla: Davide Ghaleb Editore, 2013), p.59

¹¹² Ibid, p.57

¹¹³ Riall, *Garibaldi*, p.106

¹¹⁴ For reduced No Popery on Tyneside see Roger Cooter, *When Paddy met Geordie: The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle 1840-1880*, (Sunderland: University of Sunderland, 2005), p.80 For the 'lull' see Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.121

¹¹⁵ For liberal accolades see *Guardian*, 17.Mar.1855 and 1.Sep.1855

¹¹⁶ For 'seedbed' see Marcella P. Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the "Garibaldi Moment" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861)', *Modern Italy*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2010), p.131 For contact, see Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, pp.93-92

created.¹¹⁷ Indeed, Bush states that the direct link to Garibaldi created by the visit was responsible for his later popularity in the region being ‘particularly acute’.¹¹⁸ While the response to the visit had essentially been, as Carter puts it, the ‘pet project’ of Cowen, regional radicalism grew stronger in its aftermath, finding unity under Cowen’s leadership, and a new purpose in supporting foreign struggles, especially that of the Italians.¹¹⁹

On 29 September 1856 a Lecture Hall meeting was held to receive the Address of the working-men of Genoa. While Cowen played an important role, the watchmaker T. Gregson was called to the chair.¹²⁰ It was clearly an expression of radical opinion, based on its composition. The *Journal* reported it was ‘well attended’, and the *Guardian* agreed that the attendance was ‘numerous’ and primarily made up of ‘working-men’; significantly neither described it as respectable.¹²¹ A motion proposed by Josiah Thomas to express sympathy with the Italian working-men, which argued that through assisting Italy they could also assist other countries, was passed unanimously.¹²² This demonstrated the internationalism which permeated radical opinion of the Risorgimento. Cowen proposed a second motion, which recognised ‘the right of the Italian people to a national existence’, and resolved upon the opening of a subscription to be used by the Mazzinian National Committee as they deemed ‘expedient’.¹²³ A response was drawn up which returned the language of brotherhood present in the Italian address, and stated the commitment of the English working-men to support the cause by ‘all moral and material means at their command’.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ For statements linking Tyneside and Garibaldi in a Newcastle meeting, see *Guardian*, 23 June 1859. For the same in an 1859 Blaydon meeting, see Bush, *“Papists” and Prejudice*, p.122

¹¹⁸ Bush, *“Papists” and Prejudice*, p.122

¹¹⁹ For Cowen’s ‘pet project’ see Nick Carter, ‘Introduction: Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento’, p.14, in idem (editor), *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) For a new unity see Peter Cadogan, *Early Radical Newcastle*, (Consett: Sagittarius Press, 1975), p.135

¹²⁰ *Guardian*, 4 Oct.1856

¹²¹ *Journal*, 4 Oct.1856 and *Ibid*

¹²² *Guardian*, 4 Oct.1856

¹²³ *Courant*, 3 Oct.1856

¹²⁴ *Address of the English working-men of Newcastle on Tyne to the Italian working-men of Genoa*, A479 and *The Emancipation of Italy Address to the working-men of England*, A464

While the *Courant* mentioned the subscription, it did not add the caveat which the *Guardian* attributed to Cowen, that 'arms would be required' by the Italians.¹²⁵ This difference in reporting was doubtless due to the ideas of 'amnesty to the law', which Cowen highlighted himself, before going on to state that subscriptions 'in a general way only were asked'.¹²⁶ To state that the funds were to provide weapons would have contravened international law, which the majority of liberals adhered to, as they held what Taylor calls a 'Whiggish attitude' as their primary motivator in foreign policy.¹²⁷ Regardless, Cowen and the radicals were prominent in directly funding the Mazzinian movement, with Todd stating that Cowen was 'indisputably engaged' in activities such as gun-running, which were 'flouting the law'.¹²⁸ The historiography agrees that the subscription helped fund the 1857 insurrection. Sutcliffe states that the entire rising was 'financed through British fundraising efforts', while the prominent role of Tyneside radicals is emphasised by Shankland, who states it is 'certain' that Cowen helped fund the 'abortive rising', and by the *Daily Chronicle*, which would later highlight the 'considerable sum' they raised.¹²⁹

Cowen commented upon the 'misconception' as to the 'real objects of the Italian patriots', referring to the belief of Disraeli, the Ultramontane MP Bowyer and the *Times* that Mazzinianism was against property and religion; thus highlighting some of the reasons behind conservative and Catholic opposition to Mazzinianism.¹³⁰ Cowen denied these allegations, pointing out Mazzini's opposition to socialism, a point well-grounded in fact, as Mazzini had denounced socialism as early as 1847.¹³¹ Indeed, Duggan argues it was this anti-socialist stance which made Mazzinian democracy an acceptable third-way to British radicals opposed to class war or liberal laissez-fair ideas.¹³² While

¹²⁵ *Guardian*, 4 Oct. 1856

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.191

¹²⁸ Nigel Todd, *The Militant Democracy: Joseph Cowen and Victorian Radicalism* (Whitley Bay: Bewick Press, 1991), p.22. For examples of this fundraising, see *Subscription Lists*, A475-477

¹²⁹ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.100 and Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.59 and *Daily Chronicle*, 17 Dec. 1861

¹³⁰ *Guardian*, 4 Oct. 1856

¹³¹ Ibid and Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism', pp.231-234

¹³² Christopher Duggan, 'Giuseppe Mazzini in Britain and Italy: Divergent Legacies, 1837-1915', in C.A. Bayly and Eugenio F. Biagini (eds), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism, 1830-1920* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.192

Cowen acknowledged the 'free institutions' of Sardinia, he argued that Italy could only gain freedom 'by insurrection'.¹³³ However, as Mazzinianism had not completely broken with monarchism, Cowen did not openly decry Piedmont and the monarchist Risorgimento, stating whether a united Italy should have a republican or monarchical government was a matter for 'after consideration'.¹³⁴ George Stobart proposed an amendment contending that insurrection would only worsen the situation. The amendment failed, with only a dozen voices raised in support, and the original resolution passed with one dissident.¹³⁵ This demonstrated that the majority present agreed with the Mazzinian programme as presented by Cowen. While prominent liberals had not attended, Fife did send £5 towards the subscription, and a letter stating that he 'heartily sympathised' with the meeting's purpose.¹³⁶ It is certain that this was limited to sympathy for Italian independence, as he had demonstrated in earlier years. Crawshay sent a letter stating he would not attend, due to Mazzini having 'professed his willingness to receive Russian money for the emancipation of Italy'.¹³⁷ He demonstrated the growing opposition towards the Risorgimento, especially in its republican form, of a small group of conservative-leaning liberals on Tyneside, who had rallied to Urquhart during the Crimean War.

In 1858 Jessie White-Mario addressed the Lecture Hall on Italian nationality and Piedmont. In the first lecture, before a 'large audience', she pointed out the 'intimate connection' between 'home reforms' and 'just and equitable relations with foreign countries', highlighting the internationalist argument which formed part of the radical rationale.¹³⁸ As Allen puts it, Tyneside radicals 'identified with the struggles of other oppressed peoples', as they fought for their own 'political and social freedom'.¹³⁹ As Duggan argues, this was also true for the wider radical movement, which linked the plight of other nations to the 'emancipation' of the British working

¹³³ *Courant*, 3 Oct.1856

¹³⁴ *Ibid*

¹³⁵ *Ibid*

¹³⁶ *Journal*, 4 Oct.1856

¹³⁷ *Guardian*, 4 Oct.1856

¹³⁸ *Daily Chronicle*, 19 May.1858

¹³⁹ Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside 1829-1900*, p.34

classes.¹⁴⁰ White-Mario stated the resolution of the Italians to create 'ONE ITALY, free and independent'.¹⁴¹ While unification was just the aim of the Mazzinians, the fact it was received with 'loud cheers' demonstrated the adherence of her audience to the Mazzinian ideal.¹⁴² The second lecture demonstrated that radical opinion had turned against Piedmont. White-Mario acknowledged that the 'popular' opinion in Britain was that Piedmont was the 'destined saviour' of Italy.¹⁴³ However, she argued that Piedmont was in fact a 'stumbling block in the way of Italy', through its refusal to act, and its restraint of those who wished to do so.¹⁴⁴ The favourable reception for her words show that the majority present at least sympathised with them. The break between the moderate and radical wings in Italy following the 1857 Genoan rising had partially carried over into their supporters on Tyneside. The liberal press turned against Mazzini. The *Daily Chronicle* stated its 'dissent' with the Mazzinian movement, and argued that republicanism had 'failed'.¹⁴⁵ The *Guardian* stated that the Italians had become 'disgusted with the inchoate, ill-fated schemes and plots' of Mazzini, as opposed to Victor Emmanuel, who had become the 'hope of Italy'.¹⁴⁶ In Italy, and in Britain, Mazzinianism had lost its appeal among moderates, due to its failings leaving little confidence in its success, and its republican stance becoming intolerable once it was assaulting Piedmont.¹⁴⁷ However the loyalty of British radicals to Mazzini remained 'steadfast'.¹⁴⁸ As Sutcliffe argues, this was especially true for Tyneside radicals, whose loyalty would remain strong for 'many more years'.¹⁴⁹

Liberal sympathy for the Risorgimento on Tyneside had been manifested in October 1856, when the Italian patriot Felice Orsini, as part of a tour of England and Scotland, addressed a 'large

¹⁴⁰ Duggan, 'Giuseppe Mazzini in Britain and Italy' p.192

¹⁴¹ *Daily Chronicle*, 19 May 1858

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ *Northern Weekly Standard*, 22 May 1858

¹⁴⁴ *Daily Chronicle*, 20 May 1858

¹⁴⁵ *Daily Chronicle*, 13 May 1858 and 27 May 1858

¹⁴⁶ *Guardian*, 8 Jan. 1859

¹⁴⁷ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, p.82 and pp.100-101

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p.100

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

and influential meeting' in the Lecture Hall.¹⁵⁰ During the lecture Fife decried both the 'brutal despotism of Austria' and the 'degrading tyranny of the Pope', demonstrating that the links in liberal thought between illiberal political systems and the despotism of the Catholic Church were still strong.¹⁵¹ Orsini was received well, with 'loud cheering' and 'prolonged applause'.¹⁵² Bush argues it was Orsini's insurrectionist credentials which made the tour successful, as they 'seemed to command respect' from the audiences.¹⁵³ This point is only partially correct. Orsini's opposition to Austria and the Pope were his attractions, while his prior opposition to the established order in general was glossed over. As Bacchin states, the lectures 'spoke directly to Victorian notions of Britishness', with their opposition to the 'black legend' of Austria, and 'Anti-Papal feeling'.¹⁵⁴ The key factor that allowed Orsini to gain both radical and liberal support, was that he did not directly argue for either the democrats or monarchists. As Bacchin puts it, he 'refrained from endorsing particular political programmes'.¹⁵⁵

Orsini's preference for the democratic view could be clearly seen, in his statement of Italy's republican tendencies, and his singling out the Tyneside workmen for particular praise for the 'promptness and patriotism' of their response to the workmen of Genoa.¹⁵⁶ However, Orsini was attempting to 'roll back the spectre' of the republican movement, which was threatening to lose support for the Risorgimento, as liberal sympathy for the Mazzinians was waning, as Cavour and Piedmont's 'sun rose'.¹⁵⁷ An 'unanimously' passed resolution, presented by Newcastle Councillor Cook, stated that the meeting 'deeply deplored the evils' that Italy suffered, and argued that it held the right to exist.¹⁵⁸ Yet, Cook was certainly referring to the right of the Italian states to

¹⁵⁰ *Guardian*, 25 Oct. 1856

¹⁵¹ *Courant*, 24 Oct. 1856

¹⁵² *Ibid*

¹⁵³ Bush, *"Papists" and Prejudice*, p.118

¹⁵⁴ Elena Bacchin, 'Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain', in Carter (ed.), *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, p.92

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁶ *Courant*, 24 Oct. 1856

¹⁵⁷ For the 'spectre' see Bacchin, 'Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain', p.92 For 'sympathy' and 'Cavour's sun', see Elizabeth A. Daniels, *Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1972), p.33

¹⁵⁸ *Courant*, 24 Oct. 1856

independence, not calling for unity. He finished by stating it was the 'duty of all nations to aid them in their struggle', voicing the key concept of liberal internationalism.¹⁵⁹

Further liberal sympathy was expressed in May 1857, when Jessie White, supported by the former Roman triumvir, Saffi, presented a Lecture Hall oration on 'Italy for the Italians'.¹⁶⁰ Fife presided, supported by Cowen, alongside 'other friends of the Italian cause', with a 'very respectable' audience.¹⁶¹ White made no negative comments about Piedmont in this lecture, but did call the 'pretext for common oppression' in Italy the 'putrid corpse of the papacy', and Fife's statement that Protestantism brought 'constitutional liberty' was received with applause.¹⁶² Thus, anti-Catholicism was still visibly a key reason for liberals to sympathise with the Risorgimento, even after the decline of No Popery. White stated the aims of the Italians as 'being a nation of free and equal men', with a 'national Government'.¹⁶³ She argued that in pushing for these, they were aiming 'at possessing the liberty' of which the British were 'proud'.¹⁶⁴ This demonstrated a further reason, the sense of pride derived from viewing the English system as a model for other nations to follow. As Claeys puts it, the Italian cause evoked 'national pride in the superiority of the British mixed monarchy', as opposed to the despotic regimes in Italy.¹⁶⁵ Yet this motivator to liberals for sympathising with the Risorgimento could only truly come into play once Piedmont and its liberal system, which was seen as imitating the British way of governance, came to the fore.¹⁶⁶ It was only once this third way, as opposed to the despotic regimes and the distrusted revolutionaries, became available, that British liberals had a widely acceptable focus for their sympathy for Italy.¹⁶⁷ Reverend Fenwick moved that a petition be sent to the Commons, asking them to request that the Queen 'to

¹⁵⁹ *Guardian*, 25 Oct. 1856

¹⁶⁰ *Guardian*, 9 May 1857

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

¹⁶² *Ibid*

¹⁶³ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁵ Claeys, 'Mazzini, Kossuth and British Radicalism', p.231

¹⁶⁶ McIntire, *England against the Papacy*, p.31

¹⁶⁷ Anthony Howe, 'Friends of Moderate Opinions': Italian Political Thought in 1859 in a British Liberal Mirror', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2012), pp.609-610

use her good offices' to remove the Austrian and French 'occupation' of the Papal States.¹⁶⁸ It was 'unanimously carried'.¹⁶⁹ However, no motion was raised against the Austrian presence in Lombardy-Venetia. This is in line with the whiggish liberal foreign policy, under which, the troops propping up the Papacy were illegal, while those protecting Lombardy-Venetia were acceptable by the Treaty of Vienna. While radicals were present in the meeting, it was dominated by the liberals, shown by Fife's presence in the chair, and its demonstrably less radical tone. Cowen subscribed £100 to the relief and of Italian prisoners, and part of the tour's admission fees went to White for her purposes.¹⁷⁰ All of these funds went to the same Italian national fund which had received the money raised by Orsini's lectures and the response to the address of the working-men. They were used 'exclusively' to finance the Mazzinian Pisan expedition and rising in Genoa.¹⁷¹ However, the liberals who attended the lectures did not know that this was the intended use for their funds, so their sympathy should not be interpreted as support for insurrection.

While the Crimean War, as Carter states, 'took the public gaze away from Italy altogether', in both Tyneside and Britain as a whole, liberal interest was reinstated as a result of the Congress of Paris.¹⁷² For the first time in the period the UK Parliament considered the Italian question in debate, albeit even the Liberals did no more than, as Urban highlights, state their hope for 'freedom from foreign domination and a measure of good government' for the Italian states, not for 'Italian nationality or Italian unity'.¹⁷³ Yet, Italy thereafter 'ceased to occupy a compelling place' in the mind of both the government and British liberals, until 1859.¹⁷⁴ However, this was not completely true for Tyneside liberals, as was shown in a Newcastle Guildhall meeting of November 1857, called in

¹⁶⁸ *Guardian*, 9 May 1857

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁷¹ Daniels, *Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary*, p.56

¹⁷² For the Crimean War ending interest in Italy, see Carter, 'Introduction', p.13 and Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside*, p.42. For interest being reinstated, see Riall, *Garibaldi*, p.116

¹⁷³ Miriam B. Urban, *British Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1856-1861* (Scottsdale: Mennonite Press, 1938), p.35 and p.41

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.101

response to a 'most numerous and respectably signed' requisition.¹⁷⁵ The Mayor, A. Nichol, chaired, supported by Fife and Cowen.¹⁷⁶ The purpose of the meeting was to 'urge the government' to acquire the release of Henry Watt, a Tyneside local, and his compatriot Park, from a Neapolitan prison, where they had been imprisoned after the vessel they were engineers on was forcibly taken and used in the insurrection in Naples.¹⁷⁷ The attendance was 'large', and the regional press agreed that it was 'principally' of the working-men of Newcastle.¹⁷⁸ Even in this situation, which should have gendered support from all of Tyneside, the whig elite still refused to take a very active part, with the mayor only having 'briefly opened the proceedings', before handing over the floor.¹⁷⁹ Fife moved a motion, which passed unanimously, stating that the imprisonment was an 'insult to the British nation', which required the 'prompt and vigorous interposition' of the government.¹⁸⁰ Cowen stated the issue at hand was one in which the 'most cautious conservative and the most ardent radical were equally concerned'.¹⁸¹ While regional conservatives engaged little with the issue, the assault upon British liberties by a despotic government was able to unite Tyneside liberals and radicals, in indignation and sympathy. The 1857 rising had thus not divided liberals and radicals on Tyneside completely, as it had moderates and democrats in Italy.

¹⁷⁵ *Courant*, 27 Nov. 1857

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid* and *Journal*, 28 Nov. 1857

¹⁷⁹ *Courant*, 27 Nov. 1857

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁸¹ *Guardian*, 28 Nov. 1857

Chapter Three: Garibaldimania, Catholic and conservative opposition, liberal satisfaction and the uncompleted dream of the radicals. 1859-1861

The 1859 war in Italy invoked a massive response in Britain. By this point the Italian Question had, in the words of Sutcliffe, gained the 'attention' of the government, and the 'support of large sectors of the British public'.¹⁸² The whig and conservative elite began to take a more active role in the consideration of the Risorgimento, as demonstrated by a Newcastle Council meeting. An address to the Queen was drawn up, which stated that, while 'deeply sympathising with Italy, in her wrongs and miseries', the Council did not believe it's 'deliverance' would arise from war.¹⁸³ It prayed for the Queen 'to adopt a course of neutrality', and urged upon Italy's 'governors the amelioration of its laws' and 'the reform of prevailing abuses'.¹⁸⁴ Thus, even the most liberal councillors, who had drawn up the address, still believed the answer to the Italian question was reform, not unity.¹⁸⁵ In the debate over the address Newton stated that he would not care if the Hapsburg's were 'obliterated', as Austria was the 'shambles of liberty'.¹⁸⁶ However, he also decried Louis Napoleon, stating that he would 'butcher the people of Italy'.¹⁸⁷ This distrust of both France and Austria was also demonstrated by the Sherriff, George Robinson, who supported the address, to 'caution' the government against 'any course which might aid one despot against another'.¹⁸⁸ The motion to send the address passed, 22 to 20.¹⁸⁹ Some of those in opposition did so for practical reasons, for example, Councillor Plummer voted against sending the address, until 'the Council knew something

¹⁸² Marcella P. Sutcliffe, 'British Red Shirts: A History of the Garibaldi Volunteers 1860', in Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (eds), *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.205

¹⁸³ *Proceedings of the Town Council Newcastle for 1858-1859*, p.139

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp.139-145

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.140

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.143

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.145

about the object of the war'.¹⁹⁰ However, conservative opposition was also demonstrated, when Councillor Hamond stated that Lombardy-Venetia was guaranteed to Austria, 'by as great a guarantee as England held Ireland or Scotland'.¹⁹¹ Here, he demonstrated an adherence to the ideas of international treaties which was common amongst whigs, as well as conservatives.

On 11 May a Guildhall meeting was held to debate the war. Whereas the attendance was not numerous, it was certainly 'influential'.¹⁹² The Mayor presided, backed by Fife, Cowen, many Councillors, and both MP's for Newcastle.¹⁹³ While the sentiment was pro-Italian, it was also universally anti-war.¹⁹⁴ Fife opposed war in favour of despotism, the Sherriff held the cause of the war to be 'dynastic ambition', and Cowen stated that the question was not whether 'to go to war for Italian independence', but whether to engage in a war of despots where Italy's interest was, at best, a 'second hand consideration'.¹⁹⁵ Robinson presented a motion, stating that while 'deeply sympathising with Italy', the meeting could not put 'confidence or hope' in the 'armed agencies' being used in its name.¹⁹⁶ He further stated that the hope of the meeting was for the 'suppression of tyranny' and the 'extension of liberal institutions' in Italy.¹⁹⁷ Fife seconded, and the motion passed.¹⁹⁸ This showed that the dominant attitude, of both the whig elite, and the more general regional liberalism that Fife was the figurehead of, as expressed by the acceptance of the resolution, supported Italy only as far as independence and liberty, not unity. This was also the case for the majority of British opinion, and especially for politicians, with Urban's statement that no 'statesman...believed that the whole peninsula could be united', being supported by Hibbert, who argues that even Gladstone, Palmerston and Russell, while 'pursuing a pro-Italian policy', did not

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, pp.141-143

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.142

¹⁹² *Guardian*, 14 May 1859

¹⁹³ *Daily Chronicle*, 11 May 1859

¹⁹⁴ Ibid and *Observer*, 14 May 1859

¹⁹⁵ *Daily Chronicle*, 11 May 1859 and *Guardian*, 14 May 1859

¹⁹⁶ *Daily Chronicle*, 11 May 1859

¹⁹⁷ Ibid

¹⁹⁸ ibid

believe in the 'desirability of Italian national unity'.¹⁹⁹ Regardless of the feelings of the populace in 1859, the Conservative administration of Derby, and its Liberal replacement under Palmerston, were still in favour of, in Turner's words, a 'continued Austrian presence in Italy', which, as Elrood argues, was due to their 'concern for the European balance of power'.²⁰⁰ However, both parties had come to see the despotic Italian governments as 'beyond reform'.²⁰¹

On 31 May Darrell Hodge addressed a 'crowded' Lecture Hall on 'the present affairs of Italy', with Cowen in the chair.²⁰² While Cowen was mildly positive of Piedmont, stating that no other part of Italy 'had made such rapid strides in political freedom', he demonstrated the radical distrust for that state when he contended that 'abler and more experienced heads' doubted whether Piedmont was as anxious for 'the extension of Italian independence' as for the 'aggrandisement of their dominions'.²⁰³ R. B Reed presented a motion, stating that once Austria was driven from Italy, the peninsula should settle its own affairs, and that Britain should maintain a 'dignified and real neutrality'.²⁰⁴ The motion passed unanimously.²⁰⁵ There was universal agreement on Tyneside and beyond, that England must remain neutral. This was demonstrated in meetings, and by the tone of press reporting.²⁰⁶ The main reason for this adherence to neutrality was a further universal agreement, distrust for French intentions. Carter argues that conservatives held that 'treaties had to be respected', as they feared that France would benefit from revision of the Treaty of Vienna.²⁰⁷ He further states that liberal sympathy was also 'tempered' by a fear of France benefiting from victory

¹⁹⁹ Urban, *British Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1856-1861*, p.449 and Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi and his Enemies* (London: Longmans, 1965), pp.256-257

²⁰⁰ Michael J. Turner, *Independent Radicalism in Early Victorian Britain* (Westport and London: Praeger, 2004), p.119 and Richard B. Elrood, 'Great Britain, the Balance of Power, and the Italian Question, 1859-1860: A Reconsideration', *The Historian*, vol. 35, no. 3 (1973), pp.398-399

²⁰¹ Maurizio Isabella, 'Italian Exiles and British Politics before and after 1848', p.69, in Sabine Freitag (ed.), *Exiles from European Revolutions Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003)

²⁰² *Daily Chronicle*, 1 June 1859

²⁰³ *Guardian*, 4 June 1859

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ *Courant*, 20 May 1859 and Urban, *British Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1856-1861*, p.206

²⁰⁷ Carter, 'Introduction', p.15

over Austria.²⁰⁸ Howe agrees that the French alliance ‘aroused profound suspicion in England’, as it was believed that Napoleon’s ‘expansionist objectives’ would be ‘uppermost’.²⁰⁹ The tone of regional reporting confirms this distrust. The *Advertiser* argued that Napoleon hindered the ability of Victor Emmanuel to ‘carry on the work’ for ‘Italian liberty’.²¹⁰ The *Observer* stated that the Emperor was ‘regarded with general distrust’, as he had a ‘desire for Transalpine provinces’, and decried the Franco-Russian alliance, as that of the ‘two great aggressive Powers’.²¹¹

The 1860 expedition of Garibaldi to Sicily drew immense public support. As Carter states, it saw ‘British political and popular enthusiasm for Italian nationalism reach new heights’, while Bush notes that in 1860 ‘popular support’ for Garibaldi and Italy ‘reached an unprecedented level on Tyneside’.²¹² In June 1860 a Lecture Hall meeting was held to ‘express sympathy with the Italian patriots in their struggles’.²¹³ It was chaired by Somerset Beaumont, the brother of a Northumberland M.P, and was ‘well filled’ with an ‘influential’ audience.²¹⁴ Indeed, the *Guardian* stated there were ‘sufficient present to show that all classes share one common sentiment’.²¹⁵ Beaumont’s argument was demonstrably liberal, stating that the patriots of Italy were fighting for ‘the maintenance of its liberties’.²¹⁶ Cowen argued that the Italian people were calling for independence and unity, for a ‘national existence – a national right’.²¹⁷ He then presented a resolution, which stated that the Sicilians and their ‘heroic leader’, Garibaldi, were worthy of the support of all ‘the friends of liberty throughout the world’, demonstrating the internationalism which helped motivate both liberals and radicals.²¹⁸ Cowen linked Tyneside to this international struggle, by pointing out that her people ‘had often, during the last ten years’ expressed sympathy

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ Howe, ‘Friends of Moderate Opinions’, p.609

²¹⁰ *Advertiser*, 9 Sep. 1859

²¹¹ *Observer*, 11 June 1859 and 30 Apr. 1859

²¹² Carter, ‘Introduction’, p.6 and Bush, “*Papists*” and *Prejudice*, p.123

²¹³ *Daily Chronicle*, 20 June 1860

²¹⁴ *Guardian*, 23 June 1860

²¹⁵ Ibid

²¹⁶ *Courant*, 22 June 1860

²¹⁷ Ibid

²¹⁸ *Advertiser*, 22 June 1860

with the 'long oppressed Italians'.²¹⁹ Newton put forward a motion calling on the government to ensure the non-interference of all powers in Italy, which unanimously passed.²²⁰ Even with the popularity of Garibaldi, neutrality was still seen as the only option. However, other actions were taken in support of his campaign.

A national subscription was opened to send funds to Garibaldi, with a Tyneside committee led by Cowen as treasurer and Reed as secretary.²²¹ Sutcliffe is correct to point out that the list of those appointed to take the subscriptions gave 'a flavour of the radical, working-class origin' of many of those 'directly involved in supporting Garibaldi on Tyneside', as the majority of the locations where those appointees were listed as receiving funds were industrial works.²²² Yet, it was not just workers who contributed. Some of the subscription lists contain larger sums, unlikely to have been available to most workers.²²³ Also, the English Women's Benevolent Association fund for the widows and wounded of the campaign, composed primarily of the middle and upper classes, received support on Tyneside.²²⁴ Finally, in September a Garibaldi concert in Newcastle, under the patronage of Fife, raised £50 for the fund.²²⁵

Some locals even fought for Garibaldi. Sutcliffe states that of the initial Thousand which landed in Sicily, thirty-three were British, and that some of these, and the other volunteers who trickled in during the early stages, were 'radical workers from Newcastle', while Shankland states that about thirty of the initial Thousand were from North-East England.²²⁶ The *Daily Chronicle* ran articles asking, 'who will fight for Garibaldi', advertising how prospective recruits could join the British Legion. While, according to Todd, only nineteen of the Legion were actually from Tyneside,

²¹⁹ *Daily Chronicle*, 20 June 1860

²²⁰ *Courant*, 22 June 1860

²²¹ *Daily Chronicle* 16 Aug. 1860

²²² Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the "Garibaldi Moment" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne', p.132

²²³ *Daily Chronicle*, 21 Aug, 1860

²²⁴ *Daily Chronicle*, 18 July 1860

²²⁵ *Courant*, 14 Sep. 1860

²²⁶ Sutcliffe, 'British Red Shirts', in Arielli and Collins (eds), *Transnational Soldiers*, p.205 and Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.69

the controversy which erupted as a result of the articles was important.²²⁷ Crawshay went to the Newcastle Magistrates Court, laying suit against Langley, the editor of the *Chronicle*.²²⁸ Crawshay argued that the 1859 Foreign Enlistment Act prevented any Englishman serving 'any authority except the Queen'.²²⁹ The court dismissed the case, as having no grounds to warrant prosecution.²³⁰ The majority of liberal opinion completely supported the opinion of the court, with Shankland's statement that 'the mood of the public was entirely behind Cowen' and his paper not being much of an exaggeration.²³¹ The *Guardian* pointed out that the *Daily Chronicle's* support for Garibaldi was 'in common with almost every newspaper in the country'.²³² As Finn states, the *Chronicle* 'altered the language' of the advertisements following the case, but they did not alter the 'substance'.²³³ While the Legion saw little action, with their involvement, in the words of the *Daily Chronicle*, being 'half glorious, half shameful', the fact Tyneside was 'numerically well-represented', even though travel to London to enlist was not free, and free travel to Naples was later discounted, is an indicator of the importance of the Risorgimento to Tyneside's people.²³⁴

Sutcliffe argues that the Crawshay case coloured the Tyneside conservative opinion of the Legion, and the Garibaldi expedition in general.²³⁵ She states that the *Courant* and *Journal* were 'always disparaging' of the Legion.²³⁶ The *Journal*, while admitting that Garibaldi and his expedition were a 'worthy man and an estimable cause', stood firmly behind Crawshay.²³⁷ However, the *Journal* had not been entirely negative of the expedition before the volunteer crisis. Through May into June, as it became clear Napoleon did not support Garibaldi, it called the expedition a 'great gain for the

²²⁷ Todd, *The Militant Democracy*, p.20

²²⁸ *Guardian*, 25 Aug. 1860

²²⁹ *Daily Chronicle*, 21 Aug. 1860

²³⁰ *Guardian*, 25 Aug. 1860

²³¹ Shankland, *Out of Italy*, p.59

²³² *Guardian*, 25 Aug.1860

²³³ Finn, *After Chartism*, p.206

²³⁴ For 'half glorious' see *Daily Chronicle*, 16 Jan. 1861 For 'numerically well-represented' and travel to London see Sutcliffe, 'British Red Shirts', in Arielli and Collins, (editors), *Transnational Soldiers*, p.215. For free travel to Italy being discontinued, see *Daily Chronicle*, 8 Sep. 1860

²³⁵ Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the "Garibaldi moment" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne', p.133

²³⁶ *Ibid*, p.135

²³⁷ *Journal*, 25 Aug. 1860

interests of humanity', and stated that they would 'rejoice' at Garibaldi's success, albeit while placing him below Victor Emmanuel in terms of who had done most for Italy.²³⁸ Meanwhile, the *Courant* made almost no mention of the Legion, as opposed to its prior commentary on Garibaldi's exploits, which had been positive, stating that his goal was to 'liberate the subjects of Naples from political thralldom'.²³⁹ It clearly demonstrated its rationale for this positivity, as it compared the instable foundation of the Neapolitan 'arbitrary government' to the 'immovable basis' of constitutional monarchy, which was demonstrated in England, which the *Courant* claimed enjoyed 'immense moral superiority'.²⁴⁰ When the conservative press saw Garibaldi's mission as one on behalf of the king of Piedmont, it was supportive of his expedition to enhance the rule of that constitutional monarchy. However, the Crawshay case enhanced opposition which already existed amongst regional conservatives.

As the *Guardian* stated, the Urquhartites were 'smitten with a Russian phobia', and thought Garibaldi was 'in the pay of the Czar'.²⁴¹ This opposition had also been demonstrated to the 1859 war. Crawshay had given an address in the Victoria Rooms, Newcastle, with Stobart in the chair.²⁴² Crawshay argued that the attack on Austria by France was 'not from love to the Italians, but to remove an obstacle to Russia in her path to Constantinople'.²⁴³ This lecture highlighted that there were conservative elements among the working-classes as well, as the attendance was 'composed principally of working men'.²⁴⁴ Thus, it must be remembered that not all Tyneside workers were radicals, or supportive of the Risorgimento. Opposition to insurrection was also expressed, with the *Journal* initially stating of even the mild risings in Central Italy, that Piedmont had 'raised the demon

²³⁸ For positive reporting of Garibaldi, see *Journal*, 26 May 1860. For the importance of Victor Emmanuel see *Journal*, 9 June 1860

²³⁹ For the *Courant* making little mention see Sutcliffe, Negotiating the 'Garibaldi moment' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1854-1861), *Modern Italy*, 2010, p.133 and p.135 and p.142 For the example of its earlier positive note see *Courant*, 8 June 1860

²⁴⁰ For thoughts on constitutional/despotic monarchy see *Courant*, 8 June 1860. For 'moral superiority' see *Courant*, 29 June.1860

²⁴¹ *Guardian*, 25 Aug. 1860

²⁴² *Courant*, 27 May 1859

²⁴³ *Ibid*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*

of conspiracy and revolt'.²⁴⁵ This opposition to insurrection spilled over to Garibaldi, once he came to be seen as in league with the Mazzinians, and opposing the orders of Victor Emmanuel. The *Journal* stated Garibaldi was 'in the trammels of the Mazzinians', and argued that the Neapolitans had 'no desire for the liberty' being 'pressed upon them'.²⁴⁶ The *Journal* also argued that Italy would never be independent, as French troops dominated the Alpine passes, as a result of the annexations, which were 'forbidden' by 'the Treaty of 1815'.²⁴⁷ This highlighted the anti-French, pro-international law stance which the conservative press continued to demonstrate. However, both liberal and radical opinion no longer believed France was directly involved, as Garibaldi was known as the sworn enemy of Napoleon after the annexation of Nice, which guaranteed that the Emperor 'would have no part to play'.²⁴⁸

As the Garibaldi expedition progressed, wider opinion began to consider Italian unification. McIntire gives evidence of this change at the highest levels, with a Commons speech by Palmerston in June 1860, which was an 'unqualified public invitation' for Garibaldi to 'proceed with English blessing', with the government, for the 'first time' having 'considered the unification of the peninsula'.²⁴⁹ This was also true amongst Tyneside liberals, and even some conservatives, provided it was unity under the Piedmontese monarchy. The *Gazette* stated that it had 'some sympathy with the idea of Italian unity', provided it was under a 'constitutional kingdom', while the *Observer* argued that the 'popular voice' in Italy was raised for unity, and it was up to those 'emancipated people' to 'claim the settlement of their own destiny'.²⁵⁰

Once Piedmontese troops invaded the Papal States, the tone of the Tyneside conservative press became positive once again. The *Journal* was even willing to state, that while Victor Emmanuel

²⁴⁵ *Journal*, 24 Mar. 1860

²⁴⁶ *Journal*, 20 Oct. 1860

²⁴⁷ For Italy never being independent see *Journal*, 4 Feb. 1860. For the 'sweeping measure', see *Journal*, 24 Mar. 1860

²⁴⁸ Urban, *British Opinion on the Unification of Italy 1856-1861*, p.457

²⁴⁹ McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, pp.198-199

²⁵⁰ *Observer*, 2 June 1860

ignored 'the obligations of international law' his task deserved 'commendation'.²⁵¹ The reason for this, was that he was serving 'the cause of order and liberty' against the papal government and the 'fanatic sect' of Mazzini.²⁵² The *Courant* also became positive of the Risorgimento, stating its advance was resultant from the 'aroused patriotism of the people'.²⁵³ The conservative opposition on Tyneside during the volunteer crisis had been somewhat out of touch with general conservative feeling. As Sutcliffe states, Crawshay's views were 'unpopular with conservative national papers'.²⁵⁴ Indeed, Garibaldimania had spread to some conservative institutions, with the *Times* having reported Garibaldi's exploits in a positive tone, albeit while always highlighting his allegiance to Victor Emmanuel.²⁵⁵ As McIntire states, by 1859 most conservatives agreed with the liberals, that Piedmont was the 'best means' to provide a 'stable social order' in Italy.²⁵⁶ Thus, conservatives could support the monarchist Risorgimento in Central and Southern Italy, as it appeared to be a further Glorious Revolution, as Isabella highlights.²⁵⁷

The unprecedented support for the Risorgimento on Tyneside in 1860 can be attributed largely to Garibaldi, who had the image of a 'radical and subversive', due to his republican past, and a 'moderate' monarchist, due to his service to Piedmont.²⁵⁸ As McIntire puts it, he 'combined two tendencies in one', and this 'won wholehearted English support'.²⁵⁹ Thus, liberals and radicals could both support his endeavour. While these two groups on Tyneside had not been irrevocably split, as shown in the 1857 Guildhall meeting, Garibaldi's expedition gave them a far more effective unifying gel, as they were now supporting the same movement with the same short-term objective, of removing the Bourbons. A further reason for widespread support for Garibaldi was that his

²⁵¹ *Journal*, 15 Sep. 1860

²⁵² *Ibid*

²⁵³ *Courant*, 21 Sep. 1860

²⁵⁴ Sutcliffe, 'Negotiating the "Garibaldi Moment" in Newcastle-upon-Tyne', p.134

²⁵⁵ For examples of this stance see *Times*, 6 Nov. 1860 and 21 Nov. 1860

²⁵⁶ McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, p.3

²⁵⁷ Maurizio Isabella, 'Nationality Before Liberty? Risorgimento Political Thought in Transnational Context', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2012), p.513

²⁵⁸ Davis, 'Garibaldi and England', p.23

²⁵⁹ McIntire, *England Against the Papacy*, p.6

opposition to the French Empire reduced the potential for France benefiting from his actions. Also, the lack of immediately obvious changes to the Vienna settlement, beyond the toppling of one Italian dynasty by Italians, took the balance of power question largely out of the equation. Indeed, McIntire states that in 1860 the Prime Minister, Palmerston 'applauded in Garibaldi', what he 'would have protested in Cavour'.²⁶⁰ Finally, Garibaldi's adventurism and character made him a far more attractive myth to follow, compared to the cloak and dagger actions of Mazzini.²⁶¹

The invasion of the Papal States led English Catholics to take a greater interest in the Risorgimento than they had before, even during the crisis of 1848-1849. A meeting of Tyneside Catholics was held in January 1860 in the New Town Hall, with a massive attendance of 5,000-6,000 by ticket, with an apparent further 3,000 being unable to obtain entry.²⁶² Its stated intention was to 'express sympathy with Pope Pius, in the present crisis'.²⁶³ Those present included 'the labouring classes', the 'better class' and the clergy.²⁶⁴ Bishop Hogarth of Hexham chaired, and designated the meeting as 'one of the most important meetings that had ever taken place' in the North-East.²⁶⁵ A resolution was presented by Father Suffield, stating that the 'Catholics of Newcastle and Gateshead' presented the Pope their 'unshaken spiritual obedience and devoted affection' and their 'sincere sympathy'.²⁶⁶ The resolution was carried by cheers.²⁶⁷ The defence of the temporal power was further shown by a similar resolution by E. Consitt, which stated that the 'unfettered action' of the Pope required the Pontiff to enjoy a 'personal and political independence'.²⁶⁸ This resolution also passed, with applause.²⁶⁹ The meeting concluded by endorsing an Address to the Holy Father, which echoed many of the points raised by the Suffield resolution. This address gave a final endorsement

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p.195

²⁶¹ Davis, 'Garibaldi and England', p.25

²⁶² *Guardian*, 28.Jan.1860

²⁶³ Ibid

²⁶⁴ Ibid

²⁶⁵ Ibid

²⁶⁶ Ibid

²⁶⁷ Ibid

²⁶⁸ Ibid

²⁶⁹ Ibid

of the temporal power, stating it provided the 'political independence upon the maintenance of which the spiritual welfare of Christendom depends'.²⁷⁰ Atholz argues that wider English Catholic opinion from 1859, 'with few exceptions...committed themselves unreservedly to the defence of the Temporal Power'.²⁷¹ Bush builds upon this by pointing out that those exceptions were liberal Catholics who saw the Risorgimento as 'a necessity for constitutional democracy' in Italy.²⁷² Bush further argues that in the North East 'there appears to have been no such division'.²⁷³ The enthusiastic response to the meeting and the Papal fund, which raised £1042.0s.3d. in the Hexham and Newcastle diocese alone, show that this is correct for Tyneside.²⁷⁴

The response of Tyneside's large Irish Catholic population can be difficult to ascertain. While Allen argues that Cowen's pro-Irish position meant the 'Tyneside Irish embraced Cowen's radical agenda', she also admits that their overwhelming Catholicism meant 'their loyalties were bound to be sharply divided'.²⁷⁵ However, if Cooter's numbers for Catholics by Parish in the region are accurate, then a large number of the Irish were present at the New Town Hall meeting.²⁷⁶ Allen's argument about Tyneside Irish loyalty to radicalism is more accurate for the later 1860s, with their loyalty in 1860 not divided, but given firmly to the Pope, as their large presence at the meeting highlights, and as Cooter confirms, with his argument that they 'saw no rapport between their feelings for Ireland and those of Garibaldi for Italy', with the Risorgimento being 'quite simply a war on the Pope'.²⁷⁷

Sutcliffe highlights that consideration of the British response to the Risorgimento tends to concentrate on that of the liberals to the success of the moderate movement.²⁷⁸ This trend means

²⁷⁰ *Address to Our Most Holy Lord Pius IX from the Catholics of the Towns of Newcastle and Gateshead*, 3.Feb.1860, RCD 1/16

²⁷¹ Josef L. Atholz, 'The Political Behaviour of the English Catholics, 1850-1867', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (1964), p.99

²⁷² Bush, *Papists and Prejudice*, p.125

²⁷³ Ibid

²⁷⁴ Cooter, *When Paddy met Geordie*, p.146

²⁷⁵ Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside*, p.80 and p.87

²⁷⁶ Appendix 2-A

²⁷⁷ Cooter, *When Paddy met Geordie*, p.146

²⁷⁸ Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, pp.2-5

that the disappointment of the radicals at the failure of Mazzinianism is often overshadowed. Lecture Hall meetings would visibly demonstrate this disappointment. In December 1861 White-Mario lectured on the Italian question, and argued that the Piedmontese government 'had not patriotism or desire for Italian unity'.²⁷⁹ She called Mazzini the 'living martyr of Italian unity', and highlighted that the Risorgimento was not complete, as Venice, Nice and Rome were still not a part of Italy.²⁸⁰ Her lectures were well filled, and the response was 'very enthusiastic'.²⁸¹ Tyneside radical support for the Risorgimento would remain strong, as demonstrated by a further Lecture Hall meeting after Garibaldi was wounded in the battle of Aspromonte, in 1862. It expressed sympathy with the patriot, and called for the removal of the French troops in Rome, with the attendance being so large that the *Guardian* stated the hall was 'crowded to suffocation'.²⁸² A similar meeting was held in Gateshead, chaired by Cowen, with both resulting in resolutions of support for Garibaldi.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ *Daily Chronicle*, 18 Dec. 1861

²⁸⁰ *Ibid* and *Daily Chronicle*, 17 Dec. 1861

²⁸¹ *Ibid*

²⁸² *Guardian*, 13 Sep. 1862

²⁸³ *ibid*

Conclusion

Initially Tyneside radicals did not independently express a public view on the Risorgimento, because they could not present a united front. This changed post-1854, once Cowen became their undisputed leader. From then, until 1861 and beyond, they would express a unique support for the Risorgimento's Mazzinian wing. This support took the form of meetings and subscriptions which helped fund insurrections, and even drove a few radicals to serve with Garibaldi. Tyneside radicals held the same internationalism as wider British radicals as the key factor in their support for European freedom movements.²⁸⁴ This was because parallels were drawn between the struggle of the British working classes for emancipation, and the continental revolutionaries who sought the same. An address of the Blaydon workers, drawn up without the direct input of Cowen, clearly voiced this rationale. It opposed the actions of Britain's 'oligarchic' government, and held that it did not represent the will of the people.²⁸⁵ It linked the 'triumph of democracy' to the 'redemption of mankind' and argued that the 'prejudices and jealousies' which 'divided nations and races' were all the work of political and priestly tyrants.²⁸⁶ Finally, it held that it was the duty of all the workers to sweep away such tyranny, wherever it was.

Tyneside radicals only differed from the British radical norm in that they were able to benefit from Cowen's immense contacts with foreign revolutionaries, which brought their presence and writings to Tyneside.²⁸⁷ This was especially clear in the 1854 Garibaldi visit, which created a unique link between the patriot and the region, with Garibaldi being 'to the people of Blaydon', in the words of James Eadie in an 1859 meeting, 'an old friend'.²⁸⁸ The historiography tends to concentrate on regional radicalism through Cowen, which is not an overly problematic issue, as his importance as the political and press leader of radical Tyneside from 1854 onwards cannot be gainsaid. As most of

²⁸⁴ For British radical internationalism see Prothero, *Radical Artisans in England and France*, pp.112-113

²⁸⁵ *Northern Daily Express*, 14 Oct. 1856

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*

²⁸⁷ Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside*, p.6

²⁸⁸ *Daily Chronicle*, 14 Sep. 1859

the primary sources available to present the view of Tyneside radicals during the period were influenced by, or even written by Cowen, such as the Cowen Papers, and the *Chronicle*, there is little evidence of divisions, of the type which affected wider British radicalism. Whether this existed or not is a matter for further study, but this limited exploration concurs with the historiography, that Tyneside radicals were firmly supportive of the Mazzinian Risorgimento, with the caveat that this only became clear after 1854.

Tyneside liberals demonstrated sympathy for the Italian patriots from the beginning of the period. However, this was initially limited to sympathy for their suffering, rather than support for the Risorgimento movement. During the 1850s this began to translate into support, with No Popery agitation providing a start to the process. However, this limited support ‘waxed and waned’, in the words of Carter, with the international and domestic situation.²⁸⁹ It was only in the latter half of the decade, with the increasing liberalisation of Piedmont that Tyneside liberals began to support the Risorgimento movement towards Italian independence, as they saw the British system reflected in that state. Even then, this support was still sometimes ‘shallow’, until the Garibaldi expedition galvanised an enthusiastic, and concrete support.²⁹⁰ Tyneside liberals largely fit into the wider trend of British liberal consideration of the Risorgimento during the period, as both regional and national liberal opinion saw a combination of internationalism, built on ‘shared values of freedom, justice and fraternity’, and opposition to the political and religious oppression of the continental despots and the Papacy as being, as Bacchin states, ‘key traits of being Britons’.²⁹¹

The Catholics of Tyneside were relatively tranquil in regard to the Risorgimento during the period, with their demonstrations of filial devotion in 1848-1849, through the Address and financial contributions, swiftly dying down into near-silence once the immediate danger to the Pope was

²⁸⁹ Carter, ‘Introduction’, p.12

²⁹⁰ Ibid, p.15

²⁹¹ Elena Bacchin, ‘Brothers of Liberty: Garibaldi’s British Legion’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 58, no. 3 (2015), pp. 828 and 841

over. However, once the Papacy was directly threatened again in 1860 they presented a united front of support for the Pope, and condemnation of the Risorgimento.

Tyneside conservatives paid little heed to the Risorgimento movement prior to 1859. Their position on the movement varied during Garibaldi's campaign in Sicily. Whenever the expedition appeared to be on behalf of the French and revision of the Treaty of Vienna, or the republican Mazzinians their opposition was complete, as was demonstrated in their papers. However, when the expedition appeared to be on behalf of self-government and the Piedmontese monarchy, in opposition to a despot, or the Pope, the same papers became positive. The Crawshay case provided a more locally relevant reason to oppose the Risorgimento, thus placing Tyneside conservatives somewhat out of sync with wider British conservatism, which lacked such an issue.

This dissertation has provided a general overview of the reaction of four key groups on Tyneside to the Risorgimento, from 1848 to 1861. More in-depth study would be useful for each group, but especially for the conservatives of Tyneside, who are the least considered in the secondary literature. Even the response of the radicals, the most considered group, could use further study for the period after 1861.

Appendices

Appendix 1 (Political dimensions)

List of Members of Parliament from Tyneside, and their party.

Using information from *Newcastle Guardian*, 31 Aug.1850, Number 238; 7 Aug. 1852, Number 340; 20 Jan. 1855, Number 467; 4 Apr. 1857, Number 582; and *Newcastle Courant*, 6.May.1859, Number 9619 and George B. Hodgson, *The Borough of South Shields* (Newcastle: Andrew Reid and Company, 1903), p.170

Year	Constituency	Name	Affiliation (L=Liberal, C=Conservative)
1847	Gateshead	W. Hutt	L
	Newcastle	T. E. Headlam	L
	Newcastle	W. Ord	L
	South Shields	J. T. Wawn	L
	Tynemouth and North Shields	R. W. Grey	L
1852	Gateshead	W. Hutt	L
	Newcastle	T. E. Headlam	L
	Newcastle	J. E. B. Blakett	L
	South Shields	R. Ingham	L
	Tynemouth and North Shields	W. S. Lindsay	L
1857	Gateshead	W. Hutt	L
	Newcastle	Ridley	L
	Newcastle	T. E. Headlam	L
	South Shields	R. Ingham	L
	Tynemouth and North Shields	W. S. Lindsay	L
1859	Gateshead	W. Hutt	L
	Newcastle	Ridley	L
	Newcastle	T. E. Headlam	L
	South Shields	R. Ingham	L
	Tynemouth and North Shields	H. Taylor	C

Appendix 2 (Religious dimensions)

Estimated number of Catholics by Parish

From Roger Cooter, *When Paddy met Geordie The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle 1840-1880* (Sunderland: University of Sunderland, 2005), Appendices II to V. With his information gained from the *Status Animarum* for the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, volume 2, 1847-1912.

Parish	1847-9	1852	1855	1861
Durham	1,220	1,307	1,460	2,700
Felling	850	1,106	1,505	2,500
Gateshead	N/A	1,948	2,000	3,570
Newcastle (St Andrews)	5,500	8,500	8,700	5,964
Newcastle (St Mary's)	5,000	6,500	8,000	8,496
South Shields	1,000	1,200	1,750	1,330
Stella	N/A	800	1,100	1,270

Appendix 3 (Print Media dimensions)

Regional Newspapers by political/religious persuasion.

From Jonathon Bush, *"Papists and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845-70"*, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p.238

Name	Political View	Religious View
<i>Durham Advertiser</i>	Conservative	High Church Anglican
<i>Newcastle Courant</i>	Conservative	Anglican
<i>Newcastle Journal</i>	Conservative	High Church Anglican
<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i>	Liberal (Post-1859 the <i>Daily Chronicle</i> was a radical paper)	Dissenting
<i>Newcastle Guardian</i>	Liberal	Dissenting/ Evangelical
<i>Shields Gazette</i>	Liberal	Anglican

From Thomas J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England Case Studies from the North East 1832-1874*, (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1975), p.113

Name	Political View	Religious View
<i>Gateshead Observer</i>	Liberal	

From Hugh Shankland, *Out of Italy The Story of Italians in North East England*, (Kibworth Beauchamp: Troubador Publishing Ltd, 2014), p.56

Name	Political View	Religious View
<i>Northern Weekly Standard</i>	Conservative	

Appendix 4 (Glossary)

Allocution- A Papal decree.

conservative- Umbrella term for the upholders of the established order. Anti-republican, and anti-reform. Not limited to just the upper or middle classes on Tyneside, with working-class elements in industries such as shipbuilding.

Guildhall- The Newcastle Guildhall was where the Town Council met at the time, and where city meetings of a more official nature took place.

House of Savoy- The ruling dynasty of Piedmont-Sardinia.

Lecture Hall- A building in Newcastle where large gatherings for public discourse took place, such as meetings and lectures.

liberal- An umbrella term for a wide variety of beliefs, including key aspects such as ideas of individual freedom, constitutional government and limited political reform.

Mazzinian- Supporters of Giuseppe Mazzini, and the republican, unitarian Risorgimento he represented. Thus, also a blanket term for the radical supporters of the Risorgimento.

moderates- Blanket term for the Italian moderates, who opposed both insurrection and the Austrian presence in Italy.

Neo-Guelph- Moderate Italian nationalists who sought a Papal-led Confederation.

radical- An umbrella term for those demonstrating what Prothero calls the 'extreme form of liberalism'. Dedicated to ideas of democracy and equality, in opposition to privilege. Largely working-class on Tyneside, with a middle-class leadership/element.

Vicar Apostolic- Head of one of the four divisions of the English Catholic Church before the institution of the 1850 Hierarchy.

whig- More conservative-leaning liberals. Opposed to reform and protective of property rights and the international system created by the Treaty of Vienna. On Tyneside largely concentrated amongst the established, propertied liberal elite.

Appendix 5 (Key figures)

This appendix contains an overview of some important, and rather obscure figures who are relevant to this dissertation, but could not be considered in more detail in the actual body of this work as that would hinder the flow of the analysis.

Crawshay, George- At first a liberal, then a liberal-conservative figure in Tyneside politics. Iron-master and mayor of Gateshead. Follower of Urquhart in foreign policy, and chairman of the Urquhartite Newcastle Foreign Affairs Committee.

Fife, John- Medical professional, two-time former liberal mayor of Newcastle, and the figurehead of regional liberalism. Decidedly not radical, being knighted for his part in quelling Chartist unrest.

Gavazzi, Alessandro- Apostate Italian monk, initially with Mazzinian sympathies, but increasingly a pro-Piedmontese moderate. Chaplain with Garibaldi's force in 1860.

Larkin, Charles- Failed newspaper proprietor and liberal Catholic orator known for his high-strung oratory.

Newton, William- Radical-leaning Liberal Newcastle Councillor for East Saints Ward.

Orsini, Felice- Initially Mazzinian revolutionary best known in Britain for his 1854 escape from an Austrian prison, and his unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon III.

Stobart, George- Supporter of Crawshay and Urquhart. Secretary of the Urquhartite Newcastle Foreign Affairs Committee.

Stuart, Dudley- Liberal peer, and member of the Society of Friends of Italy.

White/ White-Mario, Jessie- Middle-class English radical who would later marry an Italian patriot. Self-appointed war correspondent in Italy, and medical officer in Garibaldi's campaign. A fervent Mazzinian, who was in correspondence with the patriot. Referred to as Jessie White before her marriage, and White-Mario afterwards.

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