Notes

Introduction: Britain and Italy, Religion and Politics


7. For a detailed account of how the first Italian governments (mis-)governed the southern provinces, see L. Riall, *Sicily and the Unification of Italy. Liberal policy and local power, 1859–1866*. Oxford, 1998.


13. Ibid.

14. Sicilians, for example, were seen as a superstitious people who needed ‘civilisation’ and ‘improvement’, for they possessed ‘all the vices of a civilized people, without their virtues’. In Riall, *Under the volcano*, p. 51.


26. Ibid.

27. In McIntire, England against the Papacy, p. 185.


29. Palmerston to Russell, TNA, Russell papers, PRO 30/22/21 – 3 March 1860, cit. in McIntire, England against the Papacy, p. 188.


32. Palmerston to Russell, TNA, Russell papers, PRO 30/22/21 – 6 October 1860.

33. John Stuart Mill to Pasquale Villari, 6 November 1860, cit. in Urban, *British opinion and policy on the Unification of Italy*, p. 570.

34. Ibid.


46. Ibid., pp. 3–4.


58. Ibid., p. 134.


60. Throughout the book, I have preferred not to use the concepts ‘national identity’ and ‘identity’, as they were never used at the time. Moreover, there are good arguments to sustain that it may not be possible, for historians, to study ‘national identity’ (even assuming that we are able to agree on what it is and what it means), as this would imply understanding what was going on in people’s minds when they thought about themselves and others. It is instead preferable to speak of ‘national character’ when examining (over-) simplified, and commonly prejudicial, assessments of the allegedly typical characteristics and cultural norms of the members of one’s own or, more often, another national community. See P. Mandler, ‘What is “national identity”? Definitions and applications in modern British historiography’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 3:2 (2006), pp. 271–297.


in Katzenelson and Stedman Jones, *Religion and the political imagination*, p. 185.


66. In his *The sacred in a secular age*, Philip Hammond wrote that ‘scholars do not – and probably cannot doubt the essential truth of the thesis’ (p. 1).


74. Ibid., pp. 360–362.

75. Ibid., 362.

76. Ibid.


80. See ibid., pp. 1–22.


82. Ibid., p. 5.

83. Ibid., p. 46.

84. Ibid., pp. 16–17.


86. Parry, *Democracy and religion*, p. 33.


93. On the imperial and international vocation of Irish Catholicism, and especially on Archbishop Cullen’s ambitions, see Barr, ‘“Imperium in Imperio”’, pp. 611–650.

95. I am grateful to Professor Alvin Jackson for his helpful insight on the relationship between Catholicism and the British Government. See D. Quinn, *Patronage and piety*.


98. See Chapter 1 for a wider discussion of these themes.


106. I am indebted to Professor Lucy Riall and Professor Alvin Jackson for directing my attention to this point.


110. Ibid.

111. Quinn, *Patronage and piety*, p. 5.


118. I am grateful to Professor Philippe Sarasin for introducing me to the ideas and methods underpinning the *Zentrum Geschichte des Wissens* (Centre for the History of Knowledge), jointly hosted by the University of Zurich and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETHZ).


123. Ibid., p. xli


125. Ibid., p. 13.


128. Ibid., p. 16.

129. Ibid., p. 224.


131. See an important work of historical sociology: Casanova, *Public religions in the modern world*. See also S. Bruce (ed.), *Religion and modernization. Sociologists and historians debate the secularization thesis*. Oxford, 1992. The history of American foreign relations has for long suffered a similar fate, which however has now been rectified by the work of Andrew Preston, and in particular by his magisterial *Sword of the spirit, shield of faith. Religion in American war and diplomacy*. New York, 2012. Nothing comparable exists, as yet, on the history of British foreign relations, although historians have begun to pay attention to the role played by religion in specific episodes of British foreign policy; see, for example, O. Figes, *Crimea: The last Crusade*. London, 2010; or, more generally, K. Robbins and J. Fisher, *Religion and diplomacy: Religion and British foreign policy, 1815 to 1941*. Dordrecht, 2010; and, for the interaction of European events with British politics, see Parry, *The politics of patriotism*. Interesting, but focusing upon an earlier time period, is D. Johnston and C. Sampson (eds.), *Religion: The missing dimension of statecraft*. Oxford, 1994.


138. Banti, La nazione del Risorgimento, pp. 119–120.


140. Ibid., p. 226; and Banti and Ginsborg, ‘Per una nuova storia del Risorgimento’, in Banti and Ginsborg, Storia d’Italia, p. xxxiv.


148. Ibid., p. 233.


151. On the international dimension of the Risorgimento, see Isabella, ‘Rethinking Italy’s nation-building 150 years afterwards’, pp. 254–255.


161. Important amongst the most recent publications are: C. Bayly and E.F. Biagini (eds.), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalisation of democratic

162. Banti, La nazione del Risorgimento, p. 56.
163. On some British perceptions of different parts of Italy, see Moe, The view from Vesuvius. On the intense cultural engagement of many Victorians and Edwardians with Italy, see Pemble, The Mediterranean passion.
168. La Civiltà Cattolica is a periodical published by the Society of Jesus since 1850. During the pontificate of Pius IX, it was under direct control of the Pope. At present, it is the only Catholic publication to be revised directly by the Secretariat of State of the Holy See before being published. See www.laciviltacattolica.it.
171. Ibid.
176. Ibid.


180. Gioacchino Ventura has been neglected by historians, but in his times and until the beginning of the twentieth century he was placed next to Vincenzo Gioberti and Antonio Rosmini as a major Catholic thinker. See now R. Romani, ‘Liberal theocracy in the Risorgimento’, European History Quarterly, 2014 (forthcoming). I am grateful to prof. Roberto Romani for having shown me a copy of his article before publication.


182. Although some progress has been made since Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg wrote, in 2001, that ‘one relevant area which has not been treated extensively, but which deserves significant attention, is the place of the Catholic Church in the cultural politics of “Risorgimento”’, in Russell Ascoli and von Henneberg, Making and remaking Italy, p. 19 n. 2; there is still much that is left unexplored.

183. On the concept of ‘national character’, see Romani, National character and public spirit in Britain and France.


185. Eric Hobsbawm debunked the idea that ‘communities of descent’ are either real or ancient, in E.J. Hobsbawm, Nations and nationalism since 1780,


187. Ibid.

188. ‘State-nations’ and ‘cultural nations’ are expressions coined by Friedrich Meinecke in 1907; see H. Kohn, *The idea of nationalism: A study in its origin and background*. New York, 1944. Ernest Gellner has attempted to create a more complicated model, however the basic dual distinction remains; see E. Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*.


190. Thus far, we only have a small number of good historical investigations into specific cases and contexts in which religion evidently played a role in the outworking of British policy abroad. See K. Robbins, ‘The British Churches and British foreign policy’, in Robbins and Fisher, *Religion and diplomacy*, p. 9.

191. Ibid.


199. Ibid., p. 5.

200. Ibid., p. 6.

201. ‘Britain’ and ‘England’ were employed interchangeably also during the nineteenth century, largely because of ‘the long-standing dominance of the English over other realms’, in Bell, *The idea of Greater Britain*, p. 2. See also P. Langford, *Englishness identified*. Oxford, 2000; K. Kumar, *The making


1 Italy as the ‘European India’: British orientalism, cultural imperialism, and anti-Catholicism, c. 1850–1870


4. *The Times*, 9 October 1850, p. 3.

5. *The Times*, 29 October 1850, p. 3.


8. G.I.T. Machin, ‘Lord John Russell and the prelude to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1846–51’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35 (1974), p. 289. Wiseman's mission was to ask whether a permanent British representative in Rome would be acceptable to the Pope: the answer was negative, however the Pope reiterated that a special envoy was most welcome; in Wiseman to Russell, TNA, Russell papers, 30/22/8F – 3 November 1850.


12. Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. II, p. 120.

13. Ibid.

14. Lord Clarendon realised that this time Russell’s language might have gone too far and invited him to issue another statement explaining what he meant. But Russell did not think it necessary. Clarendon to Russell, Clarendon Papers, Bod., Letterbook VI, 52 and 57 – 10 and 12 November


22. Ibid. Ulster unionists had been particularly attracted to the cause of Italian unification, as they were eager to draw a clear distinction between the struggles of Italian patriots and those of Irish nationalists, the former seen as constituting a civilising mission. See J. Bew, ‘Debating the union on foreign fields: Ulster unionism and the importance of Britain’s “place in the world”, c. 1830–c. 1870’, in Mulligan and Simms, *The primacy of foreign policy*, p. 147.


26. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill forbade the unauthorised use of any English or Scottish place name by any cleric, and affirmed that any property transfer using illegal names would be declared invalid and the land concerned confiscated by the Crown. See pp. 45–46 below.


42. McIntire, *England against the Papacy*, p. 3.
43. On the Newdegate case, see Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England*.
44. In ibid.; see also N. Claussion, ‘English Catholics and Roman Catholicism in Disraeli’s novels’, *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 33 (March 1979), pp. 454–74.
55. Correspondence between Lord Granville, Charles Grey, and Lord Ashley, Prince Albert’s Correspondence, vol. 6, items 35–36, 43, Imperial College, London, Archives of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 – 20 and 28 March 1851, in ibid.
56. J.R. Conor, Certain parts of the exhibition of the industry of all nations spiritualized. A sermon, preached in St Simon’s Parish Church, Liverpool, on Trinity Sunday, 1851. London, 1851, pp. 15–17, cit. in Cantor, Religion and the Great Exhibition of 1851, pp. 112–113.
59. Ibid., p. 248.
63. Queen Victoria’s journal, in Royal Archives, Victoria – 29 October 1850, cit. in Flint, Great Britain and the Holy See, p. 145.
64. F.W. Faber, Devotion to the Pope. London, 1860.
70. Ibid., and p. 172.
73. The Times, 24 February 1865, p. 5.


77. ‘There are various legal provisions which mean that the monarch cannot be a Roman Catholic, must join in communion with the Church of England and must swear to maintain the established churches of England and Scotland … These legal provisions are contained in the Bill of Rights 1688, the Act of Settlement 1700 and the Act of Unions, all reinforced by the provisions of the Coronation Oath Act 1680 and the Accession Declaration Act 1910.’, in L. Maer, ‘The Act of Settlement and the Protestant Succession’, Standard Note of the House of Commons: SN/PC/683, 24 January 2011. See Journals of the House of Commons, X, 15; and Journals of the House of Lords, XIV, 110, cit. in T. Claydon and I. McBride, ‘The trials of the chosen peoples: recent interpretations of Protestantism and national identity in Britain and Ireland’, in Claydon and McBride, Protestantism and national identity, p. 3.

78. See Romani, National character and public spirit in Britain and France.


82. Shields, ‘“That noble struggle”’, p. 159.

83. See Biagini, Liberty, retrenchment and reform, p. 225. See also Borutta, ‘Anti-Catholicism and the culture war in Risorgimento Italy’, in Patriarca and Riall, The Risorgimento revisited, p. 199.


85. Brand, Italy and the English romantics, p. 219.


89. In addition to Wallis, a surprisingly large number of other studies of anti-Popery and anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain, as well as of the pontificate of Pius IX, are overtly pro-Catholic and mildly anti-Protestant in character. See, for example, Buschkühl, Great Britain and the Holy See; R.J. Klaus, The Pope, the Protestants, and the Irish. Papal aggression


91. For more scholarly and nuanced views of anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain, see McIntire, England against the Papacy; D.G. Paz, Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England. Stanford, CA, 1992; Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England; Klaus, The Pope, the Protestants, and the Irish; Arnstein, Protestant versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England; and Wolfe, The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain.


96. Ibid., p. 2.

97. Ibid., p. ix. See also Pemble, The Mediterranean passion, pp. 55–60.

98. Ibid., pp. 2–3. See also Bebbington, The dominance of evangelicalism, pp. 21–23.


100. McNeile, Speech of the Rev. Dr M’Neile on the Italian and national defence questions.


102. Hilton, A mad, bad, and dangerous people?, p. 175.

103. Ibid., p. 176.

104. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in modern Britain, p. 100.


115. Ibid., p. 60.


120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. On Catholicism as ‘orientalised’ by progressive Europeans, see M. Borutta, ‘Settembrini’s world: German and Italian anti-Catholicism in the age of the culture wars’, in *European Studies*, 31 (2013), pp. 43–67.
125. On the ‘civilisational perspective’ see P. Mandler, ‘“Race” and “nation” in mid-Victorian thought’, in Collini, Whatmore and Young, *History, religion, and culture*, pp. 224–244. See also G.W. Gong, *The standard of civilisation in international society*. Oxford, 1984; and Pitts, *A turn to empire*, p. 14, where she has noted a dramatic increase in the ‘sense of cultural or civilizational confidence exhibited by thinkers across the spectrum of nineteenth-century political thought, from conservatives to liberals and radicals’.
128. Preston, *Sword of the spirit, shield of faith*, p. 17. That ‘fear and loathing of Catholicism fuelled England’s foreign policy to such an extent that English patriotism became suffused with, even indistinguishable from, Protestantism’ was as true in the seventeenth as in the nineteenth century, in ibid., p. 21.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
Notes to pp. 55–57

133. Ibid., p. 10.
134. Ibid.
140. See Broers, *The politics of religion in Napoleonic Italy*, pp. ix–x; and M. Broers, *The Napoleonic Empire in Italy, 1796–1814*. Basingstoke, 2005, p. 1. Most Italian liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century argued that Italy could learn much from the English model, but that an outright import of its institutions would prove unsuccessful. Rather, they preferred to hold the English political system as a source of inspiration, which had to be remodelled in order to respect local Italian peculiarities. Thus, ‘anglicised institutions’ would be resilient and long lasting. See Isabella, *Risorgimento in exile*, pp. 137–146.
146. Ibid., p. 188.


149. For an interesting critique of the use of ‘cultural imperialism’, especially when applied to Christian missions, see Porter, ‘“Cultural imperialism” and Protestant missionary enterprise’, pp. 367–391.


155. Ibid., p. 154.


157. See Patriarca, *Italian vices*.


167. I allow myself to borrow and adapt the context of this expression by Michael Broers, who has used it to describe French cultural imperialism in
Italy, in Broers, *The Napoleonic empire in Italy*, pp. 26, 273. See also Patriarca, ‘Indolence and regeneration’, pp. 382–383. There are however exceptions and instances in which Britain’s attitude to Italy assumed traits of military and political imperialism, such as in the dispute between Palmerston and Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies, in 1823: see M. De Cecco, ‘The Italian economy seen from abroad’, in Toniolo, *The Oxford handbook of the Italian economy since the unification*, p. 136.


170. Ibid., p. 134.


176. See Brand, *Italy and the English romantics*.


180. Ibid., p. 174.


186. See Borutta, ‘Anti-Catholicism and the culture war in Risorgimento Italy’, pp. 200–206.


189. Jane Schneider has argued that Italy was affected by a form of non-colonising Orientalism, in Schneider, ‘Introduction’, in *Italy’s ‘Southern Question’*, p. 5.


192. Moe, ‘This is Africa’, p. 123.


194. Ibid.

195. See also M. Meriggi, ‘Legitimism, liberalism and nationalism; the nature of the relationship between North and South in Italian unification’, *Modern Italy*, 19:1 (2014), pp. 69–79.


198. Ibid.

199. Pitts, *A turn to empire*, p. 259, note 5. Similar arguments have been made by Marshall and Williams, who, although they mention that the British saw themselves as the holders of a superior civilisation even when compared to other Europeans, nonetheless write of European condescension to non-Europeans as if there were no differences among the former (see Marshall and Williams, *The great map of mankind*, pp. 2–3). On the imperialistic tendencies of liberal thought, see also U.S. Mehta, *Liberalism and empire. A study in nineteenth-century British liberal thought*. Chicago, 1999.


202. In Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in mid-Victorian England*, p. 50. The Khoikhoi or Khoi are a native people of south-western Africa, who were labelled Hottentots by British immigrants, in imitation of the sound of the Khoekhoe language. This term is today considered derogatory.

Notes to pp. 66–67


210. Interestingly, sixteenth-century Jesuits who were sent to the south of Italy thought of their assignments as very much like missions to the New World, and referred to the South as the ‘Italian India’, see E. De Martino, La terra del rimorso. Contributo a una storia religiosa del Sud. Milan, 1961, p. 22, cit. in G.R. Saunders, ‘The magic of the south: popular religion and elite Catholicism in Italian ethnology’, in Schneider, Italy’s ‘Southern Question’, p. 178.


212. Pitts, A turn to empire, p. 13.

213. Ibid.

214. Hempton, Religion and political culture in Britain and Ireland, p. 174.


218. Pitts, A turn to empire, p. 21.

219. Agnew, ‘The myth of backward Italy in Modern Europe’, p. 34.


221. Ibid., pp. 233–234.

222. Ibid.


235. Ibid., p. 108.

236. Irish Conservatives had an answer ready to resist this criticism: they believed that, since free institutions and religious tolerance already existed in the United Kingdom, no analogy could be drawn between the oppression of the Italians under Papal rule and the experience of the Irish people under British rule. In Shields, “That noble struggle”. Irish Conservative attitudes

238. In ibid.
239. In ibid., p. 114.
240. Ibid., p. 109.
245. The concept of duty was essential in the political thought of Giuseppe Mazzini, who believed that educating citizens to the fulfillment of their duties would be crucial for the future of democracy. See G. Mazzini, The duties of man, trans. by E. Ashurst Venturi. London, 1862.
247. Ibid.
249. Ibid., pp. 28 and 9.

2 British missionary societies in Italy: evangelising a hostile land, 1850–1862

4. Ibid.
9. Although this chapter will deal primarily with English, Scottish, and Italian Protestants, the transnational network of missionaries and colporteurs working in Italy to export Protestantism was much wider and included
members of Welsh, German, Swiss, Scandinavian, and American Bible societies.


12. Ibid.


24. Manning to Gladstone, BL, Gladstone Papers, Add. MS 44248, CLXIII, fo. 214 – 10 October 1864, cit. in Norman, ‘Cardinal Manning and the temporal power’, p. 250. Novatian (circa 200–258) was a scholar, priest, and antipope who held the title between 251 and 258; Montanism was an early Christian movement of the late second century, referred to by the name of its founder, Montanus.


27. On the origins of colportage, see Introduction above.

28. The British knew the Waldensians well thanks to Colonel John Charles Beckwith, an Anglo-Canadian who moved to the Waldensian valleys in 1827 and lived there for almost all the rest of his life. He was, for a long time, their ‘spiritual guide’ and attempted to promote a renewal of the Waldensian Church, to make it more effective in its work of evangelisation. For an exhaustive account of Beckwith and the Waldenses see Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti*, pp. 188–200.

29. See Corrispondenza Europa – Scozia, XI/63, United Free Church (corrispondenza 1863–1898, fasc. 1); Church of Scotland (XI/62, Corrispondenza 1860–1959, fasc. 1); United Presbyterian Church (XI/64,
Corrispondenza 1866–1900, fasc. 1); Continental Society (XI/66, Corrispondenza 1860–1888); National Bible Society of Scotland (XI/67, Corrispondenza 1877–1940), all in ASTV.


33. Not all those who worked for the religious reformation of Italy were pleased with this noticeable presence of foreign evangelicals in Italy; for example, Alessandro Gavazzi wrote: ‘sad experience has thought me that the sects which send agents and missionaries to evangelise Italy have nothing in view but the glorification of their own denomination, by the transplanting of which to Italy we shall end miserably with religious strife and divisions’, in B. Hall, ‘Alessandro Gavazzi: a Barnabite friar and the Risorgimento’, in D Baker, Church, society and politics, Oxford, 1975, pp. 355.


36. L. Santini wrote that ‘perhaps, the strength of the sympathies grown in the Anglo-Saxon public opinion thanks to the fact that our Risorgimento evolved against the most immediate interests of the Roman Pontificate has not been valued enough. Societies... [and] committees were founded so as to help the newly born evangelical churches, and the exponents of Italian Protestantism who travelled through England received warm welcomes’, in L. Santini, ‘Alessandro Gavazzi e l’emigrazione politico-religiosa in Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti nel decennio 1849–1859’, Rassegna storica del Risorgimento, XLI (1954), p. 589.


38. Ibid.


40. A Voice from Italy, no. 6 (July 1861), p. 10.

41. The best biography of Guicciardini is Jacini, Un riformatore toscano dell’epoca del Risorgimento. See also Giorgi and Rubboli, Piero Guicciardini; and Viroli, Come se Dio ci fosse, pp. 160–161.

42. For a very good and brief sketch of Mazzarella’s career see: Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, pp. 376–380. For a longer biography, see instead: S. Mastrogiovanni, Un riformatore religioso del Risorgimento, Bonaventura Mazzarella. Torre Pellice, 1957. Also informative is R. Jouvenal, ‘Mazzarella,


44. A Voice from Italy, no. 1 (May 1860), p. 16.


46. R. Jouvenal, ‘Mazzarella, il Valdismo e la Riforma in Italia nel secolo XIX’, *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, XLIII (1956), p. 421. Domenico Maselli has pointed out that ‘the Waldensians were pro-Savoy and pro-government, whereas almost all the other [Protestants] were republican and left-wing’, in D. Maselli, *Storia dei battisti italiani, 1863–1923*. Turin, 2003, p. 27.

47. Ibid., p. 422. For Jouvenal ‘what was productive in Mazzini was his success in wrapping politics with religious semblances, but sterile was his failure in wrapping religion with political semblances, even though he deeply felt the need to do so. Not having understood this was Mazzarella’s real drama, as he wished the religious reformation of Italy’, in Ibid., p. 424.


52. *Church and State Review*, vol. IV – 1 March 1864, p. 132. Episcopalism in Italy was not very successful: a semi-serious attempt to establish an Episcopal Church in Italy was made by some congregations of the English Episcopal Church in Florence and Messina around the years of the Italian unification. Another attempt, even less successful, was made by an ex-priest influenced by English Protestantism, Giovanni Cerioni, who preached in Naples. Eventually the Episcopal Church decided to limit the scope of their presence in Italy to the care of English residents, in Spini, *Risorgimento e protestanti*, p. 343.


54. P. Cullen, ‘Letter communicating to the clergy of Dublin the allocution of His Holiness, on the 17th December, 1860’, in P.F. Moran (ed.), *The Pastoral

55. McIntire, England against the Papacy, p. 34.


57. Ibid., pp. 2–3.


60. See A Voice from Italy, no. 2 (August 1860), p. 6.

61. In M. Isabella, ‘Italian exiles and British politics before and after 1848’, in Freitag, Exiles from European revolutions, pp. 76–77; and in Riall, Garibaldi, 143.

62. RBFBS, vol. XVII, 1852, pp. liii. In the 1850s, the Italian and Swiss depots were one, and Graydon was the joint main agent. In its centenary history, the BFBS has always sold the Bible at a very low price, often less than cost, but has rarely given the Scriptures away for free.

63. There is no entry for Graydon in the Dictionary of National Biography or in any dictionary of ecclesiastical biography. Peter Lineham wrote that ‘Graydon was rather an eccentric; he disliked working with others, employed no colporteurs, and preferred to set up stocks of books in special depots. It is no doubt for this reason that he does not figure in histories of Italian Protestantism’, in P. Lineham, ‘English Bibles and Italian Protestants: the British and Foreign Bible Society’s Colportage Work in Italy, with Particular Reference to Count Piero Guicciardini’, in Giorgi and Rubboli, Piero Guicciardini, pp. 115–131.

64. Spini, Studi sull’evangelismo italiano tra otto e novecento, p. 93.


66. RBFBS, vol. XVII, 1852, pp. clxxxiv. The archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society are to be found in a special collection of the University of Cambridge Library – reports for every year of the society’s activities are stored there, as well as substantial correspondence and a wealth of other material, such as the proceedings of the yearly meetings of the Presidential Committee. Each report refers to the society’s activities of the year preceding the one in which it was written (e.g. the 1852 report is about 1851).

67. Ibid., pp. clxxxiv

68. Ibid., pp. liii.


73. RBFBS, vol. XVIII, 1855, pp. lxviii–lxix.

74. RBFBS, vol. XVIII, 1856, p. lxxxiv.

75. Ibid., pp. lixxxv–lxxxvi.
77. RBFBS, vol. XVIII, 1858, p. 123.
79. Ibid., p. lxxxiii.
82. In G. Tourn et al., You are my witness. The Waldensians across 800 years. Turin, 1989, p. 203.
85. Ibid.
86. ‘The evangelisation of Italy’, The Nonconformist – 8 February 1860, p. 105.
87. Other notable attendees were the Hon. A. Kinnaird, MP, Admiral Harcourt, Colonel Walker, Captain Trotter, Dr Holt Yates, Dr Camps, Gladstone, Dr Stewart, Reverend the Honourable Baptist Wriothesley Noel, and Professor Hoppus.
89. Ibid.
91. RBFBS, vol. XVIII, 1859, p. 120.
92. A Voice from Italy, no. 2 (August 1860), p. 15.
93. P. Cullen, ‘Discourse of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, at the meeting held in the Cathedral Church, Dublin, 9th January, 1860, to express sympathy with His Holiness’, in Moran, The Pastoral Letters and other writings of Cardinal Cullen, vol. I, p. 719.
94. RBFBS, vol. XX, 1861. pp. 87–89.
96. In Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, p. 332.
97. In Spini, Studi sull’evangelismo italiano tra otto e novecento, p. 86.
102. Ibid. – 1 October 1860.
103. At the same time, the Italian depot became independent and separated from Switzerland. The sales were increasing at a rapid enough pace to justify this change. Moreover, the territorial area covered by the Society was constantly expanding together with the Kingdom of Sardinia and later Italy.
104. ‘How could it be otherwise in the Italy of these years? The Austrian flag shook its blighting shadow over Venice and Lombardy; the Two Sicilies
covered under the brutal tyranny of King Bomba; the Vatican spun the irony web of its traditional policy of intellectual suppression and spiritual terrorism’, in Canton, *A history*, p. 97.

105. RBFBS, vol. XX, 1861, p. 85.


107. Of Bruce we know something thanks to the brief biographical sketch we find in Canton, *A history*, p. 93: ‘Thomas Humble Bruce had resided at Leghorn as a schoolmaster to the English colony since 1846, had long been interested in the welfare of the Tuscan people, and had given what help he could to the spread of the Gospel. Copies of the Scriptures in Italian, secreted in bales of goods and consigned to God-fearing merchants, were smuggled ashore by Bruce and his wife, and in the course of frequent journeys were passed into Florence’.


110. A *Voice from Italy*, no. 3 (November 1860), p. 5.


112. Ibid., p. 3.


115. RBFBS, vol. XX, 1861, p. 92.


118. A *Voice from Italy*, n. 8, January 1862, cit. in Danzi, *Presenze protestanti a Napoli*, p. 43.


121. Ibid.

122. RBFBS, vol. XX, 1861, p. 286.


125. Ibid.


individuals also contributed with substantial sums: for example J.A. Beith with £200 in 1868 and S. Portal with £40 in 1872 (£1 in 1850-1870 equals approximately £70-75 in 2014).


131. John S. Mackay to MMMr Joseph Malan, Corrispondenza Europa – Scozia, XI/64, United Presbyterian Church (corrispondenza 1866–1900, fasc. 1), ASTV – 5 November 1866.


133. Ibid., p. 722.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.


137. Anne Nisbet, Corrispondenza Europa – Inghilterra, XI/21, Miss Anne Nisbet (corrispondenza 1871–1882, fasc. 35), ASTV.


139. Letters of Louisa Cunning, in Corrispondenza 1879–1887, fasc. 13, ASTV.

140. See Anne Guthrie, Corrispondenza 1878–1914, fasc. 28; and Elisa De Sanctis, Corrispondenza Europa – Inghilterra, XI/20, Elisa De Sanctis (Corrispondenza 1873–1885, fasc. 18), ASTV.

141. Mrs Jemima J. Ford, Corrispondenza Europa – Scozia, XI/58, Mrs Jemima J. Ford (Corrispondenza 1872–1905), ASTV.


145. Ibid., p. 10.

146. Ibid., p. 10.


151. Ibid., p. 96–97.
152. *A Voice from Italy*, no. 5 (April 1861), p. 3.
153. Ibid., pp. 6–7.
154. Ibid., p. 8.


158. Q. Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought*, ii. *The age of reforma-


160. Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and democracy*, p. 35.
162. Ibid., p. 12.
164. However, in the writings by some authors, such as Monaldo Leopardi, one can already perceive their understanding that the *Ancien Régime* was lost forever and that the Catholic order to be created would need to be something new. In this sense, they were not ‘reactionaries’, but rather ‘innovators’. See Guerci, *Uno spettacolo non mai più veduto nel mondo*, pp. 6, 11.

166. Ibid., pp. 28–29.
168. On the ‘obsessive’ use of the concept of ‘anarchy’ by counter-revolutionary thinkers, see Guerci, Uno spettacolo non mai più veduto nel mondo, p. 5.
172. See Perreau-Saussine, ‘French Catholic political thought’, p. 150.
173. F. Borioni, Parole di un patriota cristiano. Pesaro, 1834, pp. 33–34, cit. in Isabella, ‘“Apostles of the nations and pilgrims of freedom”’, p. 84.
175. Isabella, ‘“Apostles of the nations and pilgrims of freedom”’, p. 86.
181. Only some of the most important anti-Protestant books and pamphlets have been analysed in the present chapter, although many more were written. See, for example, A. Nicolas, Del protestantesimo e di tutte le eresie nel loro rapporto col socialismo, 2 vols. Milan, 1857; A. Charvaz, Compendio della istruzione pastorale di Mr. Andrea Charvaz arcivescovo di Genova intorno al Prosellitismo Protestante in Italia. Milan, 1853; G. Margotti, Roma e Londra. Confronti. Turin, 1858; P. Stub, L’addio al protestantesimo: con dichiarazioni storiche e teologiche. Milan, 1871; L. De Segur, Trattenimenti famigliari sul protestantesimo de’ giorni nostri. Genoa, 1859; G. Perrone, L’ idea cristiana della Chiesa distrutta nel Protestantismo. Genoa, 1862; A. Nicolas, Del Protestantismo e di tutte le eresie nel loro rapporto col socialismo. 2 vols. Milan,


183. *Della introduzione del Protestantismo in Italia, tentata per le mene de’ novelia banditori d’errore nelle recenti congiunture di Roma, o sia la Chiesa Cattolica difesa colle testimonianze de’ protestanti*, per Agostino Theiner. Naples-Rome, 1850

185. Ibid.
186. Ibid.
187. Ibid., pp. 17–18.
188. Ibid., p. 95
189. Ibid.
190. Ibid., p. 106.
191. Ibid., pp. 17–18.
192. Ibid., p. XXXII.
193. Ibid., p. XXXIII.
194. Ibid., p. XXXV.
195. Ibid., p. XXXVI.


197. Ibid., p. VII.
199. Ibid. Emphasis in the original.


203. L. Rendu, *Gli sforzi del protestantismo in Europa ed i mezzi che adopera per sedurre le anime cattoliche*. Volterra, 1856.

204. Ibid., p. 61.
205. Ibid., p. 8.
206. Ibid., p. 20.
207. Ibid., pp. 8–9.
208. Ibid., p. 9.
Notes to pp. 106–114  253

209. Ibid., p. 21.
210. Ibid., p. 25.
212. On Italy’s Southern Question, see Schneider, Italy’s ‘Southern Question’; and Petruszewicz, Come il Meridione divenne una Questione. On Europe’s ‘Southern Question’, see Pemble, The Mediterranean passion. Nelson Moe’s The view from Vesuvius deals with both.
214. Ibid., pp. 15, 300. English translation: ‘Light them up! Light them up!’.
216. Ibid.
218. Ibid., p. 5.
219. Ibid., p. 8.
220. Ibid., pp. 8, 10.
221. Ibid., p. 11.
222. Ibid.
223. Ibid., p. 12.
224. Ibid., p. 15.
225. Ibid., pp. 15–16.
226. Ibid., p. 16.
227. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
228. Ibid., pp. 176–177.
230. Ibid.
231. Ibid., pp. 312–313.
232. Ibid., p. 315.

3 Religion and foreign policy: from Unification to the ‘desperate folly’ of the Syllabus, 1861–1864

2. McIntire, England against the Papacy 1858–1861, p. 3.
3. Odo Russell to Edmund Hammond, TNA, FO 918/37 – 7 December 1859. Underlined in the original.


7. J. Dixon to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 3 February 1860, f. 2504.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., pp. 198–199.


21. *The Roman Journals of Gregorovius, 1852–74*, trans. by G.W. Hamilton. London, 1911, p. 93. Gregorovius was a stern Prussian Protestant who despised the Papacy. Nevertheless, he was convinced that Rome was unsuitable to become the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, because it had been for too long the cosmopolitan capital of the world. See Chadwick, *A history of the Popes*, pp. 224–225.


28. Ibid., p. 33.

29. See Moe, *The view from Vesuvius*, pp. 219–221.


32. Ibid., pp. 36–37.


36. Ibid., p. 39.

37. Ibid., p. 50.


40. Odo Russell to Lord John Russell, TNA, FO 918/10 – 19 November 1859.


43. See McIntire, *England against the Papacy 1858–1861*.


52. In D’Azeglio to Cavour, 14 February 1861, in Cavour e l’Inghilterra, vol. II, p. 188.

53. See, for example, the articles on the Roman Question that appeared in 1861 in the Daily News, Daily Telegraph and Manchester Guardian. See also De Leonardis, L’Inghilterra e la Questione Romana, pp. 89–95.


56. Ibid., c. 1579.


58. The Times, 2 April 1861, p. 8.


62. Cit in Barr, ‘Lord Acton’s Irish elections’, p. 111


64. Barr, ‘Lord Acton’s Irish elections’, p. 103, n. 119.

65. Ibid., p. 103.


72. De Leonardi, L’Inghilterra e la Questione Romana, p. 104.
74. De Leonardi, L’Inghilterra e la Questione Romana, p. 97.
76. Ibid.
78. Hansard, 3rd ser., clxii, cc. 774–784.
79. Ibid., c. 786.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., cc. 788–793.
82. On the role played by Britain’s policy-makers, in particular through Russell and Hudson, in the escalation that led to the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy in March 1861, see P. Pastorelli, 17 marzo 1861. L’Inghilterra e l’Unità d’Italia. Soveria Mannelli, 2011.
84. Lord Russell to Sir James Hudson, London, TNA, PRO 30/22/14B – 5, 6 June 1861.
85. Hudson to Russell, TNA, FO 45/8 – 23 August 1861.
88. Odo Russell to Lord John Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/76 – 31 December 1861.
89. Palmerston to Lord Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/76 – 12 January 1862.
93. Lord Russell to Hudson, TNA, FO 45/19 – 2 April 1862.
95. See Chabod, Italian Foreign Policy, pp. 5–66.
98. Lord Russell to Hudson, TNA, FO 45/20 – 1 September 1862.
99. See the editorials of the Times, Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, 1–3 September 1862.
100. De Leonardi, L’Inghilterra e la Questione Romana, p. 119.
101. Lord Russell to Hudson, TNA, FO 45/20 – 15 September 1862.


105. In ibid., p. 215.

106. Hudson to Lord Russell, TNA, FO 45/25 – 31 August 1862.

107. Lord Russell to Hudson, TNA, PRO 30/22/14 – 17 September 1862.


110. Lord Donoughmore to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, Irish College, Rome – 28 October 1862, n. 197.


113. Archbishop Paul Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 20 January 1863, n. 25.


120. *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 16 April 1864, p. 4.

121. Ibid.


125. Ibid.


131. Perreau-Saussine, *Catholicism and democracy*, p. 46.


134. See, for example, Odo Russell to John Russell, TNA, FO 43/91B – 21, 31 December 1864; and Odo Russell to John Russell, TNA, FO 43/94A – 17 January 1865.


141. Ibid.


145. Ibid.


148. Ibid.


4 British missionaries and Catholic reaction: searching the soul of the new nation, 1862–1872

1. Sir Robert Peel, in *A Voice from Italy*, no. 5 (April 1861), p. 11.
3. *RBFBS*, vol. XX, 1862, p. 68.
4. Ibid., p. 68.
5. Ibid.
6. *A Voice from Italy*, no. 6 (July 1861), p. 2.
7. In 1862–1863 the number of people working for the Bible Society in Italy reached its peak, with about 30. Some of the most active were: Miss Burton, Mr Piggott, Rev. Mr Williams, Mr Cotter, the Rev. Mr Hall, Dr Steward, Carlo Lastrico, Mr Andreatini, Mr Roja, Mr Zanardi, Mr Bacci, the Rev. P. Meille, Sig. Tron, Sig. Lissolo, Sig. Giame and J.P. Gardiol.
9. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 108.
17. Ibid., p. 404.
21. Some also paid tribute to what they perceived as the superior religiosity of Muslims. See Pembel, *The Mediterranean passion*, p. 147.
25. Ibid., p. 89. Sermons were preached regularly in Florence, where some of the most influential foreign Protestants used to meet, using it as their ‘headquarters’. Among them, some notable members were: the Revs. F.H.S. Pendleton and G. Robbins of the English Episcopal Church; the Revs. Dr Revel and Geymonat, of the Waldensian; the Rev. W. Stallybrass, representing the Scotch Free Church; and the Rev. S. Hall, of the American Protestant Church.
26. Ibid., p. 90.
27. Ibid., p. 93.
28. *RBFBS*, vol. XX, 1862, p. 73.
30. *RBFBS*, vol. XXIV, 1870, p. 139.
36. Ibid., p. 74–75.
38. *RBFBS*, vol. XXI, 1863, p. 94.
40. Ibid., p. 7.
44. Ibid., p. 25.
45. Ibid.
52. Ibid., p. 33.
57. Borutta, ‘Anti-Catholicism and the culture war in Risorgimento Italy’, p. 207.
58. Ibid, p. 208, n. 5.
61. Ibid., p. 39.
62. Ibid., p. 41.
63. Ibid., p. 42.
64. Ibid., p. 43.
65. Ibid., p. 100.
67. But he had to wait a while before being able to leave for Italy, as a ‘person of vast influence in England’ tried to undermine his mission accusing him of inappropriately interfering in the religious beliefs of the Italians. See Maselli, Storia dei Battisti italiani, p. 18.
69. Maselli, Storia dei battisti italiani, p. 63.
70. Henry Elliott to Lord John Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/16C – 8 June 1866.
71. Bruce rapidly left Leghorn at the news of the liberation of Venetia and went to the newly freed land, where he met with the Rev. Robert Stewart, Daniel Gay (a Waldensian student) and Angelo Castioni (a colporteur already operating in the vicinities). See Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, p. 360.
72. RBFBS, vol. XXII, 1867, p. 128.
73. For a full account of the Barletta massacre see The Times, 28 March 1866, p. 9 and 30 March 1866, p. 8.
75. Ibid., p. 65.
76. The Times published articles on Barletta on 28 March, 30 March, 3 April, 4 April, 6 April, 9 April, 2 June and 22 June 1866, up until the pronouncement of the sentence by the local tribunal on 4 January 1867. See also the Manchester Guardian, on 11 April, and 18 April 1866, p. 390.
77. See the Christian Observer, June 1866, p. 448. See also the Daily News, 30 March 1866, p. 4; 31 March, p. 4; 2 April, p. 6; and the Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper, 1 April 1866, p. 2.
78. The Guardian, 11 April 1866, p. 366.
82. Jacini claimed that the first narration of the alleged massacre was published in L’Eco della Verità by Gaetano Giannini (the Protestant pastor in Barletta, who managed to escape the massacre) on 28 March. However, this information is incorrect, because British newspapers had already published the news on 28 March, with the incident happening on the 19 of that month. The article that appeared in The Times on 28 March, for example, is an exhaustive summary of what had appeared in the Corriere delle Marche a few days earlier. See Jacini, Un riformatore toscano, pp. 244–245.
83. One of the best accounts of the Barletta episode is to be found in The Guardian, 11 April 1866, p. 366.
86. Ibid.
89. Ibid.; and D. Lebovitch Dahl, ‘The antisemitism of the Italian Catholics and nationalism: “the Jew” and “the honest Italy” in the rhetoric of La Civiltà Cattolica during the Risorgimento’, Modern Italy, 17:1 (2012), p. 3.
92. *RBFBS*, vol. XXII, 1868, p. 120. See also Canton, *A history*, p. 94.
95. Ibid., p. 24.
98. Ibid.
100. Alexandra Werdes, ‘Bildet euch!’, *Die Zeit*, 23 December 2008, p. 65. Interestingly, in his research Ludger Woessman also discovered that, still today in contemporary Germany, Protestants earn more in average than their Catholic compatriots and, also, that in general they have a higher level of education.
102. Ibid., pp. 124–125.
103. Mr Bruce to Rev. S.B. Bergne, *Agents Book no. 119, RBFBS*, p. 84.
104. Mr Bruce to Rev. Jackson, 13 April 1869, *Agents Book no. 119, RBFBS*, p. 258. Here he also pointed out to two new periodicals that he thought will do more harm than good to the Italians: *Libero Pensiero* and *Il Dovere*.
106. Ibid., p. 1.
109. Ibid., p. 140–141.
110. Owen Chadwick wrote: ‘If there was to be a unified Italian State, it had to include Rome. That was not the same as saying, for instance, that it must include Nice; the name of Rome was magical in the history of Italians. Once it had ruled the world. A movement for the unity of Italy could not stop short at Rome, Rome had to be the goal’, in Chadwick, *A history of the Popes*, p. 151.
117. Mr Bruce to Rev. Bergne, 24 September 1870, Agents Book no. 128, RBFBS, p. 344.
118. Spini, Studi sull’evangelismo italiano, p. 87.
120. Spini, Studi sull’evangelismo italiano, p. 163.
122. See Mr Bruce to Rev. Bergne, 28 February 1869, Agents Book no. 119, RBFBS, pp. 197–199.
131. For a history of Italian Protestantism after 1870 see Giorgio Spini, Italia Liberale e protestanti.
132. The democratic left supported such a proposition, but the majority of the Chamber of Deputies voted against it and approved a simple statement that stipulated that the Government would abstain from any interference in all religions professed in the Kingdom of Italy, in Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, p. 384.
133. Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti, p. 385.
137. Ibid., pp. 29–30.
139. RBFBS, vol. XXII, 1866, p. 104.
141. Ibid.
5 Protestant foreign relations and the last years of the Roman Question, 1865–1875

2. ‘When Eva moved, and bit the apple / Jesus to save man, made himself a man / But the Vicar of Christ, the Ninth Pius / To enslave man, wants to make himself God.’ This was a pasquinade often delivered publicly in Rome during the First Vatican Council, in F.A. Gregorovius, Römische Tagebücher. Stuttgart, 1893, entry for 12 March 1870, cit. in E.P. Noether, ‘Vatican Council I: its political and religious setting’, Journal of Modern History, 40:2 (June 1968), p. 231.
6. Ibid., 17 October 1864.
8. In M. Minghetti, La Convenzione di Settembre. Bologna, 1899, p. 204.
11. In Emanuele d’Azeglio to Alfonso Lamarmora, ASMAE, Busta Londra, Rome – 12 November 1864.
12. As early as 20 July 1864 Lord John Russell had sent a despatch to Henry Elliot, British representative in Turin, to inform him that Her Majesty’s Government view was that after the death of Pius IX the Italian Government ‘ought to endeavour to come to some understanding with the Emperor of the French as to his position with respect of Italy’, in Lord Russell to Henry Elliot, TNA, FO 45/55 – 20 July 1864.
13. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
22. Ibid., 31 January 1865.
23. Ibid; and Blakiston, Roman Question, p. 306.
24. Lord John Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/111 – 20 February 1865.
25. Clifton ‘was one of the best of the English bishops’ and, at the Vatican Council of 1869, ‘he was totally against the definition of infallibility’, in Chadwick, A history of the Popes, p. 207.
26. Lord John Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/111 – 20 February 1865.
27. Ibid.
30. Lord John Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 4394A – 5 May 1865.
31. Ibid.
32. Earl Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 43/94A – 6 May 1865; and Earl Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/111 – 8 May 1865.
33. Odo Russell to Earl Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/77 – 17 May 1865.
37. Ibid., p. 242.
38. Manning, The temporal power, p. xxxix.
40. Manning, Christ and Antichrist, p. 6, cit. in Norman, ‘Cardinal Manning and the temporal power’, p. 244.
41. Manning, Christ and Antichrist, p. 6, cit. in Norman, ‘Cardinal Manning and the temporal power’, p. 244.
42. Manning, The temporal power, p. 129.
43. Manning to Gladstone, BL, Gladstone Papers, Add. MS 44248, CLXII, fo. 152 – 4 September 1861, cit. in Norman, ‘Cardinal Manning and the temporal power’, p. 245.
44. Manning, Christ and Antichrist, p. 5, cit. in Norman, ‘Cardinal Manning and the temporal power’, p. 245.
46. On the ‘civilisational perspective’ see ‘Introduction’ and Chapter 1.

48. Lord Clarendon to Sir Augustus Paget, TNA, FO 361/1 – 1 March 1870.


51. See Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 361/1 – 28 March 1870; and Emanuele D’Azeglio to Count Menabrea, ASMAE, Busta Londra – 8 February 1869.


53. Ibid., pp. 292–293.


57. Odo Russell to Earl Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/16 – 28 March 1866.


59. Earl Russell to Odo Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/16 – 4 June 1866.

60. Ibid.

61. Archbishop Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 30 September 1866, f. 255, and 14 August 1866, f. 188.


63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 43/96B – 12 June 1866.

66. Ibid.


69. In Emanuele d’Azeglio to Visconti Venosta, ASMAE, Busta Londra – 21/11/1866; and d’Azeglio to Visconti Venosta, ibid. – 22/10/1866.


71. Emanuele d’Azeglio to Visconti Venosta, ASMAE, Archivio Visconti Venosta, fol. 5–9/C – 14 July 1866.


73. Lord Stanley to Lord Bloomfield, TNA, FO 356/33 – 1 August 1866.

74. See ASV, Segreteria di Stato, envelope 229, ff. 42852 and 42880 – 1866.


76. Odo Russell to Lord Stanley, TNA, FO 43/96B – 8 August 1866.

77. Ibid. – 4 December 1866.

78. Ibid. – 8 August 1866.
79. Pius IX grew increasingly hostile to Liberal Catholicism and, in 1874, he sentenced that ‘Liberal Catholicism is to keep a foot in truth and one in error, a foot in the Church and one in secularism, a foot with me and one with my enemies’, in Aubert, *Il pontificato di Pio IX*, vol. I, p. 407.


82. Odo Russell to Earl Cowley, TNA, FO 519/205 – 27 March 1867. See also Cardinal Antonelli’s note, ASV, Segreteria di Stato, 1870, f. 52056.

83. A copy of the proclamation is in Odo Russell to Lord Stanley, TNA, FO 43/99A – 6 April 1867.

84. Ibid.

85. The conclusion of the document does not leave room for any mediation, and it is a remarkable piece of propaganda which Russell reported in the original Italian: ‘Uniamoci e vogliamo. Volere è potere – Vogliamo – ed il potere temporale del Papa avrà cessato di esistere; e la bandiera italiana dall’alto dei sette colli saluterà Roma Capitale d’Italia,’ in ibid.


87. Odo Russell to Earl Cowley, TNA, FO 519/205 – 10 April 1867.


90. Ibid., p. 250. See Verucci, *L’Italia laica prima e dopo l’Unita’*.

91. Archbishop Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 18 October 1867, f. 384.

92. Ibid.

93. Sir Augustus Paget was British Minister to Italy from 1867 to 1876, and British Ambassador to Italy from 1876 to 1883 (after the upgrading of the British mission). Of him the Earl of Granville said: ‘Paget has always appeared to be… a grumbling Tory, but in Italian matters as Anti papal as possible.’ In A. Ramm (ed.), *The Gladstone–Granville correspondence*. Cambridge, 1998, p. 341 – Granville to Gladstone, 20 August 1872 and Gladstone to Granville, 21 August 1872. See also G. Stopiti, *Sir Augusto Berkeley-Paget, ambasciatore della Gran Bretagna presso la R. corte d’Italia*. Rome, 1883.

94. Lord Stanley to Sir Augustus Paget, TNA, FO 45/103 – 22 October 1867.

95. Ibid.

96. Lord Stanley to Paget, TNA, FO 45/103 – 23 October 1867.


98. Paget to Lord Stanley, TNA, FO 45/103 – 27, 28 October 1867.


107. Ibid. – 15 November 1867.
112. Ibid. The Scottish hierarchy would eventually be re-established on 15 March 1878 by Pope Leo XIII.
114. Lord Clarendon to Earl Russell, TNA, PRO 30/22/16 – 1 January 1868; and Clarendon to Gladstone, Gladstone Papers, BL, add. Mss 44133, ff. 118–121 – 26 June 1868.
116. All we know is that he professed to detest evangelicals, and he once wrote that he was ‘no sceptic…[I] believe in the resurrection of man and his admission to paradise’, in H.E. Maxwell, *Life and letters of George William Frederick, fourth Earl of Clarendon*. London, 1913, vol. II, p. 362. This was, to say the least, a very cautious theological position for a man to hold in mid-Victorian Britain.
120. A couple of years later Odo Russell would write to the Earl of Clarendon: ‘The Irish Bishops are a hopeless set of humbugs, talking one way, writing another and acting a third, ignorant, cunning and deceitful like Neapolitans,’ in Odo Russell to Lord Clarendon, Bod., Clarendon Papers, C. 487 – 10 April 1870.
129. Correspondance de Rome, 10 January 1868, in Odo Russell to Lord Stanley, TNA, FO 43/101 – 13 January 1868.
130. Archbishop Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 15 November 1867, f. 417.
131. Archbishop Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 24 November 1867, f. 425.
132. Freeman’s Journal, 30 December 1864.
133. See, for example, Archbishop Cullen to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 3 April 1868, f. 112; and ibid. 15 April 1868, f. 126.
135. Ibid., my emphasis.
136. Ibid.
138. Ibid.
140. Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 918/2 – 8 January 1870.
143. Ibid., p. 228.
147. Gladstone to Lord Clarendon, TNA, FO 918/1 – 21 May 1869.
152. The majority of the members of the opposition came from the most conservative regions of Catholic Europe, where the impact of the French Revolution had been minimal and where there was resistance to the idea that the world had changed and that the church needed to adapt to this new state of things. These were, in fact, also the regions where Ultramontanism was weakest. See Perreau-Saussine, Catholicism and democracy, p. 72.
153. Felix Antoine Philibert Dupanloup was the Bishop of Orléans. See Odo Russell to Lord Clarendon, Bod., Clarendon Papers, C. 487 – 8 December 1869; and Odo Russell to Lord Clarendon, TNA, FO 43/103B – 8 December 1869.


156. Lord Acton to Gladstone, Lord Acton Papers, University Library, Cambridge, letter no. 102, 8119 (9) – undated.


160. Odo Russell to Arthur Russell, TNA, FO 918/84 – 12 and 16 March 1867.

161. Ibid.


164. Ibid., 151.


168. Ibid.

169. Ibid.


171. Ibid.


174. Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 361/1 – 1 March 1870.

175. Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 361/1 – 1 March 1870.


179. Ibid.

180. Lord Clarendon to Odo Russell, TNA, FO 361/1 – 30 May 1870.


190. See Wright, ‘British foreign policy and the Italian occupation of Rome’, p. 163.
192. Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, FO 43/109 – 8 August 1870. See also Sir Augustus Paget to Earl Granville, ‘Correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome’, House of Commons Accounts and Papers (1871), vol. LXXII – 3 August 1870.
193. Ibid.
194. Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, FO 43/109 – 27 August 1870.
198. Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, 43/109 – 10, 11 September 1870.
199. See Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, FO 43/109 – 11 September 1870.
200. Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, FO 43/109 – 14, 15 September 1870.
201. Mr Jervoise to Earl Granville, TNA, FO 43/109 – 11 September 1870.
204. In ibid., p. 132.
206. Lord Graville to Paget, TNA, PRO 30/29/112 – 22 September 1870.
210. In Ramm, Gladstone–Granville correspondence, p. 188.
211. In ibid.
218. The Times, 22 September 1870, p. 7.
219. Ibid.
220. Ibid.
221. The Times, 28 September 1870, p. 9.
223. See Manning to Gladstone, BL, Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44249, 206-7 – 22 September 1870.
225. In Earl of Granard to T. Kirby, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 1 January 1871, f. 2.
226. Ibid.
227. Gladstone to Mr Bennet, copy in Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 11 April 1871, f. 67.
231. Tobias Kirby to Earl of Granard, Papers of Rector Tobias Kirby, IC, Rome – 23 April 1871, f. 83.
232. For an interpretation of the British government’s decision to maintain a warship at the port of Civitavecchia, see Wright, ‘British foreign policy and the Italian occupation of Rome’, pp. 161–176.
241. Ibid., p. 5.
242. Ibid., p. 6.
243. Ibid., p. 11.
245. Ibid.
247. Ibid., p. 17.
248. Ibid., p. 18.
253. Ibid., p. 50.
254. Ibid., p. 60.
256. Ibid., p. 103.
257. H.E. Manning, The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on civil allegiance. London, 1875.
258. Perreau-Saussine, Catholicism and democracy, p. 67.
260. Perreau-Saussine, Catholicism and democracy, pp. 46, 64.
267. W.E. Gladstone, Vaticanism: an answer to replies and reproofs. London, 1875. Vaticanism was not Gladstone’s last pamphlet on Roman Catholicism, for he continued to write about the Catholic Church and the Italian State long after that. Already in October 1875 he returned to the subject and published the important ‘Italy and her Church’ in the Church Quarterly Review.
269. Lord Elmy to Gladstone, BL, Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44152, 235 – 10 October 1874; in Shannon, Gladstone, p. 266.
272. Ibid.
273. Ibid.
275. See Chapters 2 and 4.

281. McIntire, England against the Papacy, p. 3.

282. Among Western countries, Italy has some of the highest levels of ‘functional illiteracy’, i.e. in 2014 between 45 per cent and 70 per cent of Italian adults were unable to interpret a simple text or to perform basic mathematical calculations. See http://www.isfol.it/primo-piano/id-dati-dellindagine-isf ol-piaac http://www.repubblica.it/scuola/2013/10/08/news/boeri-68188448/; and http://www.repubblica.it/scuola/2013/10/08/news/ocse_gli_adulti_non_sanno_leggere_e_far_di_conto_dalle_indagini_italia_ultima_in_europa-681 87622/ [all accessed on 10 March 2014].

**Conclusion: ‘Great’ because Protestant, ‘Oriental’ because Catholic**

5. Ibid., p. 271.
6. Ibid.
7. See Barr, Finelli and O’Connor, *Nation/Nazione*.
9. Ibid., p. 268.
15. Batalden, Cann and Dean, *Sowing the word*, p. 9.
17. Ibid., p. 10.
23. Ibid.
26. Larkin, *The consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland*, p. 50
27. Riall, ‘Anticattolicesimo e rinascita cattolica’, p. 44.
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