Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890

Diana Moore

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TRANSNATIONAL NATIONALISTS:
COSMOPOLITAN WOMEN, PHILANTHROPY,
AND ITALIAN STATE-BUILDING 1850-1890

by

DIANA MOORE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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ABSTRACT

Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building 1850-1890

by

Diana Moore

Advisor: Mary Gibson

“Transnational Nationalists: Cosmopolitan Women, Philanthropy, and Italian State-Building, 1850-1890” is a study of Protestant and Jewish transnational reforming women who took advantage of a period of fluidity to act as non-state actors and impact Italian unification and liberation, a process known as the Risorgimento, and subsequent Italian state-building. Inspired by Giuseppe Mazzini’s spiritual brand of romantic cosmopolitan nationalism, as well as Giuseppe Garibaldi’s military campaigns, and believing that women had a god-given duty to provide education, morality, and uplift to oppressed groups, they worked to provide Italy not only with physical unification but also moral regeneration. Through an examination of their published and private works, I analyze how they publicized, fundraised, and conspired for the Risorgimento, and how they later worked to continue its legacy through biographical works, early childhood education, and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution. Through this, I challenge the boundaries between national and transnational, between the charitable and the political, and between public and private.
Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this dissertation on my own and I would like to take this time to thank the people who helped to make it possible. First off, I would like to thank my advisor, Mary Gibson, who has provided consistent guidance and support not only throughout the many phases and drafts of this project, but also throughout my development from a recent undergraduate student into an academic. I would also like to thank Kathleen McCarthy and the Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society for supporting my work. To the other members of my dissertation committee: Timothy Alborn, Silvana Patriarca, and Francesco Bregoli, thank you for taking the time to read my work and for allowing me to benefit from the expertise you each have in your various fields of study. Thank you also to the members of our Italian History dissertation group, Francesca Vassale, Sultana Banulescu, Victoria Calabrese, and Davide Colasanto, for reading my chapters, even when they were long and messy, and for providing a community of support and so many models for me to emulate as a writer and scholar. To Jessica Strom, thank you for being such a support on my research trips and for engaging in the many discussions about obscure Risorgimento figures that only you and I would enjoy. Finally, thank you to all of the other professors and scholars along the way who helped to bring this project to completion.

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Finally, to my parents, my husband, and all the other family and friends who have supported me during this journey, thank you so much for your love and understanding. I could not have done it without you.
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### ABBREVIATIONS OF ARCHIVES

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<tr>
<td>ACS</td>
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<td>BAB</td>
<td>Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio Bologna</td>
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<td>MCRR</td>
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Introduction

A standard history of Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century divides the period into two halves: poetry and prose. The poetry period comprises the time of Italian Unification and rebirth, the Risorgimento, and historians emphasize its sense of possibility, hopes, dreams, and idealism. The following period of Liberal Italy is contrastingly termed an age of prose.¹ Characterizing this as a period of harsh realities, historians emphasize how the first decades of the Italian state were marked by political conservatism, continuing poverty and economic instability, a struggling bureaucracy and parliament, and a lack of national unity, all stemming from the "failed" or "incomplete" revolution of the Risorgimento.

This dissertation will provide an alternate narrative to this story and this division. The poetry-prose periodization comes from scholars focusing on the political, diplomatic, and military actions of Italian men. By focusing instead on transnational figures, women, left-wing revolutionary movements, social activism, and philanthropy, I show the continuity between those two periods and the elements of both idealistic dreaming and pragmatic realism present in each. The process of state creation evolved into the process of state building throughout the period from 1850 to 1890 with a limited distinction between the two. Throughout the process, non-state actors worked alongside and sometimes competed with state actors to reform the Italian

¹ One example of this periodization is found in Christopher Duggan, *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy Since 1796* (London: Allen Lane, 2007). In his organization for the book, divides the period into “Part Three: Poetry, 1846-60,” and “Part Four: Prose, 1861-87.” See also, Fulvio Cammarano, *Storia politica dell’Italia liberale: l’età del liberalismo classico, 1861-1901* (Roma: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1999). Cammarano also contrasts the “poesie” of the Risorgimento with the “prosa” of the rule by the Right in Italy.
peninsula and to create a new and better Italian state. The struggles of the Italian state to establish new national agencies and to govern and unite its citizens in the decades leading up to 1890 actually allowed for non-state agents to act in ways that they could not in the later period. I focus on a specific group of non-state agents, namely a group of transnational women who worked in both revolutionary and philanthropic campaigns in Britain and Italy from roughly 1850 to 1890. I examine how they used this period of Italian instability and fluidity to act as independent agents and to have an impact in shaping the course of the development of the Italian state.

The main women of this study are: Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Sara Nathan, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Elizabeth Chambers. All five of these women were living in Great Britain in the period before 1861 when they came into contact with exiled Italian patriots, most notably Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, and became deeply involved in the fight for Italian unification and the reform of the Italian peninsula. These middle-class women used their education, status, and wealth, as well as the transnational networks and organizational lessons learned from their work in philanthropy and local charities, to participate in the Italian Risorgimento and involve themselves in Italian politics. During the struggle for unification they wrote and translated newspaper articles, gave lectures, raised funds, helped to plan conspiracies, and served as nurses for Garibaldi and his soldiers. Throughout the first decades of the Italian state, they then worked to facilitate the moral reform and regeneration of the Italian people by establishing primary schools, fighting against state-regulated prostitution, and working to ensure that the legacy and dream of the radical left lived on. White Mario, Saffi, Nathan, Schwabe, and Chambers were influential and important in their own time, but have been subsequently understudied and undervalued. It is the goal of this dissertation to more fully
explore the lives, actions, and motivations of these women and, in doing so, to challenge our assumptions about the period of Italian unification and state-building.

One of the major tasks of this dissertation is to provide a reevaluation of the Italian Risorgimento and the Liberal Era by showing how not only Italian men, but also non-Catholic and non-Italian women, participated in the creation and development of the Italian state. In doing so, I emphasize the transnational elements of national development, drawing attention to the ways in which the Italian state and sense of self were shaped by outside forces. The women studied for this project were constantly moving, writing, communicating, and sending money across borders as they worked to create and improve the Italian state.

I also highlight female agency, revealing that women were not merely recipients of nationalist discourses or national policies, but helped to shape them. They took advantage of the openness to female involvement of certain left-wing thinkers and politicians, like Giuseppe Mazzini, as well as the general instability and neediness of the Italian state and acted to impose their vision for reform onto the Italian people. To see this activity and agency, however, we need to look beyond the creation and implementation of national legislation, focusing instead, for instance, on how they changed public opinion by writing newspaper articles or founding educational institutions. This dissertation therefore challenges the divide between political and philanthropic and reveals how these women carried their same motivations, networks of contacts, and organizational methods with them from the patriotic efforts of the Risorgimento onto the philanthropic efforts of the Liberal Era.

Finally, I call for a reevaluation of the role of religion throughout the later 19th-century, arguing that this was not a predominantly secularized period but rather one in which religious identity greatly shaped both personal and private decisions. The Risorgimento, for instance, was
a deeply spiritual phenomenon. Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, and Giorgina Craufurd believed that Mazzini’s ideas represented not a political system but a faith and they saw themselves as his loyal apostles rather than as mere political agents. Anticlericalism was also a powerful motivating factor and many supporters of the Risorgimento, British and Italian alike, hoped that unification would bring with it not only a move away from despotic governments but also a curtailing of the Pope’s influence in Italy. This Liberal anti-Catholic rhetoric was persuasive as it resonated with British anti-Catholic sentiment and desire to spread Protestantism. While these arguments drew British women to the cause of the Italian Risorgimento, they also reinforced negative stereotypes about Italians and made it easier for the British women to retain their sense of superiority in regards to the Italian people. By recognizing the importance of religion, as well as anti-clericalism, therefore, I show how British involvement in Italy was in some ways a continuation of their civilizing mission within Europe and further stress the continuities, rather than the divisions, between secular politics and religious charity.

**Background & Historiography: The Risorgimento & Liberal Italy**

*Background*

The Italian Risorgimento is generally understood as the process of struggle, revolution, and negotiation through which the Italian state came into being. Before 1861, no nation of Italy existed and the Italian peninsula was divided between multiple authoritarian and conservative states. The Kingdom of Piedmont in the north of Italy was the only state to possess a constitution and even there few Italians had the right to vote. Poverty was widespread and industrialization was meager and sporadic at best. Nineteenth-century Italian nationalists fought to overcome these difficulties and to reform, modernize, and unite the peninsula through a process they called
the Risorgimento. On the left were the radicals, led by Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, who organized uprisings and revolutions to bring about a unified and republican Italy. In 1848-49 republicans staged nationalist revolts in Milan, Venice, and Rome, to initial success but ultimate failure. Following these disappointments radical republicans continued to organize small-scale revolts, while the moderate diplomats on the right worked towards an alternate solution. These middle-class Piedmontese liberals, after 1859 led by Count Camillo de Cavour, the Prime Minister of Piedmont, worked through the channels of diplomacy and conventional warfare to ultimately bring about an Italian state under the auspices of Piedmont’s monarchy.

Italian Unification, in fact, was a form of Piedmontese expansion; the northern states of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna, for instance, unified in March 1860 in a highly-staged plebiscite that called for annexation to Piedmont. The story of Southern Italy was slightly more complicated. The territories were initially liberated from the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two Sicilies through the revolutionary campaign of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Though Garibaldi’s small group of volunteer fighters was underprepared and undersupplied, his forces successfully marched across Sicily, defeating Bourbon troops and cultivating popular support, and captured Palermo by the end of May and Naples in early September 1860, thereby placing all of southern Italy under Garibaldi’s control. As Garibaldi’s victories mounted, Prime Minister Cavour made a plan to take advantage of the moment and sent Piedmontese troops south towards Naples. Cavour put pressure on Garibaldi to give up control of the south in favor of Italian unification and to hold a plebiscite. In late October the plebiscites were held in Naples and Sicily, leading to

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2 A local revolt that had broken out in Sicily in April 1860. Garibaldi’s forces were inspired by this uprising and aimed to take advantage of it and sailed for Sicily where they landed on May 6th. See Alfonso Scirocco, Garibaldi: Citizen of the World: A Biography, translated by Allan Cameron (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007) 244-45.
the unification of the majority of the Italian peninsula under Piedmontese control.\(^3\) On March 17\(^{th}\) 1861, the newly formed Italian parliament then declared King Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont-Sardinia the King of Italy and Count Camillo de Cavour, former Prime Minister of Piedmont, the first Prime Minister of Italy. In addition to retaining Victor Emmanuel and Cavour as the major political leaders, the new Italian state also kept the Piedmontese army, parliament, administrative and judicial system, laws, currency, taxes, tariffs, and schooling system.\(^4\) It truly represented Piedmontese expansion as much as it did Italian Unification.

The Risorgimento was not complete in the eyes of many Italians, however, until the cities of Venice and Rome became part of Italy. Venice remained under Austrian control and Rome was still held by Papal forces, supported by French troops. Though radical forces led multiple campaigns and attempts to recapture Rome and Venice through armed insurrections which were intended to prompt a republican revolution across Italy, ultimately, both Rome and Venice were obtained as the result of the same moderate forces, Realpolitik strategizing, and government-mandated fighting with regular troops that had led to unification in 1861. Venice became part of Italy in 1866 as a result of Italy’s maneuverings during the Austro-Prussian War. When war broke out between Austria and Prussia, Italy took advantage of Austria’s temporary weakness and declared war on June 20\(^{th}\). Though the Italians did not fight well in the war, the Austrians were ultimately defeated by the Prussians, who demanded as part of the armistice that the Austrians cede the Veneto (the area containing Venice) to Emperor Napoleon III of France. He then handed the region over as a gift to the Italians.\(^5\) The conquest of Rome similarly emerged as the result of a larger war, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, which forced the French to

\(^3\) Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*, 208-211.
remove their troops that had been guarding the Eternal City and protecting it for the Pope. With the French troops out of the way, Italian troops were able to march in and overcome the resistance of any lingering Papal forces. When the state subsequently moved the capital from Florence to Rome, many felt that the Risorgimento was complete.

The process of state creation and the full implementation of the dreams of the Risorgimento was far from complete, however, and continued throughout the early decades of the Italian state, a period known as Liberal Italy. National unity was not a given. The Pope remained hostile to the Italian state, making it difficult for devout Catholics to consider themselves fully committed to the Italian nation. The complicated and contested process of unification in the South also led to resentment among southerners and fears among northerners of southern brigandage, the mafia, and degeneracy. The Italian state struggled to establish itself and to create new institutions that would successfully unify all of the pre-existing governments and deal with Italy’s mounting financial problems and national debt. Many Italians lacked faith in these new institutions, particularly the Italian parliament, which they viewed as either potentially corrupt or ineffective. The recurring theme throughout the period was uncertainty as many wondered whether this new state would last and if so, what form it would eventually take. It was this very instability, however, that provided the space for non-state actors, including the philanthropic women of this dissertation, to implement their own view of what the Italian state should become and how the Italian people should be reformed.

**Historiography**

The old standard narrative of the Risorgimento focused on political and military events and on the activities of key statesmen, like Cavour, important radicals, like Mazzini or Garibaldi,
or other, more minor, Italian male politicians, military commanders, or writers. These traditional narratives, which often glorified the Italian state, were first truly challenged by the Marxist Antonio Gramsci who argued the Risorgimento was a passive revolution or a *rivoluzione mancata*. Gramsci claimed the Risorgimento was an elitist and top-down movement with minimal public support, especially in rural areas, and failed to affect real or lasting change in Italy. In the 1990s, however, revisionist historians challenged these long-held assumptions about the lack of Italian unity by looking at the numerous ways in which non-state actors shaped the Italian state. These social histories examined the interaction between social classes and institutions and mostly ignored the role of ideology, politics, and discourses of nationalism.

The most important change in Risorgimento studies, however, came in the last fifteen years with the flourishing of Alberto Mario Banti’s push towards a cultural studies approach to the Risorgimento. In this approach Banti and others, rather than focusing just on the great leaders, political institutions, or military maneuvers, tracked how nationalist discourses were created, shaped, and utilized. In accepting a broader definition of politics, they challenged the conceptual boundaries between the state and economy, between the public and private, and between center and periphery. Even today, the cultural studies approach to the Risorgimento is still strong and is still showing how everyday people were involved in the process of the Risorgimento. Many of these works focus on art, literature, and culture, which I will not do in

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this dissertation. I do, however, build upon their claim that the influence of Cavour and Piedmont in Italian unification was not absolute and that the Mazzinians and other radicals were not entirely excluded.

The dissertation generally builds on three new themes and trends in Risorgimento scholarship that have appeared in the deluge of studies published around the 150th anniversary of the Risorgimento: studies that acknowledge an increased role for women; transnational studies; and works that reevaluate the role of religion and anti-Catholicism.

Traditional histories of the Risorgimento ignored the role of women or characterized them as only the wives, mothers, or supporters of important male actors in the Risorgimento. Some of these works examined Garibaldi’s female followers, but did so as a way to demonstrate his virility, popularity, and English support. Other scholars similarly looked at Mazzini’s female followers as a way to learn more about Mazzini rather than as a way to learn about the women. After the turn towards a cultural studies approach to the Risorgimento, advocated by Banti, much more attention was given to the symbolic role played by women, showing how they acted as martyrs or as the symbol of what Italian men needed to protect and defend through the Risorgimento. Many of these works argue, for instance, that republicans advocated for domesticity and maternalism as middle class values in opposition to perceived aristocratic

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8 Cesare Guglielmo Pini, Garibaldi (Livorno: Raffaelo Giusti Editore, 1907). The most famous of these are by Giacomo Emilio Curatulo, who argued that Garibaldi was loved by women of all classes and nations and was sometimes overwhelmed by the excess of feminine devotion. See: Giacomo Emilio Curatulo, Garibaldi e le donne: con documenti inediti (Roma: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1913); Curatulo, Giuseppe Garibaldi: Lettere ad Anita e ad altre donne, Raccolte da G.E. Curatulo (Roma: A.F. Formaggini Editore, 1926).


10 Marina d’Amelia, La Mamma (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); D’Amelia, “Between Two Eras: Challenges Facing Women in the Risorgimento” in The Risorgimento Revisited. D’Amelia has famously written about the importance of women as mothers in the Risorgimento and argued that the Risorgimento led to a new level of closeness between mothers and sons.
immorality. A shared problem with these types of works, however, is that they fail to look at women as active agents.

Many women’s historians sought to fill this gap by publishing works that told the stories of women who were active and involved in the Risorgimento. These works discuss women who held salons where political thinkers discussed their ideas and concepts, raised funds to support patriots, and provided emotional support. Some recent works have even shown how women fought in the battles for the Risorgimento, assumed male roles during a time of chaos, and intensively challenged gender norms, but these works are necessarily limited by the small number of women who took up arms in the military battles for unification. Many of these


works focus on women individually, allotting each woman a chapter as a separate biography. Other works focus solely on a single figure of the Risorgimento, like Giorgina Saffi or Jessie White Mario, and tend to overemphasize the individual contribution of the women or have hagiographical tendencies. In contrast, I look at how women worked as part of networks and see them in communication and connection with each other, following in the model of historians like Nadia Maria Filippini.

Newer works have reevaluated the partnerships between Garibaldi, Mazzini, and their female followers, arguing that these were true partnerships. Rather than focusing on potential romantic bonds, they look at intellectual connections between the women and the great Italian men and argue that the cultivation of female followers was a vital part of their political strategies. Recent works focusing on Mazzini’s feminism argue that Mazzini attracted many female supporters because he was receptive and encouraging of female participation in revolutionary activities and also female intellectual labor. A more detailed look at this historiography will be provided in both Chapters 1 and 2.


15 Nadia Maria Filippini, “Donne sulla scena politica: dalle Municipalità del 1797 al Risorgimento,” in Donne sulla scena pubblica: società e politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2006). Filippini studied women’s political involvement in the Veneto from 1797 to the Risorgimento and showed how these women worked together as a network, rather than focusing on individual women. See also: Nadia Maria Filippini and Livania Gazzetta, eds, L’ultima metà del Risorgimento: Volti e voci di patriote venete (Verona: Cierre edizioni, 2011).


17 Sonia Amarena, Donne mazziniane, donne repubblicane (Imola: Santerno, 2003). Important women studied in these works include: Maria Drago Mazzini, Giulia Calame Modena, Giuditta Sidoli, Cristina Trivulzio di Belgioioso, Margaret Fuller; Federica Falchi, “Democracy and the rights of women in the thinking of Giuseppe Mazzini,” Modern Italy, Vol. 17, No. 1 (January 2012): 15-30. Falchi claimed that a small group of individuals, including Mazzini, viewed women’s rights as fundamental aspects of the project of national generation and made the
Inspired by the rise of transnational studies, scholars have recently sought to place the Risorgimento in an international context, moving the field beyond its traditional national borders. One interesting example of this type of scholarship is Silvana Patriarca’s 2010 work, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic*. In her work, Patriarca analyzes discourses of national character throughout the history of the Italian state and shows how they were shaped by both Italians and non-Italians and functioned as a key tool of state-building, allowing Italians to explore and shape their identities. While Patriarca looked more generally at discourses of national identity, other scholars, such as Maurizio Isabella, have examined the lives and roles of individual Italian patriots, most notably Mazzini, to examine their international influence. Overall, the narratives of Risorgimento scholarship reveal a developing trend towards an international focus.


Quite interestingly, Charles Coulombe has explored the transnational movement to oppose the Risorgimento and support the Pope, showing that not all transnational forces supported the Liberal Risorgimento. See: Charles A. Coulombe, *The Pope’s Legion: The Multinational Fighting Force that Defended the Vatican* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Great Britain’s commitment to the Italian Risorgimento, highlighting England’s mania for Garibaldi and political support for Unification. A recent book of this genre, which has been influential in shaping this project, is Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe’s *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats.* In her book, Sutcliffe focuses on British working-class radicals and on their sustained commitment to the Risorgimento after Unification challenging traditional histories that had examined official discourses or the voices of upper-class moderates from London to determine the relationship between Britain and Italy during the Risorgimento. Sutcliffe also attempted a rehabilitation of Mazzini’s reputation, challenging older scholarship which argued that Mazzini lost most of his English followers by the end of the 1850s. She argues, “small, yet vocal, the minority of Victorian Mazzinians whose belief in republican Italy did not waver has not been given the attention that it deserves; nor has its power to disseminate pro-Mazzinian views.” This dissertation will build on Sutcliffe’s claim by focusing on how middle class British women, rather than working-class men, supported Mazzini’s campaigns well into the 1870s and 1880s.

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23 Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*, 84.
The final recent trend in Risorgimento scholarship which is applicable to this dissertation is the focus on religion. These newer studies build on a general increased historical interest in the role of religion in the 19th-century and a growing contestation of the secularization thesis which claimed that modernizing nations became secular and removed religion from politics. An important work in this field is Clark and Kaiser’s 2003 collection, *Culture Wars*, which emphasizes the continued presence of religion in politics in the 19th century by focusing on the conflicts between liberal secular states and religious, generally Catholic, forces. Some of these works look at the importance of religion within Italian politics and focus on the animosity that existed between the Pope and the Risorgimento’s most devout supporters. Other works have also begun to recognize the religious aspects of patriotic actions and of Mazzini’s thoughts in particular. In contrast to older works, that emphasized Mazzini’s anticlericalism and ties to secular politics, these recent works acknowledge that Mazzini was deeply religious and made spirituality the foundation of his mission and vision for Italian society. One scholar who has


25 See: David Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican: The Popes, the Kings, and Garibaldi’s Rebels in the Struggle to Rule Modern Italy* (2004). See also, Manuel Borutta, “Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy,” in *The Risorgimento Revisited*. Borutta argued that we must not forget the importance of anti-Catholic feeling in Italy and wrote about the long culture war that occurred from the 1840s to the 1870s as liberal Catholics and Jesuits fought to see what Catholicism would become and what role it would have in any potential Italian state.

26 See: *Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalization of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920*. See in particular, Alberto Mario Banti, “Sacrality and the Aesthetics of Politics: Mazzini’s Concept of the Nation,” in Banti argued that Mazzini conceived of the nation as a creation of God, made protecting it a religious endeavor, See also Simon Levis Sullam, “The Moses of Italian Unity: Mazzini and Nationalism as Political Religion,” in which Sullam noted that Francesco de Sanctis called Mazzini the Moses of Italian unity in 1874 and argued that Mazzini believed that nationalism was a political religion. Sullam focused on Mazzini’s famous slogan, “Dio e il popolo.” Finally, note, Eugenio F. Biagini, “Mazzini and Anticlericalism: The English Exile.” Biagini argued that Mazzini deeply religious and that his religious views were influenced by English Unitarianism. This acceptance of multiple faiths then allowed for Mazzinian nationalism to spread more readily across the globe. Lucy Riall also characterized Mazzinianism as a religion. See: Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*; Danilo Raponi also characterized Mazzinianism and the Risorgimento more generally as a religion, claiming, “The Risorgimento was, in the minds not only of Cavour or Mazzini, but also of many other Italian patriots, a religious revolution.” Danilo Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento: Britain and the New Italy, 1861-1875* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
written a great deal on this subject is Roland Sarti, whose 1997 biography *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics* emphasizes Mazzini’s religious inspiration and beliefs. Overall, these works make the important argument that certain behaviors can be both political and religious and that the divide between religion and politics is sometimes false and arbitrary.

Finally, these works allow for a reevaluation of British involvement in the Risorgimento, highlighting how important anti-Catholic sentiment was in motivating British support. These works argue that British support for the Italian Risorgimento cannot be understood outside of its fervent anti-Catholicism and relationship to Ireland. Historian Nick Carter argued, for instance, that, “it is difficult to exaggerate the strength of anti-Catholicism in mid-nineteenth-century Britain,” and further maintained that, “the Risorgimento in Britain was above all (as in Ireland) a Protestant cause, one that was intimately bound up with not only deep-rooted popular anti-Catholicism, but also the so-called ‘Irish question’ and popular British anti-Irish sentiment.”

Throughout this dissertation, I will take Carter and Raponi’s claims seriously and show how the women I study not only were motivated by a Protestant sense of mission but appealed to Protestant anti-Catholicism in their campaigns for aid. I argue that we must consider Mazzini’s ideas as a sacred calling, even though they called for an involvement in political affairs.

Overall, through this dissertation I will build on the existing studies of the Risorgimento, showing how radical forces continued to have an impact despite the force of Piedmont; how women played an important role as collaborators and active agents; how transnational forces

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29 *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, ed. Nick Carter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). Another important work here is Raponi’s *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento: Britain and the New Italy, 1861-1875*. Raponi’s work examines the attempts of British Bible Societies and Protestant associations to convert Italy to Protestantism. Raponi argued that anti-Catholicism and anti-Popery formed an important part of the sometimes Orientalist mindset with which the Britons viewed Italy.
shaped nationalist movements; and how religious sentiment motivated political action across the political spectrum.

**Background & Historiography: The State of Women & Early Feminism**

**Background**

Women in England and in Italy in the mid-nineteenth century held a position of legal and social subordination in society. Mainstream discourses argued that women should remain in the home, under the guidance of a father, husband, or some other male relative. Education for women was directed towards training for motherhood and women were discouraged or prohibited from advanced academic study or careers in banking or finance. Limited feminist movements operated in both England and Italy, but the larger female emancipation movements would not launch in Italy, at least, until the late 19th-century. As the women of this dissertation operated in such an oppressive climate, their actions should be recognized for how truly transgressive and progressive they were.

The prevailing discourses of the time argued that society was divided into a public work sphere, in which men dominated, and a private home sphere in which women were the dominant force and had a claim to some power and authority. These discourses were popular across Europe and in America, but within Italy, in particular, the Risorgimento had led to a focus on domesticity and a prizing of its values. The Risorgimento patriots pushed away from older forms of life and government, grounded in monarchy and aristocracy, which they viewed as corrupt, and towards a more moral and virtuous republic that promoted the values of domesticity,

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companionship, love, duty, and fidelity. Patriots argued that these values were necessary for the Italian state to flourish.

Moderate state-building rhetoric prized moral virtues and relied on women to provide peace, stability, and the education of children, imparting values of obedience, respect for authority, parsimony, and charity. In Italy, the ideology of republican motherhood claimed that mothers were responsible for moral upbringing of children and were to provide religious values, patriotic values, and basic education. In England, the evangelical emphasis on domesticity led to a similar focus on maternity that elevated motherhood and the moral power of women. Despite the social value placed on the role of the mother, women still legally had few rights over their children as compared to fathers. Under the terms of Italy’s first civil code, Pisanelli Code, fathers were given the ultimate decision-making power if parents disagreed. Though women could benefit in individual situations from these idealized discourses, drawing for instance on the dictates of chivalry, they had no legal power to fight in adverse situations.

These discourses of domesticity particularly emphasized female purity and chastity and reinforced a sexual double standard, in which “proper women” were assumed to be largely virtuous and lacking independent sexual desires, while men were assumed to have undeniable sexual desires that required outlets in the form of adultery and prostitution. The Pisanelli Code gave these assumptions a legal basis by setting up a double-standard for marital fidelity. While adultery was a crime for both genders, women could be convicted based upon a single extramarital sexual encounter, while men were condemned for adultery only if they blatantly

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33 Hammerton, 71.
kept a concubine, in the marital home or otherwise.\textsuperscript{35} Prostitution was accepted as an inevitable vice and the state not only allowed for prostitution, but set up a system of regulated brothels to ensure that men had access to prostitutes without fear of contracting sexually-transmitted diseases. Articles 185 and 186 of the Pisanelli Code also forbid paternity searches to “protect” children born within martial unions from illegitimate children. Feminists argued that this lack of paternity searches led to the suicide of mothers, abandonment, infanticide, abortions, immortality, and poverty.\textsuperscript{36}

The Pisanelli Code gave some rights to Italian women: boys and girls had the same legal rights and both sons and daughters could inherit equally. Unmarried women could own property, make wills, engage in commerce, and act as independent people. However, the law was quite limiting for married women. The code introduced civil marriage as the only form officially recognized by the state and trumpeted it as a triumph of liberal modern values. Civil marriage, however, retained many of the features of traditional Catholic Italian marriage, such as a prohibition against divorce, which opponents claimed would poison the sanctity of marriage. It allowed only for personal separation (with separate residences and spousal support but no possibility of remarriage) in cases of adultery, voluntary abandonment, cruelty or injury, and mutual consent. For many women this actually represented a loss of rights. Protestant and Jewish Italians who had been living in Austrian territories had been able to divorce, as Austrian civil law deferred to prescriptions of couple’s religion on the issue of divorce.\textsuperscript{37} Divorce would not be legalized in Italy until 1970.

\textsuperscript{35} Willson, 7.
\textsuperscript{36} Elisabetta Nicolaci, \textit{Il 'coraggio del vosto diritto': emancipazione e democrazia in Anna Maria Mozzoni} (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2004) 128-29.
Most importantly, the Pisanelli Code set up a system of marital authorization, which required a wife to gain her husband’s permission for many actions, and reflected prevailing ideas about marriage. Though married women were allowed to own property and to inherit or bequeath it, for instance, they required their husband’s consent to take any step regarding the management of this property. Martial authorization meant that married women had no real ability to operate businesses without their husband’s consent. Marital authorization was not abolished until the Legge Sacchi in 1919. Similar restrictions were placed upon married British women. It was not until the passage of the Married Women’s Property Act in 1870 that women were allowed to control their own earnings and not until the act was amended in 1882 that wives were allowed to control their own property. Women were also obligated to adopt their husband’s name and citizenship and to live where he demanded. Furthermore, men were expected to discipline and control their wives, as authority figures, and were treated quite leniently if they injured their wives while punishing them for what they considered disobedient or malicious behavior.

Bourgeois women in both Italy and England were not allowed into the public sphere; they were discouraged from walking or travelling in public unattended by a male family member or trusted associate, speaking out in public, or holding a position of authority outside of the home. Perry Willson claims that “it was not respectable for unmarried women under the age of 40 to go out alone.” The Pisanelli Code also banned women from voting and from holding public office. The prohibition against holding public office was then used as a justification to keep women from practicing as lawyers. While the Fascist state made a few proposals that would have

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38 Willson, 7-8.
39 Hammerton, Cruelty and Companionship.
40 Willson, 7.
41 Willson, 8, 14. Interestingly, Willson noted that these standards did not apply to foreign women visiting Italy, who went out more freely in a way that many Italian women found quite shocking.
allowed women to vote, these proposals were never put into effect. They also would have restricted women to voting in local elections and would have excluded both prostitutes and unfaithful wives. Only in 1946 did Italian women receive full voting rights.

Women were also generally less educated than men. According to the census in 1861, female illiteracy averaged 86% in rural areas and 77% in towns and cities. These are shocking numbers, even taking into account Italy’s high rates of illiteracy for both women and men. In 1871, for instance, the census listed the illiteracy rate as 75.8% for women compared to 61.8% for men. The Italian state did make attempts to improve the literacy of its women. The Casati Law of 1859 made two years of schooling compulsory for both boys and girls and most middle-class girls who received state education in Italy in the late nineteenth century finished schooling between the ages of 12 and 16. These numbers did not improve greatly throughout the nineteenth century, however, and in 1902, 62% of Italian women were still illiterate. These numbers are even more shocking when one takes into account the low standards set for literacy. If a person could write their name and read a short passage they were regarded as literate.

Few women in Italy received advanced educations or worked in the careers that required them. Women were not granted official permission to enter the universities until the Leggi Bongi of 1874. From 1877 to 1900, 257 women then graduated from Italian universities. The numbers were so low, however, because the law did not provide women with the advanced secondary education that would have prepared them for university. The laws against public office, combined with general prejudice, meant that few women worked as doctors, scholars, scientists,

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42 Nicolaci, 236.
44 Re, “159.
47 Nicolaci, 168.
bankers, or financiers. Some women worked as writers, but generally restricted themselves to pedagogical writing, which was seen to tie into women’s natural roles as mothers, and fiction, which was viewed as a suitable avenue for women’s high levels of sentimentality.\textsuperscript{48}

Some women were aware of the injustice of the restrictions placed upon them and sought change through early female emancipation movements. One of the most important intellectual figures of the Italian female emancipation movement was Anna Maria Mozzoni, who in 1864, published \textit{La donna e i suoi rapport sociali} in which she argued that female emancipation was necessary for the betterment of society and claimed that women were only inferior because of their limited education.\textsuperscript{49} In 1865, she then published \textit{La donna in faccia al progetto del nuovo Codice Civile Italiano}, as a condemnation of the proposed conservative Pisanelli Code. In the work, Mozzoni asked for women to have both political and administrative suffrage, but was opposed by the majority of Italian parliamentarians.\textsuperscript{50} Another important feminist author was Salvatore Morelli, who published \textit{La donna e la scienza} in 1862, in which he argued that the subordinate position of women in society reflected male physical and intellectual force crudely parlayed into law and claimed that society would only make progress once women were recognized as citizens with rights equal to men rather than items of commerce or slaves to the home and the Church.\textsuperscript{51} Salvatore Morelli was a lone male voice supporting female emancipation in the Italian parliament.\textsuperscript{52} Another lone figure was Maria Alimonda Serafini, who published a

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{48} Mitchell, \textit{Italian Women Writers}, 18.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} Nicolaci, 52, 112.
  \item \textsuperscript{50} Nicolaci, 53.
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Seymour, \textit{Debating Divorce in Italy}, 38. Morelli was also a radical figure in the Risorgimento and wrote \textit{La donna e la scienza} while in prison for his participation in a failed uprising.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Nicolaci, 53-55. In 1874, Morelli proposed a bill which would eliminate the subjection of wife under her husband, end the custom of allotting \textit{patria potesta} only given to the man, mandate the equality of education for both sexes, appoint the vote to women, and abolish regulated prostitution. The bill did not pass. Morelli’s only success came in 1877 with a law that allowed women to testify in trials.
\end{itemize}
pamphlet, *Matrimonio e divorzio*, which was, “the only known work by an Italian woman dedicated to the subject of divorce published between unification and 1900.”  

These thinkers were not all operating independently however and both Italian men and women made moderate attempts to organize a feminist movement within Italy. Salvatore Morelli started a national committee for the emancipation of Italian women in 1867 in Naples to support his parliamentary initiative to eliminate the legal distinctions between men and women, just as previous legislation had eliminated the long-standing distinctions between Jews and non-Jews in Italian society. Under the leadership of the countess Giulia Caraccioli Cigala, the organization became national, though heavily centered in urban areas. Caraccioli led the branch in Naples, Mozzoni ran a branch in Milan, and Gualberta Beccari, founder of the women’s journal *La Donna*, ran a branch of the organization in Venice. Beccari’s journal, *La Donna*, was the most devoted of any of the women’s journals to the cause of female emancipation, though other journals also discussed the issue. However, many women’s journals published novels, short stories, or articles on fashion, lifestyle, and home furnishings, rather than feminist issues. The most well-known early organization of the Italian feminist movement was the *Lega promotrice degli interessi femminili*, which was founded by Mozzoni in 1881 with the goal of regaining the civil and political rights of women. The first executive committee was comprised of Paolina Schiff, Giuseppina Pozzi, Nerina Bruzzesi, Virginia Negli and Costantino Lazzari. Though the

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53 Seymour, *Debating Divorce in Italy*, 27. Serafini thought women were enslaved within marriages, more so than men, and civilized societies had a duty to liberate them. Serafini, like many feminists, had participated in the Risorgimento. She was part of a committee of national liberation in Lombardy in 1859, met Mazzini in 1860 and corresponded with him regularly, and then in 1862 offered aid to Garibaldi after he was wounded at Aspromonte. 54 Angela Russo, “‘Vostra obbligata amica’: Giuseppe Ricciardi e le amiche emancipazioniste (1860-1880),” in *Politica e amicizia. Relazioni, conflitti e differenze di genere 1860-1915*, ed. Emma Scaramuzza (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2010). In another instance of connections to the Risorgimento, the honorary President of the group was Teresita Garibaldi, daughter to Giuseppe Garibaldi. 55 Gabriella Romani, *Postal Culture: Writing and Reading Letters in Post-Unification Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013) 69. 56 Nicolaci, 73.
group was founded in 1881, many historians agree the movement didn't really take off until the 1890s.  

Italian feminists were involved in international feminist circles as well. In the 1870s, for instance, Italian women became involved in Josephine Butler’s campaign against state-regulated prostitution across Europe, corresponding with women in other countries and attending international conferences. Chapter 6 of this dissertation will explore this collaboration in greater detail. Mozzoni also went as a delegate to Paris for the 1st International Congress for the Rights of Women, representing the democratic assembly of Milan.

**Historiography of Women in Charitable, Philanthropic, and Feminist Movements**

In this section I examine the scholarship regarding nineteenth-century feminist movements and female activity, focusing on those works that show how women used their involvement in charitable and philanthropic work to push for greater rights.

In the early 1990s scholars began to examine the history of charity as a way to track the evolution of the welfare state. With the turn towards social history, scholars challenged the teleological claim that society was destined to evolve, “from monastic to endowed charity to voluntary societies to welfare state,” by focusing instead on class formation, industrialization, and how charitable forms were used as tools of social control. Scholars like Peter Mandler then

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58 Nicolaci, 67.


showed the large divide between the goals of donors and recipients of charity and also argued that in the 19th-century doctrines of individualism and liberalism led to the assumption that a hardworking man would not require charity and placed a strong stigma upon anyone who required aid.61

Other historians, however, have shown how women became involved in charitable networks and used them to organize and become active in the public sphere. Scholars have shown how a Protestant mission of charity gave British women a sense of duty to proselytize across the globe and to care about far-off places.62 These works are similar to those on the American context, which focus on how upper to middle class white women engaged in Protestant missionary activity and campaigns against prostitution or slavery and argue that charity provided a religiously-grounded safe space for women to become involved in political and somewhat international affairs.63 These works emphasize how early feminist movements grew out of these transatlantic and transnational campaigns against slavery or for economic reform of society.64 Bonnie Anderson’s work, Joyous Greetings, was particularly useful as a


64 Bonnie Anderson, Joyous Greetings: The First International Women’s Movement, 1830-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Similar to Anderson’s work are: Margaret H. McFadden, Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1999); , Beth L Lueck, Sirpa Salenius, & Nancy Lusignan Schultz, Transatlantic Conversations: Nineteenth-Century
model in conceiving of this dissertation. In her introduction, Anderson clarified that she had selected twenty women from across Europe and America who participated in a loosely-organized network and shared general feminist goals. I utilize Anderson’s model in this dissertation by selecting five women who worked together as a network to achieve similar, but not identical goals.

The majority of scholarship on the history of charity in Italy, in particular, focuses on the charitable activity of the church, the regulation of charitable works by the *opere pie* (official charitable organizations), and the state seizure of these charitable institutions and primary schools as it moved towards the welfare state. These works highlight how the state used charitable and educational institutions to forge a new generation of Italian citizens. Historian Maria Sophia Quine has argued that this shift away from religious charity towards legal charity led to a more discriminating form of charity, which distinguished between the deserving and undeserving poor and gave the poor duties as well as rights. Quine argued that the system of charity set up initially by the Italian state was underfunded, poorly run, and ineffective. Quine also argued that major change came with the Crispi law of 17 July 1890 (n.6972), which gave the government control over the private charitable organizations, the opera pie.

These studies of charity in Italy also show how women were active and involved in society and even politics through their charitable works, including educational projects. Much of

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this work looks at how Protestant or Jewish women formed schools in Italy.\textsuperscript{67} Through his articles, for instance, historian James Albisetti has shown how foreign Protestant women who came to Italy to push through educational reforms and focused in particular in Julia Salis Schwabe.\textsuperscript{68} While a lot of scholarship focuses on how Protestant women used religion to be active in the public sphere in Italy, some work has been done on how Catholic women also used religion to claim a place for themselves in society and reform. Catholicism was not solely a repressive force.\textsuperscript{69}

These works on Italian women in charity connect to works which focus more generally on Italian feminism. Many of the pioneering works of Italian feminism were written by Franca Pieroni Bortolotti, who constructed sweeping yet detailed surveys of general female activity throughout the liberal era.\textsuperscript{70} Studies from the 1980s and early 1990s focus on class issues, recognizing that female emancipation was often a bourgeois issue, with its focus on access to suffrage or advanced education, and showing how women also worked within the socialist


\textsuperscript{69} See: Helena Dawe’s work on Catholic feminism, including “The Catholic Church and the Woman Question: Catholic Feminism in Italy During the Early 1900s,” The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 97, No. 3 (July 2011): 484-526; and Catholic Women’s Movements in Liberal Italy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); See also, Roberto Sani and Anna Ascenzi. Vita religiosa, carità ed educazione nell’Italia dell’Ottocento. Rosalie Thouret e la fondazione della Provincia modenese delle Suore della Carità (1834-1853) (Macerata: Alfabettica, 2007). This work looks at the work of the Sisters of Charity in education to show the role they played in the modernization of Italy.

\textsuperscript{70} Franca Pieroni Bortolotti, Alle origini del movimento femminile in Italia, 1848-1892 (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1963); Franca Pieroni Bortolotti, Socialismo e questione femminile in Italia, 1892-1922 (Milano: Mazzotta editore, 1974); Anna Maria Mozzoni, La liberazione della donna: a cura di Franca Pieroni Bortolotti (Milano: Gabriele Mazzotta, 1975).
movement to lobby for rights as workers, asking for higher wages or free daycare. Other works focus on individual feminists, most notably Anna Maria Mozzoni or on Salvatore Morelli and his campaign to legalize divorce in Italy. Newer works that seek to emphasize the emergence of a feminist movement in the early Liberal Era generally focus on the role of women’s journals, like La Donna, and networks of communication between women. Other works that approach from more of a cultural or literary perspective focus on the importance of novels and female novel writers. This dissertation builds most closely on recent works about women’s history in Italy and while acknowledging the limitations of pervasive middle-class values, shows how women utilized those values of domesticity, family, and affection to claim an active role in the Risorgimento and in society in general.

I add to these works by acknowledging how transnational women, not just Italian women, made claims based on the ideals of middle-class domesticity, while also making more radical claims for women’s rights. I do so, in part, by looking at the activity of British women in Italy.

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72 For information on Mozzoni see: Nicolaci, Il 'coraggio del vosto diritto': emancipazione e democrazia in Anna Maria Mozzoni; Stefania Murari, L’idea più avanzata del secolo: Anna Maria Mozzoni e il femminismo italiano (Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2008); Rachele Farina, “Politica, amicizie e polemiche lungo la vita di Anna Maria Mozzoni,” in Politica e amicizia. Relazioni, conflitti e differenze di genere 1860-1915. For information on Morelli, see: Emilia Sargoni, Salvatore Morelli: l'Italia e la donna (Turin: Daniela Piazza Editore, 2004). For more information on the divorce campaign see: Mark Seymour, Debating Divorce in Italy. Seymour also wrote an article, “Keystone of the patriarchal family? Indissoluble marriage, masculinity and divorce in Liberal Italy,” Journal of Modern Italian Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2005): 297-313.

73 Donne e giornalismo: percorsi e presenze di una storia di genere. Silvia Franchini and Simonetta Soldani, ed. (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2004); Gazzetta, “Figure e correnti dell’emancipazionismo post-unitario,” in Donne sulla scena pubblica: società e politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento.

74 A History of Women’s Writing in Italy, ed. Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); L’emancipazione: diritti e doveri. Conferenze livornesi sul giornalismo femminile tra Ottocento e Novecento. Fabio Bertini, ed. (Firenze: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2004); Re, “Passion and Sexual Difference.”

75 Di generazione in generazione. Le italiane dell’Unità a oggi; Filippini, Donne sulla scena pubblica: società e politica in Veneto tra Sette e Ottocento; Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano: modelli, strategie, reti di relazione, ed. Porciani (Roma: Viella, 2006); Politica e amicizia. Relazioni, conflitti e differenze di genere 1860-1915.
Some scholars have shown how British women, like their male counterparts, only saw an idealized version of Italy which suited their interests by providing them a safe space in which to operate and feel superior. Maura O’Connor, for instance, argued that the pleas of Italian patriots appealed to the English romantic imagination and to their ideas of religious, racial, and cultural superiority. She elaborated that these patriotic appeals for aid, “struck a chord with the civilizing mission that English middle-class men and women came to identify as their own political mission in the first half of the nineteenth century.” Anne Summer similarly claimed that British women became involved in the Italian unification movement because their Protestantism gave them a sense of duty, a mission to proselytize across the globe and improve conditions wherever they went. She also argued that these women were usually feminists, which drew them to Mazzini, who supported their feminism and feminist ideals. Though many of these works emphasize the potential imperial and proselytizing ambitions of the women, I will show that there were instances of genuine connection and interest in Italian affairs among many women and demonstrate solidarity among feminists in both England and Italy over many of these shared issues.

Parameters of the Project

In this dissertation, I have chosen to focus on the interrelated lives and actions of five women: Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Julia Salis Schwabe, and

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77 O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, 5.

78 Summers, *British women and cultures of internationalism, c. 1815-1914.* Summers also looked at British women’s involvement in the conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and its Christian subjects and in the Boer War of 1899-1902.
Mary Elizabeth Chambers. As it was the goal of this project to look at how transnational forces shaped both Italian unification and state-building, I selected women for study who arguably had transnational identities and were active in Italian political and social affairs both before and after unification. Nathan, Craufurd Saffi, and White Mario were devoted followers of radical Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini and both promoted his goals and protected his legacy through various literary, social, and educational projects. White Mario was also a follower of Giuseppe Garibaldi, along with Schwabe and Chambers. The three women worked to support Garibaldi’s military campaigns for Italian Unification. Afterwards, Schwabe and Chambers both opened schools in Italy to promote a revolutionary agenda.

Though these women were actively engaged in Italy, they were also outsiders and maintained strong connections to England. White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, and Chambers were English, while both Schwabe and Nathan moved to England to join their German-born husbands who had become naturalized British citizens and started families there. Schwabe was born in Germany, but Nathan was actually Italian. She remained somewhat of an outsider in Italy, however, because she was Jewish.

Religion was important to these women, who generally shared a middle-class Protestant identity. Though Schwabe was of Jewish origins, she and her husband converted to Unitarianism, and Nathan slowly moved away from her Jewish roots towards a Mazzinian version of Protestantism (which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7). Their Protestantism gave them a shared anti-Catholic and missionary impulse that propelled them into their work. Class was also important. Because these women were of the middle-class, they were well-educated and had connections to people with money who could donate money and enable their various
political and charitable efforts. It also meant, however, that they could be a bit elitist and fail to fully understand the lifestyles of the poor, in England or in Italy.

Finally, this project will focus generally on the years from 1850 to 1890. Though the years 1848-49 were important for the Italian Risorgimento, the women studied did not play an active role in those affairs. It was only in the 1850s that they truly began their involvement in Italian politics. Their involvement also decreased throughout the 1890s and took a different form as Italian society changed and the major issues and divisions in Italian politics shifted. Private agencies increasingly came under government control. The Crispi law of 17 July 1890 (n.6972), for instance, gave the government control over private charitable organizations thereby limiting the ability of these women to enact change and exert authority through their own private institutions. The divisions of Italian politics also changed. The rise of the Italian socialist movement made it more difficult for these middle-class women, with their strong religious tendencies, to cultivate support among the Italian working class. By 1892, the socialist movement had grown to such an extent that Filippo Turati and Anna Kuliscioff could found

79 While Mary Chambers died in 1881 and Sara Nathan died in 1882, Schwabe, White Mario, and Saffi remained active throughout the 1880s and into the early 1890s. Their work from 1890 until their respective deaths (Schwabe in 1896, White Mario in 1906, and Saffi in 1911) will occasionally be discussed in relevant sections, but does not form a large portion of the content of the dissertation. In the conclusion, I will go into greater detail about how their work changes after 1890 in response to the changing political and social climate.

80 Quine, *Italy's Social Revolution: Charity and Welfare from Liberalism to Fascism*. A similar change occurred in Britain with the Charity Organization Society’s recognition in the 1850s that state agencies needed to undertake the majority of poor relief work, which had previously been dominated by middle-class voluntary societies. R.J. Morris argued that private organizations were ultimately unable to collect enough money to fulfill their agendas and needed to rely on state intervention. For more, see: R.J. Morris, “Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis.” *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 26, No. 1 (March 1983): 95-118. James Vernon has similarly argued that the rise of an increasingly urbanized and mobile British population created a society of strangers in which, “no less than state power popular politics could no longer be organized around its familiar local and personal networks. Civil society was restructured upon new forms of abstraction.” Though Vernon does not directly address the issue of women, it could be argued that middle-class women, who were able to use their status and wealth to act in local and personal networks, were removed from positions of power as abstract forms of male-dominated governance took over. See: James Vernon, *Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).
Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI).\textsuperscript{81} As a result, Mazzinian socialism became less popular, particularly among the youth and the Mazzinian reformers found themselves pushed away into a corner, deemed too radical by the moderates of the right and too conservative for the socialists on the left. Finally, an organized women’s right’s movement emerged. Historians argue that an organized Italian women’s movement, led by the \textit{Lega promotrice degli interessi femminili}, finally took off in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{82} The work of these larger parties, dedicated more exclusively and explicitly to the cause of women’s rights, overshadowed the work of earlier feminists who worked through smaller networks and more localized projects. The 1890s, therefore, represent a period of growing organized movements, large parties, and state-controlled agencies and marks the end of this period of opportunity provided by the instability of the newly-forming Italian state.

\textbf{Sources}

This dissertation heavily relies on unpublished archival material, including private letters and institutional reports. These private letters were located in the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento in Rome, the Civiche Raccolte Storiche in Milan, the Biblioteca Communale dell’Archiginnasio in Bologna and the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome. The files in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome are particularly interesting because they pertain to Mary Elizabeth Chambers and her life from 1861-1877 and include numerous letters and a diary. While many of these women have received scholarly attention, albeit limited, Chambers is


\textsuperscript{82} The organization was founded in 1881 by Anna Maria Mozzoni, but made less of an impact in its earlier years. Nicolaci, 73. See also: Buttafuoco, “Motherhood as a political strategy: the role of the Italian women's movement in the creation of the \textit{Cassa Nazionale di Maternità}.”
virtually unstudied and unknown. Through my usage of her papers, and my inclusion of her activities into this larger group, I will thus be filling a gap in the historiography. I also heavily utilize the letters from Mazzini to the women, which were published in his multi-volume *Scritti*, as well as Garibaldi’s published letters, some of which were published as recently as 2009. The use of private papers allows me to see how the women played important roles behind the scenes and how they privately applied and remained committed to the values that they espoused in public.

To supplement this private material, I use published materials including books, articles, pamphlets, and speeches written by the women themselves, as well as contemporary books and newspaper and journal articles which discussed them. While my protagonists have not been discussed as much in recent histories, they were well-known at the time and were written about in diaries and memoirs. By combining these sources, I can demonstrate how they planned inside their private networks and how their work was viewed in the public sphere. I am also able to show how these women were aware of larger societal issues and were influential in their own right; they were not simply local philanthropists operating in a vacuum. The use of public papers also allows me to argue that they were not limited by the idealized public-private dichotomy of bourgeois life. While many historians have begun to challenge the idea that middle-class women remained solidly in the home in the 19th century, the division is still commonly assumed. Throughout this project, however, I will add to the work of other historians who have shown that women’s “private” concerns, including charity and education, often operated in very public modes and had very public concerns.

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83 The most recent volume of Garibaldi’s collected letters is the *Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. XIV, 1. gennaio 1870-14 febbraio 1871*, edited by Emma Moscati (Roma: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 2009).
The sources I use are in a mixture of English, Italian, and French. This is evidence of their transnational and cosmopolitan identity, as well as their educational level. I also utilize both British and Italian newspapers to show how their work was influential in a transnational context.

Methodology

One of the major goals of this work is to move past the public-private divide that many historians have argued existed in the past. As discussed, the sources I have chosen allow me to see past this supposed divide to see how the same actors and influences were at work in both the public and private sphere and how public actors valued their private lives and private behaviors and believed that they were relevant on the public stage. Relatedly, I will adopt a definition of philanthropy that includes political activism, acknowledge the religious aspects of political thought, argue for a transnational identity for the women studied in the dissertation, and claim that their behaviors were feminist, even though they believed in difference rather than equality.

Historians have often made a sharp distinction between “charity” and “politics,” that I think is somewhat of a false dichotomy. Many behaviors have both charitable or political motivations or operate through both charitable or political means. I argue that we should use the term philanthropy to categorize the actions of the women of this dissertation. British historian Martin Gorsky made a distinction between charity and philanthropy. Charity, he argued, was based on Christian love and liberality to the poor and was run through institutions established by endowments. Philanthropy, on the other hand, was the work of voluntary societies who fundraise through subscriptions, hold meetings to discuss strategy and goals, distribute the collected money in an organized fashion, and publish annual reports. Gorsky argues that these societies included: domestic and foreign church missions, parochial home-visiting groups, societies for pregnant and
nursing mothers, and abolitionists or members of temperance societies.\textsuperscript{84} Acknowledging the blurry line between politics and philanthropy, he argued that, “some overtly political societies might be classified as philanthropic, on the grounds that they were identified with voluntary charities in trade directories, on the public platform and in their organization and methods.”\textsuperscript{85}

I build on Gorsky’s work by claiming that not only were certain political institutions philanthropic, but that many philanthropic institutions did political work and participated in political activism.\textsuperscript{86} A proper definition of philanthropy must include involvement in civil society, human rights campaigns, and political engagement. By defining philanthropy in this way and emphasizing the connections between charitable and political behavior, I can link seemingly private-sector charitable behaviors with public-sector political behaviors. This definition of philanthropy reveals the shared motivations and actions that pushed the women of this dissertation, like Chambers, Nathan, or Schwabe, to utilize behaviors from the traditional charitable sphere, such as bazaars or subscriptions, to work for both political causes, like the Italian Risorgimento, as well as more traditionally charitable causes, like education.

The philanthropic was thus political, but the political was also influenced by the private sphere and particularly by religious factors. As demonstrated in the historiography, one cannot underestimate the importance of religion in 19\textsuperscript{th}-century politics and political behaviors, and I will not underestimate the importance of religion as a motivating factor for these women’s

\textsuperscript{84} Gorsky, 2-6.
\textsuperscript{85} Gorsky, 16-17.
\textsuperscript{86} Robert Putnam even argued in Making Democracy Work that civic engagement and civil-sector institutions are directly correlated to a better functioning government. He also traces higher levels of civic engagement and political success in northern Italy than in southern Italy back to their medieval governments. While southern Italy was governed by an absolutist state that encouraged citizens to form and rely on vertical relations of patronage, northern and central Italians lived in more democratic and smaller states, which encouraged the formation of horitontal relationships of solidarity. See: Robert D. Putnam, \textit{Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy} (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994). Kathleen McCarthy makes a similar case for the importance of civil society to the success of American democracy. See: Kathleen McCarthy, \textit{American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700-1865} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
actions. In one light, they can be viewed as missionaries rather than as political radicals or agents of change. As discussed, the women of this dissertation were all Protestant or had Protestant sympathies and their faith provided them with a sense of place and purpose in the world and greatly impacted their actions in Italy and interactions with the Italian people. This British Protestant identity gave the women a sense of purpose but also gave them a sense of superiority. Like many other missionaries, they believed they had a purpose to fulfill in societies that were lesser than their own or in need of uplift. This missionary spirit, with its competing tones of cooperative sympathy and condescending paternalism, influenced their actions and in one way made them proponents of a civilizing mission. Scholars have already compared the actions of religious reformers within European cities to those in the colonies. This would add another step by showing how English women were active not only in working-class neighborhoods in British cities and in the colonies, but in other areas of Europe as well.

In this dissertation, I also use the transnational as a major category and argue that new understandings of the transnational allow for an increased understanding of women’s lives and identities in the 19th century and of Romantic nationalism. Transnational history is a burgeoning field and new studies have posed interesting questions for my project. Recently, for instance, in an essay for a collection of transnational lives, Ros Pesman wrote about Mary Berenson, a Quaker American woman who followed her Irish Catholic husband to England and who later followed her Jewish Lithuanian lover to Italy.87 Berenson was not interested in philanthropy, charity, or Italian state-building; in fact, she did not even speak Italian and simply used Italy as

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an idealized setting for her unconventional life. She thus is not studied in this dissertation. The work is important, however, because Berenson believed that because she was excluded from government due to her status as a woman she could not be a true citizen of any nation. Pesman takes up Berenson’s assertion and questions the idea to which women, as technical non-participants in a nation, may be more naturally suited for transnational lives. Similarly, in their collection of essays, *Intimacy and Italian Migration*, Baldassar and Gabaccia argued that these transnational studies of intimacy can help to unpack women’s national identity, claiming that “we believe that women’s relationship to the nation, women’s transformations of identities through migration, and women’s participation in nation building are more likely to be captured by our approach than through studies of politics and work.”88 The focus on the transnational, therefore, could help us to better understand women’s position in mid-19th-century society.

Building on these theories, I argue that rather than focusing on how to determine a single national identity, we should allow for the use of an alternate transnational identity when appropriate. White Mario, Saffi, Schwabe, Nathan, and Chambers travelled and lived in several countries at various points in their lives. Schwabe, for instance, was born in Germany, moved to England to marry a naturalized British citizen, and then ended her life living and working in Naples. Was she German, British, or Italian? The women were also constantly writing, communicating, and sending money across borders and did not limit their activities, interests, or personal connections to one nation. Schwabe drew support for her school from a circle of European acquaintances and she instituted the pedagogical principles of Friedrich Fröbel’s kindergarten in her school, connecting her to that transnational network, which stretched from

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Germany, across Europe, to America. Craufurd Saffi and White Mario were active in the transnational campaign against state-regulated prostitution in the late 1870s and early 1880s. They also remained in contact with their English extended families and friends and continued to write a portion of their personal correspondence in English rather than Italian.

The focus on the transnational can also help to uncover and highlight aspects of nationalism, particularly the connections between the national and the transnational. Recent scholarship on the Risorgimento has emphasized its transnational aspects, highlighting the importance of exile for Italian patriots, as well as international perceptions for the Italian sense of national identity. These works emphasize in particular the cosmopolitan aspects of Mazzini’s vision of nationalism. For Mazzini, and for his followers, like Craufurd Saffi or White Mario, the nation was simply a building-block in the larger project of improving humanity in general. Nations were not to be pitted against each other and pride in a nation did not necessarily exclude pride or loyalty to another nation. This nationalism involved a devoted dedication to one’s own country, alongside a hope that the nations would work together and lead to peace. It was not, therefore, illogical or inconsistent for a British citizen to take up the cause of the Italian nation. While later nationalisms would be much more competitive, exclusive, or race-based, this was not. I argue that we need to further explore the idea and implications of cosmopolitan or transnational nationalism and see the extent to which it was popular in the mid-19th-century.

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89 Italian Mobilities, edited by Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Stephanie Malia Hom (New York: Routledge, 2016). This work focuses more on the large-scale Italian migrations at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, but its theoretical arguments are quite sound. See also: The Risorgimento Revisited; and Patriarca Italian Vices. Scholars have increasingly paid more attention to the ways in which Italian national identity was shaped across borders and by migration. While Patriarca looked more generally at discourses of national identity, other scholars, such as Maurizio Isabella, have examined the lives and roles of individual Italian patriots, most notably Mazzini, in order to examine their international influence.

90 Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalization of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920.
Finally, I argue that these behaviors were feminist, if one utilizes a definition of feminism that was suitable to nineteenth-century society. A traditional problem for feminists was the equality-difference dilemma; namely, were women demanding full equality with men based upon an elimination of all recognized differences between the sexes or were they advocating for a version of equality based upon a recognition of differences between the sexes. While the former version of feminism has much more popularity today, the latter version was actually more common in the 19th-century. According to historian Bonnie Anderson, the first international feminist movement in the middle decades of the 19th-century faced this same dilemma and while its members thought many of the supposedly innate differences between men and women, such as intelligence levels, were artificial, they generally accepted that there were differences between men and women and made arguments based upon those distinctions. Anderson argued that these feminists, reasoning that, “given centuries of female subordination, any remedy which ignored both women’s similarities to men and their differences from them could not succeed,” advocated for, “a ‘both/and’ strategy, insisting that women needed the benefits of each position until true equality had been achieved.” In some cases they argued that men and women should be equal, but argued that in other cases, such as protective labor legislation, laws against domestic abuse, or for women’s education, women needed special treatment.91

91 Anderson, Joyous Greetings: The First International Women’s Movement, 1830-1860, 2. Karen Offen performed pioneering work on this subject in 1988. See: Karen Offen, “Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach,” Signs, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Autumn, 1988): 119-157. Offen proposed her own definition for feminism saying, “I would consider as feminists any persons, female or male, whose ideas and actions (insofar as they can be documented) show them to meet three criteria: (1) they recognize the validity of women’s own interpretations of their lived experience and needs and acknowledge the values women claim publicly as their own (as distinct from an aesthetic ideal of womanhood invented by men) in assessing their status in society relative to men; (2) they exhibit consciousness of, discomfort art, or even anger over institutionalized injustice (or inequity) toward women as a group by men as a group in a given society; and (3) they advocate the elimination of that injustice by challenging, through efforts to alter prevailing ideas and/or social institutions and practices, the coercive power, force, or authority that upholds male prerogatives in that particular culture. Thus, to be a feminist, is necessarily to be at odds with male-dominated culture and society.” See Also: Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
The women of this dissertation utilized a similar version of feminism. In many ways their actions challenged established gender norms and were even transgressive. Jessie White Mario spoke out in public on political matters and was arrested for her participation in a planned revolution in Genoa. Sara Nathan was entrusted with the finances of the revolutionary party and was a trusted conspirator. Giorgina Saffi published articles in newspapers talking about state-regulated prostitution. Over and over again these women demanded that the men in their lives take them seriously as collaborators and refused to be relegated to subservient or ornamental roles. They clearly refused to believe in an innate inferiority of women or traditional limitations to female behavior. They did not, however, believe that men and women were the same and often made claims based on their status and special ability as women. Schwabe, Chambers, Nathan, and others, for instance, believed that as women they were more suited to nurturing and care-giving and to domestic duties, like housekeeping or selecting appropriate presents. Additionally, they did not push for women’s suffrage or demand full legal equality for women. While their actions may thus be slightly disappointing for a modern-day feminist, I argue that we must consider them as products of a specific time and place and acknowledge the clear feminist aspects of their behavior, even if they would not have called themselves feminists.

**Chapter Outlines**

In Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I generally argue that these women utilized existing roles for women, such as that of the maternal caregiver or charitable fundraiser, for new transnational political purposes and also adopted new roles for women and challenged ideas about what was appropriate for female behavior. Not only did they shape the image of the Risorgimento in the public sphere from the private sphere, acting as important agents behind the scenes, but they
moved from the private sphere into the public sphere and many became known figures in the press and to governmental authorities. Through an examination of their activities, I am able to show not only that the Risorgimento was a transnational movement, but also that its left-wing component gave a space for the active engagement of independent and feminist women.

The first chapter of this dissertation, “Establishing Networks and Connections: Personal Relationships with Mazzini and Garibaldi” establishes the nature of the personal connections between the women, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and other patriots. It provides background on Mazzini and Garibaldi’s relationships with women and ideas about women, showing why independent women would feel compelled to work alongside these men. It then provides an overview of how historians have dealt with issues of love, friendship, and personal relationships in the Risorgimento, before arguing that these personal relationships were of the utmost importance to the Risorgimento. The majority of the chapter then examines different aspects of the women’s personal involvement with Mazzini and Garibaldi. I start with the seemingly superficial acts of gift-giving, revealing how these actions were actually quite deep and meaningful, based on a strong sense of shared sentiment and friendship, and revealed shared political commitments and goals. I also discuss how the women prioritized being emotionally close to Mazzini and Garibaldi and fought to be so. Finally, I trace the alternate familial networks created through the Risorgimento friendships that would serve as the basis of organization for the activities taken in the subsequent chapters. I argue that we should not understate the importance of emotional support, even while looking at the ways in which women provided financial and political support.

Chapter 2, “The Fight for Italy: Actions Leading to Unification,” then discusses the roles that the transnational Mazzinian women played in the work of the radical left up through the fall
of 1860, when Piedmont took over control of the remaining republican bastions in the south. Building on my argument from Chapter 1, I show how they worked through networks, based on natural and created families, to plan, publicize, conspire, raise funds, and nurse for Italian unification. I first focus on publicity, discussing Jessie White Mario’s lecture tour and the work of others in organizing the publicity for the Risorgimento, by cultivating personal contacts, translating articles, and sending articles to newspapers to ensure favorable coverage. I then examine how the women were entrusted with large sums of money and were called upon to account for how they spent that money. The chapter also discusses how the women worked with their familial networks to conspire for the Risorgimento, risking imprisonment and their personal safety. Finally, I show how the women worked as nurses, on the battlefield and for soldiers, caring for men outside of their immediate family.

Chapter 3, “The Fight for Venice, Rome, and Republicanism: 1861-1870,” looks at similar themes to Chapter 2, but in a later time period. In this chapter, I extend the Risorgimento beyond 1861 and show how other historians have also defined and periodized the Risorgimento to eventually show the importance of looking beyond 1861 and at non-state actors. In the bulk of this chapter, I show how the women continued their radical publicity campaign, pushing not only for acceptance for the new state of Italy but also for the importance of capturing Venice and Rome, and continued to organize and to raise money for conspiracies and revolutionary attempts, while others raised money and collected supplies for wounded soldiers. I also show how the women supported both Garibaldi’s failed attempts to conquer Rome and Mazzini’s unsuccessful revolutionary actions. Finally, I reveal how the radical women played a limited role in the actual conquering of Venice in 1866 and had little to no role in the conquest of Rome in 1870.
The next three chapters examine their work after unification, focusing on how the women continued to fight for change, even though their dreams of a radical Italy had not been realized. I show how they continued to work through their transnational networks established in the campaign for unification, using similar techniques, to continue to push for change within Italy. Chapter 4, “Memorializing the Risorgimento: Shaping Historical Narratives,” examines how the women collected, memorialized, wrote, and published to promote Risorgimento values in the decades after unification. This chapter begins with background on what women were reading and writing in Liberal Italy and then provide a discussion of the works already published regarding women and writing in Italy. Afterwards, I examine how the specific women of this dissertation, believing they had a sacred duty to preserve the memory and legacy of the Risorgimento, worked as collectors and archivists to preserve and craft that legacy, long after many of the other participants had died or fallen out of favor. I also show how Jessie White Mario, with help from others, wrote biographies of famous Risorgimento figures, creating a permanent legacy of her version of events. Relatedly, I argue that the women managed the technical considerations of printing and publishing, including finances, copyrights, publishers, and book reviews. Finally, the chapter shows how these women used newspaper writing to shape the image of Italy at home and abroad. Overall, I show how they were active in the public sphere, shaping political opinions and historical memory.

Chapter 5, “A New Generation of Italians: Early Childhood Education,” looks at how the women used education to further their dreams of the Risorgimento. I first provide a historical background on the state of education in Italy after unification and provide a historiographical overview of the existing scholarship on education in that time. I briefly introduce the three schools of Julia Salis Schwabe, Mary Elizabeth Chambers, and Sara Nathan. I emphasize that
this work emerged out of their Risorgimento activities and I argue that while their position was somewhat elitist, it was in more of a traditionally Liberal way, echoing the middle-class origins of the Risorgimento, rather than in an Orientalist or colonial way, which would have stemmed from their origin in England. This was reflected in how they presented their schools as an alternative to socialism. I also examine the issue of religious education and explore how these non-Catholic women chose to teach religion in their schools and how this was received by the Italian population. Most importantly, I argue that this project provided a space for women to act in leadership roles and to claim a special place for themselves as women.

Chapter 6, “New Civic Values in Marriage, Motherhood, and Sexual Relations,” examines the private lives of these transnational patriots to show the consistency between the values they privately held and those they publicly espoused. First, I provide a basic overview of the expectations, motherhood, and sexual relations in 19th-century Italy and England. Then, I provide an overview of the scholarship on the family, focusing on how authors have talked about the connections between family and civic values, particularly looking at how scholars have examined the private lives of Italian patriots. The rest of the chapter is comprised of three sections, focusing on marriages, motherhood, and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution respectively. In the section on marriages, I provide a basic overview of the marriages of Nathan, Schwabe, Saffi, Mario, and Chambers, arguing that the women believed their marriages to be based not only on love but also on shared interests and a partnership towards a common goal. The next section, on motherhood, examines how the women raised their children, noting how they self-consciously promoted more egalitarian and civic-minded values to their children. The final section examines their involvement in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution in Italy, showing how they transgressed acceptable norms for female behavior by
publicly speaking out and writing about the taboo subject of prostitution. In this section, I include an introduction to the systems of state-regulated prostitution in Italy and the campaign against it and provide a brief overview to the scholarship on the campaigns against state-regulated prostitution.

The seventh and final chapter, “Neither Catholic nor Italian: Issues of Citizenship, Religion, and Identity,” explores the intersecting and multifaceted ways that religious and national identities shaped not only these transnational nationalists’ motivations for action and their interactions in the Italian peninsula, but also their self-image and how they viewed and were viewed by the Italian people. Despite their deep connections to Italy, these women all remained outsiders in one way or another; none of them fit the profile of the typical Catholic Italian. To accomplish this, I first provide a historical background of Jewish and Catholic Italians in nineteenth-century Italy before sketching an overview of the historiography of religion and nationalism in Italy. I provide a discussion of theories of citizenship and argue that although the women were in many ways Italian, they also retained a strong sense of British identity and pride and were often categorized as foreigners by Italians. In next section, I look more specifically at religion, showing that the Mazzinians and non-Mazzinians were both motivated by religious sentiments and addressing the extent to which Sara Nathan and Julia Salis Schwabe were Jewish or were motivated by Judaism. Finally, I argue that we need a transnational identity for the women and show how this enhances our understandings of female identity and romantic or cosmopolitan nationalism in the 19th century.
Final Arguments

In conclusion, this dissertation provides a different approach to the Italian Risorgimento by showing how non-Catholic non-Italian women played a major role not only in creating the Italian state, but in building it afterwards. By focusing on transnational Protestant and Jewish women I can link activities before and after unification, move focus away from pure political sphere, and see connections between unification and state-building. Too many works view the international patriotic campaigning of Garibaldi and Mazzini as distinct from the post-unification state-building through means like education or bureaucracy and see only a failure of the left to operate successfully through traditional political channels. The dreams of the Risorgimento, however, extended beyond mere physical unification and its proponents sought true societal change. They wanted to remake Italy and remake Italians.

I argue that the patriotic efforts of English women in the Risorgimento continued in the form of charitable educational endeavors following the Risorgimento. The same women were involved in these processes and they carried their same motivations, networks of contacts, and organizational methods with them from one process to the next. These personal connections were important and should be valued and studied. Personal relationships can provide not only financial support but also moral support and friendships or romantic relationships can affect one’s political thoughts or public decisions. We should not undervalue or dismiss the value of friendship in studying the lives of these women and their networks. Furthermore, I argue that through their actions and their close personal friendships and extended familial networks these women were able to effectively supported Mazzini and Garibaldi in their push to create a better and unified Italy.
Another important way in which the dissertation challenges ideas about the Risorgimento is by emphasizing new areas of the international aspects of Italian nationalism. Italian national unification and the Italian sense of self were shaped by international forces and did not emerge as an entirely autochthonous development. Not only were the radical patriotic leaders of the Risorgimento forced into exile, where they were influenced by foreign political philosophy and culture, but the less famous supporters of the Risorgimento were also transnational. The women studied for this project worked in networks that transcended national borders yet were still strong proponents of nationalism and the Italian state. This is a contradiction that merits further exploration. Overall, the dissertation emphasizes the artificial and non-national creation of national identity.

I also show how the Risorgimento was religious and how religion was a motivating factor in nineteenth-century politics more generally. I argue that religion was an important factor in the Risorgimento. While anticlericalism was a powerful motivating factor, deeply-held beliefs and spiritual connections also swayed people’s actions and pushed them to act in situations where they might not have otherwise. To fully understand not only British involvement in the Risorgimento, but also Mazzini and the Mazzinians, including Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, we must take into account religious factors and consider this a spiritual movement. To his followers, Mazzini’s ideas truly represented a faith and they viewed themselves as his loyal apostles.

I also argue that these women had a Protestant British identity which made them believe they had special privileges, rights, and abilities; British women were, it was argued, naturally more active, industrious, and orderly than Italian women. Many supporters of the Risorgimento, British and Italian alike, hoped that unification would bring with it not only a move away from
despotic governments but also a curtailing of the Pope’s influence in Italy, believing that this would allow for moral regeneration and a stronger generation of Italian citizens. This Liberal anti-Catholic rhetoric was persuasive as it resonated with British anti-Catholic sentiment and desire to spread Protestantism. While these arguments drew British women to the cause of the Italian Risorgimento, they also reinforced negative stereotypes about Italians and made it easier for the British women to retain their sense of superiority in regards to the Italian people.

Finally, I argue that left-wing politics and the left-wing forces of the Risorgimento, in particular, provided a space for women to act and to have agency. I draw attention to important and influential women who have been understudied, partially due to the scattered nature of their papers and partially due to scholarly biases and disinterest. To fully understand the complexities and possibilities of female behavior in the 19th-century, however, we must consider their actions.
Chapter 1: Establishing Networks and Connections: Personal Relationships with Mazzini and Garibaldi

In this first chapter I will explore the personal relationships and networks that White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, Nathan, Schwabe and Chambers developed with Mazzini, Garibaldi, and the other Italian exiles. Most historians regard these women primarily as friends, supporters, or even fans of Mazzini or Garibaldi and categorize their relationships with the men as hierarchical and one-sided, with the women simply accepting Mazzini or Garibaldi’s dictates and guidance. I argue this is a problematic misinterpretation of these collaborative partnerships, which not only allowed the women to push forward their own agenda, but which were based on mutual respect and shared goals. Historians are starting to recognize the political value of private friendship and I build on that trend in this chapter showing how these private partnerships were part of a larger political movement. Friendships were exceptionally important for Italian exiles, who were often impoverished and isolated from their families, and the women of this dissertation played an important role in supporting these exile communities. I also demonstrate how these friendships were vital in building up the level of trust necessary for the often secret or conspiratorial work during the Risorgimento and the network of cooperation that would facilitate the projects women engaged in throughout their careers.

Not only did these relationships blur the lines between friendship and partnership and between public and private, but also they allowed women to use traditionally feminine behaviors to act in revolutionary ways. Though they demanded respect and equality with men, Schwabe, Chambers, Nathan, and the others, also made claims based on their gender and believed that as
women, particularly as English women, they had special maternal, domestic, and organizational skills. As their contribution in these collaborative networks, the women used these domestic skills and directed them towards political ends.

To do this, I will first introduce Mazzini, Garibaldi, and their relationships with these women in particular and with women in general, explaining why Chambers, Nathan, Craufurd Saffi, White Mario, Schwabe, and others chose to befriend them. I will then look at how other historians have dealt with the issues of love, friendship, and personal relationships in the Risorgimento. The remainder of the chapter will then examine the creation of networks of support and trust among these women and among the Italian exile community. First, I examine how these networks provided financial support to the radical patriots, focusing on how the women embraced traditional feminine nurturing acts, such as providing gifts, acting as hostesses, engaging in fundraising and subscriptions, and used them for revolutionary purposes. Finally, I show how the exiles and the women forged the alternate families of emotional support and trust necessary for effective political action. I argue that we should not understate the importance of emotional support, even while looking at the ways in which women provided financial and political backing. These networks were necessary and served as the basis of organization for the activities analyzed in the subsequent chapters of the dissertation.

**Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Friendships with Women**

*Giuseppe Mazzini, Sara Nathan, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Jessie White Mario*

Giuseppe Mazzini (1809-1872) was the preeminent Italian patriot of the radical left and one of the most prominent leaders of the mid-nineteenth century nationalist movements. As a young man, he joined the secret Italian society the Carbonari and, after participating in a failed
uprising in 1827, was sent into exile thus beginning his long career as a proponent of a unified Italy, republican values, and revolutionary reform. To this end, he founded Young Italy, an organization dedicated to uniting Italy and creating a new society based on the ideals of Liberty, Equality and Humanity. ¹ He believed that “every nation is destined by the law of God and humanity” to form an egalitarian republic. ² Throughout the 1830s and early 1840s, Mazzini worked alongside the other radical exiles to publish texts calling for revolution and to organize a series of failed conspiracies. In 1848-49, Mazzini participated in the nationalist uprisings that rocked the Italian peninsula and served as a member of the Triumvirate of the short-lived Roman Republic. When the Roman Republic fell to French forces, he fled to Switzerland and then back to London where he continued his revolutionary endeavors.

It was in London that Mazzini first met Sara Nathan, Giorgina Craufurd, and Jessie Meriton White. Sara Levi Nathan (1819-1822), born in Pesaro to a Jewish merchant family, had married the banker Moses Meyer Nathan (from Rodelheim, Germany) in 1836 and the two subsequently moved to England where they had twelve children. In London, they were in frequent contact with Sara Nathan’s cousins, the Rossellis, who were bankers from Livorno and who had been drawn into the revolutionary exile support network. It was in the Rosselli home that Mazzini met an eighteen-year-old Sara Nathan. ³ Their initial contacts were brief, but developed throughout the 1850s and intensified after Meyer Nathan’s death in 1859. Sara Nathan would go on to be best known as a hostess for radical meetings at her home in London and at her

² Mazzini, *Joseph Mazzini: His Life, Writings and Political Principles*, 64.
³ Sarti, *Mazzini*, 98. Mazzini’s friend Angelo Usiglio had decided to call upon his fellow Italian Jews in London for aid.
villa in Switzerland. She also worked to publish Mazzini’s writings and opened a school for girls in Trastevere, Rome.

Giorgina Craufurd (1827-1911) also met Mazzini through her family. Craufurd was born in Florence to the Scottish couple Sir John and Sofia Craufurd. The Craufurds had briefly lived in Italy and had strong sympathies for the Italians. While in London, they offered hospitality and help to the political exiles. In 1848, Giorgina’s brother George went to Italy to participate in the revolutions along with a group of Italian exiles, including Mazzini. When Giorgina Craufurd went to see her brother off at the London rail station she met Mazzini who shook her hand and said, “I hope that you become a good Italian.” After the failure of the Roman Republic, the Craufurds continued to host Mazzini and the other exiles and in 1851 they entertained Mazzini’s fellow co-Triumvir, Aurelio Saffi. Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi fell in love and were married on June 30th 1857. Throughout the more than three decades of their marriage, Aurelio and Giorgina Saffi worked together to promote republicanism and equality in Italy. After the Risorgimento, Saffi promoted workers’ rights organizations, universal education, early Italian feminist movements, and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution. Later in life, she dedicated herself to preserving the legacy of the Risorgimento by collecting and publishing the writings of both Mazzini and her husband Aurelio Saffi.

Of the three female Mazzinians studied in this dissertation, the last to enter the Mazzinian circle was Jessie White Mario (1832-1906). Born Jessie Meriton White to a family of non-conformist middle-class shipbuilders in Portsmouth, England, White was taught to embrace

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4 Bugani, 9. Sir John Craufurd had worked for the British Commission for the Ionian Islands and the family lived in Italy for a time where they developed strong Italian sympathies. The islands were under the governance of Great Britain from 1811 to 1863. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi was born on October 11th 1827 in Florence at the Palazzo Rospigliosi Pallavicini in Piazza del Carmine. The Craufurd family was residing there as part of their long stopover in Italy.

5 Bugani, 10.
her intellect and to seek justice rather than propriety. While studying philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris, White became entranced by the cause of Italian unification and became friends with Emma Roberts, who was engaged to Garibaldi at the time and who introduced the young radical White to the famed patriot in 1854. White returned to England, attempted to enter medical school to better act as Garibaldi’s nurse in any future Italian campaign, and eventually turned her attention to the Italian propaganda efforts. Through her work in this, she met Mazzini in 1856 and the two developed a close friendship as well.\(^6\) In 1857, White travelled to Italy, where she was arrested for her participation in a failed uprising and met her future husband, fellow patriot Alberto Mario whom she married in December 1857. As Jessie White Mario, she continued her propaganda work for the Risorgimento and also worked as a nurse in the battles for unification, famously serving alongside Garibaldi. In the post-unification period, she worked primarily as a writer, producing newspaper articles and monographs that celebrated the history of the Risorgimento and documented the socio-economic struggles of the newly-unified peninsula.

These three women were drawn to Mazzini and the other Italian exiles because they shared his belief in the importance of reform and emancipation. Mazzini’s vision encompassed far more than mere geographic national unification. Working from his belief that all men are born morally equal, regardless of differences in natural talent or intelligence, he advocated emancipation for Italians, workers, women, and slaves.\(^7\) Disappointed with the existing state of the Italian people, he wanted to give Italians the necessary political equality and education to make them more moral and allow them to reach their full potential as “real Italians.”\(^8\)

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\(^6\) White was uniquely devoted to both Mazzini and Garibaldi.

\(^7\) Giuseppe Mazzini, *Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini’s Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, and International Relations*, ed. Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, trans. Stefano Recchia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) 48-51. These ideas pushed Mazzini into various campaigns including those for: the abolition of all hereditary privilege, universal manhood suffrage, freedom of association, universal primary education, the protection of scientific bodies and a meritocracy in state employment.

\(^8\) Mazzini, *Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, 90.
transnational British women he worked with, including White Mario and Saffi, shared his belief that the Italians were somehow inadequate in their current state and believed that they had a mission to provide outside guidance and uplift.

Mazzini’s cosmopolitan nationalism also allowed for their foreign input and did not demand strict national allegiance or emphasize divisions between people of different nationalities. Although he was an ardent Italian nationalist, Mazzini believed in a greater goal than the formation of an independent Italian state, namely the betterment of humanity. He believed that nationalism would lead towards cohesion and doubted the possibility that it would instead create competition and violence between nations.\(^9\) Once humanity was ready for unity, nations could cease to exist.\(^10\) White Mario, Nathan, and Saffi shared this belief that a republican nation, though a laudable goal, was merely a stepping stone towards the republican international community that would bring about equality and unity among humanity.

Finally, White Mario, Nathan, and Craufurd Saffi were drawn to Mazzini because of his good relationships with women and his respect both for female equality and traditionally feminine traits. Mazzini was famously very close with this mother, Maria Drago and also developed very loving and brotherly relationships with female supporters in England, not only White Mario, Nathan, and Craufurd Saffi, but also the Ashurst sisters, Jane Carlyle, Mrs. Milner-Gibson, and Mrs. Peter Taylor.\(^11\) These relationships were platonic, as Mazzini cast himself as an asexual martyr to the patriotic cause, and were based on true sympathy rather than sheer opportunism. Mazzini also approached these women as equals and valued them for their own

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\(^9\) Mazzini, *Cosmopolitanism of Nations*, 12-17.
\(^10\) Mazzini demonstrated his belief these principles through his work with Young Europe, another organization dedicated to restoring sovereignty to occupied or fragmented nations and to the creation of republics.
\(^11\) D’Amelia wrote extensively about the importance of Mazzini’s relationship with his mother. See the historiography section later in this chapter. See also: *Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1844-1854*, 25.
support and contributions, not just for the access they provided to male relatives. This drew intelligent and independent women to his cause.\textsuperscript{12}

In his writings, Mazzini made his views on the equality of men and women explicit. He notably argued that men and women were equal before the eyes of God and urged that man must “love and respect woman. See in her not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties. Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over woman.”\textsuperscript{13} Although he believed men and women were different, Mazzini claimed this difference was comparable merely to the natural variations among individual men. Furthermore, he insisted that there was no inherent inequality between men and women, “but- even as is often the case among men- diversity of tendency and of special vocation.”\textsuperscript{14} Believing that women’s apparent inequality was simply the result of their longstanding oppression, he argued that, “long prejudice, an inferior education and a perennial legal inequality and injustice have created that apparent intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument of continued oppression.” This same false naturalization of an artificial inequality, he claimed, could be found in slavery, feudalism and tyranny and was also used by the foreign powers that stifled Italy's development and then maintained that Italy was too immature and not yet ready for independence.\textsuperscript{15} The emancipation of women, therefore, was a necessary part of a general emancipation of all subjugated groups of humanity. Mazzini’s ideas were somewhat unusual for this period and not all democrats shared his view about the need for equality between the sexes.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Giuseppe Mazzini, \textit{Scritti scelti di Giuseppe Mazzini} (Firenze: Sansoni, 1964) 65.
\textsuperscript{15} Garrison, “Introduction,” xvii-xviii.
He was not afraid to speak out against men of the left who did not share his views, and criticized those workers who were hesitant to also support women’s rights.\textsuperscript{17}

Not only did Mazzini argue for women’s equality and accept women who wanted to transcend the culturally proscribed limitations on their behavior, but he also accepted women who embraced a domestic role and claimed that these behaviors were also important for the nation, not just for the home. He argued that women served the nation through their role as the republican mother. While men and women were equals, they needed to fulfill separate duties, which for women meant educating their children as good citizens and mourning their death in war.\textsuperscript{18} Patriotic literature across the transatlantic world used the figure of the republican mother to implore women to raise sons who would fight for the national cause.\textsuperscript{19} Mazzinianism tried to reconcile the idea of the complementarity of the sexes with the idea of feminine prestige and emancipation. He wanted women to be recognized as authority figures as mothers, as women, and as citizens.\textsuperscript{20} Making a claim for female sensibility, he argued that women cared more about justice and thought that they could fight for causes, as long as they were not stifled by a repressive educational system.\textsuperscript{21} Nathan and Craufurd Saffi, in particular, shared these views and believed that as women they had special skills which could be used in creating and guiding the Italian nation.

\textsuperscript{17} Falchi, “Beyond National Borders;” 31.
\textsuperscript{18} Mazzini, \textit{Scritti scelti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, 72-73, 203, 243; Mazzini, \textit{An essay on the duties of man: addressed to workingmen: written in 1844-1858} (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1892) 68.
\textsuperscript{19} See: Storia d’Italia, Annali 22, Il Risorgimento.
\textsuperscript{20} Gazzetta, Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile 12-17.
\textsuperscript{21} Amarena, 14.
Giuseppe Garibaldi, Jessie White Mario, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Chambers

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) was born in Nice, which at that time was considered part of the heterogeneous conglomeration of states that made up the Italian peninsula. During his youth, he travelled as a merchant and met numerous French political exiles and Italian revolutionaries, including Mazzini, who inspired a heightened political awareness in the young trader. This burgeoning political activism led to participation in a failed uprising in 1834, after which Garibaldi was forced to flee to South America, where he lived for many years and met his wife Anita. Giuseppe and Anita Garibaldi worked together in revolutionary movements in Uruguay, before returning to Italy to fight in the Roman Republic in 1849. As she had in their previous battles, Anita Garibaldi fought alongside her husband in the final siege and ultimately died during their escape from Rome. After spending the intermittent years largely out of the spotlight, Garibaldi returned to Italy in 1860 to lead the famous Expedition of the Thousand that liberated southern Italy and briefly served as Dictator of Sicily before handing the territory over to the King of Piedmont so that it could be united into the Kingdom of Italy. Throughout the 1860s and early 1870s, Garibaldi would continue to fight battles for Italian independence, both with the support of the Italian government and in direct defiance of its orders.

Jessie White Mario was one of Garibaldi’s most loyal supporters, but she was not alone and Garibaldi cultivated many female supporters after his actions of 1860, including Mary Elizabeth Chambers. Chambers (c.1823-1881) was the only child and heir of Reverend Samuel Wootton Perkins, Rector of Stockton, and his wife Elizabeth. She married Lieutenant-Colonel

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22 In 1860, Cavour made an agreement with Napoleon III of France to cede Savoy and Nice to France in order to annex Tuscany and Emilia to Piedmont. The loss of his homeland infuriated Garibaldi, but he was forced to accept it as military campaigns in the south demanded his attention and diverted his focus.
23 After her death she was immortalized as a martyr for the cause of Italy and remained a signal of all that Garibaldi gave up for the love of his nation.
24 I have yet to find an official birth date for Chambers. However, her parents were married on April 27th 1822 (See: “Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries,” The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire,
John Hickenbotham Chambers, a Captain of the 46th Foot on November 2nd 1852. After 1860, both of the Chambers became involved with Garibaldi and Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers published *Garibaldi and Italian Unity* in 1861. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, the Chambers remained on good terms with Garibaldi and Mary Chambers and Garibaldi worked together to open a series of schools in Sardinia. On her own, Chambers opened similar schools in England. She was also active in managing Garibaldi’s image and his publishing career.

The final figure of this dissertation is Julia Salis Schwabe (1819-1896) who also began both her involvement in Italy and her friendship with Garibaldi after 1861. Schwabe was born in Bremen to a Jewish merchant family and in 1837 moved to England to marry her older cousin Salis Schwabe, who ran the Schwabe Calico Printing Works, and converted to Unitarianism. Both Schwabes were active in philanthropy and the promotion of primary education and travelled in elite circles. Most notably, they were friends with Richard Cobden. Salis Schwabe died on July 23rd 1853, most likely of cholera or scarlet fever, leaving Schwabe a widow with seven children. She continued her work in philanthropy and in November of 1860, inspired by the recent tumultuous events, Schwabe wrote to Garibaldi as a friend of Italy but without a formal introduction and began their partnership. During the military campaigns for unification, Schwabe proved herself to be a generous benefactor and efficient organizer, helping to send tents, mattresses, medical supplies, and funds to Garibaldi’s troops. Following unification,

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26 “Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries,” *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Friday, November 5, 1852; Issue 2447. Chambers had been a Captain of the 46th Foot, but retired in 1854, and was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for Lancashire and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Lancashire Rifle Volunteers.

26 Richard Cobden was a Liberal statesman best known for his work in the Anti-Corn Law League. Schwabe published a book of reminiscences about Cobden which will be discussed in Chapter 4.
Schwabe became the British representative of the Italian Ladies’ Philanthropic Association and started a school in Naples. Though this first school quickly closed, Schwabe later opened a second school, which grew to contain a kindergarten, elementary school, orphanage, and training program for kindergarten teachers. she continued to work in Naples and to fundraise for international charities until her death in 1896.

Like many women, Schwabe and Chambers were drawn to Garibaldi when his fame was at its peak, during his liberation of southern Italy from the Bourbon monarchy. While Garibaldi had already been quite well-known for his work in South America and in the Roman Republic, it was this victory that truly sealed his image as “The Hero of Two Worlds,” and propelled him into a new level of celebrity. Garibaldi became one of the most popular and enduring political heroes of the nineteenth century. His appeal transcended social classes and national frontiers, and people in various countries across the globe flocked to see him during his visits, bought newspapers that showed his picture and read his memoirs, biographies, and letters.

Garibaldi’s image was intentionally masculine and sexualized and this often shaped the interactions he had with women. With some help from Mazzini, Garibaldi drew upon the existing culture of romanticism in Italy and cast himself as the romantic hero of Italy: a virile and masculine, yet sensitive, soldier who fought successfully for Italy's independence. Women flocked to Garibaldi and he accepted their advances, having multiple, sometimes simultaneous, affairs with a variety of women, including Emma Roberts, Countess Maria della Torre, his housekeeper Battistina Ravello, Esperanza von Schwartz, and his grandchild’s nurse Francesca Armosino. His relationships with White Mario, Chambers, and Schwabe largely lack this heated

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27 Schwabe’s first school closed in 1865, when its headmistress, Miss Reeve died in a cholera epidemic.
sexualized tone, however, and remained more in the sphere of platonic friendship and partnership or even brotherhood.

Schwabe, Chambers, and White Mario responded not to Garibaldi’s personal appeal, but to the appeal he made to Italian (and non-Italian) women to take part in the creation and building of Italy. Like Mazzini, Garibaldi recognized the potential of British women and genuinely asked for and accepted their help and contributions. Lucy Riall argued that “No one else, except perhaps Mazzini before him, made political use of British women in quite this way at this time.”  

He asked for their intellect and organization and also for their maternal capacities. Like Mazzini, Garibaldi highly valued mothers, including his own whom he credited with his instruction in the idea of patriotic charity, and argued that the moral and patriotic instruction of their children should be of paramount importance to all mothers. Mothers were also responsible for teaching virtue, a vital task which made the mother a significant force in the household. During his campaign across Sicily, Garibaldi wrote letters to the women of Italy asking for their support and held up Adelaide Cairoli, who had lost two of her five sons to the battles of the Risorgimento, as the exemplary republican mother who was unafraid to sacrifice her children for the greater good of the country. This respect for mothers meant that Schwabe and Chambers never had to choose between being mothers and showing their maternal concerns or being respected as partners in an affair and that made it much easier for these friendships to develop and continue.

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29 Riall, Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero, 343.
31 Garibaldi, Scritti politici e militari, ricordi e pensieri inediti (Roma: E. Voghera, 1907) 225
32 Garibaldi, Scritti Politici, 168-9. Living up to the ideal Garibaldi held for her, Cairoli continued to push her sons into patriotic battles and two of her remaining three sons died as a result of fighting in the attempt to take Rome in 1867.
Historiography: Emotion, Love, and Friendship in the Risorgimento

In the introduction to this dissertation I presented an overarching look at the historiography of the Risorgimento. In this chapter, I will focus specifically on how historians have written about the roles of emotion, love, and friendship for the individual patriots of the Risorgimento and for the Risorgimento as an overall project. The next two chapters will then discuss the historiography pertaining to the involvement of women in the Risorgimento and the problems in defining and periodizing the Risorgimento, respectively.

Many historians have written about emotion in the Risorgimento by focusing on the personal romantic relationships of its leaders, particularly Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Some of these works dramatize the suffering of Mazzini, who was unable to be with the woman regarded as his one true love, Giuditta Sidoli, and Garibaldi, whose wife Anita died while fleeing the Roman Republic in 1849. Other historians have focused on how Mazzini and Garibaldi interacted with and inspired women other than Sidoli or Anita Garibaldi. In explaining why certain women chose to participate in the Risorgimento, the authors have focused on the women’s romantic connections to the great patriots rather than on their independent ideals or philosophy. This happens even in works that celebrate female involvement in the Risorgimento and have a clear feminist bent. Sonia Amarena, for instance, in her work, Donne mazziniane, donne repubblicane, categorized Maria Mazzini as “La madre,” Giulia Calame Modena as “La moglie,” and Giuditta Sidoli as “L’amante.” While these works recognize the importance of

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33 See Fazzini and Lucarelli, Cortigiani ed Eroine: Storia di un ‘altro Risorgimento.’ In particular, see Chapter 5, “Anita: Compagna, eroina, madre, moglie” and Chapter 9, Giuditta Bellerio Sidoli: Musa mazziniana, malinconica e triste.” See also, Sarti, Mazzini, 61. Quite interestingly, in this work, Sarti discusses the possibility that Mazzini had an illegitimate child with Giuditta Sidoli. This is not commonly discussed in works about Mazzini. Sarti claimed that in 1832 Sidoli gave birth to a boy, almost certainly fathered by Mazzini, whom they named Joseph Démosthène Adolphe Aristide. Neither Mazzini nor Sidoli acknowledged the child and he was left with the Ollivier family and died in February 1835. Sidoli could not acknowledge the child for fear of angering her in-laws and losing access to her other four children, while Mazzini did not want to ruin his public image.

34 Amarena, Donne mazziniane, donne repubblicane.
emotion to people on a personal or biographical level, they do not see it as of equal importance or value to political or philosophical engagement.

This approach has been challenged by a new series of studies that focus on the role of emotion in the Risorgimento. This trend has grown out of Banti’s push towards a cultural approach to Risorgimento studies. Many of these works argue for the importance of Romanticism. In 2005, for instance, Marjan Schwegman argued that foreign men and women who joined in the Risorgimento, “belonged to a group of romantic, revolutionary desperados and exiles, who lived as if there were no national divides, plotting their revolutions with their brothers all over the world.” Historiographically, Schwegman wanted people to take love seriously and not to demean it as a motivational factor. She took the example of Margaret Fuller and insisted that Fuller’s adoration for Mazzini should not be dismissed as, “a typical example of the romantic infatuation cool Nordic women fell prey to as soon as they met charismatic Italian revolutionaries like Mazzini and Garibaldi,” as it would have in the works in the previous paragraph. Instead, she argued, we need to see how love, romance, and infatuation worked as a motivating force in politics for both men and women. Mazzini had strong female friendships, but he also had a brotherhood with his fellow male revolutionaries. If we accept that as a true and valid motivational force, then we must also accept the women’s emotions.35

Subsequent works have since followed in Schwegman’s footsteps and have argued for the importance of Romanticism, hero worship, and emotion for both male and female patriots.36

36 See: Vivere la guerra: Percorsi biografici e ruoli di genere tra Risorgimento e primo conflitto mondiale; See also, The Risorgimento Revisited. Many of the essays in the volume stress the importance of Romanticism, emotion, and love to the Risorgimento, for both men and women. In The Risorgimento Revisited, see Paul Ginsborg, “European Romanticism and the Italian Risorgimento.” Ginsborg argued that Romanticism was often contradictory, focusing on individual achievement and emotion but also appreciating communal movements, and that this combination was particularly good for motivating patriots who needed to feel nationalist sentiment and act in reckless ways. See also,
Adrian Lyttelton, for instance argued that Romanticism promoted hero cults and the worship of major figures, including Mazzini and Garibaldi.\(^{37}\) This is important because it shows that Mazzini and Garibaldi were idols to men as well as to women. When looking at the actions of the women in this dissertation, therefore, we should not categorize their hero worship as necessarily romantic in nature or as a result of their female sensibilities but recognize emotion, admiration, and devotion as valid political motivators.

Another group of historians have focused on the importance of friendship, rather than romantic love. Many of these works have emphasized the supportive friendships formed between impoverished and exiled Italian patriots and middle-class British men and women. They argued that Mazzini and other Italian exiles struggled to financially support themselves in England and relied on aid from those who were politically or personally sympathetic to them.\(^{38}\) Roland Sarti also wrote about the problems of exile and Mazzini’s lack of money. He wrote that Mazzini never had enough money, even with support of his mother and the Ruffini family, because he

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\(^{37}\) Adrian Lyttelton, “The Hero and the People,” in *The Risorgimento Revisited*. Lyttelton argues that Romanticism provided a common language and vision for Italian unity, drew attention to an idealized Italian past while paving the way for a future.

\(^{38}\) See: Denis Mack Smith, *Mazzini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). In this biography of Mazzini, Mack Smith mentioned the dire poverty of Mazzini’s exile and the way in which he drew on support from wealthier Englishmen and women to then aid other Italian exiles. Mack Smith argued that Mazzini was reliant on support from his mother, who kept sending him money, as well as his influential English friends, and notes also how Mazzini gave much of his money away to fellow exiles. Mack Smith argued that Mazzini had male friendships, but he often felt more comfortable around women and felt more comfortable asking them for financial aid, emotional support, and sometimes even physical care. See also, Mazzatinti, *Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872)*; *Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1844-1854*; *Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860 Vol II*; *Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1861-1872, Vol. III*; *Dear Kate: lettere inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini a Katherine Hill, Angelo Bezzi e altri Italiani a Londra (1841-1871)*, Roland Sarti and Norah Mayper, ed. (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2011). This work looks at understudied letters to present a picture of Mazzini’s personal life and his daily affairs while in exile, rather than focusing on his philosophical or political works.
gave too much away to other exiles.\textsuperscript{39} The exile experience to the Risorgimento has also received an increase in scholarly attention and its importance should not be understated.\textsuperscript{40}

Some of the works on Mazzini’s friendships with English women argue that they not only provided monetary support to Mazzini, and through Mazzini to the other exiles, but also provided key political support.\textsuperscript{41} These works build on other studies that have emphasized the importance of friendships for both men and women in determining political beliefs and political actions.\textsuperscript{42} Some of these works, like Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe’s, highlight friendships as a way to challenge periodization. Sutcliffe argued that Mazzini’s close friends, forged out of the networks of the exile experience, were exceedingly loyal and continued promoting his movement long after many of his other supporters had turned to other, either more or less radical, movements.\textsuperscript{43} Federica Falchi also focused on Mazzini’s friendships with British women, but argued that the women helped Mazzini develop his uniquely feminist tendencies. Falchi claimed that Mazzini was unique in his abilities to respect and develop friendships with women and that

\textsuperscript{39} Sarti, \textit{Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics}.
\textsuperscript{40} Isabella, \textit{Risorgimento in exile}. Isabella focused on an earlier period of exile, particularly on approximately 35 exiles who left Italy from 1815 to the late 1830s, but his ideas are still relevant to the overall historiographical trend.
\textsuperscript{41} See Gazzetta, Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile.
\textsuperscript{42} Politica e amicizia. Relazioni, conflitti e differenze di genere 1860-1915. This is book of essays from 2010, which try to examine the relationship between friendships and politics, as a way to further examine the relationship between women, politics, and the state, focusing particularly on female political friendships. In volume, look especially at Daniela Maldini Chiarito, “Le amicizie civili: solidarietà, fraternità, amor patrio.” which looks at the formative friendships of young Piedmontese aristocrats who adhered themselves to a group of moderate democratic liberals. See also, Angela Russo, “Vostra obbligata amica”: Giuseppe Ricciardi e le amiche emancipazioniste (1860-1880).’’ Russo examines the life of Giuseppe Ricciardi and his friendship with Luisa Granito. Ricciardi was another Mazzinian leftist who believed in the power of friendship and listened to women and promoted female emancipation. Finally, see Emma Scaramuzza, “Di madre, di figlie e di sorelle: amicizia e impegno politico in Lombardia nel ’lungo Ottocento.” Scaramuzza examines the real political friendships between women in the 19th century and showed the importance of generational change, as women imparted their feminist wisdom to their daughters, nieces, or to younger friends, to whom they served as a “seconda madre,” a strong figure who was in the public sphere, had fought for her public status in the Risorgimento period, and who served as a guide to the spiritual, intellectual, and professional development of other women.
\textsuperscript{43} Sutcliffe, \textit{Victorian radicals and Italian democrats}. Sutcliffe also argued that Mazzini’s devotees were closely connected to the period of English exile and the families formed during that time. She looks, for instance, at Maurizio Quadrio, a devout Mazzinian, who formed an alternate family with Sara Nathan. Quadrio was sent to teach the Nathan children and although he was initially reluctant to do so, he became an alternate father to them.
the reason why foreign women chose to involve themselves in Mazzini’s campaigns for Italian unification, “can be found in the tight bond originating from the intellectual sharing and then the strengthening of the mutual trust and esteem that was established with Mazzini.” She also argued that Mazzini’s feminism was reinforced by the example set by the strong, independent, educated, and active British women that he became friends with during his exile. Building on these works, I will argue in this chapter that the patriotic friendships formed during exile were important to the Risorgimento and should be studied and taken seriously.

Connected to the works that focus on friendships in the Risorgimento are those that focus on the family. Marina D’Amelia has notably argued for the importance of maternal love in the Risorgimento. She wrote about the importance of Mazzini’s love for his mother and her love for him and also revealed other close relationships between mothers and patriotic sons, including that between Aurelio Saffi and his mother Maria Romagnoli. While D’Amelia focused on motherhood, other works have looked at the importance of family networks in the Risorgimento. Ros Pesman, for instance, argued that Mazzini’s network of supporters actually developed such close ties of friendship as to nearly resemble an alternate family. Pesman argued that while in exile, away from his mother, unable to be with Sidoli, and estranged from the domesticity of his fatherland, Mazzini actually focused more on family and the symbolism of family and that metaphors and ideologies of family were central to his thought and his views of

44 Falchi, “Beyond National Borders,” 23-36. In an earlier article, Falchi argued that Mazzini was a true pioneering feminist and that he started a debate about feminism within Italy. See: Falchi, “Democracy and the rights of women in the thinking of Giuseppe Mazzini.”
45 See, D’Amelia, “Between Two Eras: Challenges Facing Women in the Risorgimento,” in Risorgimento Revisited, 2011. Also see her earlier work, La Mamma. In “Between Two Eras,” d’Amelia notes that this was not just a leftist Mazzinian ideology, but was popularized and tone down slightly. She demonstrated this by looking at Olimpia Savio, a loyal Piemontese subject, who also educated herself alongside her son and felt very close to him. For a more recent work on the changing image of the mother in Italy, see: Monica Miscali, “The Transformation of Motherhood: From a Neglected Mother to The Mother of a Whole Nation,” Romance Studies. Vol 35, No.1 (2017): 3-11.
46 Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano: modelli, strategie, reti di relazione.
citizenship and humanity.⁴⁷ Other authors have focused on how radical participants in the Risorgimento sought to challenge traditional familial boundaries and expectations to create alternate families and romantic partnering.⁴⁸ Throughout this chapter, I will build on these authors’ arguments to show how alternate cosmopolitan families were truly formed among the British women and the Italian exiles and in the later chapters I will show how these networks formed the basis for organization for radical conspiracies.

**Building Networks of Financial Support for Exile Communities**

Italian patriots in exile were, in a sense, martyrs to their cause and had given up their homelands and livelihoods to support the campaign for Italian unification. They struggled to find work in England to support themselves, and poverty was a constant concern. Even Mazzini and Garibaldi, while quite influential and famous, struggled to provide for themselves and to pay their bills. Those few patriots with money, like the Nathans, were called upon to help the others while wealthy women, like Schwabe, wanted to use their money to support the exiles and their causes. One could argue that these were uneven, one-sided, or even exploitative friendships and claim that these were instances of wealthy women being lured away from their funds by manipulative men. I disagree with this interpretation. Gift-giving plays an important role in the

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⁴⁷ Pesman, “Mazzini in esilio e le inglesi” in *Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano*.
⁴⁸ See: Schwegman, “In Love with Garibaldi: Romancing the Italian Risorgimento.” When talking about Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Schwegman argues that her romantic love for Ossoli was accompanied by a political love for Italy and by a personal desire to rethink everything she had believed about “independence, family and gender relations, motherhood, marriage, and bodily pleasures.” See also, Guidi, “Nobili o maledette? Passioni del Risorgimento fra tracce biografiche, narrazioni canoniche, riscritture.” See also, Fabbri and Zani, *Anite e le altre: amore e politica ai tempi del Risorgimento*. Fabbri and Zani argued that certain revolutionary women celebrated grand passions, whether for an individual patriot or for the dream of a unified Italy, and believed that love was something that could help create liberty. For these women, they argued, affirming the right to love was not just about sentiment, it was also about independence and autonomy. Women had such little freedom that choosing the person they would love was in a way a revolutionary act.
formation of networks, both political and personal. Through a closer reading, we can see that in the act of gift-giving, the women were taking part in a genuine network of friendship and support vital to the radical patriot community. We can also see how they felt pride in their status as women and felt particularly able to select and give gifts.

**Personal Gifts for Mazzini and Garibaldi**

Sara Nathan and her husband Meyer Nathan enjoyed showering Mazzini with small presents and appreciation for his work. Mazzini wrote to Emilie Hawkes about this in March 1855, saying, “Mr. Nathan is overwhelming me with kindness, cigars, etc.: he has taken me three times to a little corner, to tell me very mysteriously that in any thing and for any thing I must apply to him.” Throughout Mazzini’s letters, he repeatedly thanked Sarina or Meyer Nathan for sending cigars, asked for them to purchase more, or asked if Meyer Nathan could discover the price of cigars.

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49 For more on the relationship between gift-giving and personal networks, see Rappoport, *Giving Women*, 5. Focusing on the gift-giving of Victorian women, Rappoport argues “through gifts that ranged from small tokens to their own bodies, women entered into volatile and profitable economic negotiations of power and created diverse forms of community.”


It should be noted the cigars were not always purchased as a gift and Mazzini occasionally felt some internal or external pressure to repay the debt. In March of 1858, for instance, Mazzini wrote to Meyer Nathan, explaining that he wanted Nathan to send the expenditure for the last order of cigarettes, saying, “sans cela je reste inquiet.” See: Giuseppe Mazzini to Meyer Nathan, 17 March 1858, Letter 4969, *Scritti editi e inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Vol. LX, Epis. XXXV, 311.

In other letter from March 1858, Mazzini asked Sara Nathan if the cigars he had received from Meyer Nathan were a gift or not and if he should pay for them. See: Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, March 1858, Letter 4972, *Scritti editi e inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Vol. LX, Epis. XXXV, 313.
Garibaldi’s followers also liked to show their support by sending presents, including cigars. In January 1863, Schwabe sent Garibaldi cigars and wrote,

Neither Mrs Collins for good Mrs. Basso nor you named anything I could send for use or amusement to Caprera but I know one thing which you and all around you always enjoy, and that is a good cigar, and I hope to send you by Mr. Bibby’s next vessel leaving for Genova two boxes of cigars to smoke away (with all around you) all cares.52

Schwabe also sent a travelling bag and Christmas presents, among other gifts. In Christmas 1861, for instance, Schwabe sent Garibaldi many gifts including potatoes for planting, potatoes for eating, and Christmas decorations.53 Other followers worked to improve his library at Caprera by donating not only their own works, but also other books that might interest him.54 These presents were a way for the women to show their support for Mazzini and Garibaldi and to encourage them to focus on their work rather than on their lack of wealth.

Gift-Giving Across the Exile Network

These gift-giving exchanges went beyond a personal relationship between one of the women and either Mazzini or Garibaldi and spread across the entire exile community as a way to form bonds and rally support. Schwabe, for instance, not only sent Garibaldi gifts, but also worked to create a network of people who would financially and politically support Garibaldi. In November 1861, for instance, Garibaldi wrote a letter of thanks to Edmond Grandy for the

52 Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 31 January 1863, MCRR, Busta 890, N. 43(9).
53 In January 1862, Schwabe then sent a travelling bag. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 20 January 1862, MCRR, Busto 890, N. 40(2). For Christmas, she also sent Menotti Garibaldi a knife and Ricciotti Garibaldi an edition of Shakespeare. See: Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 25 December 1861, MCRR, Busta 890, N. 43(1).
presents he had sent, which were sent through Schwabe as an intermediary.\textsuperscript{55} Garibaldi also asked his followers to help take care of the other exiles, building networks of support in this way. In the summer of 1856, for instance, he asked Jessie Meriton White to help the sculptor Burelli to sell an item.\textsuperscript{56}

Mazzini was particularly aware of the potential of this approach and very often asked one member of his group to help him purchase gifts for the other members, the other exiles or the British men and women who had helped him. In general, Mazzini encouraged his network of associates to support each other financially as well as emotionally. In one instance, he encouraged Sara Nathan to buy all of her beer from the Swan Brewery in Fulham, which was owned by the Stansfeld family. Mazzini made it clear that he was supporting their business because they supported him and Italy and wrote, “These good friends have done so much for our causes that they deserve a bit of propaganda on their behalf from all of us.”\textsuperscript{57} By encouraging the Nathans to support the Stansfelds, Mazzini thus not only was able to individually show his gratitude to the Stansfelds but also developed the affective ties that would bind his network of supporters, who would later work together promote his view of an Italian future and work towards realizing that goal. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi and Mazzini’s other female supporters also helped him pick out the presents that were used to bond the community of radical exiles and their allies. In October 1858, Mazzini wrote to Giorgina Saffi asking her, or her sister Kate, or her husband Aurelio to buy a copy of Ugo Foscolo’s \textit{The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis} for Caroline


Stansfeld to give to one of her sister-in-laws. By participating in these exchanges, Saffi and the others used their limited resources to build a sense of community and connection across their revolutionary networks that could be used in future endeavors.

Jessie White Mario was both a benefactor and beneficiary of these networks and received presents indicating Mazzini and the party’s support of her work for the cause. In December 1857, Mazzini wrote to Sara Nathan asking her to consult with Meyer Nathan over where was best to purchase, “a box of truly good cigars, which I would like to give to Miss White.” Again in January of 1858, Mazzini wrote to Sara Nathan asking her to arrange the purchase of three cases of cigars at a good price for the Marios. Explaining that White Mario and her husband Alberto Mario were too poor to buy cigars otherwise, he wrote that, “White is everything but rich and therefore we must help her and her husband to smoke good cigars at a good price.” In this instance, not only was Mazzini financially rewarding Jessie White Mario for her support of his cause, but he was encouraging her in the unladylike habit of cigar-smoking. The Ashurst sisters, other supporters of Mazzini, also famously smoked cigars, despite it not being appropriate behavior for a lady of their station. Again in October of 1858, Mazzini supported White


61 On July 24, 1846, Mazzini wrote to his mother about Ashurst sisters saying, “she and her three sisters all smoke, a capital crime in English society.” See: Jessie White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy: Posthumous Papers of Jessie White Mario, edited by the Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909) 93. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi also apparently smoked. Mazzini complained of Giorgina wanting to smoke cigarettes in his room in a letter to Matilda Biggs in April of 1858. See Giuseppe Mazzini to Matilda Biggs, April 1858, Letter 5016, Scritti editi e inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXI, Epis. XXXVI, 3-4. We can also infer that Sara Nathan’s daughters Janet and Harriet also smoked based on a letter from Mazzini to Joe Nathan in November 1866. Mazzini said he was arguing with a woman at a dinner about women smoking and he thought, “a Giannetta, a Harriet affettuosissima che poco
Mario’s unconventional behavior by writing to Emilie A. Hawkes that he was planning on giving White Mario a few cigars before she and Alberto Mario left for America, where White Mario would go on her lecture tour.\textsuperscript{62}

\textit{Gift-Giving as a Domestic, Maternal, and Empowering Act}

In making these purchases, the women embraced their role as mothers, care-givers, and consumers. While they believed in equality between men and women, they were also willing to accept differences between men and women and to claim that women were superior in certain areas, particularly those related to domestic or maternal activities. They believed that as women, and particularly as British women, they knew how to care for a household and how to properly manage affairs. This mastery over the domestic sphere did not make them feel weak or limited, however, but rather gave them a sense of strength and agency and a belief that they could use their skills as women to make a difference in the Risorgimento and in the future of Italy.

Mazzini also believed in these abilities of women and deferred to women, most notably Sara Nathan, his model of pure Italian maternal domesticity, when he needed help in choosing a present. In multiple letters Mazzini appealed to Sara Nathan as a woman or a mother and deferred to her taste. In one instance, he argued that Sara Nathan, as a woman, would be able to better select a woman’s writing desk that he needed to purchase, saying, “I have faith in the refinement of your choice.”\textsuperscript{63} In April of 1852, he also called on Nathan to help him select a


For more on the complicated history of women and smoking in Italy see: Carl Ipsen, \textit{Fumo: Italy’s Love Affair with the Cigarette} (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).
present for Caroline Stansfeld, who had just given birth to her son Joseph, named after Mazzini, on April 19th 1858. Mazzini asked on Sara Nathan to use her knowledge as a woman to provide an appropriate gift for Stansfeld at this time in her life. Mazzini would later call on Sara Nathan repeatedly to buy presents for little Joe Stansfeld. In his requests, he made reference to Nathan’s status as a mother, which, he claimed, made her able to select a better and more suitable present than he would have been able to select. Mazzini clearly valued Sara Nathan’s knowledge as a mother and respected her choices and she continued to accept and execute his demands for help.

Through her gifts, Schwabe also tried to exert her authority as a capable Englishwoman and frequently tried to provide Garibaldi with the English knowledge and English products that she believed were superior. In one instance, Schwabe sent her gardener Robert Webster to Caprera to work towards transforming its wildness into an orderly English-style garden. Garibaldi wrote to Schwabe in July 1861, thanking her, but also saying that the gardener was trying to do too much and that did not want his garden to be totally taken over in the English style, saying, “I allow an English reform in my Eden; but a total radical transformation I will

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dislike!"\textsuperscript{67} The Chambers and Schwabe also worked towards increasing the island’s agricultural potential.\textsuperscript{68} For her part, Schwabe sent Garibaldi English potatoes for planting as well as English agricultural newspapers.\textsuperscript{69}

While the women clearly embraced their maternal and managerial roles in selecting and giving the presents, they were also aware of the potential political ramification and applications of their presents. Some of the presents sent were more utilitarian designed to support Garibaldi in future political, revolutionary, or military endeavors. In January 1862, for instance, Schwabe wrote to Garibaldi, saying, “I wish to send you a dozen pairs of our English manufacture, so as to put you at once into marching order- Tell me whether you prefer woolen thread or cotton?”\textsuperscript{70} Schwabe clearly envisioned these stockings helping Garibaldi on his campaign, noting in another letter that she was sending, “one dozen pair thin thread socks for the warm weather and six pair of fine and 6 pair of thicker woolen ones,” which, “I hope will still reach you on your glorious march to review and animate the victorious armies of the future.”\textsuperscript{71} She also planned for these socks, along with silk handkerchiefs she was sending, to be used in helping to cultivate and

\textsuperscript{67} Curatulo, \textit{Garibaldi e le donne}, 35. While Curatulo claimed the gardener was sent in July of 1861, a letter from Schwabe from November 9th 1861 indicates that she was sending the gardener then. This may be an error or it may be a second trip. See: J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 9 November 1861, \textit{MRM}, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2036. Schwabe wrote, “Today I heard from my gardener who will I hope arrive with this letter & will make himself useful as possible at Caprera.” By November, things had worked, out however, and Garibaldi wrote Schwabe a letter thanking her for sending the gardener. See, Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 1 November 1861, Busta 890, N.39(4); Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 15 November 1861, \textit{MCRR}, Busta 890, N.39(5).

\textsuperscript{68} Bayard Taylor, \textit{By-ways of Europe} (New York: G. P. Putnam and Son, 1869) 422. Taylor described the Chambers’ involvement saying that, “Garibaldi’s faithful and noble-hearted friends, Colonel and Mrs. Chambers of Scotland, had done much towards making the island productive and habitable, but I doubt whether its rocks yet yield enough for the support of the family.

\textsuperscript{69} G. Garibaldi to Julie Salis Schwabe, Caprera, Letter 2245, 22 November 1861in Giuseppe Garibaldi, \textit{Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. IV: 1859} edited by Massimo de Leonardis (Roma: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1982) 202. Writing to Bellazzi, she explained that, “You will render me an additional kind service if you would ascertain which of the two agricultural papers I addressed to the General he finds most useful, I shall like to arrange that there be weekly one sent to him from England, but I wish to know whether he prefers “Bells Weekly newspaper or the Gardeners Chronicle agricultural Gazette.” See: Julia Salis Schwabe to Federico Bellazzi, 27 March 1863, \textit{MCRR}, Busta 254, N. 100(4).

\textsuperscript{70} Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 31 January 1862, \textit{MCRR}, Busta 890, N.43(3).

\textsuperscript{71} Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 18 April 1862, \textit{MCRR}, Busta 890, N. 43(5).
maintain Garibaldi’s celebrity. On March 14th 1862, she wrote to Garibaldi, updating him on the shipment of the stockings, saying, “the socks I shall forward by the next vessel, and knowing that the relic hunters who pursue you, in taking leave, ‘leave not a rock behind.” Schwabe was thus supporting Garibaldi’s celebrity and cultivation of followers as well as adding to his creature comforts.

_Actoring as Political Hostesses_

In 1864 Garibaldi visited England to great fanfare. Many scholars who have documented this event talked about its political ramifications, when discussing Garibaldi’s male supporters, and about the desire to be personally close to Garibaldi and to host a celebrity in their homes, when talking about his female supporters. I argue, however, that the attempts to host Garibaldi did not arise merely out of desires for fame or a need to demonstrate their generosity, but for the opportunity to act as a political hostess and facilitate proper discussions.

From the outset, the visit was a publicity move planned to garner English support. The Chambers had visited Caprera for three months and stayed there to ensure that Garibaldi made the journey and were placed in charge of the negotiations between Garibaldi and English aristocrats and Mazzinians. Chambers was also involved in planning Garibaldi’s trip to England and in producing the propaganda for cultivating English support. Newspaper accounts at the time focused on how the Chambers had accompanied him to England and on the debate

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72 Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 14 March 1862, from Berlin, MCRR, Busta 890, N. 43(4).
73 Beales, “Garibaldi in England,” 196. Their position was somewhat tenuous as certain English radicals, like P. A. Taylor and George Jacob Holyoake did not like the Chambers’ who they viewed as too moderate.
74 Emma Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 13 February 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2207. See also: Isabella Fyvie Mayo, Recollections of What I Saw, What I Lived Through, and What I Learned, During More Than Fifty Years of Social and Literary Experience (London: John Murray, 1910). Describing Chambers at this time, Isabella Fyvie Mayo wrote that she was, “busy with Garibaldian correspondence and Garibaldian propaganda, and her writing-room was literally ankle-deep in manuscripts and printed papers.”
between Mary Chambers and Mary Seely over who would host him. While Mary Chambers claimed a right to host Garibaldi as his longtime friend and nurse, the Seely’s claimed the honors as the ones who had issued the invitation. Traditional narratives highlight the prideful aspects of this story, but do not acknowledge how it was also a struggle between two women to determine the quality of Garibaldi’s visit and the types of political parties he would be exposed to and, therefore, the types of political views he would be encouraged to espouse. The Chambers informed Garibaldi that he was to avoid all political radicalism in the visit and was not “to attach yourself to any party,” and instead was to emphasize how England and Italy shared enemies, hinting broadly at British anti-Catholicism. She wrote, “if you thought first to say that the enemies of England & Italy are the same it would certainly gratify them.” While Garibaldi was a friend, Chambers’ desire to host him was, therefore, not just about her personal desire to be close to him or to have that closeness publicly recognized, but to push him towards a more moderate political stance that would attract widespread popular support.

Schwabe also fought hard in 1864 to have Garibaldi stay at her house in Manchester and to place her impact upon his visit. In a letter from April 1864, Schwabe asked Garibaldi to come stay with her when he visited Manchester, explaining that as her name was associated with neither radical nor conservative politics, he would offend no one and would be able to gain maximum support and, “enlist all parties in your cause of humanity.” Schwabe wrote that it was

75 On the initial arrival see: The Visit of Garibaldi,” *John Bull* (London, England), Saturday, April 09, 1864; pg. 234; Issue 2,261; “Garibaldi at Southampton,” *Daily News* (London, England), Tuesday, April 5, 1864; Issue 5588. On the hostessing scandal see: *Cronaca della guerra d'Italia. 1862-1863-1864. Vol. 6* (Rieti: Tipografia Tringhi, 1865) 323. Garibaldi ended up staying with the mayor from Sunday through Monday and then on Monday went to the Isle of Wight with the Seelys. This conflict was reported on in multiple papers. See also: “Garibaldi,” *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, April 5, 1864; Issue 5041; “Visit of General Garibaldi,” *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, April 04, 1864; pg. 5; Issue 28174.

76 For more on British anti-Catholicism please see Chapter 7.

77 Emma Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 14 March 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2208.
important that Garibaldi be surrounded by people who “know the localities & all principal parties in the place” and who were motivated to support him, “not by vanity & selfish pleasures, but by pure, unselfish, loving interest in you & the cause you represent,” and therefore put herself forward as the best person to guide him. She wrote,

for your & your party’s personal ease & comfort, as well as for your public interests you can be at Manchester not in better hands than mine, for my dear husband was beloved there by poor & rich, & I have felt there ever since most vividly the benefit he has bestowed on me & my children by the good reputation he left amongst his townsmen, & I believe I may conscientiously say, I may be at Manchester really useful to you & your cause.\(^78\)

Despite her arguments, Garibaldi did not ultimately end up staying with Schwabe.\(^79\)

Unshaken in the belief that she had a plan for Garibaldi, in May Schwabe wrote and recommended that Garibaldi return to England in July or August to visit her and to take advantage of her connections, particularly among the middle class. She wrote that

though I rejoiced in your glorious reception at London, which I feel sure will benefit your cause, I still feel vividly you have not seen the men, who, if an opportunity should offer again, could, & I believe would serve you & your cause, men who instead of aristocracy & ambition, have heart & money- & with these men I should try to bring you in connection. – From my house you could visit the most important towns, as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, & Birmingham, refusing at once the invitations to the small places, which would be too fatiguing to visit all, not desirable in any way.\(^80\)

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\(^{78}\) J. Schwabe to G. Garibalid, 10 April 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2271.

\(^{79}\) On April 15th 1864, Garibaldi wrote to Schwabe thanking her for her invitation to visit her home while he was in Manchester, but explaining he was not sure if it would work with his schedule. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 15 April 1864, MCRR, Busta 890, N. 41(1). After his trip, Garibaldi wrote again to Schwabe multiple times, thanking her for her benevolence and explaining how much he had enjoyed his stay in England. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 3 May 1864, MCRR, Busta 890, N. 41(2); Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 16 May 1864, MCRR, Busta 890, N.41(3); Giuseppe Garibaldi to Julia Salis Schwabe, 24 May 1864, MCRR, Busta 890, N.41(4).

\(^{80}\) J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 12 May 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2273.
While the historiography tends to cast Schwabe as more of a lonely widow desirous of Garibaldi’s presence, she articulately explained her strategical reasons for why he should visit her and showed how she planned to work within her role as a political hostess and friend.

_Differing Approaches to Political Gift-Giving_

Chambers and Schwabe both used their domestic abilities to organize major gifts for Garibaldi in 1864 and 1865 but took different approaches. When purchasing a yacht for Garibaldi, Chambers took an intentionally public route through her bazaars and public subscriptions. Schwabe, on the other hand, detested Chambers’ public approach and selected a covert and more selective approach when arranging the purchase of a portion of the land of Caprera for Garibaldi. These differences in technique demonstrate how they exerted individual agency and had individualized plans for how to best support Garibaldi and the Italian cause.

Chambers organized a highly-publicized series of bazaars and newspaper-advertised subscriptions to raise money to purchase Garibaldi a yacht. Starting in May of 1864, she began to plan “a fancy fair and bazaar” on the grounds of the Chambers’ home, Priory House, in Everton to raise money. Chambers used the press in planning the bazaar, both to publicize the fair and to ask for donations and assistance.® Chambers also used Garibaldi’s fame as a lure, in her press campaign vowing that if Garibaldi visited Liverpool, “arrangements will be made, if at all possible, to secure an introduction to the General of every lady who assists at the bazaar at the

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® “Camp & Bazaar at Everton,” _Liverpool Mercury etc_ (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, May 31, 1864; Issue 5089. This article, for instance, stated that Chambers, “will be glad to receive donations of fancy articles, and to communicate with ladies desirous of giving their personal assistance in carrying out the bazaar. Other articles demonstrate the expansive coverage of the fair: “Yacht for Garibaldi,” _Liverpool Mercury etc_ (Liverpool, England), Thursday, June 16, 1864; Issue 5103; “Yacht for Garibaldi,” _Liverpool Mercury etc_ (Liverpool, England), Thursday, June 23, 1864; Issue 5109; “The Fancy Bazaar at Everton,” _Liverpool Mercury etc_ (Liverpool, England), Wednesday, July 6, 1864; Issue 5126; “Garibaldi Yacht Fund,” _Manchester Times_ (Manchester, England), Saturday, July 9, 1864; Issue 344.
Everton Camp.” She also promised to display Garibaldi’s coat and blanket from Aspromonte.

After the success of the summer fair at Everton, she led the planning for a second bazaar in the Queen’s Hall Boldstreet in September that was as equally publicized as the first. In one issue of the Liverpool Mercury they described the bazaar and recommended that women who wanted to shop with a purpose should visit. They wrote,

The elegantly-dressed ladies who, in elegant broughams, every afternoon in Boldstreet ‘most do congregate,’ would do well, some day or other this week- the earlier the better- to make Queen’s Hall their stopping-place, for an hour or so could not be more pleasantly passed than in visiting the bazaar which was opened there yesterday. All the pleasant excitement of ‘shopping’ is to be obtained there, united with the satisfaction of aiding a praiseworthy object.

This detailed account listed the goods of the bazaar and reasons why women should stop by and was a clear advertisement. It shows again how Chambers used the press effectively to garner publicity for her cause and to help Garibaldi and how she appealed to women in their role as consumers to support the Risorgimento.

Chambers also ran her fairs like a small business and displayed a basic understanding of business principles in organizing it. The Liverpool Mercury reported that Chambers had used

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82 “The Camp, Bazaar, & Fancy Fair at Everton,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Friday, July 1, 1864; Issue 5122.
83 “Volunteer Camp & Bazaar at Everton,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, July 5, 1864; Issue 5125.
84 “Garibaldi Yacht Fund,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Monday, August 15, 1864; Issue 5160. See also, “The Garibaldi Yacht Fund Bazaar,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Saturday, September 10, 1864; Issue 5183. Chambers collected many articles for the second bazaar and was aided by an active group of supporters. The working men of Liverpool even helped to gather money and collect subscriptions in aid of Garibaldi; Local Intelligence,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, August 30, 1864; Issue 5173; “Yacht for Garibaldi,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Wednesday, August 31, 1864; Issue 5174; “Garibaldi Yacht Fund,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, September 6, 1864; Issue 5179.
85 “The Garibaldi Yacht Fund Bazaar,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, September 13, 1864; Issue 5185. The article also explained that the hall was decorated with numerous flags displayed along the walls. The stalls were placed around the hall and the center was left clear for visitors. Chambers was aided in her efforts by many women, including Mrs. G.H. Whalley, Mrs. Whitehead, Mrs. Jellico, Mrs. Watson, and Mrs. Richardson. They also included younger women to be more tempting to a variety of customers. As the article claimed, “these matronly merchants being aided by a bevy of fair damsels who bring into play- and of course successfully- all a woman’s winning ways to secure purchasers.” At the bazaar they sold, “amongst a choice collection of articles, some very elegant papier maché wares, and several beautiful specimens of needlework in the shape of pin-cushions &c.”
new techniques to increase sales for the bazaar and, “the articles sold, instead of being about twice as much as they might be obtained for at a shop, will be priced at a cheaper rate, so that visitors will have every temptation to purchase.”86 To keep the fair going in later weeks and to ensure that customers did not lose interest, Chambers also rearranged the stalls in the marquee, moved the refreshments to near the entrance, renewed the floral and evergreen decorations, and brought in new contributions to display and sell.87 The Liverpool Mercury continually reported on the bazaar and touted its services and interest. One day at the bazaar, it reported, a visitor decided to act as an organ-grinder, while on Wednesday an impromptu dance broke out. They wrote, “The promoters of the bazaar seem determined that it shall not fail for want of variety, and they certainly deserve success.”88 The yacht was purchased and delivered to Garibaldi in later October 1864.89

Chambers demonstrated her willingness to say one thing to the press while meaning another thing behind the scenes. Publicly the organizers of the Garibaldi Yacht fund stated that the yacht was not intended for military purposes and would not carry bullets or weapons, but instead, “glass beehive, a case of instruments for pruning vines, a chest of Italian New

86 “Volunteer Camp & Bazaar at Everton,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, July 5, 1864; Issue 5125.
87 These changes were reported on in the Liverpool Mercury and, providing another solid advertisement for the bazaar, the author of the article claimed this made the bazaar almost better in the second week than it was at the first. See: “The Fancy Fair and Camp at Everton,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, July 12, 1864; Issue 5131.
88 “The Bazaar at Everton,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Friday, July 8, 1864; Issue 5128.
89 “The Garibaldi Yacht Fund,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Friday, October 21, 1864; Issue 5218. While the Chambers started the Garibaldi Yacht Fund out of Liverpool, they were soon joined by a London committee. The Liverpool committee raised £250 from the bazaars and two lectures by Mr. Richardson and raised £377 in subscriptions. The London committee raised £357. The yacht was ultimately purchased for £700, but the owner deducted fifty pounds from the price as a subscription, so the total cost was actually £650. Each committee paid £325 and the Liverpool group paid an additional 100 for “plate and linen for the vessel and the expenses of her voyage out.” The boat was set to sail from Cowes for Caprera in late October 1864. The Chambers and other friends planned on travelling overland to present the yacht to Garibaldi and give an address. On October 12th, Chambers wrote to Garibaldi informing him that she was finalizing the paperwork and plans for their departure with the yacht. See: Emma Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 12 October 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2099.
Testaments, two Bibles, and a good library, with some other articles for domestic use.” 90 Letters between Mazzini and John McAdam, however, clearly reveal that the Chambers had alternate plans. Warning that the yacht should not be used for military purposes under the leadership of the Chambers, Mazzini wrote, “Of course the Ch(embers) are doomed to surround a good idea with plenty of absurdities. Leaving aside the terror of the arrest, etc. Garibaldi should like very much to have a steam-yacht at his order- swift going- and capable of something like 250 men to be carried, at not great distance one point to other.” 91 On May 11th, the wrote again to McAdam, stating that, “the scheme of the yacht is good too, on condition that is not a toy.” He went on to say, however, that Chambers’ leadership could be disastrous. He wrote, “the idea of Ms. C(hambers) that Garibaldi will be one day or other arrested and that he must be enabled to escape will lead, I fear, most likely to the toy. If you correspond with her, try to give her better ideas.” 92 This act of support and friendship was, therefore, also a means of promoting and supporting potential insurgency. Despite its controversial nature, the yacht was never used for revolutionary purposes and Garibaldi later sold it. 93

Like Mazzini, Schwabe was against the yacht project, though for different reasons. Schwabe was concerned that the yacht fund was beneath Garibaldi’s dignity as a true revolutionary and thought the focus on his individual person, in this way, was distracting from

90 “The Garibaldi Yacht Fund,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Friday, October 21, 1864; Issue 5218. In doing so, they directed potential subscribers away from Garibaldi’s political radicalism and towards his potential use in converting the Italians to Protestantism from Catholicism. Bible reading was a noted technique of Protestant conversion. The connections between Protestantism and English involvement in the Risorgimento will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

91 Giuseppe Mazzini to John McAdam, 3 May 1864, in Giuseppe Mazzini, Nel segno della democrazia: lettere inedita agli amici di Scozia e d’Inghilterra (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2011) 250.

92 Giuseppe Mazzini to John McAdam, 11 May 1864, in Nel segno della democrazia, 252.

93 He first wrote to Chambers in June of 1868 asking her to arrange the sale. See: G. Garibaldi to Emma Chambers, 23 June 1868, Letter 5409, in Giuseppe Garibaldi, Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. XIII, 1868-1869, edited by Emma Moscati (Roma: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 2008) 67. He wrote again to Chambers pushing for the sale in July of 1868, but it was not until March of 1869 that he sent his secretary Basso to La Spezia to finalize the sale. In Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. XIII., 1868-1869, see: G. Garibaldi to Emma Chambers, 7 July 1868, Letter 5421, p.73; G. Garibaldi to Ricciotti Garibaldi, 2 March 1869, Letter 5625, p. 175.
the political purpose of their movement. In October 1864, Schwabe first wrote to Garibaldi informing him that she had seen an announcement in the *Times* calling for subscriptions for the yacht fund. Schwabe claimed that the method using subscriptions was “an undignified manner for us to offer you a gift,” and said that Garibaldi’s acceptance of such a gift would go against his honor and his mission. In another letter, she clarified that the organizers of these public subscriptions, “without doubt had a good intention, yet lacked tact and true dignity.” Schwabe was adamant about this yacht being a bad idea and repeatedly wrote Garibaldi to refuse acceptance of what she called, “this unfortunate Yacht.” Most of these letters were sent after Garibaldi’s firm acceptance and show that Schwabe was quite willing to challenge Garibaldi on his policies and promote her own view of what she thought he should do.

When it came time for Schwabe to organize her own major gift for Garibaldi, she took an intentionally quiet and selective approach, so as not to tarnish Garibaldi’s image as a man of the people with images of the rich benefactors who supported him as an individual.

In the beginning of 1864, Garibaldi owned only half of his island home of Caprera and Schwabe, along with other supporters, wanted to purchase the remainder as a sign of their support. Schwabe described the project as, “a private testimonial to Garibaldi, the hero of Italian freedom, the object of which is to secure his and his children’s independence of this world’s cares and anxieties for the daily bread.” The Duke of Sutherland had made an offer to purchase a portion of Caprera for Garibaldi, but the owner (Mrs. Collins) had declined the offer, because she

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94 J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 9 October 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2275.
95 J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 22 November 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2277.
believed Garibaldi would not want to expose himself to the charge of learning towards the aristocracy. To encourage Garibaldi to accept the offer, therefore, Schwabe formed a plan to quietely purchase the land by raising the money, “among a few select friends of the General, or of the cause of freedom which he represents.” She specified that they required about £2000 and expected a contribution of at least £100 from each person, “so that the number of contributors might not exceed twenty- secrecy being of the greatest importance.”

In May 1865, Schwabe reassured Garibaldi of the privacy of the purchase saying that the secret of the plan was, “so well guarded that no English newspaper has up until today given the slightest indication of our small offer of affection.”

Throughout 1865, Schwabe continued to correspond with Garibaldi to arrange the purchase of land on Caprera, which dragged on slightly. While the largest portion of the island was easily purchased in the General’s name for £1600 and had been “accepted by him with the warmest gratitude,” the remaining portions of land, “intervening between the General’s old and new possessions” belonged to small proprietors and could only be bought “from time to time as the owners can be dealt with.” Schwabe had received an estimate for these portions of land of £500. Throughout these negotiations, she demonstrated her awareness of how to buy and sell property, a financial savvy that would be present in her later actions. Schwabe also encouraged

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97 Julia Salis Schwabe to David Chadwick, MCRR, Busta 890, N.45(2). Schwabe also claimed that the project was a way, “to give silently from the affluence with which Providence has blessed them, to secure a modest, but for his simple wants competent subsistence to the man whose heroic courage, patriotism, love of freedom, and though last but not least, his perfect unselfishness, render him an Idol not only to Italy, his country, but to our age and to humanity at large.”

98 J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 8 May 1865, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2394.

99 J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 13 August 1865, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2396.

Garibaldi to properly thank his supporters for the present, even offering to help him with the process, because she acknowledged the importance of cultivating rich donors when one’s project relies extensively on donations.\textsuperscript{101}

**Alternate Families: Building Networks of Emotional Support**

Revolutionary networks were based not only on financial support and political collaboration, but also emotional support and close personal connection. In this section, I examine how Nathan, Craufurd Saffi, Chambers, and the others formed close personal connections with Mazzini, Garibaldi, the other exiles, and each other. With these networks of support, they were able to maintain their revolutionary campaigns and to effectively act towards shaping Italy’s future. These networks are important not only because they served as the basis for later conspiratorial and fundraising networks, but because of the inherent value of emotion itself. Building on this trend in the scholarship, I argue that personal affective bonds were vital in determining political sympathies and facilitating political actions.

**Ties of Love & Affection Across the Network**

The letters between the members of these revolutionary networks include not only mundane notes about planning and organization but also language of close affection and deep personal concern. Male and female members of the networks often referred to their female colleagues as sisters, emphasizing the platonic nature of these partnerships while also allowing for an acknowledgment of a deeper personal connection. In March 1861, for instance, Mazzini wrote to Giorgina Saffi, whom he called, “sister Nina,” asking for her affection and describing

\textsuperscript{101} J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 1 July 1865, 2395.
how he had learned to love her and esteem her.\textsuperscript{102} In a comparable letter he wrote to Jessie White Mario, saying, “Dear one: love me whatever happens. Ora e sempre I shall love and esteem you.”\textsuperscript{103} Mazzini also often asked about the health of his supporters and of their family members, displaying concern for them as people and friends, rather than as simple business associates.\textsuperscript{104}

Garibaldi consistently addressed Jessie White Mario as his sister and treated her like a family member. He made a point to show favor to her family, visiting White Mario’s stepmother Jane Gain, who had raised her, when he was in Portsmouth in 1864.\textsuperscript{105} Garibaldi later consoled Jessie White Mario after the death of her stepmother in 1866. In a letter he sent to White Mario’s husband offering his condolences and sympathies, he wrote, “I respond to you with damp eyes, thinking about the grave loss had by the dearest family of Jessie. Tell that beloved sister of mine that I share in her grief.”\textsuperscript{106} Garibaldi thus shared in the personal sorrows as well as the joys of White Mario’s life. This personal connection existed alongside their shared political views and was intensified by them.

The language of love and affection linked not only pairs of individuals, such as White Mario and Garibaldi, but the entire network of the radical left. Just as they provided financial support to exiles in need, so too did they provide emotional and personal support. Letters from Mazzini reveal the ways in which the exiles and their supporters were constantly inquiring about


\textsuperscript{104} As an example, see Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, 4 December 1858, Letter (5232) in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, Vol. LX, Epis. XXV. In his letters to Sara Nathan Mazzini was frequently most concerned about Janet Nathan, who was a favorite of his.

\textsuperscript{105} This was viewed as a kind and thoughtful act and was reported on in multiple papers. “Garibaldi at Portsmouth,” \textit{The Standard} (London, England), Monday, April 11, 1864; pg. 3; Issue 12377; “Garibaldi in the Isle of Wight,” \textit{Isle of Wight Observer} (Ryde, England), Saturday, April 16, 1864; Issue 607.

and discussing each other’s physical health and emotional well-being. In November 1863, Sara Nathan became ill and Mazzini wrote to multiple people across his network, including Maurizio Quadrio, Matilda Biggs, and Caterina Pistrucci, asking for updates on Sara Nathan’s health and later providing them. When Nathan fell ill again in 1865, the Mazzinian networks again provided information and care, and Dr. Agostino Bertani, another Italian radical and member of the Risorgimento, treated Nathan during her illness. Bertani often acted as a sort of family doctor for the radical patriots. Both Giorgina Craufurd Saffi and Sara Nathan repeatedly wrote to Bertani asking for medical advice for themselves and for their children. He also was trusted to operate on Alberto Mario’s mouth cancer nine times over a twelve-year period, and he treated White Mario’s right hand when it stopped working. 

Through their concerns for emotional and physical health, the members of the Mazzinian networks showed that they viewed each other as people and friends, rather than as simple business associates. In one letter from 1876, for instance, Sara Nathan wrote to Jessie White Mario giving her updates on Harriet, Adah, and Virginia (three of Nathan’s daughters, whom White Mario had come to know and love and work with) and asking about and sending her love to Elena Casati Sacchi, whom White Mario was staying with and whom she had become like a

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109 Giorgina Saffi to Agostino Bertani, 4 June 1869, MCRR, Busta 433, N. 15(1); Giorgina Saffi to Agostino Bertani 4 September 1869, MCRR, Busta 433, N. 15(2); Sara Nathan to Agostino Bertani, 16 December 1868, MCRR, Busta 438, N. 30(1); Sara Nathan to Agostino Bertani, 18 December 1868, MCRR, Busta 438, N. 30(2).

They were not just trading intellectual ideas in their letters but were also sharing family gossip and checking up on the health of those in their networks. For Mazzinians, the divide between personal and public was thin and family members conspired together and fellow conspirators could become family.

Alternative Families & Shared Care for Children

These bonds went beyond mere friendship, however, and became alternate families. From the outset, many of the Mazzinians, including Sara Nathan and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, acted through familial networks to participate in the Risorgimento and were comfortable working politically with those they personally considered quite close. Entire families, rather than lone individuals, were usually involved in the diehard Mazzinian networks and Mazzini drew for support on the entire Ashurst family (tied to the Stansfeld family after Caroline Ashurt’s marriage to James Stansfeld), Craufurd family (tied to the Saffi family after Giorgina Craufurd’s marriage to Aurelio Saffi), and Rosselli and Nathan family (linked by Sara Levi’s marriage to Meyer Nathan). As discussed earlier in the chapter, Mazzini also met many of his most devout female followers through their families.

Building out from these politically involved families, radicals like Saffi and Nathan saw their collaborators as friends and family members and created surrogate families not forged by legal or blood ties. One way to demonstrate this connection was by utilizing their maternal capabilities to care for the children of other patriots. Sara Nathan acted as a surrogate mother for Lina Brusco Onnis, child of her frequent collaborator Vincenzo Brusco Onnis, while Jessie

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111 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 9 August 1876, MCRR, Busta 430, N. 22(10).
112 See: Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 14 July 1879, MCRR, Busta 430, N. 22(11); See also Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 14 March 1887, MCRR, Busta 430, N. 22(13).
White Mario was a motherly figure for her former conspirator Elena Casati Sacchi’s numerous children.

White Mario, along with Chambers and Schwabe, also took a sustained interest in Garibaldi’s children, particularly his son Ricciotti who had a weak leg and spent time in England underdoing medical care. In May of 1855, Garibaldi placed Ricciotti in the care of Mrs. Roberts, to whom he was then engaged. Anxious about what White Mario described as, “a serious affection of his leg,” Roberts placed Ricciotti “under the care of the most noted English specialists, especially Dr. Little.” White Mario also worked with Dr. Fabrizi, whom Garibaldi found and recommended, to help with the leg.

White Mario and Roberts also oversaw Ricciotti’s education, arranging for him to be sent to the coeducational progressive Portman Hall School in London, which was founded by White’s close friend Barbara Smith. Garibaldi was pleased by White’s choice of school and in August of 1856, wrote to her, asking her to thank the Smith family for all of their help with his son. Letters indicate Ricciotti remained in White Mario’s care through August 1856. Roberts then put Ricciotti in a good boarding school in Liverpool where he was quite rebellious against his teachers and one time escaped to Newcastle to the Cowen’s house. In November 1856,

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113 White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 253. In her text, White Mario added that Ricciotti Garibaldi’s later military successes of the Risorgimento were due to Dr. Little’s intervention, writing, “to this gentleman is due the almost complete cure which enabled Ricciotti to render sterling service to the cause of Italian liberty.”
Ricciotti left England and White Mario was quite depressed. Garibaldi wrote multiple times to console her and these letters indicate the longevity of her grief and the depth of connection she had formed with the young Garibaldi. 119

Schwabe also sought to provide maternal guidance to Garibaldi’s sons and urged him to push the boys to be more useful and to avoid temptation. In 1864, Schwabe wrote that the boys would benefit from a visit to her home in Wales, where they would not, “be exposed to any temptations like at London.” She also described Menotti as a “rough jewel, who would be all the better for being softened a little & freed from, as I understand, not desirable influences,” and claimed that, “If I had him quietly with me, if but for a short time at my island home, I have no fear but that we should become friends, and that he would look upon me as a motherly friend & adviser.” Schwabe was clearly willing to embrace her maternal tendencies and to provide guidance. However, even in this, she also kept the future of Italy, not just of the Garibaldi family, in mind. She explained that she desired Ricciotti to do more with himself in order to better serve Italy writing, “I hope to persuade Ricciotti to follow some earnest calling. I have schemes for him, and would assist him to serve his country in a way, which would make him worthy of the name he bears.” 120

Chambers was another maternal figure for Ricciotti Garibaldi, whom she had known as a boy. Isabella Fyvie Mayo claimed that Chambers was like a mother to Ricciotti, writing “In his motherless and crippled childhood, Ricciotti, Garibaldi’s youngest son, had been taken in charge by Mrs. Chambers. Her house was still regarded as his home in England.” On one visit to the

120 J. Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 12 May 1864, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi- Curatulo, s.d. 2273.
When Ricciotti Garibaldi travelled to England in 1865 to study engineering, Chambers revived her interest in him and tried to guide him. Multiple letters show a strong level of affection between Chambers and both of Garibaldi’s sons, Menotti and Ricciotti. In one letter, Menotti also joked with her, saying that he was happy to see Chambers’ progress with the Italian language and that it was much better than his was in learning English. Chambers and Ricciotti Garibaldi also travelled together in April 1868.

Chambers also later sought to help Garibaldi legitimate his younger children with Francesca Armosino. Garibaldi wrote to Chambers in August 1874 asking for her help in this. He wrote, “The love that you display for my Francesca and to my children- makes me dare to ask you a favor: help me to legitimate my children-Clelia and Manlio. Consult your lawyers- and I who knows, I am not Catholic- I will become Protestant, if necessary to complete this duty.”

Clearly Chambers was involved even in some of the most painful and personal aspects of Garibaldi’s familial life, with things that he did not readily share with the public. This level of openness and trust facilitated their revolutionary endeavors. Garibaldi returned these sentiments of care and affection and in his letters would frequently inquire about the status and health of the entire Chambers family. In August 1869, for instance, he wrote that he was distressed over hearing of the sickness of the “dear Baby,” of the Chambers family.

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121 Fyvie Mayo, 178.
123 Menotti Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 2 March 1863, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 2, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 1.
124 Giuseppe Mazzini to John McAdam, April 14 1868, in *Nel segno della democrazia*, 298.
125 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 19 August 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 11.
for children, the Chambers’ daughter Mary may have also travelled in Rome with Garibaldi in 1869.127

Mazzini was also famously paternal towards Sara Nathan’s children. When her son Joseph was at school in Zurich, for instance, Mazzini would repeatedly write to him and ask how his exams were going.128 In one letter he explained that that he was receiving news about him nearly every day and, “I have followed with true satisfaction the progress of your work.”129 He also felt qualified to step in and offering parenting advice when the children were rebellious. In June of 1869 Walter Nathan began misbehaving. He had been studying with his brother Joseph in Zurich, but Joseph had participated in an uprising in Milan and had been arrested and Walter was left slightly adrift. Hearing poor reports of Walter’s behavior, Mazzini wrote to Sara Nathan detailing Walter’s various offenses and recommending that Sara Nathan demand Walter be sent to stay with her. He also wrote Walter Nathan a long letter about his duties urging him to behave more properly.130 From these instances, we can see that Mazzini truly cared about the Nathan children and their progress and saw them as individuals.

130 Walter Nathan was the ninth of Sara Nathan’s children. He was born in 1852, making him about seventeen at this time. See: Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, 20 June 1869, Letter 8929, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXXXVIII: Epis. LV (Imola: Cooperativa Tipografico-Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1940) 67-68. Mazzini also wrote to Maurizio Quadrio about the situation with Walter, writing, “Ho scritto all’amica intorno a Gualtiero.” Mazzini did not explain the situation with Walter in the letter, which implies that Quadrio was already aware and the two had discussed their concerns together. This is evidence of Maurizio Quadrio’s continued involvement with the Nathan children and the fatherly role he evinced over them. See Giuseppe Mazzini to Maurizio Quadrio, 21 June 1869, Letter 8930, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXXXVIII: Epis. LV, 71.
Though Mazzini spent a lot of time with Sara Nathan’s children and generally showed a great deal of concern for them, he did not always enjoy their presence. His occasional discomfort is quite nicely described in a letter to Caroline Stansfeld from 1863. Mazzini, Maurizio Quadrio, and the Nathan children were relaxing on the lake in Lugano when a storm arose. Mazzini found the storm to be quite beautiful, but was unable to enjoy it, he wrote, “Only, there were Sarina’s children, Q[quadrio], etc. very noisy the whole of them, and I could not enjoy it. Q[quadrio] grew very much alarmed and shouted to the perfectly tranquil boatman to the bank, to the bank.”\textsuperscript{131} Quadrio, who was entrusted with the children’s safety and concerned for their welfare, was clearly worried and stepping into this fatherly role.

Maurizio Quadrio and his relationship with the Nathan family was really the core of Sara Nathan’s alternate family. In 1857, as another favor to Mazzini, Sara Nathan agreed to allow Quadrio, Mazzini’s friend and fellow exile, to act as a tutor to some of her sons so that he could support himself.\textsuperscript{132} Though Quadrio was initially hesitant to accept the post and wanted instead to write for a living, Mazzini convinced him that this was not a viable option and he took the position with the Nathans.\textsuperscript{133} Quadrio started by teaching the older children for approximately two hours, five days a week, but was unable to teach the younger children as they spoke only English.\textsuperscript{134} While he was reluctant, Quadrio eventually became like a father to the Nathan children and was a close friend of Sara Nathan. After Quadrio’s death, Sara Nathan wrote a letter


\textsuperscript{132} This was first discussed in October 1857. See Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 16 October 1857, Letter MMMMCCCLXXIII in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LVII, Epis. XXXIV (Imola: Cooperativa Tipografico-Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1931).

\textsuperscript{133} See, Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 21 November 1857, Letter MMMMCCCLXXIII, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LX, Epis. XXXV. In same volume see, Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 27 November 1857, Letter MMMMCCCLXXIX.

\textsuperscript{134} Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 5 December 1857, Letter MMMMCCXCIII, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LX, Epis. XXXV.
to the *Emancipazione*, saying that, “my children and I, we have lost the beneficent influence of his advice, the most faithful most constant friend in misfortune. In the arduous task imparted to me at the death of the father of my children, he was selfless towards be in his help; he was for them a loving and severe father.”¹³⁵ This touching sentiment showed the real esteem that Quadrio was held in by the Nathan family.

In his later years, Mazzini became especially close to the Nathans and wrote to Sara Nathan in June 1869 calling her family “my adoptive family.”¹³⁶ This closeness had occasional negative consequences and caused jealousies. Rumors that Ernesto Nathan or Giuseppe Nathan was Mazzini’s son drove English Mazzinian Emilie Ashurst Venturi to insanity in 1869. Roland Sarti argues that Emilie Ashurst Venturi became more dependent on Mazzini and more jealous and possessive of him after her husband, Carlo Venturi, died of a heart attack in 1866. Sarti also claimed that the rumors of Ernesto Nathan’s parentage, along with a marked preference for Sara Nathan’s company, pushed Emilie Ashurst Venturi to the point where, “jealous rage drove her to attack a portrait of Sara that she herself had painted and cut it into shreds with a knife.”¹³⁷ Mazzini wrote a long letter to Sara Nathan making excuses for Ashurst Venturi’s behavior, describing her as torn between the angel and the devil in her nature and truly good at heart.¹³⁸ This is a radical example of how far the fighting for Mazzini’s affection could go.

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¹³⁵ Sara Nathan, “Una Proposta,” *Libertà e Associazione*, Sunday February 27, 1876, a.4, n.9, p.5.
¹³⁷ Sarti, *Mazzini*, 209-210. This happened at Nathan’s villa Tanzina in Lugano. At first the servants were blamed, but then the truth was discovered.
Friendship as the Basis for Revolutionary Cooperation

These alternate families created the bonds of trust and security necessary for the radical work of the Risorgimento. Much of the work done by these exile networks was illegal or against official government policy and the fear of government intervention was always present. A shared level of trust, cooperation, and most importantly discretion, was therefore necessary for the work to happen. A reading of the letters between Mazzini, Garibaldi, and their followers reveal how this level of trust emerged out of friendly relationships. In 1863, for instance, Mazzini wrote to White Mario saying, “I do love you; I trust you; and your lines make me more and more loving and trusting: bless you for them.” Friendship was a necessary foundation for revolutionary collusion.

This fact was recognized and celebrated by the Mazzinians and Sara Nathan was particularly praised for the ways in which she facilitated secure interactions among the radicals. Starting in 1850, Nathan’s home often served as a meeting place for important Mazzinians, who would discuss politics and play with the children. Later in life Sara Nathan’s son Ernesto recalled how the great figures of Italian history had always just been sitting around and chatting and debating in his childhood home. After her husband’s death, Sara Nathan moved to Switzerland and in 1865 purchased the villa Tanzina near Lugano from Abbondio Chialiva. She would live there for many years and home would continue to serve as a home for many former exiles, including Mazzini.

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After Sara Nathan’s death in 1882, her obituary in radical papers like *La lega della democrazia*, praised her connection to Mazzini and her family support for him. The obituary claimed that this support was necessary for the political radicals to continue on in their endeavors, saying, “The Nathan villa in Lugano was the serene hospice of the exiles who became more persecuted. Mazzini, Saffi, Quadrio, Cattaneo, all together the most noteworthy conspirators, found in this Benedictine asylum the necessary calm to restore strong spirits, to prepare themselves for new attempts for liberty and for Italian independence.”\(^1\) White Mario’s obituary of Nathan in *La lega della democrazia*, published soon after, echoed similar themes. Not only did the Nathans make sacrifices for Mazzini and support him in his planning, but Sara Nathan and her family made Mazzini happy and provided a comfort through all of his years of hard work and suffering. She wrote, “To Sarina and to her family, Mazzini owed the only ray of comfort that relieved him of the physical sufferings and moral tortures of the last years of his worn out existence.”\(^2\) For White Mario, this was not just a duty provided to an old dear friend, but also to the nation. It was a way for the Nathans to reward Mazzini for all the work he had done in the service of the Italian people.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has argued for the importance of personal connection and affection in the Risorgimento. The relationships developed between Mazzini and Garibaldi and their followers were deep-seated, long-lasting, and important. They were relationships of equality, rather than hierarchy, and were grounded in a shared commitment to Italian Unification and in Mazzini and

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\(^1\) “Sara Nathan,” *La lega della democrazia* (Roma), a.III, n.52, Martedì 21 Febbraio 1882., p.3.

Garibaldi’s acceptance of both the equality and special skills of women. The partnerships were part of a larger network of patriot exiles and their patriotic sympathizers. These networks were forged through acts of economic and emotional support and forged into alternate families. As the line between public and private was never breached for these families, the networks served as the basis for the work of Chambers, Saffi, White Mario, Nathan, and Schwabe in the Risorgimento, in the memorialization of the Risorgimento, the promotion of primary education, and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution.
Chapter 2: The Fight for Italy:
Actions Leading to Unification (up to 1860)

The Risorgimento was not a single event, but a drawn-out process. For decades radical republicans led by Mazzini and Garibaldi as well as middle-class Piedmontese moderates pushed to liberate the territories of the Italian peninsula from Austrian and Papal control and to unite them into a single country. While Cavour and the moderates worked primarily through the state, negotiating treaties and engaging in small wars for strategic purposes, the radicals worked through non-state means, organizing private funding for nationalist revolts and spreading propaganda to convince others that a liberated, unified, and republican Italy was not a utopian dream but an imminent reality.

In this chapter, I primarily discuss how Jessie White Mario, Sara Nathan, and Giorgina Saffi played an active and influential role the work of the radical left up through the fall of 1860, when Piedmont took over control of southern Italy thereby unifying the country under its conservative constitutional monarchy.¹ They worked through networks, based on natural and created families, to plan, publicize, conspire, raise funds, and nurse for Italian unification. Though these women utilized existing roles for women, like the charitable fundraiser or maternal caregiver, for new transnational political purposes, they also adopted new roles for women and challenged ideas about appropriate female behavior.²

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¹ Jessie White Mario will be featured heavily in this chapter. Her activities before unification were more varied than those of the other women and there are more sources about her diverse activities. Nathan, Saffi, Schwabe, and Chambers will be discussed in greater depth in subsequent chapters.

² In the following chapter, I then show how they continued to act in these roles to push for a republican Italy and for the conquest of both Rome and Venice.
Because the radical left was usually working against or outside of the state, they had to take advantage of non-state actors and private networks to garner support. Philanthropy, which used the techniques of charitable organization to push for social justice and political reform, particularly suited their purposes as charity was considered a feminine sphere and women’s experience and skill were valued within it. Nathan, Saffi, and White Mario did not shy away from these typically feminine behaviors or activities and instead utilized them for revolutionary purposes. By examining their actions, I further reveal how non-state actors and transnational forces made Italian Unification and nationalism possible. I also show how Italian nationalism was not initially exclusive but based in international cooperation.

For the members of the left the Risorgimento was more than a desire for geographic unification; it was a push for genuine reform and change. While moderates wanted a constitutional monarchy, led by Piedmont, the left wanted a republican government with emancipation for all members of society, including women. White Mario, Saffi, Nathan, and others were drawn to this vision and fought for it, challenging accepted norms for female behavior and thereby anticipating the emancipation they fought for. Within Mazzinian circles they were accepted as intelligent rational beings and equals. I argue that they developed relationships based on trust, mutual respect, and affection with their male colleagues and were put in positions of power, responsibility, and influence. Not only did they shape the image of the Risorgimento from the private sphere, acting as important agents behind the scenes, but they moved into the public sphere and many became known figures in the press and to governmental authorities.

To accomplish this, I first provide an overview of how various authors have discussed women’s involvement in the Risorgimento. I then discuss Jessie White Mario’s lecture tour,
arguing that by speaking out in public in favor of Italian unification, she challenged the popular notion that women should stay silent on political matters and should remain quietly in the home. I also show how White Mario, Sara Nathan, and Giorgina Saffi worked to organize publicity for the Risorgimento, cultivating personal contacts, translating articles, and sending articles to newspapers to ensure favorable coverage. This was happening in an era when few women worked in journalism and when even most secretaries were men. The next section demonstrates how White Mario, along with Nathan and Chambers, were entrusted with large sums of money and were called upon to account for how they spent that money, challenging the idea that women were financially incompetent and should not be allowed to own property independently or act as bankers or financiers. In the penultimate section, I discuss how they worked with their familial networks to conspire for the Risorgimento, risking imprisonment and their personal safety. The final section then explores how the women worked as nurses, on the battlefield and for soldiers, caring for men outside of their immediate family. This too challenged ideas about what was acceptable for women to see and to experience.

**Historiography: Women in the Risorgimento**

In this section I provide an overview of how various scholars and historians have talked about the involvement of women in the Risorgimento, tracing how they went from ignoring the role of women, to examining the role women played as symbols, to looking at their active and engaged involvement. I also look specifically at how historians have addressed the involvement of foreign, mostly British, women in the Risorgimento. Ultimately, I argue that historians have failed to look critically at the ways in which British women worked in transnational and familial networks to make a real impact on the left-wing of the Risorgimento.
Most standard histories of the Risorgimento do not discuss female involvement in any meaningful way. These stories often focus on the roles of key men, such as Mazzini, Garibaldi, or Prime Minister of Piedmont and first Prime Minister of Italy, Count Camillo de Cavour, who was regarded as the architect of Italian unification, while the more expansive studies simply look at other male politicians, military men, or writers.³ Those works that do discuss women usually showed them in a symbolic role, as martyrs or as a symbol of what Italian men needed to protect and defend through the Risorgimento. After the turn towards a cultural studies approach to the Risorgimento advocated by Banti, this symbolic role has been given greater importance. Many of these works argue, for instance, that republicans advocated for domesticity and maternalism as middle-class values in opposition to perceived aristocratic tyranny.⁴ Marina d’Amelia has famously written about the importance of women as mothers in the Risorgimento and argues that the Risorgimento led to a new level of closeness between mothers and sons. While acknowledging that the Risorgimento did not lead to legal emancipation for women, she insists that it did lead to an increased respect for women in their role as mothers.⁵

Women’s historians and feminist historians sought to fill this gap in the scholarship by writing books that uncovered the stories of previously forgotten women and showed how women were active and involved in the Risorgimento. These works reveal how women fought in the battles, held salons where political thinkers discussed their ideas and concepts, raised funds to

⁴ See Di generazione in generazione. Le italiane dall’Unità a oggi. Particularly the essay by Soldani, “Una patria «madre e matrigna»” pp. 37-60. Still interesting, but less useful is Mori’s “Le ‘improvvisazioni’ risorgimentali di Gianna Milli” pp. 61-72. This Republican Motherhood ideal has also been written about in the French and American contexts. See: Kerber, Women of the Republic; Landes, Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution.
⁵ D’Amelia, La Mamma; D’Amelia, “Between Two Eras: Challenges Facing Women in the Risorgimento.”
support patriots, and provided emotional support. Historian Laura Guidi maintains that we need to see how women actually fought in the battles for the Risorgimento and argues that too much of the literature on the Risorgimento has focused on the dutiful mother who followed society’s dictates, rather than the transgressive fighting woman who went beyond the bounds of propriety.

Some recent works have shown how women fought in the battles for the Risorgimento, assuming male roles during a time of chaos, but these works are necessarily limited by the small number of women who actually fought in the military battles for unification. I add to these works by providing additional examples of women who went outside the boundaries of respectability through their work in the Risorgimento.

There are also new works that look at Mazzini and Garibaldi’s followers, but alter their categorization of them. Older works had looked at the involvement of women in the Risorgimento but only as followers of the great men, like Mazzini or Garibaldi. Giacomo Emilio Curatulo, for instance, wrote about Garibaldi’s female followers, including White Mario, Schwabe, and Chambers, as a way to demonstrate Garibaldi’s virility, popularity, and English support. The works that discuss Mazzini’s female followers also do so as a way to learn more

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9 Pini, Garibaldi. The most famous of these are by Giacomo Emilio Curatulo, who argued that Garibaldi was loved by women of all classes and nations and was sometimes overwhelmed by the excess of feminine devotion. See: Curatulo, Garibaldi e le donne; Curatulo, Giuseppe Garibaldi: Lettere ad Anita e ad altre donne.
about Mazzini and not necessarily as a way to learn about the women themselves. Newer works focus on the women and their motivations, claiming that they were drawn to Italian unification because of Mazzini’s feminism and Garibaldi’s respect for women. Rather than focusing on potential romantic bonds, they look at intellectual connections between the women and the great Italian men and argue that the cultivation of female followers was a vital part of their political strategies. The recent works that focus on Mazzini’s feminism argue that Mazzini attracted many female supporters because he was receptive and encouraging of female participation in revolutionary activities and also female intellectual labor. Federica Falchi, for instance, studied Mazzini’s feminism in greater depth and argues not only that Mazzini was crucial in the development of Italian feminism but that he attracted exceptionally educated and liberal British women to his ideas about the Italian nation through his beliefs on the equality of the sexes.

Many of these works focus on women individually, allotting each woman a chapter as a separate biography. There are also numerous works that focus on individual figures of the Risorgimento, including Giorgina Saffi and Jessie White Mario. These works tend to overemphasize the individual contribution of the women and can have hagiographical

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10 Mazzatinti, Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872); Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1844-1854; Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860 Vol II; Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1861-1872. Vol. III. Dear Kate: lettere inedito di Giuseppe Mazzini a Katherine Hill, Angelo Bezzi e altri Italiani a Londra (1841-1871) edited by Roland Sarti and Norah Mayper (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 2011). Kate Hill was a previously unstudied figure, known only as the wife of the Italian sculptor and Mazzinian Angelo Bezzi. These letters are less political than his letters to other noted female supporters, like the Craufords or the Ashursts, and focus mainly on Mazzini’s emotional state and literary interests.


12 Amarena, Donne mazziniane, donne repubbliche. Important women studied in these works include: Maria Drago Mazzini, Giulia Calame Modena, Giuditta Sidoli, Cristina Trivulzio di Belgioioso, and Margaret Fuller.

13 Falchi, “Democracy and the rights of women in the thinking of Giuseppe Mazzini.” Falchi claimed that a small group of individuals, including Mazzini, viewed women’s rights as fundamental aspects of the project of national generation and made the issue of female emancipation part of the debates over democracy and nationalism in the nineteenth century. See Falchi, “Beyond National Borders.”
tendencies. In contrast, I look at how women worked as part of networks and see them in communication and connection with each other. Nadia Maria Filippini performed such a study of women’s political involvement in the Veneto from 1797 to the Risorgimento. Filippini showed how these women worked together as a network, rather than focusing on individual women. Another strong example of this look at networks is Elena Bacchin’s 2014 work Italofilia, which revealed how women were important parts of the pro-Italian effort in Britain from 1847 to 1864. While Bacchin’s work was excellent, I add to it by looking beyond 1864 and by including the roles of Chambers, Schwabe, and acknowledging the full contribution of Sara Nathan and her family, which Bacchin underplayed.

Historians have sought to specifically explain why foreign women took up Mazzini’s cause and worked so diligently for Italian independence and unification. Many of these works emphasize the potential imperial and proselytizing ambitions of the women. While acknowledging that British women’s Protestantism gave them a sense of duty and mission that prompted their involvement in the Italian unification movement, Anne Summers also acknowledged that these women were usually feminists drawn to Mazzini because of his feminist ideals. Works that focus on the interest of Britons more generally in the Risorgimento

14 Daniels, Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary; Certini, Jessie White Mario: una giornalista educatrice. Gazzetta, Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile; Bugani, Giorgina Saffi: Una gentile mazziniana di ferro; Ciampi, Miss Uragano: la donna che fece l’Italia; Prisco, Adorabile uragano.


16 Bacchin, Italofilia.

17 See: O’Connor, The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination, 5.

18 Summers, “British women and cultures of internationalism, c. 1815-1914.” Summers also looked at British women’s involvement in the conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and its Christian subjects and in the Boer War of 1899-1902.
I argue that shared anti-Papal sentiment was important but so was friendship.

Overall, this chapter adds to these histories by looking at the women as a network, rather than as individuals, and by looking at transnational women, Garibaldian and Mazzinian alike, showing how they were able to utilize their connections to each other and to England to play an important role in the radical branch of the Risorgimento.

**Publicizing the Risorgimento: Lecture Tours**

The members of the radical left sought to convince Italians and others that a liberated, unified, and republican Italy was something that could and should come into existence and that the Austrian, Papal, French, and sometimes even Piedmontese forces were at fault for not supporting this goal. To do so, they cultivated supporters and promoted the ideal of republican unification through the press, through speeches, and through individual conversations. In this section, I examine how Jessie White lectured across Britain and in America espousing the vision of a republican Italy, condemning its enemies, and creating sympathy for the Risorgimento while simultaneously challenging the boundaries of acceptable female behavior.

Lecture tours were an important part of the pro-Italy campaign in Britain. Between January 1847 and May 1864, at least 909 public lectures and meetings were held in Britain to

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19 See: *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*. Many of the essays in *Britain, Ireland, and the Italian Risorgimento* argue that we need to see the importance of religion as a motivational factor. Other works have explained British support for 19th-century Italian nationalism based on the influence of: the Grand Tour, which gave British elite an idea that Italy was a place, it was a historical and cultural place, a place of the Roman Empire or of the Renaissance; Romanticism, which made the British care about real Italy and their struggles, made Italy more political and exciting in the present; and the role of Italian political exiles living in Britain, especially Mazzini.

20 For more on friendship, revisit Chapter 1. For more on their colonial mentality, see subsequent chapters, particularly Chapters 4 and 7.
support the Italian cause.\textsuperscript{21} Jessie White Mario was a key part of this process and spoke repeatedly about the Italian situation. She began her oratory career in 1856. At a meeting in the Stansfeld house, a group of Mazzinians decided that she and Aurelio Saffi would give a series of lectures in the principal cities of England and Scotland.\textsuperscript{22} White toured throughout the winter and early spring of 1856-57, traveling throughout the provinces and sketching out the history of Italy’s various revolutionary movements, focusing on the events of 1848-49 and explaining why Italy required revolution and unification in the future. The burdens of the lecture tour put a strain on White’s health and in March of 1857, she stepped down and allowed Aurelio Saffi to take over her lecturing duties.\textsuperscript{23} White then went to Genoa to be a part of the Pisacane expedition, which will be described later in this chapter.

White’s second tour began on February 26\textsuperscript{th} 1858 and ended on July 31\textsuperscript{st} 1858 in Leeds.\textsuperscript{24} In these lectures, she continued to speak about what she saw as Italy’s illustrious past, its current suffering under despotism, the failings of the Bourbon and Austrian governments, and a need for greater change, and espoused a distrust of Cavour, the Prime Minister of Piedmont, and an antipathy towards Louis Napoleon, the Emperor of France. She accused Louis Napoleon of

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\textsuperscript{21} Bacchin, “Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain,” In \textit{Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento}, 80-81. The lectures were generally held by well-known political exiles, like Aurelio Saffi, Alessandro Gavazzi, or Felice Orsini, or someone from Britain connected to the cause, like James Stansfeld or Jessie White Mario. Bacchin argues that the lectures were designed to increase awareness while the meetings were for specific causes, like raising a petition to present to the Queen or parliament or raising money.

\textsuperscript{22} White Mario, “Della Vita di Alberto Mario. Memorie,” xlv.

\textsuperscript{23} Mazzini was concerned about the worsening of White’s health and expressed his concern in a letter to Emilie Ashurst Hawkes in December 1856, saying, “My love to Jessie. I hope she went to bed. That sort of life will kill her as it has almost killed you.” Mazzini to Emilie A. Hawkes, 16 December 1856, Letter MMMMDCXIX, Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LVII: Epis. XXXIII (Imola: Cooperativa Tipografico-Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1931) 243. In March of 1857, Mazzini then encouraged Jessie White to rest and let Aurelio Saffi take over her lecturing duties. He wrote, “Of course you come home. After such a campaign, you really deserve and must have some rest.” See: Mazzini to Jessie Meriton White, March 1857, Letter MMMMDCCVIII, Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LVIII: Epis. XXXIV, 53-54.

\textsuperscript{24} “Lecture on the Condition of Italy by Miss White,” \textit{Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc} (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, March 6, 1858; Issue 3048; “Lectures on Italy and the Papacy,” \textit{The Leeds Mercury} (Leeds, England), Saturday, July 31, 1858; Issue 6827.
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selfish ambition and claimed that in 1849, as leader of the Second Republic in France, he had betrayed Roman Republic, which she viewed as a sister republic to France.\textsuperscript{25} After that tour, White Mario made a trip to the United States to cultivate support among the Italian-American and other immigrant communities and to appeal to American republican values.\textsuperscript{26} She lectured along the east coast from Rhode Island to Washington, D.C. from December 1858 to March 1859.\textsuperscript{27}

The primary objective was to create sympathy and publicity for Italian unification and in that goal White Mario succeeded. Large audiences attended each lecture and newspapers printed many articles about the lectures, not only advertisements in the classified sections, but reports of the nights of the lectures themselves, which could include descriptions of the location, chair, audience size, content of the lectures, and response of the audience.\textsuperscript{28}

While the lectures were intended to garner sympathy for the Italian cause, they were also a way to raise funds and to organize supporters who could collect more funds in the future.\textsuperscript{29} In this objective, White also managed fairly well charging admission for each lecture and collecting donations on top of that amount.\textsuperscript{30} On March 7th 1857, Mazzini wrote to Aurelio Saffi about Jessie White’s lecture tour, saying that, “Miss White succeeds in Scotland, even collecting some...

\textsuperscript{25} “France and Italian Independence,” \textit{Manchester Times} (Manchester, England), Saturday, June 19 1858; Issue 28.
\textsuperscript{26} In January 1858, the Mazzinian paper \textit{Pensiero ed Azione} published a letter in which White Mario talked about her travels in America and expressed her hopes that the Italians would learn from the Americans’ successful liberation from the British. See: Jessie W. Mario, “L’America e l’Italia,” \textit{Pensiero ed Azione}, a.3, N.28, 27 gennaio 1860, p. 363-65.
\textsuperscript{27} This was reported on in British press. See: “India,” \textit{The Derby Mercury} (Derby, England), Wednesday, December 22, 1858; Issue 3492; “Miscellaneous,” \textit{The Leeds Mercury} (Leeds, England), Thursday, December 23, 1858; Issue 6890; “Madame Mario in New York,” \textit{Manchester Times} (Manchester, England), Friday, December 24, 1858; Issue 54. She also lectured again after unification, starting in Glasgow in the fall of 1861 and ending in London on May 27th 1862. These lectures will be discussed in the following chapter.
\textsuperscript{28} “Advertisements & Notices,” \textit{Glasgow Herald} (Glasgow, Scotland), Wednesday, June 30, 1858; Issue 5939.
\textsuperscript{30} Seats in White Mario’s lectures usually cost 1s. for reserved seats, 6d for front seats, and 3d. for back seats.
following, though small.”

In certain towns, she was particularly successful. After lecturing in Paisley, Scotland, for instance, she was able to send Mazzini a check for £60, prompting Mazzini’s praise. He wrote, “The Paisley people have behaved nobly, bravely and consistently. If all the British towns in which spoke of sympathies for the Italian Cause abound, would only feel that words are nothing unless embodied into facts.”

The last lecture on the tour was held in Newcastle and was also a success, with strong attendance, funds raised, and strong coverage in the newspapers. Remembering the event decades later, White Mario wrote,

At the last in Newcastle the subscription went at full sails, Joseph Cowen opening it with 2500 lire; then in Glasgow the Lord Provost, the great astronomer Professor Nichol and that quintessential Scot, even now living, Professor Blakie, and all the notables of the city convened independently a popular assembly; and there was not a liberal chronicle in which the sweet name of Italy did not resound.

White was able to repeatedly and successfully lobby for the Italian cause and to make an impact as a lecturer.

While her campaigns in Britain went well, White Mario struggled in America. The tour began quite successfully. She had been invited to speak to the German, Italian, French, and Polish immigrant community in New York and that lecture was well attended and received extensive coverage in the Mazzinian press. Unfortunately, White Mario and her husband Alberto Mario became embroiled in a heated controversy in the New York Times over their harsh stance on Piedmont, alienating some supporters and causing

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31 Giuseppe Mazzini to Aurelio Saffi, 7 March 1857, Letter MMMMDCLXXXVIII, Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini Vol. LVII, Epis. XXXIII.


others to become disillusioned or to lose interest. In December of 1858, Mazzini expressed concern about White Mario, writing to Emilie Ashurst, “No news from Jessie: I feel very uneasy about her second lecture. It will be the decisive one. If she should lose by it she will be compelled to give up and I shall have a real remorse. She will be ruined by debts.” Some of her problems may have come from her visit to Washington, where she spoke to senators from slave-owning states about her dislike of slavery. She argued that the cause of the slaves was similar to that of the Italians, and they were both oppressed peoples. She said, “I would not dare to ask support in this great country for the oppressed Italians without strong faith in the right of every nation, of every race, of every man to his liberty.” Senator brown interrupted, saying, “Also for the niggers?” and White Mario responded, “For whites and blacks, for everyone together.” Despite her vehement opposition to slavery, however, she still received donations from some southern senators.

Though White Mario was able to successfully achieve her goals as a lecturer, she was not typical of her time and her actions violated the acceptable codes for female behavior. Fellow radical George Jacob Holyoake claimed White Mario was, “the first distinguished platform speaker among Englishwomen,” and wrote that, “When she first spoke on Italian questions, women had not spoken in public with the view of influencing state affairs.” Proper middle-class women in the mid-19th century were expected to stay in the home and to refrain from holding informed political opinions. Few women lectured in public, particularly on political

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35 The lectures in America were a financial and political failure and White Mario failed to receive support. For more on this, see Joseph Rossi, “The Lecture Tour of Jessie White Mario,” in The Image of America in Mazzini’s Writings, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1954).
36 Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Ashurst, 22 December 1858 in Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860, Vol II, 122.
matters. While some abolitionist and socialist women had spoken in public and had even given lecture tours, they were an exception. Bonnie Anderson has written about how abolitionist women in America in the early- to mid-nineteenth century, in particular Lucretia Mott, “violated contemporary practice,” by speaking out in public in favor of their cause, particularly to mixed gender audiences, and received criticism even from other abolitionists. She also claimed that, “the strains of public speaking, even before a sympathetic group, should not be underestimated.” As an unmarried twenty-four-year-old woman, however, White proudly gave lectures in which she expressed informed and radical political opinions and expected people to listen to her and accept her judgements.

White Mario was seen as somewhat of an oddity based on her sex and needed to fight to be seen as a legitimate speaker and an authority on the Italian political situation. One article advertising for her lectures claimed, “The ladies are sure to flock in crowds, were it only from curiosity, to see and hear the young and attractive lecturer.” To ensure that listeners viewed her as a respected orator rather than a mere spectacle, White Mario emphasized her achievements and connection to the Risorgimento. She was first known as the translator of Orsini’s *Austrian Dungeons* and was later known for her complicity and arrest in a failed uprising in Genoa in 1857. By highlighting this work, White revealed that she had something to say and a right to say it. Mazzini also worked behind the scenes to help make White’s lectures successful. In one instance, he wrote to the secretary for the Committee for the Aiding of the Emancipation of Italy

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41 “Bank of England,” *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Dublin, Ireland), Monday, December 8, 1856; Issue N/A. White’s translation of Orsini’s work will be discussed later in this chapter.
and said, “you and your friends have strenuously exerted yourselves to prepare the way for my friend Miss White’s Lectures. It is but fair for me to thank you.”

Both White Mario’s supporters and detractors appeared uncertain of whether or not a woman could successfully or appropriately speak in public on political matters. The chair of one of her lectures, Rev. W.C. Squier, who had been impressed with her speaking, said that, “He hardly knew which most to express his admiration of- her great power of argument, her grace of diction, or her modesty of delivery. She did not seem to be out of place; she was a lady advocating those great principles in which we were all interested, as men and Englishmen- (Loud applause).” He then went on, however, to categorize her as a type of seductress, saying, “And though she was the antagonist of tyranny, she was herself a tyrant,- for while dilating on the chains of the Pope, she herself enchained the attention of her audience and enslaved their hearts.- (Laughter and applause).” While Squier praised and supported White Mario, he also emphasized her feminine attributes and claimed that she won her listeners over not through logical arguments but by being young and attractive. In doing so, he devalued her skill as an orator. Many papers also chose to write about her appearance, emphasizing that she was not unattractive, despite her unladylike choice of profession. One paper wrote, “Madame Mario is slightly above the middle height, of fair complexion, with auburn hair, a pleasing expression of countenance, and a forehead denoting great intellectuality.” They thus reinforced her status as an object to be viewed rather than as a source of information to be listened to.

Criticism of White Mario occasionally reached outright mockery and satire. In 1858, for instance, The Royal Cornwall Gazette published an article condemning her and her activities as

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43 “Madame Mario’s Lectures,” *The Preston Guardian etc* (Preston, England), Saturday, July 3, 1858; Issue 2392.
44 “Madame Mario’s Lectures,” *The Preston Guardian etc* (Preston, England), Saturday, July 3, 1858; Issue 2392.
insurrectionary and deserving of mockery and scorn. It began, “Miss Jessie has since married, we believe, some Italian exile, and has no doubt sown her wild oats: but in those days she was collecting insurrectionary money, writing pamphlets and leaders, giving lectures about Italy, and in many ways affording material to the writers of lampoons.” The second verse, which focuses entirely on her and her lectures, reads,

Miss White goes through England to lecture right wittily
On sunny, delicious, unfortunate Italy:
Of course such a strong-minded woman will bloom
On the lecturing platform in Bloomer costume!
Will come on the stage with a hop and a fling,
In silk trousers and tunic and that sort of thing!
To the girl to be just,
She’s a capital bust,
And if we’re to credit the sayings of rumour,
Looks uncommonly well when she’s dressed as a Bloomer.45

The poem shows the harsh and somewhat sexually demeaning criticism that White Mario was exposed to as a woman in the public sphere. Furthermore, it shows how her lectures caused her to be associated not only with the Risorgimento but with female emancipation as well.

Publicizing the Risorgimento: Newspaper Coverage and Translations

Though the lecture tours were important, Mazzini and other radicals believed in the power of the printed word and launched an extended press campaign to garner support and spread nationalist fervor.46 In this section I examine how Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Sara Nathan worked within the network of the radical left to create and distribute

45 “Mr. Walter Savage Landor,” The Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet, and General Advertiser (Truro, England), Friday, September 10, 1858; pg. 6; Issue 2881. The poem was written about Walter Savage Landor, who had famously written a letter to Jessie White offering a reward for tyrannicide, but also mocked her.
46 Lucy Riall argues that this strategy became particularly effective during the 1850s with the rise of popular literature and modern mass media. See, Riall, Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero, 128. Riall also argues that Mazzini’s strategy illustrated Benedict Anderson’s argument that the expansion of print culture played an important role in the formation of national identity and shared national imagination, p. 134.
printed materials in support of their republican vision for Italy. White Mario translated an incendiary political memoir and both she and Craufurd Saffi translated articles in and out of Italian and English and directed them towards the press in both Italy and England. All three women worked behind the scenes to support the Mazzinian press and ensure its continuation. In doing so, they helped to create the public image of the Risorgimento and further challenged accepted roles for women.

Jessie White helped to contribute to the Italian cause early on in her career by translating Felice Orsini’s work, *Austrian Dungeons*. After meeting Orsini, White was struck by his story and thought it could be used to reveal the atrocities of the Austrian and Papal governments. Through her translation and introduction she intentionally portrayed Orsini as a romantic and sympathetic hero, like Garibaldi, rather than a dangerous revolutionary. The book went on sale at the end of July 1856 and within a year had sold an estimated 35,000 copies drawing substantial attention to the Italian revolutionary effort and creating much antipathy against Austria. White was proud to have made a sensation and sparked debate in the English press, and in her later years looked back proudly on the time, “when my version of the story of Orsini’s escape (*Austrian Dungeons*) made a large sensation, and the *Leader* and the *Daily News* opened their columns to a series of articles on *Italia per gli Italiani*."

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47 Felice Orsini (1819-1858) was an Italian revolutionary who was arrested and imprisoned by the Austrians in Mantua in 1854. He escaped from the prison after a few months and wrote an account of his sufferings, which White translated into English. The book was intended to show the harsh treatment of Italians under Austrian rule and to make an argument for why the Italians needed to be liberated. Orsini approached radical publisher George Holyoake for advice on publishing it and Holyoake advised Orsini to try Routledge. He signed a contract with them for a 200-page book to be ready in a month. Jessie White was given the job of translating the manuscript into English. See: Bacchin, “Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain,” 83.
48 Jessie Meriton White to G. Garibaldi, 1856, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 667.
49 Bacchin, “Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain,” 84-85.
50 Bacchin, “Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain,” 83. Bacchin argued that this was an important moment and that not enough scholarly attention has been given to the impact of Felice Orsini in shaping English popular opinion, especially during his exile there from May 1856 to November 1857, when his work was published and widely received.
was her manipulation of Orsini’s narrative, and not just the story itself, that drew attention and sympathy.

    Though Orsini’s work generally received favorable reviews, as did the translation, Jessie White still received some resistance. She was not publicly acknowledged as a female translator and was usually referred to as “J. Meriton White” or “Mr. White.” Orsini also did not like her translation. He correctly criticized her for using his story to serve the needs of the Mazzinian party, but was also somewhat sexist in his comments. He claimed that she did not fully understand the chapters regarding his interrogation and in a letter to Carlo Arrivabene wrote that he was embarrassed by the proofs, but reluctant to complain directly about it, stating, “You know how touchy women are.” In doing so, he did not treat her like a colleague with slightly differing political views, but as a less intelligent, overly sentimental, and illogical woman. Orsini’s dislike and distrust of the Mazzinian women reveals the limitations women faced, even among the radical left.

    White Mario also worked with Garibaldi and Mazzini to send letters and articles to the English press that would push for a republican Italy. In August 1856, Garibaldi first wrote to Jessie White asking her to take an active role forming in the public image of the Risorgimento. He wrote, “I ask you Jessie my dear to make use of your influence on English journalism,” to ensure the publication of articles that revealed the actions of the Austrians and the priests against Italy. White took up the task wholeheartedly, even sending one letter about the murder of Italian patriot Ciceruacchio by the Austrians to thirty newspapers. In a letter to Garibaldi she

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53 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Jessie White Mario, 7 August 1856, MCRR, Busta 416, N. 2(3).
54 Jessie Meriton White to G. Garibaldi, 23 August 1856, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 665.
expressed her desire to publish his sad news in order to turn the English against Austria and for the Italians.\textsuperscript{55} Her strategy was successful and many English papers printed the letter and other correspondences that she sent in.\textsuperscript{56} White Mario and Garibaldi continued to work together on the press campaign throughout this period.\textsuperscript{57}

Other Mazzinian women, most notably Emilie Ashurst Hawkes and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, were also part of this process. Mazzini encouraged White to work specifically with Emilie Ashurst Hawkes to gather news, perform translations, and publish reports on the Italian situation.\textsuperscript{58} After the failed uprising in Genoa, while White Mario was imprisoned, Mazzini worked closely with Giorgina Saffi to develop a new public relations strategy. He gave her detailed instructions for what type of material she should try to present into the \textit{Daily News} and how to cut down and summarize the correspondences.\textsuperscript{59} The women were not simply receiving orders from Mazzini or Garibaldi, however, but exerted agency and made decisions on their own as to what should be printed in the press. In 1856, for instance, Jessie White took a letter from Aurelio Saffi and sent it to the \textit{Daily News} to be printed in England and to the \textit{Italia e Popolo} to be printed in Italy.\textsuperscript{60} She then wrote to Saffi, giving advice about what articles he should write and how they should be published. She wrote,

\begin{quote}
you ought to answer the \textit{Times} article in the \textit{Times} especially to disavow all idea of an attempt to initiate a movement under the idea that France & England intend
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{55} Jessie Meriton White to G. Garibaldi, 1856, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 667.
\textsuperscript{60} Jessie Meriton White to Aurelio Saffi, 22 October 1856, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 16, f. 1, cc. 1-379.
to intervene in the nations behalf & to give the lie to the assertion concerning the war of 1858. You can do this since the Times condescends to think you possessed of 'good sense.'

White Mario and the others were thus active participants and partners in this scheme, sometimes receiving advice and guidance and sometimes giving it.

In addition to sending in translated reports by others, Jessie White Mario worked as a journalist and correspondent in her own right. This was unusual as women rarely worked as journalists for mainstream newspapers, and if they did they were usually called upon to write fiction or articles about traditionally female topics rather than political news. By contributing a political narrative, White Mario was acting outside of traditionally circumscribed roles. Mazzini encouraged White Mario in this work and particularly urged her to take a position as a foreign correspondent for the Daily News to ensure that Piedmont did not have too strong of an influence on English public opinion. He argued, “It is very important to have truth spoken at least in one of the influential organs of the press here.” We should not overstate the importance of Mazzini in her press career, however. While Jessie White was a devout follower of Mazzini, she wrote her articles independently and Mazzini did not always read them.

Craufurd Saffi, White Mario, and Nathan were also active in the Italian press, particularly in the Mazzinian papers, Pensiero e Azione, Italia del Popolo, L’Unità Italiana, and Il Popolo

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61 Jessie Meriton White to Aurelio Saffi, 24 October 1856, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 16, f. 1, cc. 1-379.
62 White Mario’s work as a journalist will be discussed more in the subsequent chapters, particularly in Chapter 4.
66 Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes, 15 November 1856, Letter MMMMDXCVII, Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LVII, Epis. XXXIII, 209. In a letter from Mazzini to Emilie Hawkes in November 1856 Mazzini mentioned that he had not even read White’s articles for the Daily News. He wrote, “Really, I ought to read the articles of Miss W[hite] in the Daily News. Can she lend them to me?”
d’Italia. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi played an extensive role in this process, working alongside her sister Kate Craufurd and her husband, Aurelio Saffi. Craufurd Saffi’s Italian skills were more advanced than White Mario’s and while Mario was called upon to translate articles from Italian into English, Craufurd Saffi was more frequently tasked with translating articles into Italian from English or German.67 One of her duties was to find articles in the Daily News or other weekly papers that were relevant to the Italian situation and to translate and send them to the Italia del Popolo.68 Throughout 1858, Mazzini also repeatedly called on her to help with another paper, Pensiero ed Azione.69 Other letters show her translating works by important radicals including Alexander Herzen and S. Milkowsky, thus developing the international networks of cooperation among radical patriots.70 It could also be argued that in translating, the women were merely acting as secretaries, but even the position of secretary was still typically that of a man in the middle of the nineteenth century and was only given to someone trusted to write, think, and organize on the same level as a man.

Nathan, Saffi, and White Mario also worked alongside other Mazzinians to help financially support the Mazzinian papers and find subscribers. Sara Nathan was particularly instrumental in providing financial support for the Italia del Popolo, while Jessie White Mario sold subscriptions to the paper on her 1857 lecture tour.71 Mazzini requested that if, on the tour,

67 Craufurd Saffi’s work with German is revealed in a letter from February 1859. Mazzini wrote to Aurelio Saffi explaining that he was sending, “a German correspondence to Nina [Giorgina Saffi], beseeching her to translate it; I believe it is difficult.” Giuseppe Mazzini to Aurelio Saffi, February 1859, Letter #157, Giuseppe Mazzatinti, Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872) 175. The translated article was published as correspondence from Berlin on March 1st 1859 in Pensiero ed Azione.
68 Mazzatinti, Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872) 145.
69 Giuseppe Mazzini to Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, 20 September 1858, Letter #149 in Mazzatinti, Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872) 145.
70 Giuseppe Mazzini to Giorgina Saffi, 24 November 1858, Letter #163, Mazzatinti, Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872).
she met anyone who spoke Italian she should recommend the paper and said that he would like for at least one club, association, or committee to subscribe in each town, so that the paper could be collectively read. Giorgina and Aurelio Saffi also worked to gather subscribers in Oxford, where Aurelio Saffi was teaching, while Craufurd Saffi’s sister Kate Craufurd found subscribers in their native Scotland. By doing so, they ensured that the press, which was rarely profitable and self-sustaining, would continue to operate and to spread Mazzinian propaganda.

Fundraising for the Risorgimento

Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi did not just work to financially support the Mazzinian press, but also worked alongside other Mazzinians in their familial networks to collect funds for potential uprisings. In doing so, they utilized the techniques of philanthropy and charity traditionally available to women and directed them to serve revolutionary purposes. They assumed roles of trust and power, collecting, documenting, shipping, and spending the funds put at their disposal and challenged contemporary beliefs that women were overly emotional and not capable of responsibly handling finances.

Because the Mazzinian agenda required a constant influx of money, all members of the Mazzinian circles were put to work fundraising. The entire Craufurd family was involved in helping Mazzini raise money and collect signatures in support of the Italian cause. In fact, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi’s mother, Sophia Churchill Craufurd, worked directly with Mazzini before her daughter did. Mazzini also worked with Sara Nathan, her husband Meyer Nathan,

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73 Giuseppe Mazzini to Aurelio Saffi, September 1858, Letter 5151 in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXI, Epis. XXXVI.
and her extended family, the Rosselli, in organizing the Fondo Nazionale (1847-48), the Italian Refugee Fund Committee (1849), the Prestito Nazionale Italiano (1851), the Shilling Subscription (1852), a subscription for 10,000 rifles (1856), and il Fondo per il Partito Nazionale (1858-59).\textsuperscript{75} This was a frequent and collaborative effort.

Much of the money was collected for insurgent efforts. In 1856, for instance, Mazzinian supporters raised money to buy 10,000 rifles for the first Italian province to rise up against its rulers. In August 1856, Mazzini wrote to Sara Nathan saying that she probably had heard of the campaign for 10,000 rifles that was in the \textit{Italia e Popolo} and he encouraged her to get people to sign up and ensure its success. In his appeal, he reminded her that she should begin by asking her friends and family for their support for the cause.\textsuperscript{76} Mazzini also asked Jessie White to help with the 10,000 rifles fund and to move beyond that. He wrote, “Will you endeavour to collect from the English People such sums as they are willing to give to our National Fund? Some are, I know, collecting subscriptions for the 10,000 muskets, or for the cannons, which is good. We need, however, other materials quite as much, and there are many who would prefer aiding Italy in other ways than by sending arms.”\textsuperscript{77} The revolutionary uprisings required these charitable fundraisers.

The fundraising efforts served a secondary purpose in identifying, locating, and cultivating potential supporters. As fundraisers, the women not only had to collect money from donors but also convince those donors to become active collectors in their own right. In the Penny Subscription of 1848, which Sara Nathan was involved in, select collectors were to

\textsuperscript{75} Istitia, 7. As seen from just this minor list, there were too many independent subscription campaigns to look at independently in this chapter.


contact all their acquaintances, asking for only a single penny, and would then approach intimate friends, convincing them to become collectors in their own right and moving the subscriptions forward towards infinity. In 1853 Giorgina Craufurd worked with Mazzini on a similar Pound Subscription in which they were to collect 6,000 pounds by asking for a single pound each from 6,000 people and by convincing a few select people to act as collectors. Women often served as these points of collection and were entrusted with the money for the revolution.

While Nathan and Craufurd Saffi worked privately through networks of friends and family, Jessie White Mario led a public subscription in which she placed advertisements in the newspaper and listed herself as the person ultimately responsible with collecting and distributing the money. Following the success of the publicity of the Ciceruacchio letter in 1856, White Mario wanted to use Garibaldi’s name to raise money. Though he expressed some initial misgivings about the venture and was uncomfortable accepting money from the English people in his name for the cause of Italy, he quickly accepted White Mario’s idea and initiative and authorized her to collect money in this name. In September, she published a call for aid in the *Daily News* on behalf of the Genoese Committee of the Italian National Subscription. In the call she claimed responsibility for collecting and sending on the money, saying “any subscriptions sent to me at 8 Percy-street, Bedford-square, will be immediately forwarded to Genoa, where the subscribers’ names are printed regularly by the committee.”

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other papers spreading its reach.\textsuperscript{82} In some of these accounts, she was listed as “Mr. J. Meriton White,” indicating the limitations placed upon her public behavior as an unmarried woman.\textsuperscript{83}

White Mario took her obligation as the public face of the movement seriously and took steps to ensure that people wanted to contribute and were able to do so. After one article complained that people had been unable to deliver their funds because White Mario was not at home, she clarified that she would be at 8 Percy-street on Saturdays from 12 to 4, and would be found at any other day at the office of the committee for the Emancipation of Italy, 22 Sloane-street.\textsuperscript{84} She thus placed herself in a very visible position and made herself available to the public for questions and contact. White Mario also publicized the lists of subscribers and their contributions.\textsuperscript{85} The publishing of collected sums was very important for transparency, to publicize the wide range of supporters, and to reward people for their support so as to encourage them to donate again in the future.

Sara Nathan and her family offered important financial connections helpful to the Mazzinian fundraising project. Meyer Nathan used his contacts as an exchange broker to help with loans and stock exchange operations and to send money to Italy from English banks.\textsuperscript{86} Sara Nathan used her knowledge of the banking and finance world to invest the sums she had collected for the Mazzinian party to great success. Mazzini celebrated her success in a letter to collaborator Maurizio Quadrio saying that he thought they could finally extinguish the debt

\begin{footnotes}
\item[82] “Brussels International Free-Trade Congress,” \textit{Manchester Times} (Manchester, England), Saturday, September 27, 1856; Issue 758.
\item[83] “Summary,” \textit{Liverpool Mercury etc} (Liverpool, England), Monday, September 29, 1856; Issue 2884. Other papers also refer to her as a male. “Miscellaneous,” \textit{The Leeds Mercury} (Leeds, England), Tuesday, September 30, 1856; Issue 6540; “News of the Week,” \textit{Liverpool Mercury etc} (Liverpool, England), Saturday, October 4, 1856; Issue N/A.
\end{footnotes}
because of her return on investment. He said, “I believe the debt will be cancelled, finishing it, within the year. The 6% has struck me. I thought Sarina had speculated on the loan. The 6% is an excellent placement.” He also noted that she would give, “1000 francs when I ask for it.” The Nathans frequently donated their own money to the cause. In Sara Nathan’s obituary, Jessie White Mario argued that the Nathans were extremely generous and never hesitated to give the vast sums necessary for the expeditions and preparations. While some may have argued that these were banal sacrifices, White Mario countered that they were also, “not common sacrifices to be sure, rather incredibly rare.” Their continued generosity could also have continued after Meyer Nathan’s death due only to Sara Nathan’s careful management of the family budget, balancing out the financial obligations of caring for her twelve children with her desire to help the Italian cause.

Conspiring for the Risorgimento

The Mazzinians did not restrict themselves to publicity campaigns. They wanted a unified and republican Italy and organized revolts and uprisings to achieve that goal. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Sara Nathan, and Jessie White Mario in particular, were part of the planning of these revolutionary conspiracies in the years before Italian Unification. Due to the egalitarianism of the Mazzinian networks and the confidence established through the previously discussed personal bonds, they were trusted as reliable conspirators and let in on the delicate planning of these insurrectionary endeavors. Their commitment was so strong that they risked jail time to participate in these actions.

87 Istasia, 17-18.
The Mazzinians helped to provide a benign cover and false identities for the other exiles and revolutionaries. Mazzini was a known radical and was under surveillance by multiple governments. To prevent his mail being read, he often had it sent to other, more seemingly benign addresses. The Craufurd sisters were part of this secrecy. In 1852, for instance, Mazzini told Giovanni Acerbi that a letter he needed to send, “requires an under-cover with Miss K[ate] Craufurd above.”89 The Nathans also helped Mazzini and other exiles travel around to plan and conspire by acquiring visas and passports for them.90 In 1858 Mazzini asked Meyer Nathan, “Would you get visas for Belgium, France, and Piedmont in the passport? Never mind, if it is not strictly necessary; insist on having these visas.”91 Later, Mazzini would also ask Sara Nathan’s son David, who had been attending meetings for Italian patriots in London, to obtain passports. In one letter he specifically asked for a passport for a British subject.92 Sara Nathan encouraged her family in these endeavors and their participation intensified after 1860.

Jessie White Mario also famously took part in the planning for the failed Pisacane expedition in 1857.93 Her lectures from 1856-57 had been partially intended to raise money for

93 Carlo Pisacane and his men planned to sail from Genoa, stopping in Ponza to release political prisoners held on the island, to southern Campania, where they would start a revolt in the countryside and take over Naples. This was a desperate attempt by the exiled intellectual elite to foment revolution and change among the people of Italy. The expedition successfully liberated the prisoners on Ponza, but when they arrived on Sapri things took a turn for the worse. Many of the prisoners were not political prisoners and deserted their force and they were not met with support from the countryside or from Naples. They were defeated by a combination of government troops and an angry peasant army. Most of the troops were killed, two dozen were arrested, and Pisacane took his own life. For more, see: Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*, 196-97.
this expedition and when she was finished with the lectures, she left for Genoa to participate in the insurrection. White was publicly serving as a correspondent for the *Daily News* and when she arrived she was greeted with an ovation by the people. She continued to act as a public agent of the Mazzinian cause and its English allies and Mazzini directed Emilie Ashurst Hawkes to ensure that the English papers covered the event that the people of England knew “how grateful our people are and what an importance they attach to any sympathy coming from your country.”94 The conservative press noted her arrival with some distaste, seeing through her façade as a safe female British journalist and recognizing her revolutionary tendencies.95

With many eyes on her, White had to exercise great discretion and secrecy in her dealings regarding the planned expedition. Prime Minister Cavour had been made aware of Jessie White’s arrival in Genoa and knew of her connections to Mazzini and the Piedmontese authorities were surveilling her, prepared to send her away if she encouraged too much rebellion.96 Mazzini explained the limitations to their activities to Emilie, writing, “Of course we [Mazzini and White] correspond, but especially after the manifestation, I must be very careful with her: she will be watched closely.”97 He wrote later to explain, “I have seen her once only. I must be very cautious, and she is watched. The town is rather in an exceptional state; and I would be looked

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95 “*La Civiltà Cattolica* announced the arrival of “a certain Englishwoman by the name Miss White, sent by Giuseppe Mazzini in England and in Italy, to search there for moral and material aid in support of the Italian cause.” See: Cronaca Contemporanea: Stati Sardi (nostra corrispondenza),” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 13 June 1857 (Rome) ser.03, v.06, p. 744. They also wrote about her arrest. See: “Stati Sardi: La Congiura di Genova,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 13 June 1857 (Rome) ser.03, v.06, p.362.


for as a *local* agitator, which I do not want. Besides, having hopes I *must* keep free.”\(^98\) When they did meet, Mazzini and White did so in discreet ways. In June 1857, Mazzini arranged their meeting by asking White to “follow the long-bearded man whom the Editor of the *Italia e Popolo* will introduce to you.”\(^99\) He also wrote to describing the close surveillance over White saying, “She is here a true *lioness*; from the police to our sailors everybody watching on [over] her.”\(^100\) Through her participation in this conspiracy, therefore, White had crossed the line from fame into infamy and developed a notorious reputation among certain circles.

Though she was young, female, and not Italian, White was accepted as a trusted collaborator in the conspiracy. In his book about Pisacane, Nello Rosselli argued that White was “the only foreigner deeply involved in the secret things,” surrounding the preparations for the mission to Sapri.\(^101\) Other women had been entrusted with the details of previous conspiracies, however, leading to some debate within the radical ranks. Orsini had criticized Mazzini for sharing details of his conspiracies with his female followers, particularly with the Ashurst sisters, and argued that he was thereby placing the lives of Italian patriots in the hands of five or six women not known for their discretion. James Stansfeld and Mazzini defended the women, leading to a breach between Mazzini and Orsini in mid-October 1856.\(^102\) As Chapter 3 will show, Sara Nathan would later work as one of Mazzini’s most trusted collaborators in his subsequent insurrections.

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\(^{98}\) Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Ashurst, 1 June 1857, *Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860, Vol II*, 76. Mazzini was dedicated to keeping free and had apparently hid in a mattress and disguised himself as a butler when Ernesto Pareto’s house was searched. See: Sarti, *Mazzini*, 177.


\(^{101}\) Blakiston, 39.

\(^{102}\) Bacchin, “Felice Orsini and the Construction of the Pro-Italian Narrative in Britain,” 86.
White faced severe punitive action for the involvement in the failed conspiracy. When the mission was ultimately unsuccessful, White and her cohort in Genoa came under scrutiny. On July 3rd 1857 the police searched the house where Jessie White was staying in Genoa. Looking back, White Mario claimed that the inspector was “furious, but not clever,” and was unable to find the papers entrusted to her. White was adamant that there was no evidence of her crime. She said, “nothing was ever discovered in my possession with the exception, as already stated, of Pisacane’s political testament and Cattaneo’s letter.” He simply threatened her with deportation, a threat she did not take seriously because it was illegal to do this to a British citizen with a properly issued passport. Jessie White was arrested, interrogated, and imprisoned, but was never actually sentenced with anything and was released after approximately four and a half months.

The revolutionary network worked to help Jessie White while she was in prison in the same way she had supported others. Garibaldi wrote a letter to the director of the police in Genoa asking for leniency and saying that while White had, “not the best political beliefs,” she was still in private, “a noble creature,” who loved Italy and freedom and deserved special consideration. Mazzini tried to send her money, but as he explained to Emilie Ashurst, “she refused to take it unless she knows from whom, which I cannot tell her. I shall manage,

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103 Sarti, Mazzini, 176-78. Sarti argues that Mazzini and Pisacane overestimated the popular support for insurrection in the south. Following the mission Pisacane took his own life and Jessie White, Alberto Mario, Rosalino Pilo, and 6 others were jailed in Genoa. Six more, including Mazzini, were later condemned to death in absentia and Mazzini was also once again accused of cowardice and reckless regard for the lives of others.
105 White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 272.
106 The specifics of White Mario’s trial will be discussed in a later chapter, as they deal specifically with her role as an English citizen in a foreign land and with her relationship to the English government.
however.” He then tried to create sympathy for her in the press and outrage at her treatment.\textsuperscript{108} While many English papers wrote about her arrest, the reports were conflicting and varied in their treatment of her. Some papers protested her innocence and were outraged at the unjust treatment of a British citizen, while others denounced her as a dangerous and unladylike revolutionary who tarnished the image of Britain.\textsuperscript{109} The critical articles also printed false rumors, with one paper writing, “it is said that she now asserts that she is the wife of Mazzini.”\textsuperscript{110} White’s trial thus continued her journey from celebrity into notoriety.

This experience in Genoa was formative for Jessie White as it led to her marriage to Alberto Mario, who had also been arrested. While in prison, White and Mario sent letters to each other and became engaged. Mario was let out of prison earlier than White, but continued to write to her.\textsuperscript{111} The time in Genoa also marked the beginning of a strong friendship and partnership between Jessie White and Elena Casati Sacchi, who had also been in Genoa for the preparations. Casati Sacchi and Jessie White had developed a code together, which they used to pass the initial good news about Pisacane and the later tragic news that there were few survivors. White Mario explained, “together we arranged the cipher for corresponding; she sent me at Sant’Andrea the good news that Nicotera, though gravely wounded, was alive, while we were crying over the death of Pisacane and Falcone.” Describing the friendship, White Mario wrote, “the friendship born between us youngsters in those unlucky days, was already many years old between Alberto

\textsuperscript{108} Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie Ashurst, late July/early August 1857, Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860, Vol II, 89.


\textsuperscript{110} “Summary,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Wednesday, July 15, 1857; Issue 3008.

\textsuperscript{111} White Mario, “Della Vita di Alberto Mario. Memorie,” lix-lxi.
[Mario] and Achille [Sacchi], and grew and lasted continually until death, which left me the only one living in a world of tombs.”

White Mario’s controversial reputation also remained with her and led to subsequent arrests. In the summer of 1859, she and her husband Alberto Mario were taken into custody in Ponte Lago-Scuro under the accusation that they were Austrian spies. She wrote that one night, “while peacefully sleeping in a hotel,” they were forcefully arrested and were brought to the castle of Ferrara and then were, “led, like thieves, in plain day, to Bologna.” White Mario was particularly incensed at this because the officers accused the Marios, devout patriots, of being Austrian spies. Once in Bologna the Marios were separated, with Alberto put in a dismal cell in the tower of Bologna and White Mario placed in the custody of monks, where she was treated quite well. In protest of the arrest and of Alberto Mario’s treatment, White Mario refused to eat and had only coffee and water for seven days. In the face of her determined refusal to eat, the guards finally brought the Marios back together. Garibaldi worked for their freedom and testified to their patriotism, but to no avail. 113

Achieving Italian Unification: The Campaign of the Mille

From the first time she met Garibaldi, Jessie Meriton White knew that she wanted to be his nurse in any future battle for unification and was committed to achieving excellence and gaining the necessary medical knowledge. As she explained, determined “to fit myself for the task, I now resolved to secure the best medical education possible,” and with the encouragement of Dr. Little, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir Bence Jones, and other physicians, White studied

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medicine at University College.\(^{114}\) In August 1856, White then applied to King’s College, London for permission to become a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. In response, the Senate of the London University submitted a case for the opinion of counsel questioning whether their charter would enable them to admit a woman.\(^{115}\) The news of her decision to apply for medical school was quite shocking and many papers posted a notice that she had applied to King’s College for a medical degree.\(^{116}\) While the Senate was willing to evaluate the legality of White’s claim, many others disagreed with it outright. Most doctors believed that women simply had smaller brains than men and were not intelligent enough to act as doctors.\(^{117}\) Others argued that admitting women would devalue a man’s education.\(^{118}\)

Nearly a year later, after White Mario’s arrest in Genoa, the \textit{Lancet} published another article claiming that the British medical schools had been correct in denying her application and should deny any application from women. It read,

\begin{quote}
We trust that the same course will be pursued wherever a woman, who fancies herself qualified for an M.D., because she has A Bee in her bonnet, seeks to enrol herself as a medical studentess; and to assume the academic cap and gown, far less becoming than the female articles of attire bearing the same names. For the request proves a lamentable deficiency of right judgment, the first essential in medical knowledge.
\end{quote}

\(^{114}\) White Mario, \textit{The Birth of Modern Italy}, 253.

\(^{115}\) “Female Applicant for a Medical Diploma,” \textit{The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald} (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Wednesday, August 13, 1856; Issue 3868.


\(^{118}\) “A Would-Be Female Bachelor,” \textit{The Derby Mercury} (Derby, England), Wednesday, August 13, 1856; Issue 3381.
The article also argued that women who studied dissection would, “violate every feeling of decency and propriety.” Finally, they claimed that women could not be both mothers and doctors, and wrote,

They cannot marry, since urgent cases of disease would require attention, even though a kid-glove might be tied round their knockers, nor could a midwifery patient be deserted whilst Mrs. M.D. tended her own sucking babe. If remaining single their position would be one that we should deeply regret to see assigned to any woman of high feeling or delicate nature.119

Many doctors shared this belief that women were not suited for medicine because their reproductive organs made them too distracted and emotional for proper scientific thought.120

Ultimately, Meriton White was unable to sit the exam for the full degree. Explaining the situation, she wrote, “votes being numbered and not weighed, the authorities decided that the words ‘British subject’ referred to males only, and I was debarred from obtaining quality of treatment.”121 White Mario complained about this to her friend Barbara Leigh Smith, writing that in no case had she received, “a logical response to my question: why cannot a woman study medicine?”122 She further questioned why, “the examination of bodies of nude men in an anatomy lesson was irreconcilable with the respectability of a lady.”123

White’s failure was to be expected. It was nearly impossible for a woman in Great Britain to become a doctor. The Medical Act of 1858 virtually excluded them from the profession by decreeing that in order to be listed on the new Medical Register (listing all registered medical practitioners in the UK) a doctor needed a license or a medical degree from one of the 19 registered bodies in Britain and Ireland, which were not open to women due to their general lack

119 “Petticoat Physic,” Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, July 25, 1857; Issue 3016. The article was originally from the Lancet, reprinted in the Hampshire Telegraph.
120 Bonner, 9.
121 White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 253.
122 Alberti di Mazzeri, 114.
123 Prisco, 35-36.
of strenuous secondary school education.\textsuperscript{124} There was a clause in the Medical Act that recognized doctors who had practiced in the UK prior to 1858, which allowed Elizabeth Blackwell, an American who had earned her degree in New York State, to qualify, and in 1859 she became the first woman to appear on the register.\textsuperscript{125} While her qualifications were groundbreaking, establishing a successful medical practice proved quite difficult for Blackwell, as many believed that “woman physician” was code for abortionist.\textsuperscript{126}

While Meriton White still had the option to study and gain medical degrees abroad, those degrees would not qualify her for the Medical Register or allow her to practice medicine in Britain.\textsuperscript{127} She also would not have faced a much better situation outside of Britain. In the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, a few select Italian women received medical degrees and practiced medicine.\textsuperscript{128} These women were notable exceptions, however, and few Italian women pursued medical careers. The first woman to matriculate in medicine in the 19\textsuperscript{th}-century did not do so until 1876.\textsuperscript{129} In general, the outlook for women in medicine was poor. Certain states, like Austria, forbade women from

\textsuperscript{124} Laura Kelly, \textit{Irish women in Medicine, c. 1880s-1920s: Origins, education and careers} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012) 7. The act placed emphasis on the standardization of medical qualifications from universities and established the General Medical Council of Medical Registration and Education, in order to be able to distinguish between qualified and unqualified practitioners.

\textsuperscript{125} Kelly, 7. While Elizabeth Blackwell was admitted to Geneva Medical College in rural New York, the college saw her admission as an experiment, rather than a precedent, and did not admit any women after her. See, Bonner, 7-8.


\textsuperscript{127} Kelly, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{128} Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead, \textit{A History of Women in Medicine: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Nineteenth-Century} (Haddam, Conn.: The Haddam Press, 1938) 509. Angiolina of Padua held the chair of obstetrics at the University of Padua and Marchesa Buttelini practiced in Rome under the patronage of Pope Benedict XIV and worked inoculating patients against smallpox. Maria Petracini and her daughter Zaffira Peretti, both graduated from the University of Florence and were teachers of anatomy and practitioners of medicine in Ferrara. Sometime after 1790, Zaffira was appointed head of the school of levatrici or midwives in Ancona. Laura Bassi (1711-1778) graduated from the University of Bologna as a Doctor of Philosophy and eventually became the chair of anatomy. Anna Morandi Manzolini (1716-1774) married Giovanni Manzolini, who was a professor of anatomy and helped her husband make wax anatomical models. She took her husband’s place as lecturer when he was sick and in 1760 she was elected professor of anatomy. Morandi Manzolini was later elected to membership in the British Royal Society and invited to lecture in London.

\textsuperscript{129} Bonner, 8.
entering medical schools until the end of the 19th century. In Paris and Switzerland, women had some options; in 1871 Mary Corinna Putnam became the first woman to matriculate at the École de Médecine in Paris. While attending the necessary lectures, however, she was required to sit in a separate chair near the lectern and to enter through a side door, in deference to male sensibility.

White would also have not been able to find adequate professional training as a nurse. Florence Nightingale famously first showed the importance of professional nursing during the Crimean War (1853-56). Afterwards she set out to ensure that nurses were educated professionals, rather than menial servants, and established a system of education for nursing in England. This was all still in the works, however, when White was on her hunt for a degree. Despite her best intentions, White Mario ended up gaining most of her medical knowledge in the field. At the end of the first campaign, she said that she had, “the sensation of having picked up a few words of a foreign language by ear and the conviction that all real drill and training had yet to come, to be gained by hard study of grammar and syntax.”

By choosing to become a war nurse, White Mario was intentionally choosing a disrespected field. Though Nightingale was trying to change the existing prejudices against nurses, there was still a strong connection in people’s minds, in both Britain and America, between nurses and servants. Historian Louise Fitzpatrick argued that, “hired nurses in both

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130 Bonner, 8.
131 Bonner, 1-2. Putnam was the daughter of New York publisher G.P. Putnam. On July 24th 1871, she successfully defended her thesis on “La Graisse neutres et les acides gras” (Fats and Fatty Acids) and was even awarded a bronze medal for her work. In 1871, another American, Susan Dimock of North Carolina, finished a medical degree at the University of Zurich. Putnam and Dimock were, “among the first women from any country to complete the rigorous training for a European medical degree.” The women studied in Paris and Zurich because they were the only cities in the world at that time where women could learn scientific medicine on the same basis as men.
countries had no training, were often very old or alcoholic, untidy, filthy, and in general viewed with distaste.” She added that, “as a rule, middle-class American women did not practice nursing in the homes of others for pay.”

During the Civil War women who worked in the medical service were generally not respected by the doctors or by some of the soldiers, who thought that respectable women should not be in hospitals, caring for wounded men, and doing the menial tasks involved in nursing. Just as she had refused to listen to protests that acquiring medical knowledge was inappropriate for women, White Mario also refused to listen to those who would say that nursing was beneath her station in life.

White Mario risked arrest and disregarded many warnings in order to join in the campaign of 1860 and fulfill her promise to serve as Garibaldi’s nurse. After learning of Garibaldi’s planned expedition to Sicily, she and her husband Alberto Mario immediately left Lugano for Genoa but missed the first expedition. As enemies of the Piedmontese state, they were forced into hiding while they awaited the second expedition led by Medici. As White Mario explained, “Orders for our arrest were out, and Medici received very urgent ones to consign us at Cagliari.” Medici was unwilling to comply, however, and, “He, friendly knight as he was, gave strict orders to his officers that we were not to be told of the demand, knowing, of course, that we should insist on a mild edition of Jonah’s fate rather than embarrass the expedition.” Mazzini, who was also in Genoa, advised White Mario against joining the expedition. While she was uncomfortable going against Mazzini’s advice, she thought this was the right thing to do, and with the pressure of imminent arrest over her and Alberto’s heads, they got onto a fishing barge.

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134 Fitzpatrick, 7.
135 Fitzpatrick, 38. Despite this prejudice, northern white women worked successfully under the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) which was authorized by Abraham Lincoln on June 9, 1861 and provided advice and support services for Union troops, ‘including medical aid, funding, and assistance in systematizing their collection of donated supplies.” See McCarthy, 193.
and from there onto the Washington.\textsuperscript{136} When Garibaldi arrived in Palermo, he explained that he too had orders from Turin to arrest them, but refused.\textsuperscript{137}

On June 28\textsuperscript{th} 1860, the \textit{Unità Italiana} reported that the Marios had arrived in Sicily on the Washington, and claimed that White Mario, immediately demanding to assist with the wounded, was promptly taken to the Casa Professa hospital.\textsuperscript{138} White Mario had not seen Garibaldi since the Pisacane expedition, but he remembered her and an earlier promise that she made to be his nurse in case of a campaign. She described the scene, saying, “The first time that I found him alone he said to me, alluding to an old promise- I have provided you with sufficient wounded to cure.” He then directed her to work with Dr. Ripari the head of the ambulance.\textsuperscript{139} White Mario was a nurse first under Dr. Ripari and then under Dr. Cesare Stradivari at Barcellona in the “Convent on the Hill,” where many cases were gathered.\textsuperscript{140} She also was granted special military permissions for freedom of movement and help with transportation.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{137} Dispatch, \textit{Il Diritto}, 2 July 1860, in Mario Menghini, \textit{La spedizione garibaldina di Sicilia e di Napoli nei proclami, nelle corrispondenze, nei diarii e nelle illustrazioni del tempo} (Torino: Società Tipografico-Editrice Nazionale, 1907) 138. Cavour instructed Admiral Persano to ask Garibaldi to arrest Mazzini. White Mario argues that Garibaldi would never have done this and that Cavour was misguided and delusional for asking. She wrote that his request, “is in itself a proof of Cavour’s glaring unwisdom, to say the least. To imagine that Garibaldi would listen to La Farina was a singular infatuation on his part, but that he, merely a Piedmontese minister, should order a merely Piedmontese admiral to use the most energetic means of repression on the soil of Sicily under Garibaldi’s dictatorship, shows what progress the Mazzini-on-the-brain disease had made. See White Mario’s supplement in Giuseppe Garibaldi, \textit{Autobiography of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Authorized Translation by A. Werner with a Supplement by Jessie White Mario. Vol. II. 1849-1872} (London: Walter, Smith, and Innes, 1889) 325.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Unità Italiana} 28 June 1860, in Menghini, 124.
\textsuperscript{139} White Mario, “Della Vita di Alberto Mario. Memorie,” cvi-cvii. Before planning his mission, Garibaldi had not given much thought to medical care for his troops. On the voyage over, he named Dr. Ripari the head of the sanitary service. Ripari was Garibaldi’s own private medical attendant in the Roman Republic and had suffered seven years of imprisonment in the Papal dungeons for remaining behind to attend the wounded after the entry of the French into Rome in 1849. See: White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 777.
\textsuperscript{140} White Mario, \textit{The Birth of Modern Italy}, xxv.
While working as a nurse, White Mario lived under harsh and dangerous conditions. In her recollections, she described the sense of filth and threat, writing “I, leaving my orderly with cocked revolver in charge of our horses, went to get a bath in the house where I lodged; for when you have had the handling of soldiers who perhaps have not changed their flannel shirts for a month, a bath is a necessity and not a luxury.” Long hours were also common. On October 1\textsuperscript{st} the Battle of Volturno, White Mario remained at the first-aid hospital for 36 hours. The Times correspondent claimed that she made no fewer than fourteen trips under fire to bring back the wounded and said that she displayed, “unparalleled courage and devotion.” She faced danger again when she was called upon to retrieve wounded prisoners. In September 1860, after the battle of Caiazzo, some of the Garibaldian wounded were carried as prisoners to Capua and White Mario was sent to get them. Describing the scene, she wrote, “With a handkerchief for a flag of truce and an order from Ripari to pass the outposts, I was admitted to the Neapolitan camp and taken blindfold[ sic] through it to the hospital, where the dirt and squalor alone sufficed to account for the wan misery depicted on the faces of all alike.”

By its very nature, nursing work in the hospital was also often quite grizzly and bloody, and White Mario was called upon to provide maternal compassion and competent medical aid in the face of severe trauma. In his account of the fighting of the Mille, Alberto Mario described White Mario’s interactions with a young boy who had needed to have his arm amputated. She had taken Alberto Mario on a tour of the hospital and pointed out, “where, on one of the beds abandoned by the monks, lay a little fellow asleep, an ice-bladder on the stump of his lost left

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\item \textsuperscript{142} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 781.
\item \textsuperscript{143} White Mario, \textit{The Birth of Modern Italy}, xxv.
\item \textsuperscript{144} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 780. Once there she found a major, ten officers, one chaplain, and 89 soldiers held prisoner. She gave them 25 \textit{l.} from the English donations and promised supplies of “cigars, linens, lemons, and clothing.”
\end{itemize}
arm.” White Mario explained that the boy’s arm had been amputated that afternoon and said further,

Poor little mite, he is only twelve. He said, ‘I’ll be good if you’ll hold me, signora; if it hurts I won’t scream. I’ll only cry a little.’ I held him on my lap; he kept his word, and told me afterwards that I cried more than he did, which was quite true. Then he went fast asleep, as they nearly all do after an operation.  

Geddie Macpherson also remembered some of the horrors of the war, writing, “Do you remember that splendid big Piedmontese with both arms shot off at the shoulders? Who had his head shaved lest the English not be able to keep it clean.” She added that the soldier had cried when the limb maker said he would not be able to make him artificial limbs, and he said he hoped to find a kind little wife to take care of him. White Mario was present for the visceral realities of the war and was not removed from the carnage of nursing.

When she as not providing care to the wounded, White Mario also had to locate supplies and provisions for the troops, who desperately needed them as Garibaldi had failed to fully calculate the need for supplies. White Mario sometimes obtained food from the locals (who had hidden it from the Bourbons) and one morning made a breakfast of eggs, sausages, tomatoes, and grilled fowls. Tales of food found themselves into many of the accounts. Alberto Mario wrote of one instance where after a separation for twenty days, his wife “gave me some clean linen and two magnificent peaches, one of which, with a piece of black bread, made me a sumptuous breakfast; the other I gave to Garibaldi, as soon as I had ranged the brigade.” This is not a very romantic story but it shows the importance that provisions had in the battlefield.

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146 Geddie Macpherson to Jessie White Mario, September 1878, MCRR, Busta 110, N. 56 (1).
148 Mario, *The Red Shirt*, 135. Alberto Mario told another story in which White Mario went off with the head chemist of the ambulance, “on one of their foraging expeditions,” and “they returned with a hundred eggs, a kid, and some very consumptive-looking fowls.” White Mario and Alberto Mario then talked to an innkeeper, who uncovered a hole in which were, “a barrel of wine, sundry loaves of bread and some of the most delicious sausages
While some historians and contemporaries downplayed the importance of this aspect of White Mario’s work, she believed that providing food was a vital part of an army’s process. Reflecting on her work, she wrote,

I, during that march, wrote on my tablets what ever since I have had good reason to act upon: ‘If you want to be in for the fray, to really succour the wounded, and not be voted back to the rear, then blamed for not being up to time, feed the hungry unwounded whenever you get a chance.’

All armies require provisions and state armies, recognizing this, have designated departments to provide these services. As a revolutionary army, however, Garibaldi’s did not have such developed infrastructure. White Mario stepped into this gap and provided a necessary service. Her work indicates how non-state organizations, because of their instability and lack of official services, rely on and allow for the participation of a greater variety of actors and non-professionals to participate. In an era when women were excluded from the army, from politics, and from the professions, these types of opportunities were unusual.

From abroad, Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan also worked as non-state agents to provide supplies for Garibaldi’s army. All three women were leaders in the Ladies Committee of Birmingham, which raised money for Garibaldi and his campaigns. They were part of a larger network of Garibaldi’s supporters from across Italy and England who provided him with funds and support. In July 1860 his female followers in England founded the Ladies Association for the Relief of the Sick and the Wounded, Widows and Orphans of Garibaldi’s Followers and the Sufferers at Palermo and Other Places. Leaders in this organization included Lady Shaftesbury, Lady Palmerston, Mrs. Gladstone, Florence Nightingale, the Duchess of Argyll, and Jessie White that I have ever tasted.” Mario’s description of the food continued on and was quite extensive. See The Red Shirt, 153.

150 O’Connor, The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination, 107.
Mario. In September of 1860 the Garibaldi Fund was then announced, with the radical George Jacob Holyoake as Secretary.  

Lucy Riall argues that the Emancipation of Italy Fund and the Garibaldi Fund together, “raised some £30,000 (just under £2 million in present-day figures) between 1856 and the end of 1860.”

The Ladies Association for the Relief of the Sick and the Wounded, led by Lady Shaftesbury, sent supplies to Naples, which were then used by Dr. Ripari, Jessie White Mario, and the others working in the hospitals there. While the Ladies Association also sent over doctors, many struggled with the irregular conditions. Similarly, though the Ladies Association sent over money, the hospital workers on the ground in Naples had trouble finding what they needed to purchase in the area. White Mario was later responsible for providing an account of how she spent these funds sent to Italy. After the King entered Naples and Garibaldi left for Caprera, White Mario remained behind to have her accounts examined and audited and to turn over the remaining funds to a committee for the distribution of the remaining stores and sums and for visiting the wounded.

Schwabe also utilized her connections to build a network of support for Garibaldi among influential persons, who might contribute both funds and political support to his campaign. In June of 1860, for instance, Schwabe used her connections as a German to help Gideon S. Lang, who wanted to tell the Prussians about the importance of a united Italy. Schwabe put Lang in touch with her friend Baron Bunsen, who would be able to place a letter in the hands of the Prince Regent of Prussia. Schwabe also used her skills as a hostess to further important

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153 White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 780. White Mario argued that one exception was Major Franklin, on furlough from India, who was quite helpful.
154 White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 784-85. One of the members of this committee was Madame Meuricoffre, the sister of Josephine Butler. Meuricoffre was married to a Swiss merchant and was part of a Protestant expatriate community in Naples.
connections and hosted a party to introduce Lang to Mr. Milner Gibson, Minister, Board of Trade and other political men. Schwabe was not a Mazzinian and had not been involved in the earlier radical campaigns, but was willing to support Garibaldi and to push for reform in Italy using his image. She and the other Garibaldi supporters became much more involved in the Italian campaign after 1860.

The activities of 1860 put White Mario in sustained contact with lower-class Italian people for the first time and revealed the prejudices she held against them. Most of the leaders of the Risorgimento shared these prejudices; they had argued for years that Italy needed liberation from foreign and Papal domination because that domination was making its people servile, lazy, and corrupt. While these arguments were useful in gaining support for the Risorgimento, they made working alongside and respecting Italians much more difficult.

Throughout the campaign in Sicily and Naples, White Mario had generally good relations with the local Italians. The Italian press frequently praised her efforts. The *Unità Italiana*, for instance, published a dispatch from Barcellona from July 26th 1860 reporting that there were many wounded in the city, some staying in private homes and others in hospitals, but explaining that as it was a small place, there was not enough local help for all the wounded and White Mario’s maternal care was greatly appreciated, even though she was a foreigner. The *Unità Italiana*, again praised White Mario’s efforts in September 1860, writing, “I have never seen such intelligence in the treatment, such charity in the words, in the gaze, in the acts, such indefatigability of spirit and of body, as in this excellent creature of the Lord that is called Jessie Curatulo, Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour nei fasti della Patria: Documenti inediti (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1911) 263.

156 *Unità Italiana* 5 August 1860, in Menghini, 225. They wrote, “dopo aver riorganizzato l’ospedale di Palermo, ha voluto seguirci per prestare ai feriti quella cura che si potrebbe dire materna, che raramente si trova lontano dalle proprie famiglie, in mano di estranei.”
Mario White.” After the war, in recognition of her nursing, White Mario also received two gold medals, one from the wounded Sicilians and one from the wounded Neapolitans.\textsuperscript{158}

The people of Italy also helped to provide the much-needed supplies for the troops. Alberto Mario wrote that one day in Ischia he found his wife,

surrounded by the daughters of the Signor B--- and many other ladies of Forio, who were trying to persuade her to remain a few days in the island, promising her lint and bandages, lemons, and the rare old Ischian wines for the new hospital (all of which, let me record, they furnished in abundance for the wounded of the 1\textsuperscript{st} October; the captain distinguishing himself by his lavish gifts of wine).\textsuperscript{159} White Mario similarly acknowledged the helpfulness of the Italians and wrote that she appreciated the generosity and kindness of the inhabitants of Palermo and surrounding areas.\textsuperscript{160}

Despite these generally good interactions with the Italian people, White Mario was often quite critical of them, calling them corrupt and lazy and reinforcing negative stereotypes about Italians. In November 1860, Mazzini claimed that White Mario, “has lately taken the habit of declaring the Italians the worst race in the world and happiness to be identical with one being as far as possible from them.”\textsuperscript{161} She also frequently complained about the other nurses in Naples. In a series of articles published in \textit{Fraser’s Magazine}, she wrote that it was hard to run the hospitals, “owing to the almost impossibility of securing efficient nurses,” and called the paid male nurses, the \textit{infermieri}, “about the worst set of rogues it was ever our lot to meet.”\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{157} \textit{Unità Italiana} 9 September 1860, in Menghini, 225. The article went on to praise her work as, “l’angelo consolatore degli ammalati,” and praising the, “benéfica influenza morale delle sue attenzioni, della sua intelligente carità.”
\textsuperscript{158} Fazzini and Lucarelli, 182.
\textsuperscript{159} Mario, \textit{The Red Shirt}. 220.
\textsuperscript{160} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 777. White Mario wrote that the native Sicilians were so supportive that she was surprised to hear the reports of brigandage and corruption in the area coming from Franchetti and Sonnino in the 1870s.
\textsuperscript{161} Giuseppe Mazzini to Caroline Stansfeld, November 1\textsuperscript{st} 1860, \textit{Mazzini’s Letters to an English Family, 1855-1860. Vol II}, 260.
\textsuperscript{162} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 781.
also emphasized the English contribution to Italian independence and implied that the Italians
could not have accomplished it on their own, once writing,

    though the inhabitants of Sicily did their duty, nay, their very best for the
    wounded, these would have been in a sorry plight in the island, and still more in
    Naples, but for the money and the stores sent out by the friends of Italy and by the
    ladies’ committee instituted by Lady Shaftesbury and Mrs. Colonel Chambers.\textsuperscript{163}

While she supported the idea of an Italy and worked alongside Italian exiles, White
Mario was uncomfortable working alongside the average Italian.

    Other English sources echoed these criticisms of Italians. In \textit{Garibaldi and Italian Unity},
Mary Chambers’ husband John Chambers wrote about potential corruption in the hospitals,
describing instance when, “Madame Mario, going to a cupboard that had been for some time in
disuse, found there forty dinners which ought to have been served to the sick. Doubtless the
intention of the nurses was to sell them for their own profit.”\textsuperscript{164} Years later, in September 1878
Geddie Macpherson wrote to Jessie White Mario recalling an incident seventeen years
previously when she heard White Mario “roll out a splendid reproach against the new nurses in
your hospital for thinking to profit of everything, instead of caring for the wounded—the selfish
wretches.”\textsuperscript{165} These shared English impressions are likely the result of both a degree of Italian
corruption and a heightened English attentiveness to any such corruption.

    Some of the problems with corruption were potentially connected to the Camorra, an
organized crime network based out of Naples. In one incident, the chemist of the Naples did not
put enough quinine into the powder he was preparing and many soldiers died. While the man
was arrested and put on trial, he was not convicted. White Mario saw this as a sign of corruption

\textsuperscript{163} White Mario, “Supplement,” 357.
another instance, he wrote that, “one day Garibaldi sent his chaplain to pay them a nocturnal visit to see if the nurses
were doing their duty. He found them all asleep.”
\textsuperscript{165} Geddie Macpherson to Jessie White Mario, September 1878, MCRR, Busta 110, N. 56 (1).
and of the activity of the Camorra in Naples.\textsuperscript{166} Years later, in an article she wrote for the *Nineteenth Century*, White Mario claimed that the corrupt nurses were also linked to the Camorra. She wrote that in 1860 in Naples, “as ill luck would have it, our hospital director, a Tuscan, engaged a gang as nurses and cooks after the battle of Volturno.” She went on to explain that Garibaldi had spent a lot of money for the food, but it was awful. The fish smelled terrible and while the patients were demanding chicken breasts, all they had were drumsticks and necks. One day they investigated the kitchen and found, “All the cooks and *infermieri* were feasting on the fat of the land; every fish of the sea and fowl of the air was on their board, and lo and behold, on a tray, delicately egged and breadcrumed, some forty or fifty of the missing *fowl’s breasts*. These were set aside for the chiefs.” The offenders were all fired and in response the Camorra “vowed vengeance on us and on our wounded.”\textsuperscript{167}

White Mario’s English anti-Catholicism, which was shared by many of the leading figures of the Risorgimento, also caused her to experience tension with the local nuns who worked in the hospitals. While the nuns were willing to provide medical treatment, they would often impose Catholic rites and prayers upon the patients, which was particularly disturbing for the anti-Catholic Protestant British. White Mario argued that the nuns were kept under close surveillance in order to ensure that everyone was treated equally, whether they recited the rosary or not, and that “no poor fellow was beset with priests unless he wished to confess, which very few of our northern volunteers did wish.”\textsuperscript{168} In doing so, she overemphasized the elements of

\textsuperscript{166}White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 784.
\textsuperscript{167}“The Italian Murder Clubs: Some more notes on the Camorra and Mafia,” *The Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England), Thursday, May 7, 1891; Issue 8152. White Mario was proud of her spirit here. Years later she reminisced in a letter to Barbara Smith Bodichon saying, “The nurses eat up all the fowls’ breasts & drink the beef tea & served my poor wounded with bones & water. So I had them up, harangued & dismissed them! They threatened to kill me but you see-I live yet!-!” See: Jessie White Mario to Barbara Bodichon Smith, 18 September 1877, Geneva, MCRR, b.110, n.50(9).
\textsuperscript{168}White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 784.
anti-Catholicism within the Italian population and simultaneously decried those Italian Catholics who sought to maintain their faith. This type of worldview would create problems for White Mario and the other radicals as they worked in Italy. Though anti-Catholicism was a powerful tool for garnering support outside of Italy and from certain groups within Italy, it also created tension and made it difficult for left-wing Risorgimento leaders to accept Catholic Italians into their project and fostered right-wing opposition to Mazzinian and Garibaldian projects.

**Conclusion:**

The Italian Risorgimento was not merely the product of Italian politicians and generals. It involved transnational forces and non-state actors who utilized a variety of techniques to achieve their goals, including those of philanthropy. Though these behaviors of fundraising and subscription were often associated with charities, feminine activities, religion, and the private sphere, they were successfully put to use for radical political purposes. The members of the Italian left promoted a vision of a republican and egalitarian Italy, with emancipation for all groups of society. They accepted women as equals in their philanthropic networks and provided a space for women to assume positions of power, trust, and responsibility. Mazzinian women like Sara Nathan, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Jessie White Mario were responsible for large sums of money, planned newspaper coverage of events, participated the planning of insurrections, and spoke out in public on political matters. They worked to create a better Italy but also struggled to deal with the reality of Italy. Utilizing anti-Catholic and pro-English rhetoric, they argued for change but simultaneously reinforced negative images of Italians abroad and alienated some of their potential Italian supporters.
Chapter 3:
The Fight for Venice, Rome, and Republicanism: 1861-1870

After Unification in 1861, the men and women of the radical left continued to work as non-state actors. Though Italy had unified, it was not a republic but rather a monarchy dominated by the conservative forces of Piedmont, who regarded the left as a threat to Italian stability. Additionally, two of Italy’s greatest cities, Venice and Rome, were also not yet part of the nation as Venice remained under Austrian control and Rome was still held by Papal forces, supported by French troops. The state refused to cooperate with the Mazzinians to liberate Austria or Rome and took action against Garibaldi and his forces when they attempted their own assaults on Rome. The members of the left, therefore, had to continue work through their non-state philanthropic networks dependent on female support.

In this chapter I show how Chambers, Schwabe, White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, and Nathan worked as propagandists, fundraisers, conspirators, and nurses to change the course of the Italian state’s development. While each woman had her own priorities, they generally supported the conquest of Venice and Rome, spoke out against the Pope, and wanted a more republican and egalitarian Italy. Their view of the Risorgimento had always gone beyond simple national unification or the acquisition of territory, and included freedom, liberation, and real social and political change. It also included a religious component. In their criticism of the Pope’s forces in Rome, the women increasingly revealed their own anti-Catholic tendencies and appealed to British anti-Catholicism. These ideas, though they were often shared by Italian patriots, encouraged the women to feel a sense of British superiority and frustration with the lack
of progress and commitment from the Italian people that revealed itself more as the women worked more in Italy and with average Italians than they had done previously.

To show the sustained commitment to revolutionary change after 1861, I first look at how other historians have defined and periodized the Risorgimento, showing the importance of including non-state actors as agents, looking beyond 1861, and recognizing the tensions between the Risorgimento patriots and the state. Next, I show how the radical publicity campaign continued, with the women pushing not only for acceptance for the new state of Italy but also for radical change and the conquest of Venice and Rome. In doing so, I reveal the differences in their political opinions and propaganda strategies and show how each woman in her own way challenged existing gender norms. Relatedly, I show how the women continued to organize and to raise money for conspiracies and revolutionary attempts. The next sections then look at how the women supported both of Garibaldi’s failed attempts to conquer Rome and Mazzini’s unsuccessful revolutionary actions. Here I show how the women worked as nurses, providing personal and maternal care, but also as revolutionary conspirators. In all of these instances, the women were working in movements against the state and were therefore able to fully participate as non-state actors and to act not only for Italian emancipation but for their own emancipation as well.

In contrast, in actions taken through the state, the women were relegated to fringe roles. In the final section, I look at how the radical women played a limited role in the actual conquering of Venice in 1866 and had little to no role in the conquest of Rome in 1870. These actions took place under state auspices with official state-sanctioned troops and provided limited opportunities for non-state actors, including women. As the Liberal Period continued, Chambers, Schwabe, White Mario and the others realized that they would have limited opportunities to act
in these official endeavors and would have to focus their attention on places where the state was weaker and where they would have the space to make an impact.

**Historiography: Defining and Periodizing the Risorgimento**

Throughout the mid-20th century, understandings of the Risorgimento were heavily impacted by Gramsci, who characterized the Risorgimento as an elitist and top-down movement with minimal public support, especially in rural areas. Gramsci also called the Risorgimento a passive revolution or a *rivoluzione mancata* which failed to affect real or lasting change in Italy. In the 1990s, however, revisionist historians challenged long-held assumptions about Italian unity by looking at non-state actors to see how they shaped the state. These social histories looked at the interaction between social classes and institutions, mostly ignoring ideology, politics, and discourses of nationalism.¹

Cultural historians, led by Alberto Mario Banti, then challenged these social histories by focusing on the ideology that the social historians had ignored and claiming that ideology was rightfully considered as part of politics. In accepting a broader definition of politics, they challenged the conceptual boundaries between the state and economy, between the public and private, and between center and periphery.² Even today, the cultural studies approach to the Risorgimento is commonly used to show how the bourgeoisie was involved in the process of the Risorgimento and the extent to which nationalism was popular.³ Banti and others tracked how

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¹ For an interesting example of this, see: Stephen Hughes, *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Hughes argued that the Papal State’s failure to manage crime led Bologna’s elite to form self-defense organizations, which ultimately took on political undertones, and to look towards Piedmont and a united Italy to guarantee their safety. In doing so, he examined the Risorgimento from a relatively unexplored angle and showed how it was experienced on a more daily level.

² *Storia d’Italia, Annali 22, Il Risorgimento*. Similar work was done in *Gli Italiani in guerra*. See also: *Making and Remaking Italy*.

nationalist discourses were created, shaped, and utilized. Building on this trend, I show how women were involved in shaping nationalist discourses through their transnational networks.

Recent works also challenge our understandings of the Risorgimento by acknowledging the high degree of conflict after unification and how radical republicans continued to fight for change even after unification under Piedmont in 1861.\(^4\) In her work, *Camicie Rosse*, for instance, Eva Cecchinato examined how Garibaldi was not just the man of the *Mille* but also the man from Aspromonte and Mentanta, a man who waged revolution against the Italian state and was shot at and imprisoned for it.\(^5\) While this book is fascinating, it looks at revolutionary Italian men and does not take into account the importance of transnational women in the way Liviana Gazzetta did in her biography of Giorgina Saffi. In her work Gazzetta showed how Saffi continued her work advocating Mazzinian ideals both before and after unification and thereby challenged the historical division between the Risorgimento and the time of Liberal Italy. Gazzetta focused mostly just on Saffi however, which is limiting.\(^6\) Elena Bacchin’s *Italofilia* also looks at transnational radical support continuing after 1861, but only goes as far as 1864.\(^7\) Bacchin argued that 1864 was the high point of popular British support for Garibaldi and that it quickly tapered

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4. Cultural studies works on the Risorgimento have also addressed this issue, looking at the legacy and memory of the Risorgimento. Alberto Mario Banti for instance, wrote an essay, “The Remembrance of Heroes,” in *The Risorgimento Revisited*, in which he explored the various memorials for key Italian patriotic heroes. Banti shows how some memorials celebrated Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Victor Emanuel together, erasing their major differences and disagreements over what Italy should have become. See: Alberto Mario Banti, “The Remembrance of Heroes,” in *The Risorgimento Revisited*.


off afterwards. I show in this chapter and in later chapters, how Garibaldi’s core transnational British followers carried on his message long after 1864.

An excellent example showing sustained commitment to radical ideals after 1861 is Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe’s *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*. In the work Sutcliffe challenged how historians define and periodize the Risorgimento by arguing that popular support for the Risorgimento continued among radicals in Britain throughout much of the second half of the nineteenth century. By showing ongoing support for Mazzini among the British working class, primarily focused around Aurelio Saffi, she refuted the claims of scholars, including Eugenio Biagini, Gregory Claeys, and Derek Beales, who acknowledged the mid-century popularity of Mazzini but claimed that he lost quickly lost influence afterwards. She also argued against the claim that the Mazzinians were inefficient utopian dreamers who failed to make an impact on Italian society. I make a similar argument by looking at the activities of women in both Mazzinian and Garibaldian networks.

Other works challenge the periodization of the Risorgimento by focusing on key moments after 1861 and the major questions faced by the new Italian state. A recent publication of essays looks, for instance, at the transitional period, when Florence was the capital, rather than Turin or Rome. Other essays show the piecemeal nature of the Risorgimento at some points and the difficulties in determining if certain areas really saw themselves as key parts of Italy or not.

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8 Sutcliffe, *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats*. Sutcliffe challenged: Salvo Mastellone, *Mazzini scriitore*, who argued that the failed insurrection in Milan led to a virulent campaign against Mazzini in *The Times*; John Rothney, “La società degli amici,” who stressed how some SFI members criticized Mazzini’s anti-Piedmontese stance; David Laven, ‘Mazzini’, who showed how Pisacane’s death shocked British sympathizers; and O’Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination*, who showed how by the end of the 1850s most British sympathizers jumped on the Garibaldi bandwagon, leaving fewer Mazzini supporters.


Finally, some works take a regional focus to see the importance of certain places, like Rome or Venice. An important work in this context is Nadia Maria Filippini’s study of the activity of women in the political scene in the Veneto. Filippini covers the period from 1797 with the Jacobin Republic until the conquest of Venice in 1866, showing that the years from 1861 to 1866 were critical to the Risorgimento and difficult for the patriots. At the time Austrian domination increased, given the heightened threat of Italian conquest, and many patriots were forced to leave the area. Despite this, she argues Venetian women raised money and organized to become part of Italy.\[^{11}\] In this project, I build on the work Filippini has done, showing how British women worked in networks to fight not only for the territorial acquisition and liberation of Venice, but for true social change in Italy.

Finally, there were works that emphasized the importance of Rome. More scholarly interest has been given to Rome than to Venice, given the importance of Rome for Italians, both because it was the historic heart of Italy and because it signified for many the conquest of the new Italian spirit over the backwardness and tyranny of the Catholic Church. These works argue that we cannot forget that the pope was against Italian Unification and that many of the Risorgimento’s supporters were equally set against the pope.\[^{12}\] Danilo Raponi similarly argued that religion, religious sentiments, and religious propaganda, most importantly British anti-

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\[^{12}\] See: Kertzer, *Prisoner of the Vatican*. See also, Manuel Borutta, “Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy,” in *The Risorgimento Revisited*. Borutta argued that we must not forget the importance of anti-Catholic feeling in Italy and wrote about the long culture war that occurred from the 1840s to the 1870s as liberal Catholics and Jesuits fought to see what Catholicism would become and what role it would have in any potential Italian state.
Catholicism, were important in shaping British views of and interactions with Italy. Raponi argued that anti-Catholicism and anti-Popery formed an important part of the sometimes Orientalist mindset with which the Britons viewed Italy. His argument places him among other new studies that prioritize and take seriously the role of religion in the 19th century thus challenging older works that associated modernity with secularization.

Overall, building on the work of cultural historians, who have challenged Gramsci’s notion of the failed or passive revolution and shown popular support for the Risorgimento, I argue that one must look beyond 1861, to Mazzini and Garibaldi’s transnational female supporters and their networks, to see a continued fight for a true Risorgimento. For these women, the Risorgimento was not just about territorial acquisition, it was about the creation of a republican, egalitarian, and potentially Protestant Italian utopia. These transnational women and their networks show how radical republicans kept the dream of their Risorgimento alive after 1861. Through examining their actions, in this chapter and in this larger dissertation, I also argue for the importance of religion as a motivating factor and claim the Risorgimento was not as a purely secular phenomenon.

Publicizing for Rome and Venice

After Unification, White Mario, Schwabe, Chambers, Nathan, and Craufurd Saffi continued their propaganda efforts. Before unification, they were simply focused on creating support for a proposed state but afterwards they had to both ensure a popular reception and sustained diplomatic support for this new Italian state and make clear that the work of the

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13 Raponi, Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento. Raponi’s book is also important because it covers a period up until 1875, showing that the conquest of Rome and the transition from the Risorgimento the Liberal Period was important and not immediate. A later chapter will talk more in-depth about religion and the Risorgimento.
Risorgimento was not over. Through their work in lecturing, translating and writing newspaper articles, developing personal connections they cultivated support for possible republican revolutions in Italy as well as the conquest of Venice and Rome. To garner British support for the conquest of Rome, they intensified their anti-Papal arguments and revealed the strong religious component of their agenda. Overall, their actions show how the Italian state continued to be shaped by non-state transnational forces and how women continued to be accepted as capable collaborators in the radical elements of these transnational networks.

Work in the Press

Female translators were key to the Mazzinian propaganda campaign in the first decade after unification. In January of 1861, even before the Italian parliament had declared the unification of Italy, Mazzini wrote to Sofia Craufurd, mother of Giorgina Saffi, to explain how he wanted to organize a press campaign to continue the fight for a republican Italy and needed a network of women who would translate articles from the Mazzinian papers and send them to the British papers, including the Morning Star and Morning Advertiser. Mazzini wanted Sofia Craufurd’s help and also directed her to the two daughters of Matilda Ashurst Biggs, one of his steadfast English friends.14 Sofia Craufurd and Mazzini were ultimately unable to establish a larger dedicated network, but Craufurd, her daughters Kate Craufurd and Giorgina Saffi, and Jessie White Mario served as reliable and regular translators.15 In doing so, they continued their

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15 Despite this failure, a translation office remained an important goal of Mazzini’s however, and he wrote about it to Matilda Biggs in November 1862. Mazzini wrote that there had been a meeting of the Garibaldi Unity Society and it was threatening to dissolve. He was content with this, as he argued they lacked the funds and structures to make an impact. In particular, he complained about the lack of a translation office. He wrote, “there is not a translating-office, which, according to me, ought to be one of the Society’s essential features. I think that our Italian Press would furnish plenty of useful materials. Thus, for instance, our own papers, Republican of Mazzinian as they are called are the only papers advocating alliance with England, whilst all our moderate Press is anti-english.” He
work from before Italian unification and demonstrated Mazzini’s continual reliance on familial networks and women.

Jessie White Mario and Sara Nathan worked on the Mazzinian newspapers in Italy. White Mario collected subscribers for *Pensiero ed Azione* and the *Unità Italiana*, and also distributed copies of those papers.\textsuperscript{16} Sara Nathan had a stronger managerial role, helping to determine what would be published in papers like the *Unità Italiana*, and organizing their finances. In 1869, she was called on to help solve the *Unità*’s financial crisis by determining how much of the money bookmarked for revolutionary endeavors should be redirected to the press.\textsuperscript{17} Additionally, White Mario wrote articles for the Mazzinian papers *Pensiero ed Azione* as well as *Il Dovere*.\textsuperscript{18}

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White Mario also began work as a correspondent, under certain restrictions, for the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Daily News*, the *Morning Star*, and the *Observer*. Mazzini trusted that White Mario would support his views in her writings and introduced her to the *Observer*. He wrote to Emilie Ashurst Venturi in October 1864 expressing his belief in White Mario’s fidelity, saying, “I do not think Jessie will ever write unfavourably to me or to my fundamental views.”

While White Mario was loyal to Mazzini, she was also in contact with other Italian radicals who disagreed with Mazzini, including Carlo Cattaneo and Garibaldi, and accepted their advice on what to print in the press.

Mary Chambers, however, was far more of a central figure in Garibaldi’s press campaign than White Mario. Chambers worked alongside Garibaldi and Scottish radical John McAdam to direct this propaganda campaign. Chambers was responsible for receiving correspondences from Italy, transcribing the necessary details, and then sending the pieces off to McAdam so he could place them in Scottish papers. She also requested her own correspondence from various Italian radicals on the injustices of the Italian government, the Austrian government in Venice, and the Papal and French forces in Rome, and then sent their letters on to papers in England, like

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21 Carlo Cattaneo to Alberto and Jessie White Mario, May 21st 1861, *Le Carte di Carlo Cattaneo*, MRM, Cartella N. 3, Plico 21. Cattaneo wrote, “you should direct your correspondences to England, dressing them up in some clever way, that could gain them introduction to some high-born stupid paper where they may get the most appropriate readers. We want also to see the reproduction in our own papers of the most severe lessons the English press gives now and then our statesmen. It might mortify these fellows and discourage their abettors.”
23 Chambers was apparently forgetful of the need to do this. In a letter from 1866, McAdam criticized the handwriting in her latest letter, saying, “for the truth is, I could not make it out plainly enough to give it in full, when writing again please do not cross write it, for you write hurriedly, and are particularly illegible with the names of men and places, and not-too-exact in giving dates- all of which are very important when intended for the Press.” See: John McAdam to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 13 August 1866, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italy 1866.”
the *Morning Advertiser.* Finally, she had to keep track of which papers actually published the letters so that she and McAdam could report on their success to Garibaldi. She thus served as an important collection and distribution point for Italian propaganda.

Chambers used her personal connections to ensure that the newspapers printed items favorable to Garibaldi as did Julia Salis Schwabe. In 1866, for instance, Chambers dined with Mr. Levy, editor of the *Telegraph*, while her husband, John Chambers, attended meetings with the editors of the *Standard*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Pall Mall Gazzette.* Schwabe also had personal connections to the press, which she proudly put at Garibaldi’s disposal. In a letter from 1861, Schwabe wrote that she had seen something about Garibaldi in the press and was concerned that his name had been used without his consent. If this was, in fact, the case, she would happily arrange the printing of a retraction, saying, “if you wish a public denial, I can get anything you like published in all the leading English papers… I have friends who write in the ‘Times’, ‘Morning Post,’ etc., through whom I can easily manage it.”

Like the Chambers, Schwabe cultivated friends and acquaintances who would be useful to her in her political and philanthropic endeavors. Through their actions they took private steps to ensure that the public image of the Risorgimento would match their more radical ideals.

Like White Mario, Chambers also wrote her own articles for the press and focused primarily on works that criticized the papacy. Chambers worked closely with Giovanni Pantaleo, a former priest and supporter of Garibaldi, to publish his anticlerical ideas assuming that Protestant audiences would appreciate any criticism of the Papacy. Therefore, she focused on

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24 Mrs. E. Chambers to Francesco Plantulli, 12 November 1865, MCRR, Busta 293, N. 25(1).
25 John McAdam to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 1 January 1867, ACS Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 10, S. Fasc. 1.
26 M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 2 October 1866, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2443; M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 24 December 1866, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2444.
27 Julia Salis Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 8 November 1861, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2035.
28 The idea for the partnership was suggested by Garibaldi See: Giusepppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 10 April 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 9.
finding Protestant audiences for Pantaleo’s works, and in one instance also arranged to have his works published in the Protestant Electoral Union.²⁹ Her work shows how the English embraced the anti-clerical and anti-Catholic elements of Italian nationalism and saw the liberation of Rome not just as a way to restore the glory of Rome to the Italian state, but to potentially convert Italian Catholics to Protestantism. Pantaleo would also write long and detailed letters to Chambers, providing her with necessary details about Italian current events, which she would then read and translate and use as the basis of her own articles in English newspapers.³⁰ These articles reveal that White Mario was not the only woman in the networks to publish articles and that women like Chambers, who have not received as much scholarly attention or who may not have had official posts, still wrote political articles and helped to shape the image of Italy abroad.

A Final Lecture Tour

To further shape public opinion in favor of the radical vision of the Risorgimento, Jessie White Mario gave another lecture tour starting in Glasgow in the fall of 1861 and ending in London on May 27th 1862.³¹ She was hired by the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee to give lectures on the “Last Italian Campaigns,” and advertisements for the lectures mentioned that she would be bringing letters of recommendation from Garibaldi and that she had, “accompained

²⁹ Pantaleo to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 22 May 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22 “1867 e 1868.”; Pantaleo to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 5 May 1867, ACS Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “1867 e 1868.”
³⁰ Pantaleo to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 10 April 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “1867 e 1868.”; Pantaleo to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 30 April 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “1867 e 1868.” A letter from Ricciotti Garibaldi to Chambers makes her authorship clear. He wrote, “I have received your kind letter and have translated it to Pantaleo though I do not suppose what he writes can be of much use except to furnish you with something to found the articles you write to the Papers upon.” See: Ricciotti Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 5 June 1867, ACS Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 3, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 6.
Garibaldi during his Campaigns in Southern Italy, and was Superintendent of the Hospitals.\textsuperscript{32}

This tour was designed to both celebrate the achievements of the left in creating the Italian state and to push for a more radical future. In parts of her lectures, she recounted the military exploits of the Italian patriots, focusing on the heroic victories of Garibaldi in Sicily and Southern Italy. She was able to do so in great detail as she was an eyewitness to many of the events. The other portion of the lectures discussed politics and criticized the avaricious plotting of Louis Napoleon, questioned the motives of Prime Minister Cavour and King Victor Emmanuel, and expressed a hope that Britain would support Italian radicals in their push to reconquer the remaining Italian territories of Rome and Venice.\textsuperscript{33}

White Mario’s association with Garibaldi gave her a distinct advantage in lecturing after unification. Previously, she was known as a radical Mazzinian, a woman who had tried and failed to be admitted to medical school, who had lectured in public while unmarried, and who had been arrested for taking part in a conspiracy in Genoa. This made her interesting, but also unappealing to a large segment of the British population. After unification, however, she was known as Garibaldi’s nurse and was associated with his image of success, heroism, and celebrity. Additionally, while her status as a nurse was still somewhat controversial, depictions of it praised her feminine compassion and sacrifice rather than bravery and medical knowledge. White Mario was enough of a celebrity in her own right that biographic articles about her were printed in the

\textsuperscript{32} “Madame Jessie White Mario’s Lectures on the Last Italian Campaigns,” \textit{The Bradford Observer} (Bradford, England), Thursday, December 12, 1861; pg. [1]; Issue 1455.

\textsuperscript{33} She typically gave two lectures, “Garibaldi in Sicily,” and “Naples to Caprera.” In the first lecture, on “Garibaldi in Sicily,” she sketched events in Italy from Pisacane’s expedition to the Sicilian revolution, described how Louis Napoleon attempted to possess himself of Central Italy but was checkmated by Britain, and then detailed the events in southern Italy from the landing at Marsala, through the Battle of Milazzo, and the Midnight Passage of the Faro. In the second, “Naples to Caprera,” she continued on with Garibaldi’s landing in Calabria and the march to Naples before detailing the struggle between Cavour and Napoleon on one side and Mazzini and Garibaldi on the other. She also described the famous meeting between King Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi during which Garibaldi handed the south over to the King and went into exile. At the end, she would describe the most recent events in Italy, ponder if Britain would allow France to take the island of Sardinia, and described hopes for Rome and Venice.
press to help advertise the lectures by showing that she had something to say and a right to say it.  

White Mario’s fame, derived from Garibaldi’s, was often enough to get people in the seats and they were happy to listen to her recounting of his military triumphs in Sicily and Naples. One report claimed that, “Her description of various movements and the heroism of the Garibaldians was also exceedingly vivid. The audience was enchained by her fervid eloquence.” By recounting and celebrating the details of actions that were already complete, White Mario did not force her listeners to new action and received greater acclaim.

Her political views and calls to future action were much more controversial. Audiences generally found White Mario’s personal reminiscences and tales of Garibaldi’s military exploits much more acceptable than her condemnations of Italian or French politicians. One paper wrote that while there could be no difference of opinion, “as to the interest of the narrative portion of Madame Mario’s lecture, which was delivered yesterday evening with an excellent elocution, and a wonderful power of lucid and vivid description,” there, “will probably be some difference of opinion as to the soundness of these extreme views,” in reference to White Mario’s extreme preference for Mazzini and aversion to Cavour. White Mario was scathingly critical of Cavour and in one lecture accused him of conspiring with Napoleon III and of selling Garibaldi’s birthplace, Nice, where the ashes of his mother rested, to “a foreign usurper.”

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35 “The Last Italian Campaigns,” The Bradford Observer (Bradford, England), Thursday, December 26, 1861; pg. 5; Issue 1457.


Criticism of White Mario’s political views revealed the inherent sexism of her audience. Rather than simply criticizing her political stance, some of the papers accused White Mario of being overly emotional and partisan. One author wrote, “The political views of Signora Mario were expressed with a sharpness and a limitation one would reasonably have expected. The right was very right and the wrong was very wrong.”\[^{38}\] *The Daily News* argued that her sharp criticism of Cavour was the result of the weakness of her female brain. The report claimed that her speech was so strong, they, “might respectfully describe it as ‘manly,’ were it not for the occasional vehemence of that peculiarly saltatory logic, of which the gentler sex, accustomed to argue through the feelings, have the secret.” Defining this saltatory logic, they explained, “it is a logic that jumps from an arbitrary premise to a foregone conclusion, and back again, with a dexterity at once deadly and delightful.”\[^{39}\] According to this account, White Mario was not a dedicated radical or insightful political observer, but rather an illogical and prejudiced woman incapable of advanced political thought.

Additional newspaper coverage of White Mario’s lectures reveals further confusion and debate over whether a woman could successfully or appropriately speak in public on political matters. Many papers defended White Mario while simultaneously acknowledging her unusual status. *The Liverpool Mercury*, for instance, noted that she spoke well, “unsuited as the subject of the lecture might appear for a lady to attempt to treat of, more particularly when we state that she dealt rather with the political aspect of the late continental struggle for liberty.”\[^{40}\] Another paper noted that, “a woman was the speaker upon a theme which the common instinct of all nations

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\[^{38}\] “Signora Jessie White Mario on Italy” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc* (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, January 11, 1862; Issue 3249.  
\[^{40}\] “Garibaldi and the Italian Campaign,” *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Wednesday, January 15, 1862; Issue 4346.
declares to be not within the proper sphere of woman.” In general, the papers presented White Mario as a notable and interesting exception but did not change their preexisting ideas about appropriate female behavior.

The chairs of White Mario’s lectures also seemingly felt a need to defend her status as orator but were condemning even as they attempted to help. Dr. Guthrie, the chair of White Mario’s lecture in Edinburgh, for instance, said, “It might be said that ladies stepped out of their province on such occasions as this; but when a lady had a good cause, and a good head, and a good heart, and such a tongue as this lady had –(laughter)- he thought the male sex, and the clergy included, might come and learn a lesson from her- (loud cheers).” Guthrie acknowledged that her actions were potentially transgressive and only accepted them because her political goals fell roughly in line with his.

White Mario received so much attention for her lecturing and work with Italy that she was subject to outright mockery in the press. In 1862 the satirical magazine *Punch* issued a piece on White Mario entitled “Woman’s Work,” which was reprinted in numerous papers. Reporting on White Mario’s lectures at the Whittington Club on Garibaldi and his followers, known as the Red Shirts, it claimed that, “the point of her lecture seems to have been the announcement that ‘red shirts were coming into fashion, in Italy, in the spring.” It continued, “We are glad to see the lady at last turning her attention to subjects legitimately within her sphere, and we hope that Signor Mario has buttons on all his shirts, red or not.” In this piece, they took White Mario’s

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41 “Signora Jessie White Mario on Italy,” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc* (Portsmouth, England), Saturday, January 11, 1862; Issue 3249.
42 “Signora Mario on Italy and Garibaldi,” *The Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Saturday, March 29, 1862; Issue 22621.
43 “Woman’s Work,” *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (Sheffield, England), Tuesday, January 30, 1862; pg. [1]; Issue 2280; “Woman’s Work,” *Dundee Courier and Daily Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), Friday, January 31, 1862; Issue 2644; From "Punch." *Manchester Times* (Manchester, England), Saturday, February 1, 1862; “Wit and Humour,” *The Hampshire Advertiser* (Southampton, England), Saturday, February 01, 1862; pg. 7; Issue 2005; “Extracts from Punch,” *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), Tuesday,
public interest in politics and mocked it, urging her back into the domestic and more traditionally female spheres.

One of the major goals of White Mario’s lectures was to raise money for the conquest of Venice and Rome and she successfully appealed to Protestant desire to weaken Catholicism to do so. In a lecture in Edinburgh, for instance, she argued that once the Romans were freed from the French and the Papacy, “they would have an opportunity of judging whether the Italians were as Catholic, and as fond of the Papacy, as they were sometimes represented.” She also argued that while Missionary and Bible Societies had done a great deal of good, “she could not see how it was that the religious portion of the British community had so entirely overlooked the Roman question.” After one of her lectures Peter Stuart, a shipbuilder from Liverpool, contributed a £50 subscription towards the Italian Unity Fund and then announced that he also would give £500 to the soldier who first planted the Italian flag on the walls of the Capitol at Rome.

Stuart’s pledge was reported on in the press and was a sign of British interest in the conquest of Rome. Though moderate British audiences were not always interested in hearing her criticisms

February 04, 1862; pg. 3; Issue 4154. And even more than I have here. It is also worthy of note that opponents of British radicalism often focused their critiques on the radicals’ challenges to traditional hierarchies of race, class, and gender. In their criticism of philanthropists, activists, or radicals, they often focused on radicals’ failure to subscribe to traditional gender norms. *Punch*’s comments about White Mario’s laundering abilities fit into this larger pattern. For more, see: Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

One paper reported that her lectures were, “for the purpose of rousing English sympathy in behalf of future movements for the liberation of Venice and Rome, and for the purpose of procuring contributions to the fund for Enfield rifles.” See: “Lecture on Italian Freedom,” *The Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser* (West Yorkshire, England), Saturday, February 22, 1862; pg. 5; Issue 623.

“Signora Mario on Italy and Garibaldi,” *The Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, Scotland), Saturday, March 29, 1862; Issue 2261.

“Garibaldi and the Italian Campaign,” *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Thursday, January 16, 1862; Issue 4347. Smaller donations were also collected from the audience. £5 10s. 61/2 d. was taken at the doors, in pence and small silver.

of the Italian monarchy or of Napoleon III, they were eager to listen to criticism of the Pope. White Mario’s strategy here, taken together with Chambers’ cooperation with Pantaleo, indicate that this was a frequent tactic of the left.

**Personal Connections and Public Opinion**

Unlike White Mario, who publicly pushed her radical agenda, even at the cost of alienating some more moderate supporters, Schwabe promoted a more measured and moderate behind-the-scenes approach to the Italian propaganda campaign. She promoted Garibaldi’s views among her wide circle of acquaintances and gave advice on which of Garibaldi’s actions would be generally accepted and which would not.

Schwabe’s moderate approach reflected her more moderate political views and her acceptance of making concessions and accepting temporary setbacks in order to achieve a greater good. She expressed these views in her very first letter to Garibaldi, from December of 1860, when she praised Garibaldi for sacrificing of his republican principles and working with Piedmont. Schwabe believed this was necessary for “the good of the cause,” as Italian unity had, “certainly a higher probability of success under a constitutional monarchy rather than with Mazzinian principles.” While Schwabe acknowledged that Mazzini’s principles would work in an ideal world, she maintained that in the current world they faced too many opponents to succeed. In a later letter she added that though the Mazzinians had been, “in their time most valuable,” at the moment, “their day is over… & for want of discretion will do more harm than

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48 Curatulo, *Garibaldi e le donne*, 213-15. Schwabe wrote to Garibaldi without a personal introduction, but as a friend of Italy, stating, “Permetta che una vera amica dell’Italia e dei diritti umani aggiunga questa preziosa parola «amico», indirizzandosi a voi, cui essa è personalmente sconosciuta.” She also wrote that she had been recommended to speak to Garibaldi by Mr. Newman, a professor at the University College in London who was a close friend of Kossuth and who was devoted to the cause of Italy and Hungary.
good. She added, “It is a pity that their, I believe honest zeal is not properly guided.” Schwabe was not entirely happy with the Italian monarchy, but unlike White Mario, Nathan, and Saffi, she was willing to work with it rather than constantly against it.

Schwabe believed that it was important to keep both her personal reputation and Garibaldi’s reputation free from radical associations. In November 1861, for instance, she refused to join the Garibaldi United Italy Committee, despite her support for Garibaldi, “on the ground that it would give my educational endeavours a political colour, whilst I consider it desirable to remain as the Agent of the Turin Committee far from all political & religious movements, belonging to no party or ism, but humanism.” This, she explained was necessary to ensure a wide network of support for her various educational endeavors. She also worked to make sure that Garibaldi maintained good relations with his wealthy and aristocratic supporters, including Lady Shaftesbury. Schwabe recognized that Garibaldi needed to tone down his radical political views and accept relations with more moderate members of society if he was going to cultivate enough money and support to enact his plans for Italy.

Despite her more moderate views, Schwabe still wholeheartedly supported the conquest of Venice and believed that the English people could be made to support it too. Though she was not native to England, Schwabe still believed she had a good understanding of the English and could use that letter to benefit Garibaldi and Italy. In one letter, she wrote, “having lived over twenty years in England, and having before the death of my husband had many connections in society, I know the small weaknesses as well as the great merits of the English and could be of

49 Julia Salis Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 9 November 1861, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo s.d. 2036.
50 Julia Salis Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 9 November 1861, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2036.
some use to you.” schwabe hoped that if the english people supported the taking of venice than the english government would have to follow suit and support the plans of the italian state.

while she supported the conquest of venice, schwabe was against the conquest of trieste and believed the german people would not accept it. in a letter to italian patriot federico bellazzi in 1862, she explained that while venice did not belong to the german confederation, trieste did, and “every german believes he is in honour bound to defend the rights of every place belonging to the german confederation.” therefore, if the italians were to attempt to take trieste, they would not only lose the support of northern germans but would incur their enmity. she further explained, “i feel morally convinced that at your next campaign you will find many german volunteers fight valiantly on your side, who if triest be attacked, will find it their duty to turn against you, & to defend what they consider belonging to their fatherland.” schwabe thus utilized her dual germanic and british status to provide advice as to what would be publicly acceptable for both the british and the germans.

though schwabe attempted to be moderate, she was still considered too radical for some elements of british society and had her approaches rebuffed. thomas carlyle and his wife jane welsh carlyle, for instance, rejected her plea to help garibaldi. though the carlyles had been

52 curatulo, garibaldi e le donne, 213-16.
53 curatulo, garibaldi e le donne, 213-15.
54 julia salis schwabe to federico bellazzi, 24 march 1862, mcrr, busto 254, n. 100 (1).
allies of Mazzini in the 1840s, by the 1860s they were quite disinterested, as Welsh Carlyle revealed when she wrote to Schwabe, “how little you know of us at the present time is apparent from the contents of your letter!” She continued, saying, “I really couldn't help going off into fits of laughter at your applying to Mr C of all people in the world to give his voice to the lyrical recognition of Garibaldi! It will seem incredible to you; but the fact is, Mr C doesn’t admire Garibaldi at all!”55 Even Schwabe’s moderate approach could not guarantee full support for Garibaldi and his policies in England.

Fundraising for Rome and Venice

Immediately following Garibaldi’s victories in southern Italy, Giorgina Saffi and Sara Nathan started to organize groups of women who would collect money for the conquest of Rome and Venice. Saffi and Nathan started to organize by writing to individual women who were sympathetic to the cause and who had participated in their networks before unification, including Elena Casati Sacchi, Laura Solera Mantegazzi, and the Manzoni sisters.56 Later, the network became more established when Saffi, along with Gaetana Nicotera and Maddalena Giunti Fazio, created the Women’s Committee of Naples, an organization designed to reactivate and coordinate the various women’s committees that had emerged in a more or less spontaneous fashion across the Italian peninsula to sustain the work of Garibaldi. Saffi sent out a circular, explicitly directed to women, asking for aid in two forms: the construction of other women’s committees, in connection with the one in Naples and the collection of and advertising for

56 Gazzetta, *Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile*, 35.
subscriptions for Rome and Venice. They also extended their actions beyond Italy to England, working with Emilie Ashurst Venturi and Saffi’s mother, Sophia Craufurd. In March of 1861, Sophia Craufurd worked to organize an analogous Ladies Committee for Rome and Venice in England.

These committees were designed to both establish networks of support and to collect funds. Participants were required not only to collect funds for the conquest of Venice and Rome, but to convince others to become collectors and to establish their own committees. Dedicated party members were asked to regularly reaffirm their loyalty by contributing a monthly fee towards the cause. Giorgina Saffi was in favor of this and advocated for a national monthly subscription of no less than a franc and no less than 50 centesimi for workers. One-time contributions from less interested parties were also encouraged. Mazzini believed that the women in the committees would be particularly adept at collecting these small sums. One of his proposals was for each of his female supporters to leave a record book of donations out on a table in their home and for the women to ask every visitor to their home to contribute at least a franc in Italy or a shilling in London to the cause. He believed that few people would be able to resist giving such a small sum to a dedicated woman who was requesting it. These small one-time contributions would increase the amount of money raised and would, perhaps, also lead to more sustained engagement in the future.

Sara Nathan played an increasingly prominent role in the financial aspect of these fundraising attempts after unification and was entrusted by both Garibaldi and Mazzini with

large collected sums. In July of 1862, for instance, Garibaldi gave Sara Nathan a form letter to organize in his name and wrote letters to his associates asking them to support Nathan in her work. As this campaign was immediately before Garibaldi’s attempt on Aspromonte, Nathan was likely raising money for that effort.\textsuperscript{61} Numerous letters also reveal that Nathan was acting as a banker for the party and for Mazzini. Those who wished to send money to support Mazzinian affairs in Italy would direct the money to Nathan in Lugano, who would then distribute it into Italy when necessary.\textsuperscript{62} Nathan’s children, particularly Adolfo and David, used their contacts in the banking world to help Nathan send the money across Europe.\textsuperscript{63} Nathan successfully utilized the non-state networks of the left to claim a place for herself as a respected financier and was entrusted with large sums in a way that was unusual for a woman of her time.

White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, Nathan, and the other Mazzinian women also attempted to use traditional charitable practices to raise money, but were less successful. Starting in the fall of 1862, Sara Nathan and Jessie White Mario in Switzerland, Sofia Craufurd in London, and Giorgina Saffi in Italy, began to collect items that could be sold at a bazaar for Rome and Venice in to be held in February 1863 in London.\textsuperscript{64} They cooperated with Mazzini and with other Italian


\textsuperscript{62} Giuseppe Mazzini to Peter Taylor, April 11\textsuperscript{th} 1869, Letter 8878, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}. Vol. LXXIII, Epis. LIV, 314.


radicals to collect and ship these items to England. The Craufurd family was highly involved in the London side of the bazaar, with Kate Craufurd acting as a collector of goods and the Craufurd family keeping the financial accounts for the bazaar. The Mazzinian press networks also ensured some coverage of the event and the bazaar was reported on in both the English and Italian press. The *Morning Star* published an account of the bazaar on May 5th 1863 which was reprinted in the *Unità Italiana* of Milan on 13 May 1863. Despite all of these efforts and high hopes, the bazaar ultimately yielded only £200. By organizing the bazaar, however, the Mazzinian women adapted traditionally feminine behaviors associated with small-scale local charities to finance revolution and thereby challenged our ideas of what charity or philanthropy entails.

These fundraisers were specifically designed to support revolution and continued action and competed against those designed for memorials to the Risorgimento. At the time, many subscriptions advertised in the press for medals and monuments to celebrate Italian unification and Mazzini argued that these subscriptions, though good in intent, were premature and would

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67 Giuseppe Mazzini to Clementia Taylor, May 19th 1863, Letter 6975, in *Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Vol. LXXIV, Epis. XLV, 222. I was also unable to find any news articles about this, despite determined searching in the databases. This could indicate limited coverage.

lure the Italians into an unwise complacency.\textsuperscript{69} Nathan, Saffi, and the others self-consciously organized for further revolutionary action and republican attempts on Rome and Venice, not any memorial, and thus revealed their unwillingness to accept the version of Italy created in 1861.

**Revolutions and Conspiracy**

Nathan, Saffi, White Mario, Chambers, and Schwabe all supported insurrectionary actions taken against the Italian state for the conquest of Rome and Venice and for republicanism in Italy. Acting as full conspirators in the revolutionary networks, they pushed beyond the acceptable activities for women of the time, facing government scrutiny and even risking arrest for both themselves and their family members. While they also utilized more traditionally feminine behaviors, like nursing and caregiving, they did so to promote their revolutionary ideals and evince political support for republicanism. In this section, I specifically look at how they supported Garibaldi in his attempts to take Rome, first in 1862 at Aspromonte and again in 1867 at Mentana, and how Sara Nathan, her sons, and her adopted family of Maurizio Quadrio and Mazzini continually conspired to foment revolution in Italy.

**Aspromonte**

Although Garibaldi at first appeared to be cooperating with the new Italian monarchy, in the summer of 1862 he led a non-state attempt to conquer Rome. In June he sailed from Caprera to Sicily and was received by crowds cheering “Rome and Venice” and “Rome or death.” With his group of volunteers, he then crossed over to the southern tip of Calabria on August 24\textsuperscript{th} and

began marching north. The Italian government, facing harsh pressure from the French and reluctant to allow the radicals to gain more ground, opposed this action, declaring martial law in southern Italy on August 20\textsuperscript{th} and sending a column of 3,500 troops under Colonel Pallavicini to halt the rebels. On the morning of August 29\textsuperscript{th} the opposing forces met and Garibaldi’s forces were defeated. He was shot twice; a light wound in his left thigh and a more serious wound in his right ankle. After surrendering, Garibaldi was arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Varignano near La Spezia.\textsuperscript{70} These events caused a huge scandal and White Mario, Schwabe, Chambers, and the others subsequently condemned the government’s actions and worked to assure continued widespread political support for Garibaldi.

In the political tumult that followed the events of Aspromonte Jessie White Mario faced increased police scrutiny.\textsuperscript{71} The English press published stories expressing outrage at the government’s treatment of her. \textit{The Daily News}, for instance, reported at the end of September 1862 that the Italian government, “dominated by the rage of reaction,” was acting in a “ridiculous” fashion by intensively searching to find information to bring a trial against White Mario. They reported that,

Besides the most minute search into her house fishermen and peasants were subjected to interrogatories in order to know whether in her house meetings had been held, if she spoke politics, if she appeared preoccupied at the period of Garibaldi’s enterprises.

The \textit{Daily News} further argued that the Italian government was attempting to placate Napoleon III by arresting a British citizen, claiming, “I think the ministers, basely servile towards Napoleon, have displayed so much zeal against Signora Mario principally because, she being

\textsuperscript{70} Duggan, \textit{The Force of Destiny}, 244-246.
\textsuperscript{71} Though she was in Milan, too far away to make an impact in Rome, she was still considered a threat and after learning that the prefect Pasolini had strict orders to arrest her she fled to Como and from there to Lugano. See: White Mario, \textit{The Birth of Modern Italy}, 325.
English, persecutions attempted against her were sure to prove acceptable to their masters in Paris.”72 While this English account was clearly in favor of White Mario and Garibaldi and against the Italian government, the conservative Italian press was less favorable towards her. La Civiltà Cattolica, for instance, reporting about Mazzinian activity in Lugano called Jessie White Mario and her husband “the most exalted of Mazzinians,” and argued that they were organizing to get revenge for “the blood shed at Aspromonte.”73 The article specifically mentioned that they were many women among the Mazzinians and the author seemed quite distressed that women would participate in such violent revolutionary behavior.

Many women went to visit Garibaldi while he was in prison and convalescing. Contemporary observers often emphasized the spectacle and celebrity worship present in this female support for Garibaldi. Ferdinand Gregorovius, for instance, wrote in his journals that, “Women gather round the disabled hero like flies round a wound.” Theodore J. Bent similarly claimed that women from England, Germany, and Italy all came, “eager to do some little office, however menial, in his service, each and all eager for some memento to carry home.” Bent argued that the women were more of a hindrance than a help, overwhelming Garibaldi with demands for his celebrity, saying that,

all kinds of devices had to be invented by those in charge of the sufferer to avoid intrusion. Autographs were traced on the window panes by scores for distribution; a young soldier in attendance, whose hair was of a similar shade to that of Garibaldi’s, was shaven almost bald to supply the demand for locks of hair.74

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73 “Svizzera Italiana (Nostra Corrispondenza) 6. Il Mazzini, con più cospicui suoi complici, a Lugano,” La Civiltà Cattolica, Serie V, Vol. IV, fasc. 304, 8 November 1862, p. 505. La Civiltà Cattolica continued to comment on White Mario’s radicalism. In an article from 1868, as a way to describe how radical and dangerous a woman was, they described her as, “più caldo forse che madama White Mario.” This shows that White Mario was the most extreme radical woman they could think of. See: “I Crociati di San Pietro: Scene Storiche del 1867, VI. Il parlamento a Rapolano, ossia la politica settaria nel Settembre,” in La Civiltà Cattolica, Serie VII, vol. I, fasc. 430, 3 Febbraio 1868, p. 433.
While these stories are amusing, they cast Garibaldi as a celebrity, rather than a political figure, and characterize his female supporters as fans, rather than devotees. They ignore that some women supported Garibaldi as a man because they wanted to show support for the republican conquest of Rome.

Schwabe, Chambers, and the others took action to improve Garibaldi’s physical condition after Aspromonte not only because they were friends with Garibaldi but also because they wanted to demonstrate their political support for his actions. Though Garibaldi was housed at Varignano in the rooms usually occupied by the governor of the fortress, his supporters claimed the rooms were damp and ill-supplied, lacking lint and bandages. They collaborated to provide Garibaldi with better material goods and conditions. Sara Nathan sent new sheets, while Schwabe provided a clean shirt and worked with the Italians Laura Solera Mantegazza, Adelaide Cairoli, and the Marchese Pallavicini to provide additional supplies. Schwabe believed that as a woman and mother she was particularly suited to help Garibaldi in this way. As she explained in a letter to Garibaldi, “all have their mission in this world and that whilst faithful brave companions in arms are valuable in campaign, a woman is better for the arrangements of the house.”

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75 Scirocco, 323. He had a bedroom for himself and five rooms for his sons and officers. Most of his family came with him. Menotti and Ricciotti came over from Caprera, so did Teresita and her husband Stefano Canzio and their child, and the Deideris couple, and Col. Candido Augusto Vecchi (who worked as his secretary).
77 In the letter she stated, “I feel more grieved than I can express to learn from the journals that your wound is not progressing as quickly as we could wish.” She added that the feared that he would stay longer at Varignano than expected, which, “makes me feel more anxious that you might feel as comfortable and as much at home, as it be possible under existing circumstances.” Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 24 October 1862, MCRR, Busta 890, 43(6). As late as March 1863, Schwabe remained concerned about Garibaldi’s wound and wrote to Federico Bellazzi asking for an update on his health. She wrote, “I have received a few days ago a few lines from the General, in which he said “Ma blessure va de bien en mieux,” but that note was dated Caprera 4 Mars & these accounts in the newspaper are of a much more recent date & I feel in consequence very uneasy & long to hear that the bad news respecting the General’s health has been only a newspaper lie.” See: Julia Salis Schwabe to Federico Bellazzi, 27 March 1863, MCRR, Busta 254, N. 100(4).
offering political advice or working alongside radicals, Schwabe was clearly not willing to give up her claims to a special womanly status and believed that these traditionally female behaviors could be used for the good of the state.

White Mario, Schwabe, and Chambers also supported Garibaldi by providing medical care for his extensive wounds. Ricciotti Garibaldi described the extent of Garibaldi’s wounds in a letter to Mary Chambers, saying, “my father has been very badly wounded in the ankle, which is very much swollen the doctors cannot tell yet if the ball is in, the slightest movement giving him great pain but however the wound is progressing favourably.”

Due to their uncertainty about the position of the ball, Dr. Partridge, one of the many surgeons sent to examine Garibaldi, thought amputation might be necessary. Early-20th-century historian Giacomo Curatulo argued that Schwabe saved Garibaldi from this amputation by sending Garibaldi the celebrated Neapolitan surgeon Palasciano, who opposed amputating the foot. White Mario and Chambers also provided medical aid by acting as nurses. Multiple people asked White Mario to serve as Garibaldi’s nurse because of her medical knowledge and assertive personality. Laura Solera Mantegazza, for instance, recommended White Mario for the duty of Garibaldi’s nurse, due to the “complete trust” Garibaldi placed in her and because, “being less timid than me, she could

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78 Ricciotti Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 20 September 1862, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 3, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 1.
79 Gregorovius, 170. Multiple doctors, including Dr. Prandina of Chiavari and Dr. Partridge of London, consulted on this ankle wound. See: Bent, 208-09.
80 Curatulo, Garibaldi e le donne, 213-16. The surgeon that William Ashurst sent did not work out as well. White Mario later described Dr. Parkins as, “unknown to fame, who left no trace of his presence save the receipt for £1,000 sterling, to which handsome sum he insisted should be added £176 for travelling expenses.” See: White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 327.
81 White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 325. James Stansfeld and the Ashursts had raised £1,000 from the people of England to send out surgeon to Garibaldi and asked that White Mario also attend as a nurse. White Mario thought this was unnecessary and a poor use of the funds and wrote, “as for a nurse, Garibaldi had his own daughter, three surgeons, and his sons. If only the £1,000 might be spent for the wounded of Aspromonte, starving in prisons and fortresses, Garibaldi would be far more pleased, and cared for none the worse.”
also better dictate to the others.”

When Garibaldi’s daughter Teresita had to return to Genoa for the birth of her third child, White Mario remained behind to nurse Garibaldi and to supervise his removal to Pisa, where she and Mary Chambers shared nursing duties.

Due to her medical training, White Mario was called on to administer the chloroform during the operation to remove the ball from Garibaldi’s ankle. She then composed a detailed account of the surgery which was published in the *Newcastle Current*. In the letter, she described how the doctors had used a probe to confirm that the ball was in the tibia and was operable. She gave a clear explanation of the probe, describing it as “a simple silver stem clasping a tiny ball of unpolished porcelain, which blackens on coming in contact with the lead.” Revealing a level of medical precision and understanding, she continued to explain that they permeated the wound four centimeters and that the probe “came out black with a substance which, subjected to chemical analysis, proved to be lead.” After deciding on the position of the ball, the doctors prepared Garibaldi for surgery by enlarging the canal of the wound “by means of a sponge steeped in solution of gum arabic.” The sponge, “pressed into the wound on Saturday night, when withdrawn on Sunday morning, brought with it a long slender splinter of bone about two centimetres in length.” White Mario explained that Dr. Zanetti then inserted pincers, clenched, them, and removed the ball, which was “so flattened and jagged as to assume a likeness to a double-headed eagle.”

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83 White Mario, *The Birth of Modern Italy*, 326-28; Garibaldi received amnesty on October 5th 1862 and was moved to the Hotel de Milan in La Spezia. He travelled across the harbor on a dredging boat while reclining on an iron bed, sent to him by a friend in England. Garibaldi later felt governmental pressure to leave La Spezia and went to Pisa, where Mary Elizabeth Chambers and Jessie White Mario cared for him. See: Bent, 211-213.
84 Elena Doni, “L’inglese che amava l’Italia (e la sgridava,)” in *Donne del Risorgimento*, 205.
85 “The Extraction of the Ball from Garibaldi’s Wound, “*The Newcastle Courant etc* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England), Friday, December 5, 1862; Issue 9806.
involvement in and understanding of these medical procedures and vividly illustrated Garibaldi’s sufferings as a way to cultivate support.

This article was part of a larger campaign by White Mario to save Garibaldi’s public image and popularity by keeping his suffering in the British public eye and by defending his actions. Other British papers, including the *Lancaster Gazette*, published similar accounts of Garibaldi’s wound and years later, in 1877 White Mario again wrote about the extraction of the bullet for *Fraser’s Magazine*.86 White Mario also worked with Garibaldi to publish a report of his actions during the three months leading up to Aspromonte. After fellow Mazzinian James Stansfeld directed White Mario to George Smith, of Smith and Elder publishing, Mazzini then negotiated with Smith and Elder for White Mario to publish “a small volume of 200 to 250 pages,” which would contain, “an almost official explanation of the grounds on which G[aribaldi] decided the attempt on Rome, promises, hopes, etc., including the Government- a historical sketch of the Sicily march, landing, etc.- and the conclusion at Aspromonte.”87 White Mario was once again helping to shape the public image of the Garibaldi and his role in the Risorgimento and to justify his more radical actions.

*Mentana*

In the autumn of 1867, after the liberation of Venice, Garibaldi once again raised a force of volunteer troops and attempted to take Rome. He marched into the Papal States, in the hopes that his actions would trigger popular or governmental support. Neither materialized and

86 “Garibaldi’s Health,” *The Lancaster Gazette, and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, Yorkshire, &c.* (Lancaster, England), Saturday, November 08, 1862; pg. 6; Issue 3945; Jessie White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances-Part II,” *Fraser’s Magazine*, Vol. XV-No. XCI (July 1877) 55. *The Graphic* claimed that this aspect of her article was a point of interest. See: “Magazines,” *The Graphic* (London, England), Saturday, July 14, 1877; Issue 398.

Garibaldi’s forces were defeated by French forces in a minor engagement at Mentana on November 3rd 1867.  

Chambers had corresponded with Garibaldi as he planned the attack and helped him to direct his strategy and raise money. Unable to leave Caprera, Garibaldi needed to work from a distance through trusted collaborators, including John and Mary Chambers and his son Ricciotti Garibaldi. As part of the fundraising and press campaign, the Chambers helped to arrange a meeting in St. James’s Hall in London to demonstrate support for Garibaldi and garner even more. Ricciotti Garibaldi spoke at the meeting, thanking his father’s supporters and the Chambers, in particular, were given “three hearty cheers” of gratitude for helping Garibaldi. As a child, Ricciotti Garibaldi had spent time with the Chambers and felt comfortable working and collaborating with them.

Taking an even more involved role, Jessie White Mario travelled to Rome and was given an official pass to oversee an exchange of prisoners during the fighting. The exchange did not go as planned, however, and she was imprisoned. The Standard reported that when White

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88 Duggan, The Force of Destiny, 256.
89 See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 7 August 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 16; Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 18 September 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 18; Garibaldi wrote again on October 21st, asking Chambers to contact her banker so that the banker could release the funds to him. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 21 October 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 22. On November 1st 1867, Garibaldi wrote again to Chambers to inform her that he had received 4,624 lire from Mr Beales. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 1 November 1867, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 23. A few weeks later, he wrote from Varignano to thank her for having sent 180 lire, some books and other items. See: Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 21 November 1867, ACS Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 24.
90 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 10 October 1867. ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 3, Ins. 21. He claimed in this letter to Chambers from October, “I am here a prisoner.”
93 White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances-Part III,” Fraser’s Magazine, Vol. XVI-No. XCII (August 1877) 261. Garibaldi had instructed her to go into Rome to exchange Lieutenant Quatrebras and some other wounded Zouaves for the wounded Giovanni Cairoli and the body of Enrico Cairoli. With a note of authorization from Garibaldi and a carriage provided by Colonel Carbonelli, White Mario went into Rome. She then collected the officers and was
Mario arrived in Rome in early November to negotiate the exchange of prisoners, she was “informed that the Pontifical Government could not recognise the bands as belligerents, that no terms were possible, and that the Garibaldians could not be considered as prisoners of war.”

General Kanzler informed White Mario that while she needed to be highly guarded, she could choose any hotel in Rome for her prison. Refusing to have any French soldiers in her guard, White Mario was escorted by six Papal dragoons to the Hôtel de Rome. She later claimed that she “would scarcely condemn the worst enemy I might have to suffer the two nights and day that I spent there.” Her suffering was so great because she was trapped and unable to contribute to the Italian effort. On November 3rd, the day of Garibaldi’s defeat, for instance, she spent the entire day trapped in her hotel room. After Garibaldi’s defeat, she was then taken to the hospital to see to the wounded and was allowed to leave Rome. White Mario was placed in a position of authority in this instance, but also paid the price for holding that position.

Following the events of Mentana, Chambers and the Ladies’ Committee for Aiding General Garibaldi took action to provide money and supplies to the wounded troops and to defend Garibaldi’s actions and his image. They distributed a private circular asking for subscriptions and contributions of, “Clothing, Sheetes, Blankets, Medicines, Bandages, &c., &c.” They also raised money to provide for Garibaldi’s legal defense in the event his case went

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94 “Multiple Commerce Items,” *The Standard* (London, England), Saturday, November 16, 1867; pg. 5; Issue 13504.
to trial. To demonstrate continuing popular support for Garibaldi, they then sent accounts of the collected funds to be published in the newspapers. The *Dundee Courier* for instance reported that Chambers had sent 150 pounds to aid Garibaldi.

This was a controversial campaign, however, and the women needed to be careful in how they asked for support. A newspaper account from November 28th reported that the English Ladies’ Committee requested that in the future, subscribers state,

> in sending their donations, whether they wish them to be placed at the disposal of the General, or to be exclusively devoted to the service of the wounded, or of the widows and orphans of the slain, or of Garibaldians now in exile from the Papal States.

This was a way for them to attract donations from those who were interested in providing charity to widows and orphans but who were wary of supporting Garibaldi’s radical politics. One such contributor was Caroline Crane marsh, wife to the American ambassador, who had only joined the Committee on the Wounded, “after ascertaining that the sole and single object of the committee was to alleviate the sufferings of the destitute volunteers.” White Mario contributed to this narrative in March of 1868 by thanking the women of the committee in an article for *The Nation*, and emphasizing how it was necessary to help the suffering soldiers, many of whom could not find regular employment. When expedient, therefore, they were able to focus on toning down their political message and focusing on the more humanitarian aspects in order to gain a wider range of financial support.

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98 “Subscriptions for Garibaldi,” *The Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury* (Leicester, England), Saturday, November 30, 1867; pg. 8.
99 “Aid to General Garibaldi,” The Dundee Courier & Argus (Dundee, Scotland), Saturday, November 30, 1867; Issue 4469.
Another tactic they used to garner support was to emphasize the anti-Papal aspects of Garibaldi’s attack on Rome rather than the republican aspects. A private circular issued by the Ladies’ Committee for Aiding General Garibaldi made their anti-Papal commitments clear, arguing, “it is desirable to be prepared with every possible aid to the Christian patriots in Italy. Their cause is our own. Once free the Eternal [City] from the ‘odious dominion’ of the Papacy, and England’s difficulties with Ireland are at an end.” It continued, saying, “Once let a blow be struck at the root of the Papal Tree and its branches will soon wither and die. It is for the cause of Christian England, equally with that of her Sister Italy, that we earnestly solicit your aid.”\textsuperscript{103} As anti-Catholic sentiment was strong in England, this was a prudent technique.

The Nathan Family of Conspirators

Sara Nathan was a trusted conspirator of Mazzini and frequently corresponded with him, Maurizio Quadrio, and fellow Mazzinian Vincenzo Brusco Onnis to plot uprisings. She was particularly involved in arranging the necessary finances for the purchase of weapons for the uprisings.\textsuperscript{104} This was delicate business and required that they send encoded letters. The code utilized certain numbers to represent people, places, or ideas, as revealed by this partially decoded letter from November of 1863, which reads, “In VII.1.26.8., etc., that we will for now call 192[Milan], the 140[Regional Commission], 152 [republican], is regularly II.14.4.12.27. VII.4.20.26.III.23.24- and I.6.5.-15.16.13.?”\textsuperscript{105} In letters to Maurizio Quadrio, in particular,\textsuperscript{106} Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, 8 November 1863, Letter 7157, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXXVI, Epis.XLVI, 180. Around this time, Mazzini, Nathan, and Maurizio Quadrio were working together to buy guns for a planned uprising in Milan in November 1864. Another letter from this time has Mazzini explaining to Nathan how it important it was for them to have money and how serious this action was. The majority of the letter is

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\textsuperscript{103} Private Circular, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 23, “Italy 1867” (Vol. D).
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Mazzini also always referred to Sara Nathan as “friend.” This was, of course, a sign of friendship and familiarity, but it was also a way to avoid writing her name and implicating her in the conspiracy.\textsuperscript{106}

The attempts at secrecy were necessary, as Nathan was under heavy surveillance and frequently came into contact with the police through her revolutionary activities. On September 22\textsuperscript{nd} 1862, for instance, the police burst in to the villa where Nathan was officially on vacation with her children and arrested the woman they found there, believing it was Nathan and that she was harboring Mazzini. In fact, the police did not find anything and had arrested the wrong woman, Emilie Ashurst Venturi, whom they let go due to lack of evidence.\textsuperscript{107} After her house in Milan was then searched by the police in October 1862, Nathan moved to Switzerland where the laws were more lenient and where many political exiles, including Mazzini, had moved. In 1865 she bought a villa in Lugano, known as la “Tanzina,” which would become a home away from home for many exiles and which would serve as a point of organization for the final Mazzinian conspiracies.\textsuperscript{108}

Nathan’s radical reputation followed her to Switzerland, however, and she continued to suffer under strict government surveillance. In April 1863 the Swiss government, believing that the Party of Action was making preparations in Switzerland for an insurrectional movement in encoded, which is a sign of how dangerous their actions were. He wrote, “Ho suggerito a Br\[usco\] di ricordare a Z\[ugni\] ed altri un antico disegno mio di sorpresa notturna, di subita dispersione, di nuovo assalto la notte seguente, IV. 2.7.- V. 4.10. I.12. II. 2. VII. 4., etc.- VII. 10. 9.- I. 6.5.-VI.4.5.3.- V.4.2.6.- I.1.9. Cinquanta giovani bastano. E le conseguenza tra i due Governi potrebbero essere gravi.” See: Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, 1 November 1864, Letter 7573, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXXIX, Epis. XLVIII (Imola: Cooperativa Tipografico-Editrice Paolo Galeati, 1938) 175-76.

\textsuperscript{106} Giuseppe Mazzini to Maurizio Quadrio, December 1st 1863, Letter 7181, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LXXVI, Epis.XLVI, 218. In a letter from December 1863, for instance, Mazzini mentioned needing funds from Sara Nathan’s banker in Genoa for a planned conspiracy and wrote, “Vi sono ancora dai due ai tre mila franchi in Genoa presso il banchiere dell’amica. Ho bisogno che 2000 siano dati quanto più presto è possibile a VI.23.2.1.8.12.”

\textsuperscript{107} Istasia, 29-30.

\textsuperscript{108} Istasia, 31. Mazzini wanted her to stay in Italy, so she could look after financial matters in Genoa, but she was scared of arrest so she moved.
Venice, investigated her activities and published a report claiming that Nathan’s home in Lugano, which she shared with Maurizio Quadrio, was “the center of operations.” Though it identified her home as a key location, the Swiss government was confused by Nathan’s veneer of maternal respectability and disregarded her radical status. The report called Sara Nathan “the English lady,” and described her as a simple law-abiding English mother, saying “the Englishwoman Nathan is even in possession of a regular passport and therefore equipped with a residency permit, and she lives in the Canton of Ticino for the health and education of her children.”¹⁰⁹ Nathan’s twelve children and her inevitable maternal aura, therefore, provided a useful shield for her radicalism. Despite this, her house was again searched in July of 1864, following another rumor of conspiracy, revealing the constant price Nathan paid for her public and unabashed commitment to Mazzinian ideals and conspiracies.¹¹⁰

Sara Nathan and her family were also arguably involved in planning an assassination of Napoleon III, Emperor of France and enemy of the Italian radicals. Though Esperance von Schwartz accused Nathan of planning an attempt on Napoleon III in 1863, she probably did not at that time.¹¹¹ However, she and her children likely did participate in a failed assassination attempt on Napoleon III, which was uncovered by French authorities in January 1864. During the

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¹⁰⁹ Cronaca della guerra d’Italia. 1862-1863-1864. Vol. 6, 323. The canton governments also announced that they would perform inquests into their activities. The government of Ticino had previously performed an inquiry and wrote in a letter from the 16th that was sure that nothing was happening under its jurisdiction, that there was no collection of arms or munitions, and no making of bombs or Garibaldian uniforms. This report is also interesting as it is yet another instance of someone assuming that Nathan was English. Though her children were all born in England, Nathan was Italian.


¹¹¹ In 1863, Sara Nathan visited Caprera to meet with Garibaldi on Mazzini’s behalf, likely to help plan an insurrection in Italy. Esperance von Schwartz, however, accused Nathan of trying to gain Garibaldi’s support in an attempt on the life of Napoleon III during this visit. It is unlikely that Schwartz’s version of the story is true and many people at the time found her writing to full of exaggerations and sometimes outright lies. See: Curatulo, Garibaldi e le donne, 129-133. Historian Anna Maria Istasia, an expert on the Nathan family, doubts von Schwartz’s story because of the repeated references to Nathan’s beauty and wonders if the accusations stemmed from jealousy on von Schwartz’s side. Istasia, 37-38, 41.
trial of one of the conspirators in February 1864 authorities revealed that a Mr. Nathan, described as, “an intimate friend of Mazzini’s, and a brother of Madame Rosselly,” had sent a bank draft to the conspirator that was to be used to finance his escape. Newspaper accounts also mentioned that Nathan and Rosselli “were both children of Sarah Nathan, a person notoriously mixed up with Mazzini.” The prosecutor, M. Allou, thought that the bank draft sent by Nathan was a particularly condemning piece of evidence for the trial and the press frequently reprinted his assertions. In April, when Mazzini was tried in absentia for his complicity in the plot, newspaper coverage again reaffirmed the Nathan family’s involvement.

These accounts and their frequency show how Sara Nathan and her family had gained a reputation as radical lawbreakers and her veneer of English respectability was wearing thin. The Catholic press also criticized Sara Nathan for being too radical and even resorted to veiled sexual slander. When writing about her son Joseph Nathan’s radical activities in 1870, La Civiltà Cattolica referred to him as “that son of Mazzini.” The article cast further aspersions on Nathan’s character by calling her the “so-called widow Nathan.”

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As their involvement in the assassination attempt shows, the Nathan children were also loyal to Mazzini and to republican ideals. Sara Nathan led by example through her own involvement, taught her children these ideals, and made revolutionary activity a family activity. The Nathan children often carried messages for Mazzini because, as English citizens, they could more easily cross national boundaries carrying inflammatory republican material without patently raising the suspicions of the Italian authorities. They were not always protected by their British citizenship, however, and in the fall of 1866 Sara Nathan’s eldest son David was arrested in Lugano for transmitting revolutionary republican materials for the Universal Republican Alliance. Mazzini then called upon his various contacts to help David Nathan and even tried to use the English press to garner outrage of behalf of David Nathan. Unfortunately, he also feared that Nathan would be poorly received by the English as he was a Jewish man of business. Despite this familial suffering, the Nathans maintained their republican ideals and in the same letters where they discussed strategies to free David, they organized and raised money for future conspiracies. David Nathan was eventually released in December 1866.

Sara Nathan’s younger son, Joseph Nathan, worked more intensely alongside her in the Mazzinian conspiracies. At the end of April 1869, Joseph Nathan led an insurrection in Milan,

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115 Istasia, 29-30. In the early 1860s, for instance, she would encourage her son Ernesto to don a disguise send messages to Mazzini in Geneva.
116 Istasia, 46. David was Sara Nathan’s first born child. He was born in 1839, making him likely about 27 at this time. They had hoped that he could have gotten through customs more easily because he was English, and he had carried packages many times, but he was unsuccessful this time.
119 Istasia, 46. Joseph Nathan was the seventh of Sara Nathan’s twelve children. He was born in 1848, which makes him likely about 21 at this time.
which was uncovered by the police leading to his arrest. The press put all of the blame for the
affair on Joseph Nathan, saying, “the prime move of the whole affair, the secretary, banker, and
confidential friend of Mazzini, and Englishman named Nathan.”\footnote{120} Private correspondence,
however, reveals that Sara Nathan played a key role in organizing this uprising and had assigned
her son to execute it. In a letter from Mazzini to Caroline Stansfeld after the revolt, Mazzini
revealed that the police had searched Nathan’s home and said, “I hope they did not find
documents, receipts, or bills for arms. There might be troubles for her too.” He added that, “the
scheme was concerted between them, Quadrio, Sarina, etc…. believing that 50 men would
determine a general rising.” While he did not entirely approve of their strategy, he admired the
Nathans, and wrote, “Joseph is brave: Sarina truly heroic.”\footnote{121} Sara Nathan was thus clearly
committed to Mazzinian conspiracies and had successfully inspired at least one of her multiple
children to share her fervor.

As they had with David Nathan, the Mazzinian network supported Joseph Nathan and
worked to get him out of prison.\footnote{122} Mazzini also frequently wrote to Joseph Nathan offering

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\footnotetext[120]{“Italy. The Mazzinian Conspiracy,” The Standard (London, England), Friday, April 30, 1869; pg. 5; Issue 13959. Another English paper also reported on the arrest, see: “The Mazzinian Conspiracy,” Glasgow Herald (Glasgow, Scotland), Monday, May 3, 1869; Issue 9152. Press coverage was somewhat conflicted. The Standard noted that there were reports in Italy calling the uprising a “scheme of universal assassination,” argued that the revolutionaries had amassed, “quantities of Orsini bombs, infernal machines, revolvers, and other deadly implements,” with the goal of attacking the residences of “the Prefect, the Town Hall, the Questura, and the barracks and “their occupants mercilessly slaughtered. No State functionary, no man of mark or influence was to be spared.” This report claimed that about 300 arrests were made. The Standard article disagreed with this report and said it was exaggerated. The Standard also commented on Nathan’s English status, saying “That one of our countrymen should have been not only connected with such a plot, but especially chosen as the fittest person to carry it out, is, of itself, a remarkable feature of the case.”

\footnotetext[121]{Giuseppe Mazzini to Caroline Stansfeld, 6 June 1869, Mazzini's Letters to an English Family, 1861-1872, Vol. III, 210-211. He was less praising of Maurizio Quadrio and wrote, “Quadrio is silly: frantic for action anyhow, anywhere. I have been half quarrelling with him all this time, and I really wish he would limit himself to write for the Unità.”

advice on his trial and providing emotional consolation.\textsuperscript{123} One of their main strategies was to draw on outrage at how Nathan, a British subject, was being treated by the Italian government. This was a strategy that had worked successfully for White Mario when she was arrested in 1857, but one that had not worked as well for David Nathan in 1866. They first attempted to work through official government channels and Clementia Taylor, one of Mazzini’s English friends and correspondents, first pushed her husband Peter Taylor to lead an inquiry into Joseph Nathan’s imprisonment in the House of Commons on August 10\textsuperscript{th} 1869.\textsuperscript{124} This did not lead to any effective result.

By October, when Joseph Nathan had been in prison for about six months and attempts to work through government channels for leniency had failed, the Mazzinians started concentrating their efforts on the English press, sending in stories casting Joseph Nathan as an English citizen who had been unfairly deprived of due process. The articles argued that,

Mr. Nathan, a British subject, aged 19 years, has been in prison at Milan ever since April last, upon no charge except that he was found travelling from Lugano, where his mother resides, and where Mazzini was staying at the time; and also that upon the journey he was in company with a young man who was out with Garibaldi in the campaign of 1866.

They were outraged that upon these grounds Nathan had been “all the past six months immured in an Italian gaol, without trial, or even a statement of his offence.”\textsuperscript{125} Another paper added that

\textsuperscript{123} In a letter from early May 1869, Mazzini told Nathan to not to argue with the interrogators or to defend himself as the interrogators were not actually concerned with the truth. Mazzini insisted that the government did not have a case against Nathan and he should just insist on his innocence. See: Giuseppe Mazzini to Giuseppe Nathan, 7 May 1869, Letter 8885, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}. Vol. LXXXVIII, Epis. LV, 323. Other letters include: Giuseppe Mazzini to Giuseppe Nathan, 23 June 1869, Letter 8933, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}. Vol. LXXXVIII, Epis. LV, 76; Giuseppe Mazzini to Giuseppe Nathan, August 1\textsuperscript{st} 1869, Letter 8963, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}. Vol. LXXXVIII, Epis. LV, 122.

\textsuperscript{124} Giuseppe Nathan to Clementia Taylor, August 23\textsuperscript{rd} 1869, Letter 8978, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}. Vol. LXXXVIII, Epis. LV, 143. Mazzini wrote, “Thank Peter for his interpellation concerning Jos[eph] N[athan]. I dare say nothing will be done of what has been suggested, but it may shorten the persecution.”

\textsuperscript{125} “A Case for Investigation,” \textit{Liverpool Mercury etc} (Liverpool, England), Friday, October 8, 1869; Issue 6772. The paper also noted how Peter a. Taylor, MP for Leicester, had inquired about Nathan’s status to the Parliament and discovered that the English government had made an application to the Government of Italy to have Nathan released on bail but nothing had come of it yet.
the young British subject remains incarcerated, and it is due to the public feeling of this country, even more than to the distressed family of the lad, that the failure should be generally known.”

The successful publishing of these articles in multiple papers reveals the widespread sense of English entitlement and the savvy of the Mazzinians in taking advantage and appealing to it. Nathan was clearly guilty and yet the papers were arguing for his innocence.

Throughout this ordeal, Sara Nathan and her family continued to display a fidelity to Mazzini’s ideals that verged on piety. Mazzini reassured Sara Nathan that Joseph would come out of his imprisonment stronger and better by saying that “six or seven months of prison, not for an event, but for a holy idea, are the baptism of a young life.” By the end of December 1869, Joseph Nathan was released and back with his family in Lugano and seemed recovered from his ordeal. Mazzini described him as “always in high spirits, very good, very affectionate.” Joseph Nathan would continue to work intensively in Mazzinian networks and would become one of the leaders in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution that will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Conquest of Venice and Rome

The radical left had worked devotedly throughout the 1860s to capture Rome and Venice through armed insurrections which would prompt a republican revolution across Italy. However, both Rome and Venice were taken as the result of Realpolitik strategizing and government-

126 “A Case for Investigation.” Manchester Times (Manchester, England), Saturday, October 9, 1869; Issue 619. The plea was also repeated in the Bristol Mercury. See, “A Case for Investigation,” The Bristol Mercury (Bristol, England), Saturday, October 9, 1869; Issue 4148.
129 Giuseppe Mazzini to Emilie A. Venturi, December 19th 1869, Letter 9050, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini. Vol. LXXXVIII, Epis. LV, 276. Sara Nathan on the however, may have been suffering from lingering stress, and Mazzini described her as, “unwell and cast down.”
mandated fighting with regular troops. For the radicals, this was a sad parallel to 1861, when their dream of unification was achieved, but not in the way they had wanted. In these state-based campaigns, non-state forces had less room to maneuver and women had fewer opportunities to take active, nontraditional, or transgressive roles. Chambers and White Mario were only able to play a role in the military conquest of Venice in 1866 by supplying materials and acting as nurses for Garibaldi’s volunteer forces, which had a non-state element to them. They did not play a role at all in the conquest of Rome, which happened completely outside of radical control.\textsuperscript{130}

In 1866 war broke out between Austria and Prussia and Italy, taking advantage of Austria’s temporary distraction and weakness, declared war on Austria on June 20\textsuperscript{th}. Garibaldi joined in the fighting and was given command as the head of the volunteers. The Italians did not fight well in the war and were soundly defeated at both Custoza and Lissa. The Austrians were defeated by the Prussians, however, and as part of the armistice gave up the Veneto to Napoleon III, who then handed it over as a gift to the Italians.\textsuperscript{131} The conquest of Venice was thus a triumph of Realpolitik and moderate to conservative monarchies and a failure for radicals.

Mary Chambers served as the President of the Ladies’ Committee in London, which had been formed in 1866 to collect subscriptions and clothing in the case of war. To promote submissions, the committee specified that if war was ultimately not declared, would use the articles for clothing for the poor of Italy and said the items would be distributed according to the

\textsuperscript{130} Italy gained control of Rome when the Franco-Prussian War broke out and the French troops that had been protecting the Eternal City were removed, allowing regular Italian troops to march in. Garibaldi was not involved and Mazzini was even arrested at the time, to prevent him from taking advantage of the moment and sparking unrest.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{131} Duggan, \textit{The Force of Destiny}, 249-253.
wishes of Garibaldi. Notices announcing the formation of this committee were printed in multiple papers to further cultivate support.

When Italy finally declared war against Austria and Garibaldi announced his decision to fight in the Tyrol, Chambers intensified her actions as the President of the newly-renamed English Ladies’ Committee for the Aid of the Wounded Italian Volunteers, by writing to Jessie White Mario, who was then already working in the field hospitals to ask what sanitary materials were most needed. She wrote, “I am for my sins I suppose President of the Ladies Committee in England for aiding the wounded Italian volunteers.” She called upon White Mario’s expertise as a war nurse, saying, “though I have much experience in hospitals for women & children, I have done little or none in the requirements of military hospitals.” White Mario responded by simply resending the initial list of needed supplies that Agostino Bertani had first compiled. She added, as well that, “it is useless to send lint, plaster, or even linen as the Italian community provide these articles in abundance.” Chambers took this letter and published it in the Daily News as “an urgent appeal to the ladies of England.” She asked for: aid beds and cushions, gutta percha blankets, apparatus for fracture of the upper and lower extremities, field cases of surgical instruments, chloroform and ether, “Richardson’s new apparatus for the pulverization of chloroform for local application,” tents, “chemical and every apparatus for the arrest of hemorrhage,” lint, linen, plaster, and “tin cases of concentrated essence of beef.”

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132 “General Garibaldi and the English Ladies,” The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent (Sheffield, England), Thursday, June 07, 1866; pg. 2; Issue 3636.
133 “Origin of the Fire at Compton House,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Tuesday, June 12, 1866; Issue 5731.
134 M.E. Chambers to Jessie White Mario, June (probably 1866), MRM, Le Carte di Agostino Bertani, Cartella 51, Plico XXXIII, n. 32.
135 Jessie White Mario to M. E. Chambers, 3 July 1866, MRM, Le Carte di Agostino Bertani, Cartella 51, Plico XXXIII, n.32a.
Schwabe also contributed to the war effort, working alongside Lady Shaftesbury. Like Chambers, she wanted to know what were the best items to send and after inquiring of Bertani, discovered that artificial limbs were most needed.\textsuperscript{137} Their collaborations indicate how information was transmitted from the field in Italy to the potential donors in England.

White Mario also made her own personal appeals for funds. In an article published in \textit{The Nation} in June 1866, she asked American women to use their experience gained from the Civil War to help the Italians in conquering Venice. She informed the American readership of \textit{The Nation}, that committees were being formed all over Italy in imitation of the American Soldiers’ Aid Societies, formed during the Civil War, and asked if capable and experienced American women who had made the Soldiers’ Aid Societies a success would share their experience and surplus stock with the Italians. White Mario was particularly interested in their hospital cars and slung elastic beds, which she argued she could have used in moving the wounded in 1860.\textsuperscript{138}

Though she was successful in convincing people to donate supplies, Chambers occasionally experienced problems in directing these supplies once collected. In July of 1866, two conflicting advertisements appeared in the \textit{Daily Telegraph}. One article, “Garibaldi and Italian Liberty,” instructed readers to send donations to Mr. E.T. Smith at Cremorne while another, “Italian Liberty,” claimed that, “Mr. E.T. Smith, at Cremorne has no authority from Mrs. Chambers to collect any article mentioned in his frequent ‘Cremorne’ advertisements for Garibaldi or the Italian cause.” Smith then published a letter from Chambers, “in which that lady unquestionably gives him full authority to do that which her advertisement on Saturday last says


she had not given him authority to do.”\(^{139}\) E. T. Smith’s advertisement also appeared in *The Era* while another paper reported on the confusion, saying they thought that Smith was potentially a swindler taking advantage of Garibaldi’s cause but did not know for sure.\(^{140}\) Additionally, in July 1866, Colonel Chambers wrote to Dr. Bertani and complained that packages to Mrs. Chambers were opened without her consent and distributed at the hospital. He asked that this not be done in the future, as the Chambers were the ones responsible for the packages.\(^ {141}\) These accounts reveal how Chambers was held responsible for the care of supplies, both by individuals and by the public through the press.

Chambers also worked to provide personal supplies for Garibaldi during this campaign. Henry Spicer remarked that Chambers was useful in providing food for Garibaldi, saying,

> the noble chief is not a very good housekeeper, and might sometimes be left without a dinner, but for the watchful care of his attached English friends, Colonel and Mrs. Chambers; the latter of whom, in despair at the poverty of the general’s larder, insisted on becoming his caterer, and sends him his dinner every day.

Spicer continued, stating, “fish, fruit, and ice-cream are his luxuries; but his tastes, as is well known, are simple in the extreme.”\(^ {142}\) While Spicer praised Chambers’ actions, other belittled them. George Augustus Sala, for instance, wrote that Chambers was in the Tyrol, “to look after Garibaldi’s personal comfort and see that he was well provided with pocket money.”\(^ {143}\) Sala’s condemnation here echoes the various criticisms of women who supported Garibaldi after Aspromonte and makes the same error. While Chambers wanted to support Garibaldi as a friend

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and individual, she also supported him as an important symbol and as someone who could enact the dreams that she had for Italy.

Many of the British newspaper accounts of the war encouraged donations but also criticized the Italian government for failing to provide adequate supplies. The Standard, for instance, published a critical account of the ambulance service, saying that at Aufo, the sick were laid on the ground on straw mattresses and supplies were poor. The article stated that, “Food was of the worst possible description, the attendants unskilled in their duties, no pillows, no sheets, no shirts, no anything.” While it blamed the Italian government for its neglect of the volunteers, it praised the work of Dr. Prandina and Mrs. Chambers, claiming that Chambers, working with the English ladies’ committee and the Milan committee of ladies, was compensating for the failures of the Italian government and providing comforts for the soldiers.144 The British press thus revealed the extent of their ethnocentric sense of British superiority. They believed that Englishwomen working through private non-state networks could accomplish more than the Italian state itself. Chambers, Schwabe, White Mario, and the other transnational women largely shared this conception and believed that they could make an impact on Italian life in ways that the Italian government could or would not.

Chambers and White Mario did not just collect and distribute supplies, but also worked as nurses superintending the Italian volunteer field hospitals. Continuing her work from 1860,

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144 “The Garibaldian Army,” The Standard (London, England), Wednesday, July 25, 1866; pg. 5; Issue 13093. One of the goods she provided was an ambulance, which could carry up to five wounded men. Describing the ambulance, it reported, “The sides are of leather, and roll up to allow the air to enter on the side furthest from the sun; the tressels on which the men lie are capable of being lifted in and out and made into beds. There is a tank for water, and numerous other conveniences.” The ambulance was regarded as perfectly suited for the job. A similar report was published in the Liverpool Mercury. “Mrs. Chambers and the Wounded Garibaldians,” Liverpool Mercury etc (Liverpool, England), Saturday, July 28, 1866; Issue 5771. Providing the best medical technology and supplies was a major part of their work and the quality of the ambulance Chambers purchased was remembered by the Standard a year later at a medical exhibition in Paris. See: “The Paris Exhibition,” The Standard (London, England), Thursday, May 09, 1867; pg. 5; Issue 13340.
White Mario joined Garibaldi’s forces and was given a position of authority within the ambulances. She was later joined by Mary Chambers, who had traveled to Italy alongside her husband, Lieut-Colonel Chambers who was serving in the Italian army. English newspaper reports generally praised White Mario’s work with the ambulance and considered it an additional chapter to add to her legend as Garibaldi’s nurse. Others, however, focused on the select days, such as the Battle of Bezecca, where the hospital administration broke down, and told a story of how Mary Elizabeth Chambers and another English lady, Madame Civalleri, wife of the telegraph officer, were relied upon to provide sole aid. They added that, Chambers even, “tore up a portion of her personal apparel to form bandages, and at her own expense purchased food and drink for them, and then, aided by her friend, bathed and bandaged the wounds of the men.” The popularity of these stories is almost undoubtedly due to popular English ethnocentrism, as the English accounts condemned the Italian government for providing inadequate supplies while emphasizing the skill and reliability of the English women.

White Mario also wrote her own accounts of that day. She claimed that people too often focused on the day of Bezecca, when visitors to the temporary hospitals noted the harsh conditions and witnessed how the surgeon-general both declined six Neapolitan surgeons who offered their services gratis and refused to allow the Milanese squadron to act independently. She argued, however, that these refusals were for the ultimate good of the patients, who needed a

146 “The Belfast News-Letter,” The Belfast News-Letter (Belfast, Ireland), Wednesday, June 20, 1866; Issue 33404; “Domestic Intelligence,” The Bradford Observer (Bradford, England), Thursday, June 21, 1866; pg. 3; Issue 1688.
147 “War Notes,” The Pall Mall Gazette (London, England), Saturday, July 28, 1866; Issue 458; “The Battle of Bezzica,” Glasgow Herald (Glasgow, Scotland), Monday, July 30, 1866; Issue 8288; “Hospital Service in the Tyrol,” The Dundee Courier & Argus (Dundee, Scotland), Wednesday, August 29, 1866; Issue 4076.
148 “The War,” The Standard (London, England), Saturday, July 28, 1866; pg. 5; Issue 13096; Other accounts claimed that White Mario and Chambers were the two women present. See: Sala, 111.
149 Spicer, 233.
level of trained care that those Neapolitan surgeons could not provide.\textsuperscript{150} She also claimed that no one could have believed the fighting that would happen on July 21\textsuperscript{st} at Bezzecca and would not have been medically prepared for it, but admitted that the medical care that day was problematic and that people were dying without getting medical assistance.\textsuperscript{151} She added that until the arrival of the official Italian military doctors, she was assisted by two English women, Mary Chambers and Flora Durant and thus defended herself and her fellow Englishwomen while taking part in the trend of casting blame upon the Italian government.\textsuperscript{152}

In her accounts, she also emphasized the danger that she and the other nurses faced during the war and claimed that when she worked as a nurse in 1866 and 1867 the sanitary corps were not yet protected by the Geneva Convention of the Red Cross.\textsuperscript{153} The Geneva convention, adopted in 1864, had provided for the neutrality of all ambulances and hospitals and their supplies, equipment, and personnel, and adopted a distinguishing flag, badge, and uniform to protect them.\textsuperscript{154} Chambers also acknowledged the grisly horrors of war but was proud of the Italian soldiers’ bravery, stating, “I have seen limbs amputated without chloroform, and never heard a murmur. I have remained by their sides in the hour of death, and seen it welcomed

\textsuperscript{150} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances-Part II,” 73-74. She also defended Bertani and claimed that he did not tolerate any bad work or insubordination and did an astounding and effective job running the hospitals.
\textsuperscript{151} Jessie White Mario, Agostino Bertani e i suoi tempi, Vol. II (Firenze: Tipografia di G. Barbera, 1888) 328.
\textsuperscript{152} White Mario, Agostino Bertani e i suoi tempi, Vol. II, 328.
\textsuperscript{153} Jessie White Mario, Garibaldi e i suoi tempi (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1884) 755.
\textsuperscript{154} Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia L. Dock, A History of Nursing: The Evolution of Nursing Systems from the Earliest Times to the Foundation of the First English and American Training Schools for Nurses, Vol. II (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1907, 1935) 314-16. The Red Cross began after Swiss gentleman, Henri Dunant, visited the battlefield the day after Solferino in 1859 and saw the carnage. Distraught at the loss of life and lack of medical care, he wrote A Souvenir of Solferino, advocating for the organization of some sufficient way of caring for the wounded after battle. Later, in Geneva, he received help from M. Gustav Moynier, the president of the Society of Public Utility who wanted to help the soldiers. They called an international congress to meet in Geneva in October 1863 to determine how the horrors of war could be lessened for the wounded and the sick and representatives from 14 nations attended. They met again in 1864 to issue the Geneva Convention.
because met in their country’s cause.” Battlefield nursing was thus still quite dangerous and gruesome and took women out of the safety and seclusion of the private sphere.

Even though the English press praised Chambers and the other women at the expense of the Italians, the Italian people also praised them for their efforts. On August 30th 1866, for instance, Dr. Prandina wrote to Mary Chambers, saying that he knew she was leaving for England in a few days and felt that, “I should fail in my duty if I did not express to you, in the name of every one of the Sick and Wounded whom you have so kindly assisted and benefited, as well as in my own, all the gratitude which is your undoubted right.” The Brescian Committee for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded Italian Volunteers and Soldiers also gave a speech thanking Chambers as the President of the English Ladies’ Committee. Finally, Garibaldi also wrote repeatedly to Chambers and the English committee to thank them for their aid. English newspapers then published these letters of gratitude from Garibaldi to Chambers and the Ladies’ Committee in England, reinforcing the idea that the English had provided invaluable services to the Italians.

155 Response to Address from the Brescian Committee for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded Italian Volunteers and Soldiers to the President of the English Ladies’ Committee,” ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italy 1866” (Vol. C).
156 Dr. Prandina to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 30 August 1866, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italy 1866” (Vol. C).
157 “Address from the Brescian Committee for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded Italian Volunteers and Soldiers to the President of the English Ladies’ Committee,” ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italy 1866” (Vol. C).
158 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 1 September 1866, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 2, Ins. 4; Giuseppe Garibaldi to the Comitato delle Signore Inglesi, 1 September 1866, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 2, Ins. 5; Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 21 September 1866, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 2, Ins. 6.
Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has shown how Jessie White Mario, Sara Nathan, Giorgina Saffi, Mary Elizabeth Chambers, and Julia Salis Schwabe worked within the non-state transnational networks of the left to continue the dream of a radical Risorgimento. They fought to liberate Venice and Rome and to create a more republican but also more Protestant Italy. They were trusted contacts behind the scenes, tasked with organizing networks, collecting funds, and distributing supplies, and were made part of planning revolutionary uprisings. They were also important in the public eye, giving lectures, placing advertisements in newspapers, and serving as the subject for additional newspaper articles. Throughout their actions, they acknowledged their status as women and worked with others who thought that their status as women made them better suited to certain duties, such as appealing for money or nursing the sick, but also challenged ideas about acceptable female behavior, by having strong political opinions, by evincing a strong knowledge of financial affairs, and by refusing to stay in the protected safety of domestic sphere.
Chapter 4: Memorializing the Risorgimento:

Shaping Historical Narratives

In this chapter, I show how Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, Mary Chambers, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Julia Salis Schwabe worked behind the scenes and in the public eye to shape the narrative of the Risorgimento for future generations. As non-state agents, they sought to correct the flaws they viewed in the official state narratives, which glorified the monarchy, by promoting alternate accounts that celebrated the contributions and sacrifices the radical left made to unification and that advocated for a more republican and less Catholic Italy. I further show how they worked simultaneously as historians, preserving memory and shaping narratives, and as educators, transmitting these narratives to the youth of Italy.

Once again these women of the left took a traditionally feminine behavior, in this instance the collection and storage of family letters and papers, and used it for a nontraditional purpose, the promotion of a political agenda. They also adopted unusual roles for women by acting as authors of nonfiction works and as literary agents. In this capacity they directed the translations of others, negotiated contracts for book deals and foreign copyrights, considered potential sales and the financial realities of the book market, and had their work reviewed, sometimes favorably and sometimes not, in the press. Their work behind the scenes collecting and editing letters made an impact on the public narrative through the archives, edited volumes, and biographical works that appeared as a result. Furthermore, they made a lasting impact on the course of history and left a record for future historians to follow.
Throughout this work White Mario, Chambers, and the others took advantage of their transnational status. Not only were they well-suited to act as editors and translators of Italian writings made available for a British public, shaping not only the language but also the sentiments used, but they were in the right position to shape the representation of Italy for audiences abroad through the works they produced. Their writings added to stereotypes of Italians abroad by showing the poverty of the Italian state and by blaming this poverty on governmental corruption and the ruinous impact of the Roman Catholic Church. While these sentiments were generally acceptable to a British audience and to a leftist Italian audience, they also reinforced negative assumptions about the average Italian and contributed to Orientalist discourses.

This chapter begins with general background on what women were reading and writing in Liberal Italy, focusing on the most popular journals for women and most popular subjects for female Italian authors. I then discuss what historians have already written about women and writing in Italy, showing how they have neglected the important work women performed in nonfiction writing and behind the scenes of the publishing world. The remainder of the chapter then examines the specific work of Chambers, Nathan, Saffi, White Mario, and Schwabe. I first show how they collected the letters and documents of loved ones and established archives, emphasizing how this was both a private and public duty. The next section examines how they worked as translators and editors to publish these letters alongside the important writings of their loved ones. I then show how White Mario and Chambers published stories and histories of the Risorgimento, highlighting how they used the work done by the network of women behind the scenes to make their stories more accurate. Finally, I examine how White Mario documented Italy’s socio-economic troubles, arguing that while her work attempted to uncover problems,
educate, and push for change, it also contributed to Orientalist narratives of the Italian state. Overall, I argue that these women understood the importance of public and historical narratives and used the printed word to ensure that their republican, leftist, and anti-Catholic view of Italy was not forgotten.

**Historical Background: Women as Writers in Italy**

The majority of Italian women rarely engaged directly with the printed word and most were incapable of either reading or writing their own texts. According to the general census in 1861, female illiteracy averaged 86% in rural areas and 77% in towns and cities.\(^1\) The Italian state attempted to improve the literacy of its women through the Casati Law, which made two years of schooling compulsory for both boys and girls, but by 1902 62% of Italian women were still illiterate.\(^2\) Most middle-class girls who received state education in Italy in the late nineteenth century, however, finished schooling between the ages of 12 and 16 after receiving a curriculum in arithmetic, Italian grammar, physics, biology, history, geography, religious education, art, pedagogy, French, calligraphy, and housework. In October 1874 women were granted official permission to enter the universities and in 1877 Ernestina Paper, a Jewish woman of Russian origin, became the first woman to graduate in the new Italian state, with a degree in medicine from the University of Pisa. Women did not have the proper access to secondary education to prepare them for university, however, so from 1877 to 1900 only 257 women graduated from Italian universities.\(^3\) Lucia Re has argued that the Italian Liberal state intentionally limited

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\(^1\) Mitchell, *Italian Women Writers*, 9. In 1871 the census listed the illiteracy rate as 75.8% for women and 61.8% for men. See: Re, “Passion and Sexual Difference,” 159.

\(^2\) Mitchell, *Italian Women Writers*, 9. These numbers are even more shocking when one takes into account the low standards set for literacy; if a person could write their name and read a short passage they were regarded as literate.

\(^3\) Mitchell, *Italian Women Writers*, 12.
education for women, accepting basic literacy and education, but discouraging women from advanced studies and pushing them towards careers in primary education.4

Female authors of the Liberal Period generally restricted themselves to the spheres of pedagogical writing and fiction. The most notable female novelists of the Liberal Era were Matilde Serao, Neera, and la Marchesa Colombi. Pedagogical writings were the most widely accepted, as they were arguably an extension of women’s natural roles as mothers, while novels were deemed appropriate only if their message was moral and reinforced women’s roles as wives and mothers.5 Moderate state-building rhetoric prized moral virtues and relied on women to provide peace, stability, and the education of children, imparting values of obedience, respect for authority, parsimony, and charity. In this context, a woman’s destiny was motherhood, and writing was only acceptable as an extension of that destiny.6

Many women also took advantage of the female convention of letter writing to publish their ideas. Letters were a regular feature in Italian print media in the nineteenth century, especially in periodicals devoted to female readership. Many well-known public figures submitted letters discussing issues of interest to women, such as education, school reform, and changing social identities and gender roles. In 1870, for instance, Erminia Fuà Fusinato wrote a series of letter-articles for the journal Passatempo on the topic of female education.7 Regular citizens who wanted to voice their opinion in the public sphere while remaining comfortably in the safety of their own home also sent in letters. Editors deplored the practice of sending in

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4 Re, 160.
5 Mitchell, Italian Women Writers, 18.
6 Re, 163.
7 Romani, Postal Culture, 67-68.
anonymous letters, which they thought allowed for weak argumentation and a lack of accountability, but they continued to publish them.⁸

The few scattered women’s journals existing before unification were joined by many others afterwards, due in part to increasing literacy rates and to increasing commitment to the figure of the citizen mother, who would educate her children using the best pedagogical techniques. These journals were often, but not always, financed and directed by men, and many of their articles may have been written by male, rather than female, authors. As most articles were published anonymously or under pseudonyms, it is difficult to tell. Popular women’s journals in the Liberal Era included Museo di famiglia (1861-79, Milan), Il Passatempo (1869-72, Turin), Giornale delle Donne (1872-1940, Turin), Vita Intima (1890-91, Milan), Cornelia (1872-1880, Florence), and La Donna (1868-92, Padua, Venice, Bologna).⁹ These journals had varying levels of commitment to women’s issues. Many of the journals dedicated to women were not interested in altering gender roles, and instead published articles on topics considered appropriate or of interest to women, including serialized novels and short stories, or articles on fashion, lifestyle, and home furnishing. Gabriella Romani argues that the Passatempo, which became the Giornale delle Donne in 1872, and Gualberta Adelaide Beccari’s La Donna, were among the most outspoken in advocating for the social and cultural advancement of Italian women.¹⁰

La Donna was an emancipationist journal founded by Beccari that ran from 1868 to 1890. Its mission was to promote solidarity between women on the national and international

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⁸ Romani, Postal Culture, 56-63.
⁹ Mitchell, Italian Women Writers, 33-47.
¹⁰ Romani, Postal Culture, 69.
level. At its peak, La Donna could count on about 1,200 subscribers, primarily teachers, but also pedagogues and female professionals from the upper and middle-classes. Women who wrote for La Donna included Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Sara Nathan, Adelaide Cairoli, Carlotta Ferrari, Angelica Bartolommei Palli, Laura Beatrice Mancini Olivia, Laura Solera Mantegazza, and Giannina Milli. La Donna was unique as it was the only publication to be run by women for women and because it eschewed the traditionally female subjects that filled the pages of other women’s journals. Instead, it published announcements of first women graduates and figures for women’s low salaries and poor working conditions, as well as articles about educational reforms, new schools for girls, the Civil Code, debates on proposals for changing legislation on prostitution, and on the position of spinsters in society.

Cornelia, another popular women’s journal, has received less attention. Aurelio Cimino Folliero De Luna founded the moderate emancipationist journal in Florence in 1872. The paper was named after Cornelia, the famed mother of the ancient Roman reformers the Gracchi, in honor of her balance of culture and education with wifely and maternal virtues. De Luna attempted to strike a balance in the journal. She published short stories, articles on science, and articles on typically female subjects like fashion or pedagogy as well as articles on moderate feminist issues, such as education, the working formation of women, and the role of women inside the family. The paper failed in 1880 after deviating from its usual moderate approach to include discussions of more controversial issues like divorce and women’s suffrage. Writers for Cornelia included Dora d'Istria, Malvina Frank, Erminia Fuá Fusinato, Ernesta Napollon

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13 Mitchell, Italian Women Writers, 35-47.
14 Eleonora Marvelli, Aurelio Cimino Folliero de Luna: giornalismo al femminile per ‘una forte e morale generazione,’ (Firenze: Centro editorial toscano, 2005) 25.
15 Marvelli, 9, 31.
Margarita, Eva Cattermole Mancini, Teresa de Gubernatis, Elena Ballio, Nina Olivetti, la Marchesa Colombi, and Ida Baccini.\(^{16}\)

Few women worked as journalists for mainstream newspapers and those who did mainly wrote fiction or articles about traditionally female topics, including fashion and gossip.\(^{17}\) Notably, la Marchesa Colombi and Matilde Serao wrote articles about women’s issues for mainstream Italian publications, including *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, and *il Corriere di Roma*.\(^{18}\) The opportunities available for women as non-fiction writers were quite sparse but not non-existent. This chapter shows how Jessie White Mario was able to make a living for herself through her work writing political, socio-economic, and historical articles for Italian newspapers.

**Historiography of Italian Women Writers**

General works on the history of Italian women or female emancipation sometimes include a discussion of female authorship. Women’s histories, aiming to demonstrate the emergence of a feminist movement in the early Liberal Era generally focus on the role of women’s journals, like *La Donna*, and networks of communication between women, while cultural or literary histories focus on the importance of novels and novel writers.\(^{19}\)

Most scholarship on Italian female authors from the Liberal Era focuses on the popular writers of fiction rediscovered during the Italian feminist period of the 1970s, mainly Colombi, Neera, and Serao. Though these authors were avowedly non-feminist, scholars frequently search out their connections to the feminist movement and debate the extent to which their actions could

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\(^{16}\) Marvelli, 28-29.
\(^{17}\) Patriarca, “Journalists and essayists, 1850-1915,” 151-163.
\(^{18}\) Mitchell, *Italian Women Writers*, 34.
\(^{19}\) For feminist histories see: *Donne e giornalismo: percorsi e presenze di una storia di genere*; Gazzetta, “Figure e correnti dell’emancipazionismo post-unitario.” For cultural and literary histories see: *A History of Women’s Writing in Italy*, ed. Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood; *L’emancipazione: diritti e doveri. Conferenze livornesi sul giornalismo femminile tra Ottocento e Novecento*, ed. Fabio Bertini; Re, “Passion and Sexual Difference.”
be conceived of as feminist or helpful to women. Teresa G. Russo, for instance, argued that
Serao aided women by using realism to capture the struggles of women in the south.²⁰ In her
writings, Katharine Mitchell noted that although these women did not write about feminist issues
in publications for men, in women’s magazines they would reveal concern about women's issues,
such as the confinement to the private sphere, lack of access to the professions, arranged
marriages, and legal subordination to men. She also noted how they were bound by a sense of
female solidarity which cut across class boundaries, political views, regional differences, and
ideas on the female question, and would support each other, sending letters and sharing ideas.
Though they had their disagreements, she argued, they were generally unified around a middle-
class idea of respectability and fighting for respect for women.²¹

Mitchell expanded upon these ideas in her recent work, Italian Women Writers: Gender
and Everyday Life in Fiction and Journalism, 1870-1910.²² In this work, Mitchell looks at the
same authors, but places them into the larger world of female writing, including domestic fiction
and non-fiction writing. Mitchell argued that these relatively understudied genres, namely
domestic fiction, journalistic works for women, essays, and conduct manuals, “offered women
writers a means of addressing and engaging with the social and political issues of the day vis-à-
vis the ‘woman question’ during the period 1870 to 1910.”²³ She argued that through these
genres, female authors taught other women to recognize the limitations of the traditional roles of
wife and mother. In doing so, she continued her process of finding feminist aspects in works that
had been viewed as merely traditional. Gabriella Romani took on a similar project in her work,

²⁰ Teresa G. Russo, “Matilde Serao: A True Verista for the Female Character,” International Social Science Review,
²¹ Katharine Mitchell, “‘Sorelle in arte (e politica)’: The ‘Woman Question’ and Female Solidarity at the Fin de
Siecle” in Women and Gender in Post-Unification Italy: Between Private and Public Spheres (Bern: Peter Lang,
2013); Mitchell, “La Marchesa Colombi, Neera, Matilde Serao.”
²² Mitchell, Italian Women Writers.
²³ Mitchell, Italian Women Writers, 5.
Postal Culture, in which she examined how women took advantage of the traditional female practice of letter writing to publish novels, newspapers, and epistolary manuals.  

Some scholarship on women’s writing has focused on the pioneering women who led the journals. Marjan Schwegman wrote a biography of La Donna’s Beccari and Eleanora Marvelli wrote a biography of Cornelia’s De Luna. These works not only provide information on the personal background, actions, and motivations of the women, but also place them into a larger context, discussing them as intellectual figures who were connected to larger social and cultural movements and who made informed and principled decisions about the content they wanted printed in their journals. They also recognize the institutional aspect of their work, showing how they were actively running a business, monitoring finances, and worrying over subscription figures. By studying De Luna, Marvelli wanted to draw interest and attention to an understudied figure. She argued that women’s historians often overlook De Luna and in doing so ignore the level of fame and influence she achieved during her lifetime and understate the difficulties that moderate feminists faced, caught between the conflicting demands of conservative and radical forces. Marvelli also emphasizes De Luna’s connections to the international feminist movement, noting, for instance, her inclusion in the Italian delegation to the International Congress for the Rights of Women in 1878.

General histories of journalism in the nineteenth century rarely discuss women. The works on Italy examine the importance of a burgeoning print media, the connections between Italian papers and political parties, the emergence of children’s literature, and new technologies

24 Romani, Postal Culture.
25 Schwegman, Gualberta Alaide Beccari: emancipazionista e scrittrice (Pisa: Domus Mazziniana, 1996); Marvelli, Aurelio Cimino Folliero de Luna: giornalismo al femminile per ‘una forte e morale generazione.’
26 Marvelli, 9.
27 Marvelli, 59-60.
that made the press faster and more accessible. Some of the works, such Silvia Valisa’s essay on the Casa editrice Sonzogno, explore how various Italian newspapers and publishing houses functioned as institutions. Female authors, however, are only mentioned when they write in women’s journals or in mainstream journals about women’s issues and little to no mention is made of women who write traditional political articles. Works on British and American journalism similarly ignore the role of women, saying they did not play a role until the early 20th century.

A few historians, including Silvana Patriarca, Rossela Certini, and Ivo Biagianti have written about female journalists in Italy, including Jessie White Mario. Patriarca claimed that there were three categories of female journalists: those who viewed themselves first as journalists, such as Ida Baccini, who was the director of Cordelia, a popular journal for girls, from 1884 to 1911; those who wrote about education, such as Caterina Francheshi Ferrucci; and those who wrote to promote radical ideals, such as Anna Maria Mozzoni. In her work, Jessie White Mario: una giornalista educatrice: tra liberalismo inglese e democrazia italiana, showed how Jessie White Mario fit into this third category of writers by using both her Risorgimento biographies and her investigative work on social topics to educate the populace. Certini’s work is notable because it discusses in depth the work of a woman writing non-fiction investigative

31 Ivo Biagianti, La nuova Italia nelle corrispondenze americane di Jessie White Mario, 1866-1906 (Firenze: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 1999).
33 Certini, Jessie White Mario: una giornalista educatrice.
articles about social and political issues in the mainstream press. It also addresses the category of historical writing, which few of the other works do. I build on the work of Certini and combine it with the insights Lucy Riall made about how Italian radicals, including White Mario, used the press to promote their radical agenda. My research reveals the important role women played both behind the scenes and as listed authors in creating published narratives of the Risorgimento that would promote their political agenda and educate the future generation of Italian citizens. I also show the important transnational component of their published works and show how their works created an image of Italy for foreign audiences.

**Archiving the Risorgimento: The Preservation of Memory**

One of the ways in which Nathan, Schwabe, White Mario, and the others shaped the legacy of the Risorgimento was by collecting the letters and documents of their friends and family and placing these documents into archives for public consumption. Though many women collected and stored family letters, fewer women made their family letters public or saw their family history as an important component of their nation’s history. These women, however, believed they had a sacred duty to guarantee that these artifacts were not lost and that they would be available to the public for generations to come. By working as archivists, they shaped the historical narrative and provided documents that many twenty-first-century historians have used.

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34 Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*.
35 For more information on how women collected private memories and prepared them for public consumption, see: Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photography Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
Giorgina Saffi, Julie Salis Schwabe, and Mary Elizabeth Chambers all set up small archives, documenting the Risorgimento and their family’s contribution to it. Starting after her husband’s death in 1890, Saffi devoted herself to collecting all of Aurelio Saffi’s private and published papers. She worked with her children in this endeavor, calling on them to help in her comprehensive collection. In March of 1899, for instance, she wrote to her son Naldino asking him to find some of Aurelio Saffi’s writings from *Il Popolo d’Italia*, a Neapolitan paper founded in 1860. She wrote that this was part of her goal to, “collect as much as possible all the writings of your Father.”

Her commitment to the project was so complete that in 1899 she also asked Naldino Saffi to look in the Archivio della Camera for Aurelio Saffi’s letter of resignation and, if possible, to “find someone who has the courage to steal it for me and send me the original!”

Saffi also retained the family correspondence. Some of the letters she intended to remain private. The letters between her and Aurelio Saffi prior to their marriage, in particular, she considered “an intimate history and sacred for us,” and were to be buried alongside her (though a copy would be kept in the family archives in case her children wanted to know what had happened). The family correspondence from the over three decades of their marriage, however, she kept, categorized and ordered, and stored alongside the papers that documented the political and educational contributions of Aurelio Saffi. The Saffi family heirs kept the papers in the ancestral Saffi home San Varano in Forlì until 1978 when the Library of the Archiginnasio di Bologna acquired the papers. To this day, they are available to researchers and have been utilized in recently published works on Italian Unification and Italian women’s history.

37 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Naldino Saffi, March 21st 1899, MCRR, b. 1170, f.32.
38 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Naldino Saffi, May 7th 1899, MCRR, b.1170, f.32.
39 Inventario, BAB, Fondo Saffi, p.4.
40 Inventario, BAB, Fondo Saffi, p.4.
41 Inventario, BAB, Fondo Saffi, p.4.
Mary Elizabeth Chambers also self-consciously created an archive that displayed her contribution to history. The Chambers family collected and stored Garibaldi memorabilia at their home Putney House in England, acting as museum creators in their own limited way. Keeping the memory of Garibaldi’s military conquests alive in England, they displayed many relics of Garibaldi in their home, including a sword given to Colonel Chambers by Garibaldi and the flag Garibaldi had in Montevideo. In 1882 after Garibaldi’s death Chambers gave the sword and flag to the city of Rome, ensuring its place in Italian legacy and memory.42 Chambers also saved the letters that showed her close connection to Garibaldi and the Garibaldian movement and on January 15th 1878 gave the papers to her close friend Mrs. Arthur Arnold, who later entrusted them to Mr. Paul Hyde Thompson. In 1998, Thompson’s family gave the papers to the Central State Archives in Rome, making them available to the scholarly public.43 Chambers’ archive is somewhat unusual, as it emphasizes her personal contribution and connection to the movement, rather than her husband’s. Though the papers include references to John Chambers, they are focused on Mary Chambers and the archive is in her name, rather than his.

Julia Salis Schwabe also kept papers relevant to her work with the Risorgimento.44 In his seminal work *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, British historian George Macaulay Trevelyan lists the Schwabe MSS as a source. He claimed these were the papers of the late Mrs. Schwabe, which were now property of her daughter Lady Lockwood, and included a journal by Schwabe from her visit to Caprera in May 1861, an account by her gardener of his visit to Caprera in November 1861, and poems of Garibaldi on Caprera.45 In *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*,

43 Inventario, Fondo Chambers, ACS.
44 At one point, Schwabe had also been entrusted with Garibaldi’s journal. During the Sicilian campaign in 1860 to 1861 Garibaldi entrusted his personal journal to Schwabe, with directions for her to publish it in the case of his death. Schwabe then gave the journal to Bertani, who promised to return it to Garibaldi, but first gave it to Dumas, who then wrote a biography of Garibaldi partially based on the journal. See: Bent, 19.
Trevelyan again cited papers collected by Schwabe, including: Medici’s list of arms brought by the Queen of England to Messina; De Rohan’s letter re: formation of British Legion; Madame Mario’s account of hospitals at Caserta; and Garibaldi’s letter to Bixio from Caprera, Nov. 10, 1860. Like Saffi and Chambers, Schwabe was also collecting papers and participating in the formation of historical narratives. I have not, however, found reference to her papers in the twenty-first century and believe they are still in a private collection rather than available for public use like Chambers’ and Saffi’s archives.

Jessie White Mario, rather than collecting her own papers or those of her husband Alberto Mario, collected those of her friends and colleagues in the Risorgimento and in the reform movements of Liberal Italy. One of Jessie White Mario’s major projects involved collecting and ordering the papers of her friend and collaborator Agostino Bertani. Over a thirty-year period, Bertani periodically sent White Mario papers, letters, and documents pertaining to his Risorgimento work, with the request that she would order and store them. When Bertani died in 1886 in absolute poverty, White Mario, as a friend and historian worked to sell the documents to benefit Bertani’s widowed sister. White Mario explained that,

This I was enabled to do by making a fourfold catalogue of over 17,000 letters, papers, and documents. These, examined by experienced directors of Archives in Milan, were purchased by the unanimous vote of the Municipal Council for the ‘Tempio del Risorgimento’ in that city, and 30,000 francs were paid to Bertani’s widowed sister. The ‘Bertani Archives’ will be accessible to the public as soon as the authorities have organized their ‘Temple.48

47 Agostino Bertani (1812-1886) was a friend to both Mazzini and Cattaneo. He participated in the 5 Days in Milan in 1848 and in the Roman Republic in 1849. In the wars for independence from 1859 to 1867, he served alongside Garibaldi as a soldier, secretary, and doctor. In 1866, he directed the medical services and where he worked alongside Jessie White Mario. He and White Mario also collaborated on the campaign against state-regulated prostitution. For more, see Chapter 6.
48 Soon after Bertani’s death, Aurelio Saffi wrote to Jessie White Mario, sympathizing with her over her grief and went on to explain that he was happy to hear that Bertani had left so many of his papers in White Mario’s care. He explained that no one could turn the papers into a treasure for the history of the Italian Risorgimento better than she could. See: Aurelio Saffi to Jessie White Mario, May 29th 1886, MCRR, b.430, f. 29(4).
White Mario had also worked alongside Bertani and Francesco Crispi to collect many of Carlo Cattaneo’s papers.⁴⁹ Due to White Mario’s efforts, both Cattaneo and Bertani’s papers are currently available to researchers today in the Risorgimento archive in Milan.

While they also worked on these other projects, the most important task for the Mazzinians was the collection of all of Mazzini’s writings and letters. This was an enormous task and one that required them to work collaboratively. Nathan, Saffi, and White Mario worked diligently to find and collect the letters. This involved discovering who had kept letters sent by Mazzini, convincing those people to part with their letters, receiving the correspondence, and then ordering the correspondence into a logical format.

They were particularly interested in collecting and publishing Mazzini’s letters to his mother, to whom he was quite close. The process of how these letters were collected is illustrative of the many techniques used generally in their project.⁵⁰ The first step for Craufurd Saffi, White Mario, and Nathan was to obtain the letters from Emilie Ashurst Venturi, to whom Mazzini’s mother had initially entrusted the letters written from 1832 to 1850.⁵¹ Though they made many attempts to convince Ashurst Venturi to part with the letters, they were unable to do so until 1885. On August 24th 1885, Giorgina Saffi wrote to White Mario about Ashurst Venturi’s change of heart, saying, “Emily herself has almost spontaneously & most unexpectedly now entrusted to us the whole collection complete- so far as it is possible beginning from 32 down to 50!” Saffi went on to explain that they were still looking through the letters, which had been arranged by year in packets, and that her first step was to, “set about copying them from the

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⁴⁹ Carlo Cattaneo (1801-1869) was an Italian patriot and scholar who promoted a federalist republic for Italy. Alberto Mario was particularly close to Cattaneo. See: Christopher Duggan, Francesco Crispi 1818-1901: From Nation to Nationalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 94-95, 343.

⁵⁰ For more on Mazzini’s relationship to his mother, see D’Amelia, La Mamma.

⁵¹ Gazzetta, Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile, 119.
beginning & trying, so far as I shall be able to do it, to arrange them in order of dates.” These were not all of the letters between Mazzini and his mother, however, and Saffi expressed interested in the potential news White Mario had about the others, saying, “what you tell us of your having found the letters to the Mother from 50 to 52 has a far more important & deeper interest for us.”

In February of 1890, White Mario and Craufurd Saffi were still working together to find and collect these remaining letters from Mazzini to his mother. Their correspondence reveals the confusion that existed among the multitude of Mazzini’s acquaintances and supporters who would have wanted to collect, store, and potentially publish his letters. White Mario had previously received copies of the letters from Adriano Lemmi and had written him to ask if he had the original collection, but she doubted that he had. She knew that Emilie Ashurst Venturi had the letters for the year up until 1859, but was unsure if Sara Nathan had received the rest or if they had remained with Mazzini’s sister. Responding to White Mario in August of 1890, Craufurd Saffi revealed that she had received “the copies of all the letters of Maz. To his Mother /51 & /52,” from Lemmi and would return White Mario’s copies to her when she returned from England. Writing in 1898, for The Nation, Jessie wrote that, “the letters were passed on to the committee, one of whose most active members died in the same year. The surviving members promise to issue the long-looked-for volume from year to year, but it is still a hope deferred.”

As the years went on, more of the Risorgimento cohort died, adding to the confusion and difficulty of communication and collaboration.

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52 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, August 24th 1885, MCRR, b.430, f. 41(11).
53 Postcard from Jessie White Mario to Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, date unclear, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 15, f. 3.
54 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, August 30th 1890, MCRR, b.430, n.28(4).
When the Mazzinians worked beyond their circle, negotiations could become somewhat fraught. While attempting to collect Mazzini’s letters to George Sand, for instance, Sara Nathan faced resistance from Sand and her daughter-in-law Lina Sand Calamatta. While Lina Calamatta claimed that her mother-in-law was collecting the letters and putting them in order, she also specified that they would only be sending over items they felt were suitable for the public and asked Nathan in return to send back all of Sand’s letters to Mazzini, so that they could edit out any items in those letters they felt were not fit to print. Further demanding the letters, Calamatta claimed that as the letters from Mazzini did not contain dates, Madame Sand could only put them into order with the aid of her letters to Mazzini.\textsuperscript{56} Nathan was unwilling to allow others to perform the editorial work of determining what was important and tensions rose. They went back and forth in this matter and on these same subjects for a series of letters.\textsuperscript{57}

The Mazzinians frequently discussed placing the letters into a museum, library, or other public institution. Giorgina and Aurelio Saffi, for instance, envisioned all of Mazzini’s letters ending up at a National Archive in Rome as a testament to his memory for future generations. Craufurd Saffi wrote that the letters were, “a sacred deposit intended one day to be handed over by our children (for we shall probably be dead & gone long before) to a National Archive in Rome, when Rome & Italy will be free & worthy of raising such a Temple to His memory.”\textsuperscript{58} In 1886, Jessie White Mario and Aurelio Saffi contemplated selling some of Mazzini’s letters to the Biblioteca Victor Emmanuel in Rome, but were disappointed to learn from Ernesto Nathan, that the library could not afford to buy them.\textsuperscript{59} White Mario also displayed concern about the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{56} Lina Sand Calamatta to Sara Nathan, April 10\textsuperscript{th} 1873, MCRR, b.138, f.75(1).
  \item \textsuperscript{57} Lina Sand Calamatta to Sara Nathan, May 24\textsuperscript{th} 1873, MCRR, b.138, f.75(2); Lina Sand Calamatta to Sara Nathan, June 29\textsuperscript{th} 1873, MCRR, b.138, f.75(4).
  \item \textsuperscript{58} Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, August 24\textsuperscript{th} 1885, MCRR, b.430, f. 41(11).
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Jessie Va. Mario to Dear Friends, Lendinara, 7 February 1886, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sez, II, b. 16, f. 1.
\end{itemize}
archiving of their work in a letter to Aurelio Saffi from June 19th 1889 when asked Saffi if the letters of the Bandiera brothers to Mazzini had been preserved. She said, “We must get a perfectly original letter, have it photographed & cast to compare with the letters that exist 3 in the Archives at Naples & 2 in the Civico Museo of Venice.”  

White Mario demonstrated the Mazzinian’s desire for authenticity and need to record the past as a duty to the public and to future historians.

For Mazzinians the personal was inextricable from the political and they believed that their private lives, sufferings, and ideals had both public and political value. In a letter to Giorgina Saffi, written shortly after Aurelio Saffi’s death, White Mario expressed her shared grief, saying that it had been eight years since her husband Alberto Mario’s death, and “all the old friends, who had made my life still bearable have joined Alberto in the tomb.” She reassured Saffi, however, that both Alberto Mario and Aurelio Saffi, and everyone else they had lost, would live on through their writings, works, thoughts, and aspirations. She called upon Saffi and the other remaining, “disheartened survivors,” to work, “with all our might to collect them and pass them [the writings] on to present and future generations.”

In the second portion of the letter, White Mario began to criticize the socialist movement in Italy, claiming that it was pushing Italy to become, “anti-humanitarian, anti-national, anti-social, reactionary, selfish,” and accusing it of ignoring the sacrifices the middle class made to achieve Italian unification. She suggested that the problems of the socialist movement could be solved by looking back to the Risorgimento past, to the lives of men like Aurelio Saffi, to see the unity that had once existed between the working and middle classes.  

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60 Jessie White Mario to Aurelio Saffi, Lendinara 19 June 1889, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sez. II, b. 16, f. 1.
62 White Mario in Sperati, 85-86.
and the historical in her letter. While she addressed and shared Craufurd Saffi’s grief, with touching sentiment, she did not retreat to the private sphere. For her, the personal was public and political, and she could not do her duty to the legacy of her lost loved ones, without continuing to immerse herself in modern-day issues.\(^{63}\)

Giorgina Saffi, who shared these sentiments, had published a similar letter in *La Donna* in June 1890, two months after her husband’s death. She began her essay with Mazzini’s quotation, “I do not believe in Death; I believe in Life,” and claimed that she had a sacred duty to visibly pay homage to Mazzini at this moment, when his faith was providing her with such comfort. She argued that Aurelio Saffi would live on, saying, “No- my Aurelio is not dead- He lives and will live on always in us and above us blessing us with his love.” Craufurd Saffi also took a moment of private grief and related it to her larger hopes for Italy, saying that she hoped the day would come when everyone would believe in Mazzin’s religion of Truth and Humanity and would act in a way deserving of the sacrifices of those apostles who had come before.\(^{64}\) Saffi and the others frequently used the word sacred when describing their commitment to Mazzinian ideals and to Mazzini’s memory. Giorgina Saffi and her husband Aurelio Saffi, for instance, believed the letters from Mazzini to his mother had a sacred quality to them and in a letter to White Mario, Craufurd Saffi wrote that they considered the letters, “a sacred deposit not to be alluded to or made use of- Only when all will be copied they must be published by themselves, and stand as the best and truest monument of his life irradiated by his sacred & lifelong devotion to his Mother.”\(^{65}\) In order to fulfill this sacred duty to the fullest, they needed to not only collect

\(^{63}\) White Mario in Sperati, 85-86.
\(^{64}\) “Spigolando: Uno scritto di Giorgina Saffi,” *La Donna* (Bologna) June 15th 1890, a.17, n.8, p. 120.
\(^{65}\) Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, August 24th 1885, MCRR, b.430, f. 41(11).
and store important documents, writings, and letters, but also publish them and disseminate their ideas to the younger generation of Italians.

**Publishing Collections of Letters and Writings**

To fulfill their sacred duty as educators and to spread their narrative of the Risorgimento, the women needed to move beyond collection and archiving to achieve the more widespread publication of these letters and writing. Throughout this process they worked not only as translators, but also as editors, preparing the works for publication and adding in explanatory footnotes, and as agents, managing the contracts, copyrights, and finances. In this section, I also show how Julia Salis Schwabe published a collection of writings and memories of her friend Richard Cobden to promote her school in Naples. Schwabe used the same techniques as the Mazzinian women but worked from her own larger circle of personal acquaintances and to promote her own agenda for Italy.

During his lifetime, Mazzini arranged for the republication of some of his works and White Mario wanted to be a part of this. In August of 1861, White Mario approached Mazzini and his publisher Gino Daelli with a proposal to translate and publish a selection of Mazzini’s writings in England. Mazzini assured her that she had priority claim on the rights saying, “do not fear that anybody will supersede you,” and later that month clarified that Emilie Ashurst Venturi, would not compete with White Mario for the task, saying, “Emilie does not dream of translating my writings.”

When Emilie Ashurst Venturi received a contract in 1862 to translate and

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publish Mazzini’s *Doveri dell’uomo (The Duties of Man)*. White Mario became concerned that she would lose the rights, but Mazzini again assured her that she had a priority claim to the remainder of his writings and, if there was a market for the book and a publisher could be found, he would be pleased to have her translate his works.\(^\text{67}\)

By December of 1862, however, Mazzini had carelessly given the rights of translation for the remaining works to Venturi who then entered into a deal with the publishers Smith and Elder.\(^\text{68}\) White Mario was outraged to hear that Mazzini had ignored her claim and given the rights to Venturi. As Mazzini described in a letter to Matilda Ashurst Biggs, after hearing the news, “Thereupon, rage, fits, horrors. Jessie declares that she means to do so, that she has a written declaration of mine authorizing her, and she will stand by her own right.” Mazzini suggested that Venturi and White Mario work together, with Venturi translating the literary sections and White Mario translating the political, but it did not work, as,

> Emilie flatly refuses every copartnership. Jessie partially assents, but declaring at the same time, with an irritated Juno countenance, that, if so, she must somehow correspond for her part with the publisher, ‘as she does not wish to have any intercourse with the other translator.’\(^\text{69}\)


\(^{69}\) Giuseppe Mazzini to Matilda Biggs, January 16th 1863, Letter 6817, in *Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*. Vol. LXXIII, Epis. XLIV, 339-40. Mazzini further explained that he was quite torn and felt loyalty to both women. He believed each had a right to translate, he explained, “If I cared anything about being translated, I would prefer Emilie: besides, the very thought of hurting her makes me really unhappy. Still- there is the scroll- there the formal right: anteriority. Jessie has given feelings, time, life, everything to Italy: I am bound in affection and gratefulness to her too. From Scylla to Carybdis.”
White Mario eventually wrote a letter to Venturi conceding the right to translate Mazzini’s writings. Afterwards, she devoted her attentions to writing her own narratives and biographies rather than translating Mazzini’s works.

Sara Nathan also found her own way to be exert control over the publication of Mazzini’s works and was heavily involved in the financial and contractual side of the process. Starting in 1863 and going throughout his lifetime, Mazzini periodically consulted Sara Nathan about the publishing of his works, relying on her for routine supervision and trusting her to be in contact with the publishers and to understand and negotiate the financial aspects of having his works translated. He also entrusted her with more difficult negotiations, including the transfer of his works from Gino Daelli’s control to Levino Robecchi’s. Mazzini placed control of the matter in Nathan’s hands saying, “friend, I did not understand what you told me about the contract, the banker...Whatever thing you tell me to do, I will do.” The transfer successfully went through in 1865 and Robecchi took over control starting with the 8th volume of the Scritti. Mazzini again relied on Nathan to guide him through this transition and when Mazzini finally finished the 8th volume, Sara Nathan helped to arrange the manuscript’s transport to Milan. Moreover, she was

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72 Gino Daelli, Mazzini’s original editor, had frequently delayed the publishing of his works, so in 1864, Sara Nathan began to negotiate the transfer of rights for Mazzini’s works from Daelli to Robecchi.
74 Istasia, 140.
negotiating the deal and making sure that the Robecchi paid Mazzini the full 1,000 francs.\textsuperscript{75}

When Robecchi also proved difficult, Mazzini again relied on Nathan to force a prompt publication of the material.\textsuperscript{76} Throughout this process, Sara Nathan acted as a competent business agent handling the contractual and financial realities necessary to publish Mazzini’s idealistic works.

After Mazzini died in 1872, Sara Nathan assumed an even greater control over the publication of his work. Rather than writing about Mazzini, Nathan planned to dedicate her energies to publishing and promoting his writings and began by acquiring Mazzini’s extant printed material as well as the rights to Mazzini’s manuscripts and writings from his sister and heir Antoinetta Mazzini Mazzuccone and his editor Robecchi.\textsuperscript{77} Lingering problems from the initial contract with Daelli plagued the transaction, causing Nathan to lament to White Mario that, “as yet nothing can be determined owing to that infamous contract with Daelli which we are attempting to settle if possible.”\textsuperscript{78} By the end of March, however, Robecchi made an offer to sell the rights for 24,000 francs, and after consulting with Jessie White Mario, Adriano Lemmi, and Maurizio Quadrio, Sara Nathan bought the rights along with Lemmi, Giusepe Castiglioni, and


\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Istasia}, 137-42.

\textsuperscript{78} Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, March 28\textsuperscript{th} 1872, MCRR, b.430, f.22(2).
Sabatino and Pellegrino Roselli. In 1878, she then established the Commissione editrice delle opere di Giuseppe Mazzini (Editing Commission of the Works of Giuseppe Mazzini), which was comprised of Aurelio Saffi, Lemmi, the Rossellis, Castiglioni, and Joseph Nathan. This commission was dominated by the Nathan family, for the Rosselli brothers and Castiglioni were all Sara Nathan’s son-in-laws, married to her daughters Janet, Harriet, and Adah respectively.

Nathan, White Mario, and the Saffis sometimes had difficulties obtaining the rights to the works. In 1873, for instance, Sara Nathan attempted to obtain Mazzini’s correspondence with Madame D’Agoult, more commonly known by her pen name Daniel Stern. While Stern was interested in helping the Mazzinians publish the letters, she had already signed a contract with a publisher and could not give the rights up for another year. The problems regarding copyright continued into the 1880s. In a letter regarding certain of Mazzini’s letters that the Saffi’s wanted to publish, White Mario wrote, ‘it is a great pity that you should not have them all for the Epistolario & I have no right either to use or to give any extract that I have made from them.” She also expressed concern about the purchase of the letters and their price, noting, they are the only set of letters that give us his daily life between 1830 & 1848. If the owners could only be made to believe that no one would ever pay five thousand francs for them, seeing that all his letters to his mother are extant, with those to Fabrizi, to you, to Bertani, to us, ecc. They might be glad to let them go for a thousand francs or so. You should speak to Carducci also about them.

White Mario had to acknowledge the difference between her emotional claim to the letter, as one of Mazzini’s friends and collaborators, and the legal claim of the current owners. As the Mazzinians had a limited budget, they needed to work carefully to ensure that they were not

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79 Istasia, 140. See also: G.M. Castiglioni to Jessie White Mario, January 1st 1885, MCRR, b.430, n. 5.
80 Ciani, 72. Ernesto Nathan was an administrator at first and took Joseph Nathan’s place after his untimely death.
81 Istasia, 143-44.
82 Madame D’Agoult to Sara Nathan, February 19th 1873, MCRR, b.138, f. 76(2). Marie D’Agoult was the true name of author Daniel Stern; Madame D’Agoult to Sara Nathan, August 11th 1873, MCRR, b.138, f. 76(3); Madame D’Agoult to Sara Nathan, December 12th 1873, MCRR, b.138, f. 76(4).
83 Jessie Va. Mario to Dear Friends, Lendinara, 7 February 1886, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 16, f. 1.
spending too much more money on collecting the letters than they could get for selling the edited volumes of letters.

The members of the editing commission also disagreed over how the publishing rights to the works should be set up for the long term. Sara Nathan supported a position of exclusivism, arguing that one of Mazzini’s final wishes was that only a few select people should be in charge of his works, and worked with Maurizio Quadrio to prevent others from publishing Mazzini’s letters. In doing so, Nathan and Quadrio were in conflict with Aurelio Saffi, who advocated for a freer circulation of Mazzini’s writings. Later, however, Giorgina Saffi would discourage Jessie White Mario from publishing her portions of Mazzini’s letters separately from the work being done by Aurelio Saffi. In a letter from 1885, she asked White Mario not to, “make a separate use of that part which you now possess.” Saffi wrote that while she did not expect White Mario to part with her originals, she entreated her to think of the collective goal and not to think of the letters as her individual property, writing, “we do not consider what we have in our hands as our individual property.” Thus, even within the tight Mazzinian community there were multiple plans and projects for the letters that occasionally competed with each other.

White Mario, Saffi, and Nathan not only had to consider copyrights and contracts when preparing Mazzini’s writings for publication, but also had to edit the letters, making them clear and understandable. Because many of his activities were illegal and required secrecy, Mazzini often wrote with intentionally poor handwriting on thin paper and these letters had to be transcribed into legible writing before they could be published. Other letters were written in code, and Jessie White Mario took it upon herself to decode some of them. She wrote, “the most part I was able to decipher,” but claimed that she would need a better collection of the various

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84 Istasia, 140.
85 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, August 24th 1885, MCRR, b.430, f. 41(11).
ciphers used by Mazzini in order to decode the rest. Within the networks, they also worked to clarify details about the letters and provide explanatory footnotes. There were letters from 1840-41, for instance, that mentioned Giorgina Craufurd Saffi’s uncle William Craufurd, who was a Mazzinian, and a portrait that he carried to Italy but there was no explanation of what happened to that portrait. In 1884, Jessie White Mario asked Craufurd Saffi to explain what she knew and to clarify the situation. Though Craufurd Saffi was unable to answer, this exchange of letters indicates how the Mazzinians worked behind the scenes to prepare narratives for public consumption and to fill in gaps in the historical record.

Though she was not a Mazzinian, Julia Salis Schwabe also recognized the value in an edited collection of memories and in 1879 published a collection of letters and speeches regarding her friend Richard Cobden to benefit her school in Naples. Throughout this process, Schwabe experienced many of the same difficulties in dealing with the publishing world that the Mazzinians had. Published in Paris, in French, the book was entitled, *Richard Cobden. Notes sur ses voyages, correspondances, et souvenirs.* In the preface Schwabe explained that while she had originally planned to leave the letters regarding her and her husband’s friendship with Richard

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88 Richard Cobden (1804-1865) was a Radical and Liberal British statesman best known for his promotion of Free Trade, displayed in his support of the Anti-Corn Law League and the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty.
Cobden and his wife to her children, to be published after her death, in the spring of 1877 the Cobden children expressed a desire that she publish the letters and direct the proceeds towards her institution in Naples. This institution, she claimed, was founded on principles, “completely in harmony with those that M. Cobden had professed all his life.” She thus claimed Cobden’s postmortem support for her institution. Schwabe also explained in the preface why she was not publishing in England, stating that the previous autumn, when she had almost finished the preparation of the volume and was excited to publish the work and to establish the association between Cobden’s venerable name and her institution in Naples, a Mr. John Morley began a larger and more complete work on Cobden and asked her not to publish at the same time. As a compromise, Schwabe agreed to publish in French, “the universal language!” so that the public would gain the opportunity to learn about Richard Cobden, her institution would benefit, and the important work of Mr. Morley would not suffer as a result.

Although the work was published in French, it received attention in England. The London Daily News called it, “an interesting little volume,” claiming that while it would add little to the knowledge of a politician or political economist, it would “strengthen the feeling of Mr. Cobden’s thoroughness, manliness, goodness, and honesty.” The Leeds Mercury, published multiple reviews, one of which praised Schwabe’s style, claiming, “The collection is allowed to speak for itself, without any comments on the part of the editor; so one cannot do better than follow such an example.” The article in the Times addressed the controversy over the dual publication of Schwabe and Morley’s books, claiming,

Mme. Schwabe’s recent publication of her correspondence with Cobden does not in the least interfere with the larger work which Mr. Morley has in hand. The letters of Mr. Cobden to Mme. Schwabe began in 1856, and show more of the real mind of the writer than can be gathered from speeches or semi-public epistles. It is thought by the Athenaeum that this correspondence is a valuable contribution to the biography of the great free-trade leader.\footnote{“Literary Notes,” New York Times (New York, NY), 10 November 1879, p.3.}

A gossip column in The Blackburn Standard: Darwen Observer, and North-East Lancashire Advertiser also commented upon the controversy with Morley, claiming that, “Mr. John has also exhibited jealousy of a brother author and prevented the publication in English of Madame Schwabe’s letters from Cobden, because he himself had a Life of Cobden in the press.”\footnote{“What ‘They Say’,” The Blackburn Standard: Darwen Observer, and North-East Lancashire Advertiser, (Blackburn, England) 11 October 1879, p.5.}

Schwabe’s work and her editorial choices were thus the object of much attention.


Those who turn to Mrs. Salis Schwabe’s ‘Reminiscences of Richard Cobden’ (T. Fisher Unwin) with any expectation of finding what the title virtually promises, will be sorely disappointed. There is next to nothing throughout the volume of Richard Cobden the man, as distinguished from Richard Cobden, the champion of Peace and Free Trade,

The reviewer went on to explain that, “A slight change of title might have shown that it was not Mrs. Schwabe’s purpose to swell the flood of personal recollections, but to produce a monument
to Cobden’s single-mindedness, disinterestedness, prescience, and sagacity.” In the end, the reviewer moved on from his dislike of the title and called the book, “unquestionably a work of permanent value.”

The Standard’s review repeated the criticism about the title and went on to criticize Schwabe for not doing more work in the preparation of the book for publication, saying, “though Mrs. Schwabe, like her husband, was an intimate friend of Cobden, she does not appear to have taken the least trouble over the preparation of the work for the Press.” The author complained that she did not explain references to contemporary affairs, add notes or comments, or weave together the events and items into a cohesive whole appealing to readers, “who can have no personal knowledge of the phase of political and economic questions with which they are concerned.” This was the same hands-off style that had been praised in the earlier French edition.

By publishing this work on Cobden, Schwabe performed similar work to the Mazzinians: she published private letters alongside the public speeches and writings of a noted figure to benefit her current project. Rather than promoting a strict political agenda, however, she emphasized the moderate appeal of her school. Additionally, Schwabe’s work shows how she made difficult editorial decisions and was subject to controversy over these decisions in the press.

Writing the Risorgimento: Shaping the Memory of Italy

White Mario and Chambers also wrote, translated, and edited narratives of the Risorgimento. Both women helped Garibaldi to publish his autobiography and his novels and to make them both profitable and acceptable for an English audience. White Mario also wrote

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numerous biographies and newspaper articles discussing the Risorgimento and famous figures within it. She worked intentionally as a historian and educator, taking the letters and documents collected behind the scenes and using them to correct the problems in existing narratives. As many historians cited her works, she succeeded in creating a lasting impact.

Lucy Riall has demonstrated how Garibaldi used his writings to craft not only his image but the image of the Risorgimento as well. White Mario and Chambers were vital parts of this process. While White Mario promised to translate Garibaldi’s *Mille* into English to help him, Garibaldi actually relied on Chambers to arrange for a Miss Winter to translate the book. Chambers was frequently put in a position of trust, power, and control in regards to his financial and publishing affairs. In March 1874, for instance, she arranged the sale of the American and foreign copyrights of the *Mille* and later that month Garibaldi gave her total control over the work, telling her to make whatever changes she deemed necessary. Throughout 1874 and 1875, Chambers and Garibaldi corresponded frequently as she helped to direct the publication of *The Mille*.

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99 Curatulo, *Giuseppe Garibaldi: Lettere ad Anita e ad altre donne*. 92. In November 1873, Garibaldi wrote to Chambers about the *Mille*. He wrote that, as he had done for *Clelia*, he would first send her the manuscript and entrust it to her. He also instructed her to work with a Miss Winter. See, *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 4 November 1873, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 9, Ins. 5. In December 1873, he wrote again, explaining that he wanted Miss Winter to do the translation, but that he would rely upon her patronage to make it work. See, *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 23 December 1873, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 9, Ins. 8.

100 In November 1873, for instance, Garibaldi wrote to Chambers again explaining that Dr. Timoteo Riboli of Turin had the manuscript of the *Mille* and was waiting to send it to her. See: *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 17 November 1873, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 9, Ins. 7. In a letter from April 1874, he reaffirmed that Riboli would be sending the manuscript. See: *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 14 April 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 4. Later in April, he reassured Chambers that he believed that his manuscript for the *Mille* would be safe in her hands and that she should feel secure that she was the best intermediary for the majority of his manuscripts. See: *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 28 April 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 5.

101 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 10 March 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 1; *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 16 March 1874, ACS Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 2; M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 18 April 1873, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2774.

102 *Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers*, 20 May 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 6; Garibaldi to Chambers, 8 June 1874, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 10, Ins. 8;
Chambers made Garibaldi’s works more acceptable to English publishers and an English audience. Part of this involved increasing the anticlerical aspects of his writings and arguing that he needed to include more facts to back up his claims about the immorality of Roman Catholic priests. She encouraged Garibaldi and his secretary Basso to find a collection of Italian newspaper articles, “containing an account of [the priests’] immoral lives &c, &c- Any trials and convictions of them would be most useful.”103 For the second edition, she again recommended that add more, “facts exposing the iniquities of the priesthood or the opinions of illustrious English men on the errors of the church of Rome.”104 She also criticized Winter’s translation and Garibaldi’s writing showing how certain phrases would be jarring to a native speaker. Explaining one of the errors in Winter’s translation to Garibaldi, she wrote,

For example, ‘dei Cairoli colla sua calma angelica’ she has translated into ‘Cairoli with his superb smile’ or superb calm, I write without the translation by me as it is being copied and not quite finished. The translation should have been with his usual calmness or with his usual quiet manner. Superb is not English. We say a superbly furnished house or a superb carriage but we do not apply it to a person. I mention this as one of the sentences particularly objected to by her Publisher and I do not wonder at it.105

She also advised Garibaldi, “if however you have used the word Rascal about five times over in the same page I should probably have four of the rascals out because in English constant repetition weakens the force. In Italian it is I know the very reverse.”106 While Chambers was polite in her tone, she was not afraid to tell Garibaldi how to change his writings.

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103 M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 18 April 1873, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2774.
104 M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 7 April 1874, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2795.
105 M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 7 April 1874, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2795.
106 M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 7 April 1874, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2795.
Chambers also made suggestions as someone who understood the publishing world. In 1873, she made changes to the manuscript to placate the publisher Longmans.\(^{107}\) She also complained about Winter’s delay in sending along the manuscript as, “The book publishing season is now nearly over. She would not get half what she could have done three months ago.”\(^{107}\) Chambers and Winters also disagreed over what to expect to receive for the book. While Winters claimed, “Dr. Riboli told her £1200 or £14,000 pounds,” Chambers thought, “this is perfectly absurd & I told her so at this time of year I shall think myself happy if I get £300 for the English translation alone splendidly done.”\(^{108}\) Chambers also provided guidance on the necessary timing of the editions. She wrote to Garibaldi saying she had explained to Dr. Riboli, who was negotiating an offer for the foreign translation rights,

> as well as I could that there is no copyright for America. I fear therefore that if the Italian edition is published before the English one they may translate in the States without paying anything at all. Also any English publisher can reprint any American copy without any payment whatever. For this reason it will be better for the Italian and English copies should be published at the same time.\(^{109}\)

Throughout these exchanges, Chambers assumed a position of authority and had her decisions and guidance accepted by Garibaldi and the others.

Jessie White Mario also worked with Garibaldi on his writings. She briefly edited his biography in 1859 and then worked more extensively on his book *Clelia o il Governo del Monaco*, collaborating with Esperanza von Schwartz.\(^{110}\) Acknowledging that he was not a great writer, Garibaldi asked the women to translate the book, add in details, make it appropriate for a

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\(^{107}\) M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, 9 March 1873, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2775.

\(^{108}\) M.E. to G. Garibaldi, 2 December 1873, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2776.

\(^{109}\) M.E. Chambers to G. Garibaldi, June 23\(^{rd}\) 1874, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2796.

\(^{110}\) In *Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. IV: 1859*, see: G. Garibaldi to Maria Speranza von Schwartz, Letter 1295, 26 November 1859, p. 192; G. Garibaldi to Jessie White Mario, Letter 1318, 15 December 1859, p.205; Jessie White Mario was also arguably the inspiration for this work, which talked about a young, rich, educated English girl named Giulia, who fell in love with an Italian revolutionary and decided to fight for the people of Italy. Like White Mario, Giulia was also a nurse. See: Alberti de Mazzeri, 137.
literary public, and help to publicize it as well. He specifically asked them to make the writing more appropriate for female ears, “to sweeten certain expressions that could injure female sentiments.”

Showing a great deal of trust in their judgment, Garibaldi also gave the women full control over the content of his work, giving them permission to take out any potentially controversial political or religious ideas.

Chambers also assumed her usual guiding role in publishing the work in English. Garibaldi entrusted Mary and John Chambers with the success of his book and directed inquiries about the book to Chambers, rather than himself. Chambers also selected the English title for the book. Garibaldi had originally given Chambers the title, “Roma nel Diciannovesimo secolo. Novella storica,” for the work and she changed this to The Rule of the Monk. Garibaldi was initially displeased by the title, writing in February 1870, to ask whether she, “gave authorization that my book should be called The Rule of the Monk, that is to say, il Governo del Monaco.”

He later explained that when the publishers in Milan first brought up the book title, he thought that it, “must have been chosen by some priest.” He then apologized for being rude and reasserted that she had the final authority in picking the title and he would defer to her

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112 Curatulo, Giuseppe Garibaldi: Lettere ad Anita e ad altre donne, 74-75. They were still working together on the book on February 1868 as revealed by a letter from Garibaldi to von Schwartz. Curatulo, Giuseppe Garibaldi: Lettere ad Anita e ad altre donne, 76.


115 Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 22 February 1870, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 6, Ins. 8. In May he wrote again, asking if Mr. Cassell had agreed to publish it. See, Giuseppe Garibaldi to Mary Elizabeth Chambers, 5 May 1870, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 6, Ins. 14.
Three days later, he added that he liked the title, saying, “you have worked perfectly with the title given to my novel: Rule of the Monk; and I am most content with the success that, thanks to you, my book work has had.” These exchanges demonstrate how Chambers assumed authority as an Englishwoman to know how to best shape Garibaldi’s work for the English press.

There also were rumors that Mary Elizabeth Chambers had actually written her husband’s book, Garibaldi and Italian Unity, which was published in 1864. In an article written soon after her death, the York Herald, claimed that Colonel Chambers was not, in fact, the author of his book, writing, “though his name is appended to a book called ‘Garibaldi and Italian Unity,’ I believe that the deceased lady was the real authoress.” These allegations were repeated in other British newspapers. If these allegations are true, we must assume that Chambers chose to publish under her husband’s name, believing the book would carry more weight coming from a military general who served with Garibaldi rather than from his wife.

White Mario undoubtedly published many of her own works on the Risorgimento. She wrote a series of biographies of Risorgimento figures, including Garibaldi, Mazzini, Agostino Bertani, Giovanni Nicotera, and Carlo Cattaneo. Each work had three general parts. In the first

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section White Mario would provide a basic profile of the figure. In the second section, she would interweave the figure into a larger historical context, showing how they were influenced by and influenced the course of historical events. The final section would typically have unedited documents and testimonies from people who knew that person.121 She also wrote articles on the Risorgimento, which were published in Italian papers, including Alberto Mario’s paper, La lega della democrazia, English sources, like Fraser’s Magazine, and the American paper The Nation.122 Through this work she helped shape the image of the Risorgimento in Italy and abroad and ensured that the legacy of the radicals of the Risorgimento would not be forgotten.

Not restricting herself to discussion of male figures, White Mario also wrote obituaries of her friends Sara Nathan and Elena Casati Sacchi and began work on longer a biography of Sara Nathan which was never published.123 Sara Nathan’s daughter Janet Nathan had asked Beccari to write about her mother, but claimed that, “no one liked it: I cannot have it printed” and asked White Mario to write it instead. Nathan was in discussion with a publisher and assured White Mario that she would pay for the work saying, “This would be a commission; it is business Jessie dear, so of course you are supposed and impelled to ask for the recompense at the end of your work”124 Even when White Mario’s busy schedule delayed her work on the project, she retained the support of Nathan’s children. In a letter to her from 1887, Ernesto Nathan wrote that they

121 Certini, Jessie White Mario: Una giornalista educatrice, 47, 80.
124 Janet Nathan to Jessie White Mario, March 10th [s.d.], MCRR, b.430, f.3(2).
would accept the delays because, “I don’t believe any one else could write it with the same appreciation and devotion as you.”

This work was often deeply personal as Jessie White Mario was writing about deceased collaborators and friends. She occasionally made reference to this, usually in the prefaces to her works. On the first page of her *Della vita di Giuseppe Mazzini*, for instance White Mario wrote that “to the memory of those extinct friends Sara Nathan, Elena Casati Sacchi, Maurizio Quadrio and Giuseppe Nathan worthy disciples of a great master, your sister in faith dedicates these pages.” In her biography of Alberto Mario included in Giosué Carducci’s *Scritti letterari e artistici di Alberto Mario*, White Mario explained that Alberto Mario had wanted his official thoughts printed, but “the mind of Alberto is not all of Alberto,” and that she wanted to share things that no one else would know. She further explained that she felt she had a debt to his memory and needed to relive the happy days of the past, even though it was painful in the present.

While her work was in many ways deeply private, it was also undoubtedly public and had a political message. Writing in the 1880s and 1890s, White Mario wanted to ensure that the younger generations did not forget the struggles of those who came before. After Unification, it was possible to imagine that the Italian State had been destined to enter into existence and to forget about the obstacles Italian patriots faced, how they were often decried as utopian dreamers. In her articles for *Fraser’s Magazine* on her experiences in the ambulances in the wars of unification, she lamented that there was not enough good history of the Risorgimento in Italy and wrote,

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125 Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, December 8th 1887, MCRR, b.434, f.33(6).
Unfortunately, we think, for the world, those Italians who have effected most for the liberation of their country rarely speak or write (now that Italy is free and united) of the dreary journey performed, the dangers and hardships encountered, the errors committed, the apparently insurmountable obstacles overcome, from the time when they first willed to be a nation until the goal was reached.\textsuperscript{128}

White Mario did not want this aspect of Italian history, the revolutionary and radical aspects of its patriots, to be forgotten.\textsuperscript{129} She also argued that accurate knowledge of Mazzini’s life and writings was important for the new nation of Italy and could serve as a guide and inspiration, acknowledging with some sadness, that Mazzini’s dreams for Italy had not yet been fulfilled.\textsuperscript{130}

Building from the Mazzinian belief in education, White Mario specifically directed her work to the younger generations. Her Scritti e discorsi di Agostino Bertani, for instance, she dedicated to the youth of Italy so that they would remember what men like Bertani, Benedetto Cairoli, Achille Sacchi, and Aurelio Saffi had sacrificed for them and that Italy was, “a fatherland conquered with blood, with sacrifices, with the virtues of your fathers.”\textsuperscript{131} In the introduction to In Memoria di Giovanni Nicotera, she similarly laments that the youth do not know the Risorgimento heroes. She places the blame for this on the official state narratives, which emphasized the role of the King, of Cavour, and of Piedmont, and downplayed the radical elements of Garibaldi, and radical men like Mazzini. She wrote, “never do you see in the schools or the colleges portraits of Garibaldi or Mazzini.” She wanted children to know the true history of what had happened and was writing her histories to ensure that this information would not be lost.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{128} White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 768, 773.
\textsuperscript{129} White Mario, Agostino Bertani e i suoi tempi. Vol. I, xii-xiv.
\textsuperscript{130} White Mario, Scritti scelti di Giuseppe Mazzini, v.
\textsuperscript{131} White Mario, Scritti e discorsi di Agostino Bertani scelti e curati da Jessie White Mario, v.
\textsuperscript{132} White Mario, In Memoria di Giovanni Nicotera, vi-vii.
One of her goals in writing the biographies and articles was to provide a more accurate and sympathetic portrayal of the figures of the left. Her works on Bertani, for instance, were intended to clear his name from charges of partisan inefficiency and obstructionism. She also used an article in *The Nation* to defend Mazzini’s legacy and reveal important parts of his personal life, such as his devoted love for Giuditta Sidoli. One of her major struggles in this came from her deep friendship with both Mazzini and Garibaldi, for though the two men sometimes worked together, they were frequently at odds. As a biographer, White Mario needed to figure out a way to write the biographies and reveal the truth without condemning either man unjustly. Her struggles are apparent in an explanation she gave in the supplement she wrote for the English translation of Garibaldi’s *Autobiography*. In the supplement, White Mario directly contradicted the claim Garibaldi made in the work that the Mazzinians were to blame for the failures of Mentana. White Mario explained that this was not true and that she had evidence to prove it, for when Garibaldi had first unjustly blamed the failure of Mentana on Mazzinians, she immediately set out to correct the misapprehension, by collecting, “from the chiefs of the campaign…their written testimony.”

This must have been difficult for her, however, for she wrote to Aurelio Saffi in 1889 saying, “Have you received the 3 vols. in English of Garibaldi’s Autobiography & my supplement? In the latter I wish you to see how I have treated the question Garibaldi-Mazzini.” As someone else who was familiar with the events and who had written about Mazzini, Aurelio Saffi could provide necessary emotional and mental support.

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135 White Mario, “Supplement,” 391. White Mario added that many Garibaldians knew Garibaldi was in error with his belief, but they did not correct him and claimed, “This reluctance ever to contradict Garibaldi when he made an erroneous statement, or to ‘stand up for the absent,’ was a common weakness among many Garibaldians, and is much to be deplored.”
136 Jessie White Mario to Aurelio Saffi, Lendinara 19 June 1889, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 16, f. 1.
Thinking like a historian, White Mario quite self-consciously focused on the sources for her works. In her articles for Fraser’s Magazine, she admitted that the history of the volunteer ambulances was difficult to write because of a lack of sources, explaining, “one has to trust to memory, to personal observation, to notes dotted down between one battle and another, and to scant answers given to direct questions put between one campaign and another to the various chiefs.”\(^{137}\) She also utilized the Mazzinian networks and archives to provide accuracy to her narratives. In October 1885, for instance, while working on her Life of Mazzini, White Mario wrote the Saffi’s asking about extracts of letters from Mazzini to his mother from 1849 to 1853. She believed the contents of these letters were essential to her argument, claiming,

> these extracts of letters to his mother, which become weekly towards the end, are the sole indexes of this work between the hour of his triumph 49 to the break up of the republican pact 53. Why should I deprive the very numerous readers of this link?\(^{138}\)

Giorgina Saffi responded in December 1885, writing that she had looked over certain of the letters from 1849 and had copied out, “such extracts as I thought might suit your purpose-relating to facts etc.”\(^{139}\) Saffi thus worked behind the scenes to help guarantee the accuracy of White Mario’s public narratives.

In the nineteenth century there were few female historians and their works were heavily criticized by the new professional historians who considered history as a social science based in an academic institution and who doubted the work of non-affiliated academics. As a female historian, White Mario was susceptible to these criticisms, but her dedicated use of the archived

\(^{137}\) White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 768, 773. White Mario added that she had looked over a list of 139 books on ambulances and hospitals published during the last 20 years (1857-77) and only one pamphlet talks about “an ambulance episode during one of our campaigns.” She thought this was an intolerable gap, as, “it might be assumed that Italian volunteers were either never wounded or that they were never tended.”

\(^{138}\) Jessie White Mario to Aurelio and Giorgina Saffi, October 15\(^{th}\) 1885, MCRR, b.430, n. 33.

\(^{139}\) Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, December 8\(^{th}\) 1885, MCRR, b.430, f.41(12).
documents gave her works credibility. Treves, for instance, chose White Mario to write the Garibaldi biography, in part because she was well-versed in the ideology of the radical Risorgimento, and because she had many documents and knew where to find others. The American paper, *The Nation*, published a review of White Mario’s *In memoria di Giovanni Nicotera* in 1895, acknowledging that the book has legitimate scholarly value, saying, that the volume, “is, though a loving tribute from an intimate friend and correspondent, not a mere eulogy,” and that it provided necessary information about Italian history.

As White Mario’s use of sources gave her work legitimacy, many late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century historians cited them. Nineteenth-century historian Primo Levi, for instance, cited Mario’s work, referring to her work on Bertani as “her miraculous book.” In Benedetto Radice’s 1901 work, *Gl’inglesi nel Risorgimento Italiano*, White Mario was listed more than any other author on the works consulted page. Even in England, early twentieth-century British historian George Macaulay Trevelyan praised White Mario for her use of archives, calling her work *Agostino Bertani e i suoi tempi*, “The best book written by the authoress. Especially important for Bertani’s correspondence with Garibaldi and other chief actors in 1860, copiously selected from the Archivio Bertani, Milan.” Trevelyan’s use of her

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143 Benedetto Radice, *Gl’inglesi nel Risorgimento Italiano: Discorsi due* (Livorno: Tip. Di Raffaello Giusti, 1901.)
144 Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, 352. Trevelyan also cited White Mario in this book, which was widely read.
work further increased the impact White Mario had in shaping the historical image of the Risorgimento in England.

Like Chambers and Nathan, White Mario also understood the business of publishing and represented herself in the contract negotiations for her works. In July 1882, for instance, publisher T. Fisher Unwin approached her about her work on Garibaldi, noting that while she was probably already, “in treaty with an English firm,” he wanted to see her manuscript and make a proposal. Revealing the standards and conventions of the book market that White Mario had to respond to, Unwin also sent White Mario a copy of Log Cabin, a popular biography of President Lincoln, and suggested that she write a book,

of that character and size, believing that a popular life would sell best. A large & expensive work would to a great extent be sold through the libraries & by the time a cheap edition of it could be published, I fear the interest in Garibaldi would have dropped, or rather have been provided for by other and cheaper books.

Unwin also discussed terms, saying, “I would do my best to meet your views on the matter,” and suggested they pay White Mario on a royalty basis of 6d per copy and added that the firm would, “thus have to take all the risks & expense.” White Mario also had to cater the book to the English market. Unwin clarified that the English edition would require fewer maps and plates than the Italian edition and explained that as there was a rush to publish in winter, White Mario needed to have the book ready by October 1st. Responding to Unwin’s proposal, White Mario replied, “I decline royalty leave terms to you. Can do the popular book size Log cabin but could not bind myself not to publish my others…illustrated. Will send portrait & maps as they come out.”

These negotiations reveal how White Mario was not only aware of contractual obligations,

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145 T. Fisher Unwin to Jessie White Mario, July 26th 1882, MCRR, b.437, f.46(1).
146 T. Fisher Unwin to Jessie White Mario, July 26th 1882, MCRR, b.437, f.46(1).
finances, and potential audiences, but was able to conduct these negotiations herself and forced others to respect her not only as an intellectual but also a businesswoman.

While Unwin and others approached her, requesting work, in other instances White Mario struggled to find a publisher.\textsuperscript{147} In an article for \textit{The Nation}, celebrating the eventual publication of Carlo Cattaneo’s writings, White Mario mentioned how difficult it had been to find a publisher, in part due to the political climate of the time, saying,

\begin{quote}
never a publisher could be found to risk an edition of the political writings and the letters. The Milanese \textit{Consoteria} - I use the word in preference to that of ‘Moderates,’ of whom there have been and are many honest, intelligent, patriotic, spread all over Italy- had created such a sorry legend around his name that it had become a synonym for disunion, a return to the communes and little republics of the Middle Ages, the extermination of Piedmont, etc. No inducement- the offer of the manuscripts gratis, put in order, copied, and ready for the press- could persuade a single publisher to risk the mere expenses of printing a single volume.
\end{quote}

In the face of this lack of support, some of Cattaneo’s friends, including Cernuschi, Gabriel Rosa, and Niccola Mameli, paid the expenses themselves.\textsuperscript{148} Earlier in the 1870s, White Mario had found an English market for a short volume on Cattaneo, which was then translated into Italian, but could also not find a publisher for the collected writings.\textsuperscript{149}

When writing about Italian heroes like Cattaneo or Garibaldi, White Mario was conscious of her status as an Englishwoman and defended her right as an author to write these stories. In 1877, for instance, when the Italian translation of her work on Cattaneo appeared, White Mario wrote a preface acknowledging that some people might find it an unjustifiable presumption, “on the part of a foreigner to make known to Italians one of the greatest thinkers to have honored Italy in this century.” She also clarified that the work had originally been done for the

\textsuperscript{147} White Mario, for instance, was approached “by the proprietors and publishers of the English edition, “of the \textit{Autobiography of Giuseppe Garibaldi}. She wrote a preface instead and it was accepted. See: White Mario, “Supplement,” xii.

\textsuperscript{148} Jessie White Mario, “Carlo Cattaneo,” \textit{The Nation}, July 18th 1901, No. 1881, pg. 48-49.

\textsuperscript{149} White Mario, \textit{Carlo Cattaneo: cenni di Jessie White Mario}.
Contemporary Review to introduce the noted Italian to a new English public and that this was a mere translation.150 Similarly, in her introduction to Agostino Bertani e i suoi tempi, White Mario addressed her critics, again writing that while some may consider it arrogant for someone, “who was not born in Italy to narrate the lives, facts, and things of Italy,” her writings on Cattaneo were translated from English, the biographies of Garibaldi and Mazzini were written at the invitation of Italian editors, and this life of Bertani was written at the urging of his friends and his sister Luigia.151 In doing so, she emphasized her popularity as an author and her personal connection to the actors and events of the Risorgimento. Though she was not born in Italy, she had played a larger role in the events of the Risorgimento than most Italians and had a right to compose these works.

Using the Press to Address the Contemporary Problems of Italy

By creating archives and publishing sources and narratives about the past, White Mario and the others were trying not only to shape memories of the past but to impact the future development of Italy. Through her articles and books on the current political and socio-economic problems in Italy, White hoped to reveal Italy’s problems and inspire others to enact reforms. She revealed Liberal Italy’s struggles to native Italians and also published her works abroad, disclosing those problems to British and American audiences. While her goal was to push for reform, in doing so, she reinforced negative stereotypes of Italians abroad and contributed to Orientalist discourses about Italy and the Italian south in particular.

While White Mario was well-known for her work as a scholar of the Risorgimento, she was also an active and dedicated journalist and published numerous articles on Italy’s domestic

150 White Mario, Carlo Cattaneo: cenni di Jessie White Mario, iii.
politics, foreign relations, economic developments, and major industries. Historian Rossella Certini argued that during the Liberal Era the writer was transformed into a social scientist, who looked critically at new subjects (the southern question, pauperism, the problem of infant children, etc.), and added a new sensibility towards other items not in the usual press (the condition of women, popular instruction, the penitentiary system, etc.). White Mario participated in this type of social scientific journalism, writing multiple works and newspaper articles that fit into this category, including La miseria in Napoli, Le miniere di zolfo in Sicilia, Le opere pie e l’infanticidio legale, and Il sistema penitenziario e il domicilio coatto in Italia. Her works emphasized both the magnitude of the problems in Italy, such as organized crime or poverty, but also praised those institutions offering solutions. She also advocated directly for reform. In one article, she argued that the criminal justice system focused too much on punishment for crimes and not enough on eliminating the poverty that pushed men, women, and children into crime. Sometimes the injustices she uncovered were quite personal, as when White Mario used the press to defend her husband Alberto Mario, after he was arrested at their home in Lendinara in September 1874. White Mario was outraged at the arrest and wrote a letter of


154 In a series of articles, for instance, she wrote about two Neapolitan institutions l’opera di Casanova, which helped to house and collect children once they left the asili, and an institution for the blind to highlight how Naples was a city of contrasts. It had dire poverty, but also a plethora of noble institutions to help people in that poverty. Jessie White Mario, “Un’opera buona,” La lega della democrazia, (Rome), a.I, n.182, Domenica 4 Luglio, 1880, p.3; Jessie White Mario, “L’istituto dei ciechi a Caravaggio,” La lega della democrazia, (Rome), a.I, n.195, Domenica 18 July 1880, p. 3; Jessie White Mario, “Napoli Addio” La lega della democrazia, (Rome), a.I, n.210, Domenica 1 Agosto 1880, p.3.

155 Jessie White Mario, “Un problema in via di soluzione,” La lega della democrazia, (Rome), a.I, n.217, Domenica 8 Agosto 1880, p.3. White Mario added that Italy spent too much on prisons and not enough on the poor, writing, “Italy has 80,000 imprisoned people; how many poor people no one knows: for the first it spends 30 million every year, for the second nothing.”
protest to the *Daily News*, which was printed repeatedly, in Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco.\textsuperscript{156}

White Mario’s largest work on the social problem was *La Miseria in Napoli* (1877), a book describing the poverty and social institutions of Naples, which she wrote in response to Pasquale Villari’s 1872 call to action in his *Lettere meridionali*.\textsuperscript{157} In the *Lettere meridionale*, originally published in *L’Opinione*, an influential journal of the Right, Villari heavily criticized the state of southern Italy after unification and asked other writers to visit the popular quarters of Naples and describe what they saw in detail. Many writers took up his assignment and entered into the debate, including Leopoldo Franchetti, Sidney Sonnino, Jessie White Mario, Renato Fucini, Matilde Serao, Giustino Fortunato, Pasquale Turiello, and, later, Gaetano Salvemini.\textsuperscript{158}

To perform her research, White Mario visited Naples for slightly over a month and, with the help of the prefect Mordini, visited hospitals, convents, schools, jails, and charitable works. She also investigated the poorest Neapolitan neighborhoods, learning about their substandard housing as well as their high rates of infant mortality, infectious diseases, and illiteracy. While White Mario had stayed in Naples for a few weeks in 1860, she had been busy working with Garibaldi and had neither the time nor the need to visit the slums and see the deprivation of the Neapolitan people. Her previous knowledge was thus quite superficial.\textsuperscript{159} Villari wrote to White Mario, “Signor Mario’s Arrest,” *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Massachusetts) Tuesday September 22\textsuperscript{nd} 1874, Issue 72; Jessie White Mario, “Signor Mario’s Arrest,” *Inter Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois) Saturday September 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1874, p.5, Issue 185; Jessie White Mario, “Signor Mario’s Arrest,” *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco, California) Wednesday September 30\textsuperscript{th} 1874, Issue 150.

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\textsuperscript{157} Pasquale Villari (1827-1917) was a political exile from Naples who never returned to the South, remaining in Florence after unification where he exerted a huge influence on liberal Italian culture. See: Giustina Manica, *Dalla questione meridionale alla questione nazionale. Leopoldo Franchetti, Sidney Sonnino e Jessie White Mario nei carteggi di Pasquale Villari (1875-1917)* (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2014) 4.


Mario after her return from Naples. He was pleased to hear that she had seen the same suffering that he had and would be able to confirm his allegations.160

When *La Miseria in Napoli* was published it received mixed reviews. Some readers thought she performed a valuable service by directing attention to the struggles of Italy’s poor. In a letter to the *Lega della democrazia*, for instance, Michele De Giovanni wrote that he believed Naples was in a time of crisis and thanked White Mario for drawing attention to problems with her book.161 Other readers, however, criticized both her work and its inspiration, Villari’s *Lettere meridionali*.162 In an article for *The Nation*, White Mario recounted Italian opposition to Villari’s *Lettere Meridionali* and to her *Miseria in Napoli*, claiming that Villari, “that most moderate of politicians, was branded as a ‘Neapolitan who had calumniated his native city,’ as a communist, a destroyer of social order!” When her work was first published in the *Pungolo* of Naples, she was similarly maligned, and “Neapolitans of every rank and party denounced the statements as gross untruths and romantic exaggerations, and counselled the writer to return to London and write about fever dens, thieves’ haunts, and baby-farming.” Her statements in that book, she maintained, were not disproved despite the outrage.163

As with her writings on the Risorgimento, White Mario was aware of her delicate position as an outsider commenting on Italian affairs. She contemplated not responding to

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160 Pasquale Villari, *Le lettere meridionali ed altri scritti sulla questione sociale in Italia di Pasquale Villari* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1878) 77-78.
161 Michele De Giovanni, “Lettera aperta alla signora Jessie White Mario,” *La lega della democrazia*, (Rome), a.I, n.142, Martedì 25 Maggio 1880. De Michele added, however, that White Mario should know the changes that the government of Naples had started to make in 1876. White Mario responded to his letter, saying that she had been in Naples in 1878 and conditions were poor, but recommended that De Giovanni read the second edition of her book, which he might find useful. See: Jessie White Mario, “Lettera aperta al signor Michele De Giovanni,” *La lega della democrazia*, (Rome), a.I, n.146, Sabato 29 Maggio 1880.
162 After the publication of the *Lettere meridionali*, critics argued that Villari had been away from Italy for too long and that he did not know what he was talking about or claimed that he was not accurately comparing the level of poverty in Italy’s city to that of London or other great cities. See: Villari, 77-78.
Villari’s call for research. Reflecting back on the situation in 1891, she wrote, “I hesitated as to the publication, well knowing that for a British-born subject to talk of misery elsewhere would be to court the taunt, ‘Physician, heal thyself.’”\(^{164}\) She was clearly, however, convinced to proceed and to publish. Villari also defended White Mario’s ability to write about Southern Italy as an Englishwoman. He claimed that people would question his partnership with White Mario, asking, “Why do you, who are Italian, say these things to a woman who is English?” and he would reply that while White Mario was born in England she had, “spent her life in favor of the unity and independence of our fatherland.” Villari added that he trusted White Mario’s findings, even though they belonged to different political parties, claiming “in certain questions all who are honest belong to the same party.”\(^{165}\) Through her personal commitment to Italy and her scholarly work as an author, White Mario thus asserted her right to contribute to the debate.

Because her socioeconomic works focused largely on Southern Italy, Naples and Sicily in particular, White Mario added to the narrative of the Southern Question, the eternal debate over how and why southern Italy was different than northern Italy. Historian Nelson Moe has argued that while divisions between the north and the south have been a constant part of Italy’s history, “in the middle decades of the nineteenth century under the combined pressures of western Eurocentrism, nationalism, and bourgeoisification,” Italy’s south became “The South”, an area regarded as backward, different, and inferior to the rest of the country. Moe credits three Italian political and social thinkers, Pasquale Villari, Leopoldo Franchetti, and Sidney Sonnino, with formulating and publicizing the idea of the Southern Question in the mid-1870s. He added, however, that foreign visitors who wrote about their impressions of Italy contributed to these

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\(^{165}\) Villari, 83-84.
narratives. In 2014, Giustina Manica added White Mario to this circle of Villari, Franchetti, and Sonnino emphasizing their shared collaborations and including White Mario, a foreign woman, in her listing of Italian writers on the Southern Question.

White Mario also arguably participated in the process of discursive colonization, defined by historian Kristin Kopp as the ways in which Europeans used dialogues to create a specific relationship between self and Other based on colonial categories to set up the incoming peoples as colonizers and the indigenous people as legitimate targets of colonization.

Italian historian Enrico Dal Lago argued that Orientalism in Italy was a form of discursive colonialism, claiming that orientalism created specific discourses which, “led to the idea of the need for a northern colonisation of the southern part of the nation.”

White Mario also published her research on Naples in America and England. In 1891 Charles Scribner approached White Mario asking her to contribute a volume to a work on “the conditions of life in great cities with reference to the poor and the possible plans for their improvement.” Specifically, he asked White Mario to submit a 7,500-word article about Italy, with a focus on Naples. The article, which discussed portions of her research from La Miseria in Napoli, was published in 1895 by Scriber in The Poor in Great Cities: Their Problems and what is doing to solve them. White Mario was notably the only female author selected for

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166 Moe, 1-4, 188.
167 Manica, 4.
170 Charles Scribner to Jessie White Mario, December 11th 1891, MCRR, b.422, n.3. Clarifying the mundane details, he wrote, “We should expect to pay for the article $150. and should hope to have the manuscript in our hands by early Spring- say by the middle of March.”
inclusion in the volume. She also sent over 140 articles to the American paper *The Nation*, many of which discussed Italian poverty, illiteracy, child labor, social unrest, and organized crime. Through this work, she shaped the image of Italy held by many British and American readers.

While White Mario initially wrote about Italy’s socioeconomic failings to draw attention to those problems within Italy and to spur the Italian government to enact reforms, by publishing those same narratives abroad she contributed to the negative perception that many British people had of Italy and contributed to Orientalist narratives. A series of historians have debated the extent to which reforming middle-class Englishwomen were participants in the project of discursive colonization. In 2003, Maura O’Connor examined a series of articles published in the late 1870s and early 1880s in *The Englishwoman's Review* on the organization of Julia Salis Schwabe’s Neapolitan schools, and argued that they reinforced stereotypes about southern barbarity and oppression by claiming that British Protestant women had a duty to impose their middle-class morality and customs in Italy. Implicating these reforming women in the process of British imperialism and Orientalism, she claimed that the “British middle-class women who labored in the South saw themselves, at least according to the reporters of the *Englishwoman’s Review*, as nation builders and empire builders.”

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171 Jessie White Mario, “The Poor in Naples” in *The Poor in Great Cities: Their Problems and what is doing to solve them* (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1895).
172 Patriarca, “Journalists and essayists, 1850-1915,” 156; For examples, see White Mario, “Cholera, misery, and superstition.”; White Mario, “The Housing of the poor in Naples.”
173 Orientalism is a process by which northern European nations viewed their colonies and other non-western nations as inherently Other and patronizingly cast them as timeless and connected to nature, but ultimately less civilized and advanced. European nations also used Orientalist discourses to describe each other and northern Italians arguably used Orientalist discourses when formulating the Southern Question. For more see; Italy’s ‘Southern Question’: *Orientalism in One Country*, edited by Jane Schneider (New York: Berg, 1998). See particularly, Marta Petruzelewicz, “The emergence of the southern question in Villari, Franchetti, and Sonnino.”
Building on the work of Anne Summers, who raised questions about applying neo-orientalist readings beyond the confines of empire, Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe directly challenged O’Connor’s readings of the *Englishwoman’s Review* in an article published in 2015. Sutcliffe argued that the paper was actually sophisticated in its understanding of Italy and did not just conflate Southern Italy with all of Italy or only see itself as primarily providing civilization to Italy. She also noted bonds of solidarity and cooperation between Italian and English feminists and gave the *Englishwoman’s Review* credit for reporting on aspects of Italian women’s political, social, and educational struggles while they were ignored in the mainstream British press. Furthermore, Sutcliffe addressed the issue of Jessie White Mario’s potential orientalism in *La Miseria in Napoli*. Excusing White Mario from the charges of outside imperialism or orientalism, Sutcliffe claimed that White Mario was merely, “mirroring the anxieties of Italians; her descriptions of Naples were not a display of imperial prerogatives, but rather an indication of how deeply steeped she was in the internal, polarized, ‘moral geography’ of the ‘Two Italies’.” For Sutcliffe, because White Mario developed her concerns through conversations with native Italians, who shared those concerns, she could not be considered an outsider.

While Sutcliffe rightly points out that White Mario shared her anxieties with other middle-class Italians and acknowledges that the issues stemmed as much from class as from nationalism, she focuses too much on the intention of White Mario’s writing rather than its

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175 Sutcliffe, “Italian Women in the Making: Re-reading the *Englishwoman’s Review* (c.1871-1889),” in *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*.
176 Sutcliffe, “Italian Women in the Making,” 182.
177 Sutcliffe, “Italian Women in the Making,” 189. Sutcliffe revealed that the *Englishwoman’s Review*, which was coedited by Caroline Ashurst Biggs, daughter of Matilda Ashurst Biggs and niece of Emilie Ashurst Venturi, relied on the transnational network of female Mazzinians, particularly Sara Nathan and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to discover and publish accurate information about the progress of female emancipation in Italy. The *Englishwoman’s Review* also tried to support the Italian feminist journals Cornelia and La Donna by publicizing them in their paper.
impact. English readers of White Mario’s writings on poverty and crime in Naples and Sicily cared more about what she wrote than why she wrote it. Though White Mario was echoing many of the criticisms by native Italians, by publishing her works for non-Italian audiences, she contributed, willingly or not, to negative perceptions of Italians. Furthermore, we cannot draw such a fine line between outside imperialism and inner colonization, between Orientalism and the Southern Question.

**Conclusion**

Overall, this chapter has shown how Jessie White Mario, Sara Nathan, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Chambers created and shaped the narrative of the Risorgimento and the image of Liberal Italy abroad. They self-consciously thought about how to guarantee their personal permanent place in historical narratives and how to transmit those narratives to audiences. In doing so, they adopted positions of responsibility and authority in negotiations with publishers, revealing a knowledge of copyright law and book markets. Finally, they acted as transnational agents throughout this process, translating and shaping Italian narratives of the Risorgimento for an English public but also reinforcing English stereotypes about Liberal Italy.
Chapter 5: A New Generation of Italians:

Early Childhood Education

Mary Chambers, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Sara Nathan worked as non-state agents and established their own schools to promote their dreams of the Risorgimento and to shape the progress of Liberal Italy. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Italian State and its reliance on private donors to supplement the emerging public system of schools, they formed independent schools in which they could promote their unique political agendas. As foreign women who established schools in Italy and argued that the people of Italy required uplift and education, they were arguably colonialist. However, I argue that most middle-class proponents of the Risorgimento and the politicians of Liberal Italy shared their concerns about the illiteracy, degeneracy, and lack of patriotism among the Italian people and were motivated by the same fears of socialism. The Italian State also supported their work in taking education away from the Catholic Church, though it largely promoted nondenominational education, rather than the secular, Protestant, or Mazzinian education promoted by Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan respectively. Finally, I argue that Nathan, Schwabe, and Chambers claimed important leadership roles in these institutions, once again making claims to their special abilities as women, while also pushing beyond the accepted duties for women and demanding respect and authority.

To do this, I first provide historical background on the state of education in Italy after unification and provide a historiographical overview of the existing scholarship on education in that time. I then briefly introduce the three schools of Julia Salis Schwabe, Mary Elizabeth Chambers, and Sara Nathan, which this chapter focuses on as case studies. The bulk of the
chapter is then devoted to an analysis of the schools, in which I first explore how the educational
projects carried on the dream of the Risorgimento, encapsulating its hopes for advancement and
its criticism of the current state of Italy. Then, I look examine how Schwabe, Nathan, and
Chambers successfully presented their educational projects as an alternative to Marxist
socialism. In the third section, I approach the issue of religious education and explore how these
non-Catholic women chose to teach religion in their schools and how this was received by the
Italian population. Finally, I examine how the projects were feminist and how they advanced the
cause of women not only by offering Schwabe, Nathan, and Chambers important managerial
roles, but also by promoting education for girls and by advocating for the professionalization of
female teachers.

**Historical Background of State-Run Education in Italy**

The new kingdom of Italy needed a stronger educational system. In 1861, 74.7 percent of
the population (81 percent of women) were illiterate and by 1871, 75.8 percent of women were
still illiterate as were 61.8 percent of men.\(^1\) Illiteracy rates also varied highly by regions, with
literacy rates at almost 70% in Piedmont and only 10% in Sicily in 1871. These were more
intense regional discrepancies than those found in other areas of Europe.\(^2\)

The Italian state was committed to changing these numbers and generally believed that
education was necessary for the future of the nation. Although they had formed an Italian state
on paper, the Senators and Representatives of the Italian Parliament knew they still needed to
form the institutions that would govern and administer their new state. Much of the rhetoric of

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\(^1\) Re,159.
\(^2\) Gabriele Cappelli, “One size that didn’t fit all? Electoral franchise, fiscal capacity and the rise of mass schooling
the Risorgimento had stressed the backwardness of Italy after centuries of foreign oppression, noting widespread corruption, poverty, and illiteracy. Italy's political leaders saw it as their duty to overcome these difficulties, unite the fractured Italian communities, and make Italy a modern European power. Enacting a rapid modernization and forging a sense of *Italianità*, or national identity, was no simple task, and the Italian government looked for solutions in many areas, including trade liberalization, military service, and public education.

The first major law governing Italian education was the Casati Law, first enacted in Piedmont in November 1859 and then applied to the entire state of Italy after unification in 1861. Influenced by the success of public education in Germany, Piedmontese legislators sought to create a more educated and prosperous populace by providing free education for all. They also wanted to make their state more modern by taking control of education away from the Catholic Church, which had largely controlled it previously. The 457 articles of the law established a system of schools ranging from primary education to the university level. It set up a four-year elementary school, divided into two periods of two years each and mandated attendance for the first two years, for all pupils aged six to eight. Following elementary school, students chose between different branches of secondary education, including classical, technical, and normal school, which provided two to three years of training for elementary school teachers.

Historians have criticized the Casati Law for many reasons and at various times have claimed: that it was unfairly centrist and imposed Piedmontese values on the rest of Italy; that it

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3 Most of Piedmont’s laws and rulers were applied to the Italian state in this fashion. The new Italian state adopted Piedmont’s royal family and its major political leader Cavour, as well as Piedmont’s parliamentary system, army, administrative and judicial system, laws, currency, taxes, and tariffs. It is for this reason that some people consider Italian Unification mere Piedmontese expansion. Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, 96. The law was named for Count Gabrio Casati, its major proponent. Gabrio Casati was a conservative Catholic and who crafted the law to limit ideological controversy, ensure the freedoms of individual families, and limit the expense for the national treasury.


5 Sponzilli, 14-15.
promoted class hierarchies through its division between technical and secondary education; and that it was ineffective, failing to specify how the schools should be funded, leaving too much of the burden to weak local governments, and lacking a means of enforcing mandatory instruction for children.\(^6\) The central government, under the Ministry of Education, provided the curriculum and established national norms regulating schooling and teachers’ wages but municipal governments were required to fund the projects, to build schools, hire teachers, and enforce attendance. As the system did not provide any means for taking into account regional differences in the ability to pay for schools, those schools in poor communities and particularly in the south were often inferior to their counterparts in the north.\(^7\)

The first major change to the Casati Law came with the Coppino Law in 1877, which was part of the series of laws enacted by the Left after they came to power in 1876.\(^8\) Clarifying the Casati Law’s stance on mandatory education, the Coppino Law confirmed that primary education was required for children from ages six to nine.\(^9\) While the Coppino Law clearly stated the state's policy on the issue of mandatory education, it was less successful in actually forcing children into school. Underfunding at the local level and lack of interest from parents, who needed the wages from their children's labor to support the family and who did not see why their children needed an education, kept students out of the classroom. Additionally, the Coppino Law did not change the general pedagogy of Italian primary education though pedagogical reformers had been arguing against the system’s reliance on rote memorization, recitations, and reading

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\(^7\) Cappelli, 315-16.

\(^8\) It was promoted by Michele Coppino, a former professor of Italian literature at the University of Turin.

from textbooks that contained a mixture of moralizing fables and more realistic stories teaching technical skills.  

Within the Italian Parliament, legislators debated exactly how they would combat what they viewed as embarrassing rates of illiteracy and “superstition” pervading the population without giving up their liberal principles or handing their more impoverished citizens the tools to stage a socialist revolt. They promoted morality, both as a means to control the oppressed working class and as an expression of Catholic faith, but did not want a full return to clerical instruction. Additionally, while they wanted to forge a new generation of Italians and saw the importance of fostering an educated citizenry, they struggled with the imposition of state authority into the local government and into the family sphere. Support for these policies differed by party, however, as the Right harbored a slight distrust for universal primary education, seeing it as a potential source of insurrection and were unhappy with the steps the government had taken away from the church and wanted to ensure that Catholic morality remained part of education. They also believed that with Italy’s failing budget, it did not have money to spend on teachers and schools. On the other side, the senators of the Left promoted universal and secular education, and believed that education needed to come to Italy immediately, and was a high priority for the budget.

At the same time, new forms of primary education were making their way into Italy, adding to these debates. Romantic thinkers, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, were the first to argue that primary education was truly pivotal, and Pestalozzi was one of the first pedagogues to seriously argue that mothers needed to be trained and respected as

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educators. Rousseau and Pestalozzi’s theories sparked the formation of institutions known as asili infantili, infant schools or day-care centers. In 1827 Ferrante Aporti, a Catholic cleric who lived in Austrian-controlled Lombardy, established what was arguably the first Italian asilo d'infanzia. Government officials and parents were so pleased with how his system purported to strengthen the children's muscles while also teaching them to behave in an orderly and proper fashion, that he was able to open a free school for the male children of Cremona in 1831 and one for the female children in 1833. As time passed, more asili were opened throughout Lombardy and the concept spread to other Italian provinces. Promoters of asili, often Jewish or Protestant men and women of the upper class, included Italian Prime Minister Count Camillo di Cavour, Matilde Calandrini, and Enrico Mayer. Catholics, however, opposed the establishment of asili mainly because they were not Catholic schools and sometimes did not teach Catholic doctrine, but also because they promoted co-education for young children, and had support from the left. Other opponents of asili critiqued them for focusing too much on rote learning and discipline.

11 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a Swiss philosopher and the author of Emile, in which he set out an idealized system for the education of a young man. Though his work was deeply sexist, it was groundbreaking in how he emphasized the importance of childhood and the formation of intellect through primary education. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was a Swiss pedagogue who set up schools for lower-class children and orphans. He proposed making the curriculum more orderly and easy to understand so that children could build up to more difficult concepts. In his schools, Pestalozzi encouraged children towards education without punishing them or setting up rivalry. His system of general guidance and freedom for students earned him the admiration of the famous intellectual and novelist Madame de Stael. For more see: Barbara Taylor Allen, “Spiritual Motherhood: German Feminists and the Kindergarten movement, 1848-1911,” History of Education Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 3, Special Issue: Educational Policy and Reform in Modern Germany, (Autumn, 1982), 320-21.

12 Avril Wilson, “Ferrante Aporti- Apostle of Infancy,” British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Oct. 1979): 221-231. Initially charging a fee, and therefore accepting only more elite children, Aporti stressed the importance of common sense and kindness in the instruction of children and promoted a combination of physical, intellectual, and moral education. Children in the asili were encouraged to engage in physical play, follow their instincts, sing songs, and read bible stories. As a cleric, Aporti was a devout believer in the importance of religious instruction in schools and made it part of his program, though it was not always found in later asili.

13 Albisetti, “Froebel Crosses the Alps: Introducing the Kindergarten in Italy,” 160-63.
Many supporters of asili were also interested in the kindergarten movement of Friedrich Froebel. Froebel, a student of Pestalozzi, founded a system of education for young children which he called the kindergarten, which focused primarily on singing, dancing, gardening, and self-directed free play with toys he had designed. With the help of his patron, the Baroness Bertha Marie von Marenholtz-Bülow, he established multiple schools for children and one specifically for the training of female kindergarten teachers. The Froebel system promoted the primacy of the mother-child relationship and through their work in kindergartens women asserted agency and sought a higher status in society through the doctrine of “spiritual motherhood” and potential professionalization as kindergarten teachers. The kindergarten movement was a distinctly liberal phenomenon, which believed in the uplifting power of education, preached non-denominational religious tolerance in schools, and harbored a lingering fear of working-class insurgency which it hoped to suppress by educating an orderly new generation of workers. It found adherents across Europe and America and became a nearly global phenomenon.

**Historiography of Education in Italy**

Historical interest in the study of pedagogy and the education and socialization of young children surged in the late 1980s and early 1990s as historians sought to place pedagogical styles in their historical and political contexts and to explore how children were educated in the values

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14 Albisetti, “Froebel Crosses the Alps: Introducing the Kindergarten in Italy,” 167. Adolfo Pick and Adele Levi della Vida, for instance, both wanted to establish the first kindergarten in Italy. They were both Jewish, which was common among supporters of both the asili and the kindergartens.


16 Despite this, the kindergarten movement retained radical associations. Karl Froebel got a reputation for socialist and feminist leanings and Prussia banned the kindergarten from 1851-1860 and the Hochschule in Hamburg was closed. See: Taylor Allen, “Spiritual Motherhood,” 325.
and customs of their individual society. In 1986, for instance, Marcella Bacigalupi examined the curriculum for Italian children in the Liberal Era and argued that they were being taught what were deemed socially-productive values: morality, the value of hard-work, temperance, obedience, and so forth. That same year, Arturo Arcomano, examining pedagogical theorists from the Liberal Era, argued that Italian pedagogues wanted to implement a democratic education to improve Italian society, to create national pride, overcome religious intolerance, provide unity, improve morality, and make people more economically and industrially productive. These historians emphasized the optimistic positivism that fueled Italian pedagogues and politicians, arguing that the state believed that through a rational education system it could eliminate local superstitions, bring literacy and morality to the people, and create a nation of hard-working citizens.

In response to these studies, historians in the 1990s and early 2000s examined educational theories in Italy more critically and argued that education was used as part of a program of national unification, state-building, and social control and examined how legislators struggled in the face of their own weakness to exclude the church from education. By

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17 Enzo Catarsi, L’asilo e la scuola dell’infanzia: storia della scuola materna e dei suoi programmi dall’Ottocento ai giorni nostri (Scandicci: La nuova Italia, 1994).
19 Arturo Arcomano, Pedagogia, istruzione, ed educazione in Italia (1860-1873) (Napoli: Edizioni Libreria Sapere, 1986). Arcomano looked at individual theorists like De Sanctis and Pasquale Villari. He also wrote a lot about positivism and the move away from religion and religious education.
20 A positivistic approach to education represented a new approach to patriotism and was based on the idea that education of the Italian population would lead to general progress. It was characterized by a few major features: the fight against dogmatism and confessional education; the need to know the child under the physical and psychological aspects; indignation against the influence of social conditions on education; a stress on starting with technical education, so that the child naturally learned how to move from sensations to ideas; and the support of the rights of teachers. Major proponents include: Cattaneo, Angiulli, Ardigo, Gabelli, Villari, and De Sanctis.
emphasizing how Italian legislators focused on the education of young children as a way to gradually impose civic morality and provide uplift to the entire population, these works reveal how important the child had become to the Italian state.\textsuperscript{22} Newer works continue to focus on how pedagogy and education were used to shape the population, but take a more local approach. Carla Ghizzoni’s 2014 piece, for instance, focused on the introduction of gymnastics education in Milan in single-sex primary schools.\textsuperscript{23} I build on these localized studies, showing how Chambers, Nathan, and Schwabe, as non-state agents, used their private primary schools to promote their idealized vision of the Italian people.

Other historians have looked at the history of educational policy to help explain the differences in development between the north and south in Italy.\textsuperscript{24} In 2011, for instance, Giovanni Vecchi noted that mandatory education was key to improving literacy rates, but admitted that enforcing the legislation of mandatory education was extremely difficult, especially in the poor towns of the south.\textsuperscript{25} In a similar vein, in 2016, Gabriele Cappelli explored educational policy and its effect on the electoral franchise and fiscal capacity in the north versus the south.\textsuperscript{26} This chapter adds to these studies by showing how the failure of the city of Naples to provide adequate education to its citizens actually provided an opportunity for Schwabe to act as a private citizen to promote education in southern Italy.

\textsuperscript{22} Carl Ipsen, for instance, argues that in this period, with its recent, yet limited success, the state finally had the resources it needed to protect the rights of children and the stereotypical Italian puericentrism (devoted and open love of children) was formed. Ipsen, \textit{Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era}.


\textsuperscript{25} Vecchi, \textit{In ricchezza e in povertà: il benessere degli italiani dall’unità a oggi}.

\textsuperscript{26} Cappelli, “One size that didn’t fit all? Electoral franchise, fiscal capacity and the rise of mass schooling across Italy’s provinces, 1870-1911,” 311-343.
Through an examination of Froebel’s kindergarten movement and the *asili*, some historians focus specifically on the history of primary education in Italy. Many of the works on *asili* emphasize individuals or organizations in a particular region, such as Anna Ascenzi and Roberto Sani’s 2014 study of the pedagogue Ottavio Gigli, who facilitated the spread of infant schools in rural areas across Italy.27 Works on the history of the kindergarten, on the other hand, are often quite transnational in scope, showing how the movement spread across Europe and to America.28 James C. Albisetti wrote specifically about how the kindergarten movement spread to Italy, focusing on how Jewish and Protestant Italians supported the kindergarten movement and emphasizing the religious tolerance and internationalism of the kindergarten movement. Albisetti also connected the kindergarten movement to the radical left in Italy, noting that while many scholars have shown how the British were interested in Italy and supportive of the Risorgimento (specifically of Mazzini and Garibaldi), fewer historians have noted how that interest and enthusiasm evolved after unification in the realm of popular education.29 My research builds specifically on Albisetti’s, delving farther into Schwabe’s project and placing in a larger context by connecting it to Nathan’s and to Chambers’.


29 Albisetti, “Froebel Crosses the Alps: Introducing the Kindergarten in Italy,” 159-169. While many Italians liked the asili, Catholics, Albisetti argues, did not like them, because Garibaldi championed them, because they had co-education for young children, and because they weren't religious enough. Papal critique was helpful to the movement, however, because anti-clerical leaders in government supported the kindergartens and helped them grow. Overall, Albisetti argues that, “the introduction of the kindergartens into Italy involved not only the importation of a ‘foreign’ institution but significant numbers of Jews and Protestants, both foreign and domestic.” He thus reveals how minority groups within Italy were able to enact change by presenting alternative viewpoints.
Many scholars have looked at the history of primary education to see how women found agency and exerted control by founding and running infant and primary schools. In some cases, they focused on individual Italian female pedagogues, including Erminia Fuà Fusinato, Maria Montessori, and Mother Cabrini, while in others focused on the larger body of female teachers, showing how women formed the majority of the teaching staff throughout Italy and made primary education a woman’s profession. These works build on other similar scholarship from outside of Italy, which made nearly the same arguments about the importance of kindergartens and other primary schools. Barbara Taylor Allen, for instance, wrote about how proponents of the kindergarten movement exalted the idea of spiritual, motherhood, envisioning women as mothers to society rather than just mothers within their household, and supported the education and empowerment of women. The final section of this chapter will build specifically on these arguments, providing additional examples of women exerting authority and claiming leadership positions in private educational institutions.


31 For Fusinato see: Maria Cristina Leuzzi, Erminia Fuà Fusinato: una vita in altro modo (Roma: Anicia, 2008).

32 The final section of this chapter will build specifically on these arguments, providing additional examples of women exerting authority and claiming leadership positions in private educational institutions.
Not every historian has agreed, however, that education served as a tool of empowerment for women. Lucia Re, for instance, argued that the Italian state’s educational policy was used to control women and maintained that under both Right and Left governments in Italy, “the discourse of literacy and the protocols set up for the education of women were in practice far from liberal. They amounted rather to instruments for social and cultural control.” She noted that while women were encouraged to gain basic literacy, they were discouraged from classical secondary education and were pushed instead towards the normal schools (teacher training schools), which she claimed were, “supposed to normalize and discipline women’s instinctive and emotional nature by containing any tendency towards the unruly or the passionate and nurturing a healthy desire for the maternal and for a mothering kind of pedagogy.”

While I agree with Re that official state discourses emphasized a maternal femininity, I maintain that women successfully utilized these discourses to demand education and positions of authority for themselves outside of the home.

This chapter focuses specifically on the educational projects of Sara Nathan, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Elizabeth Chambers. While Chambers’ school has not been written about previously, Nathan’s and Schwabe’s have been. Albisetti wrote about Schwabe’s school in Naples in an article from 2006 in which he emphasized Schwabe’s focus on secular education and the transnational connections she drew on in her fundraising attempts. He did not, however, talk much about her political views or connection to radicalism, which I do. Luisa Levi D’Ancona Modena wrote about Schwabe’s and Sara Nathan’s involvement in primary education as part of a larger article on Jewish women in non-Jewish philanthropy from 2010.

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33 Re, 161.
35 D’Ancona Modena, “Jewish Women in Non-Jewish Philanthropy in Italy (1870-1938).”
Modena’s piece is particularly interesting because it showed how women who were somewhat outsiders were able to play a role in shaping education in Italy. Biographies of Sara Nathan and her son Ernesto have also mentioned the work they did with her Mazzini school in Trastevere in Rome. These works are useful because they put the work of the Nathans into the context of their lives and political radicalism, but lack a larger understanding of how other women were performing similar labor. In this chapter I bring together the individual studies of Nathan’s and Schwabe’s schools and add information about Chambers’ school to show how these women formed part of a larger network of transnational primary education supporters with ties to the Risorgimento.

An Introduction to the Schools

Julia Salis Schwabe’s School in Naples

Julia Salis Schwabe established a series of schools in Naples culminating in the Istituto Internazionale Froebeliano Vittorio Emanuele II, which included a kindergarten, orphanage, vocational school and teacher training school. When Schwabe first visited Naples in the winter of 1860-61 to raise funds for the Risorgimento she had been appalled by the conditions and raised money for the reconstruction of the school of Torre del Greco, destroyed by the earthquake of 1860. It reopened in 1861 under the leadership of Emily Reeve, daughter of an


English doctor, and friend to radicals Alexander Herzen and Malwida von Meysenbug. The school flourished from 1862 to 1865, when Reeve died in a cholera epidemic and it was closed. In 1872, Schwabe restarted her project with help from Pasquale Villari. Interested in the ideas of Friedrich Froebel, she established a kindergarten in Naples, which accepted forty children of both sexes from ages 3 to 6 or 7. Schwabe also created a primary school, where students from ages 7 to 13 or 14 were provided a mixture of “instruction, education, and work.” The children all learned Italian, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, universal history, geometry, natural sciences and French. In addition, girls were taught to be good housewives, to comport themselves properly and to be modest, but were also given a professional education which would have allowed them to make an independent living outside of marriage. At age 14 the students had the option to enter into the army or a trade, to continue their education and become Froebel teachers, or to further learn domestic skills and possibly enter into domestic service. In 1876 Schwabe added an orphanage and in 1877 a teacher Training College. In

41 For more on Pasquale Villari see Chapter 4.
46 Le Rider, 414; Froebel, 198.
1890 she then added an industrial wing, where “handicrafts are taught after the ordinary school hours.” By 1890 the Training College had 19 students, the kindergarten had 174 students, and the elementary school department had 417 students. Even more children were interested in attending, as no fewer than 200 children were turned away in 1890 for want of room. Over the period of 1873 to 1890 the school had taken in 9,632 pupils.46

Mary Elizabeth Chambers’ School in Sardinia

Mary Elizabeth Chambers worked alongside Garibaldi to open industrial schools in Sardinia. As the representative of Ozieri in Sardinia, Garibaldi was dedicated to improving conditions on Sardinia and the industrial schools would be part of this project.47 Industrial schools were designed to take low-income or neglected children at risk of entering a life of crime and teach them a useful trade instead. Garibaldi and Chambers both worked to fundraise and gain supporters and publicity for the school. Financial supporters included a Signor Bunsing and the Princess Emma Carolatti who gave 1,000 francs for the school on Maddalena.48

Very little has been written about these schools and it is difficult to uncover how many there were and when they opened. In July of 1869, the Daily News reported that about 80 children under age seven attended the school in Ozieri. Another school, they claimed, had 120

The teaching school itself grew a great deal from 1878-79, when it had 7 students to 1879-80, when it had 24 students. See: Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13). Based on this account, we know a great deal about the school at this moment. From 1878 to 1879 there were three instructors in the kindergarten, watching over 101 children: 19 children in the first class, 42 children in the second class, and 40 children in the third class. In the elementary school during that same time there was one director and 11 teachers, watching over 82 boys, split up into three grades and 116 girls, split up into five grades. For both boys and girls there was a lower class and an upper class for the first grade.

46 Froebel, 198.
students while 338 men and boys attended the two evening schools. It further asserted that the schools were, “said to be very popular; the people in the small villages of Sardinia beg for them, and the Government authorities are not at all adverse to their establishment.” *The Daily News* report clarified that the schools did not provide children with food or clothes, merely education.\(^4^9\)

In June of 1869, Garibaldi and Chambers began plans to open an additional school in Santa Teresa.\(^5^0\) By February of 1870, they had one school in the town of Maddalena and one school in Santa Teresa, each with two teachers.\(^5^1\) In August 1870, they still had these two schools and the four teachers and the students were progressing nicely.\(^5^2\)

Chambers and Garibaldi did not restrict themselves to providing schools but also worked to improve the economic condition and general quality of life for the people of Sardinia. To improve the agriculture of Ozieri, for instance, she sent the Mayor both a “corn machine” and a new type of windmill.\(^5^3\) Working with Luigi Gusmaroli, they also set up a public reading room, demonstrating their desire to educate the general population, not just the youth.\(^5^4\)

*Sara Nathan’s School in Rome*

After Mazzini’s death his followers had debated how to best honor his memory, with one large group advocating the erection of a monument and the other smaller group, made up of the

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Nathans and close English friends of Mazzini, advocating the establishment of an educational institute as a more fitting tribute to a man who was so focused on the education of the Italian people in his theories of duty. For her part, Sara Nathan worked to establish the Roman branch of the Sala Mazzini, an institution that organized conferences and evening adult elementary education courses.

According to her daughter, Adah Nathan Castiglioni, Sara Nathan started the Scuola Mazzini in 1872 with the goal of taking poor girls from the streets and teaching them the religious and educational ideas of Mazzini along with a practical education that would make their lives easier. Sara Nathan wrote to Jessie White Mario in March 1873, explaining that she felt a need to carry on Mazzini’s memory and his mission, through the means of education, saying, “We have then nothing left to do than studying the education of the young and of the unharmed by means of His writing.” Therefore, she explained, they had opened the school in Rome.

Nathan established a girls’ elementary school, which offered curriculum identical to that of boys’ schools, and was arguably the first secular private school in Rome. In 1876 the school had 30 students and by 1880 it had 100, divided into four classes. By 1890 it had close to 120 students, mostly local children from Trastevere. Nathan’s school was located in Trastevere, a poor district in Rome, close to the old Jewish ghetto. Though it had once been far from the center of Rome, it had recently become more accessible due to the Garibaldi bridge. The school was

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55 Ciani, 67.
58 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 25 March 1873, MCRR, Busta 430, N.22(4).
in Rome because Ernesto Nathan had moved to Rome to help run the Mazzinian paper *Roma del Popolo* and Sara Nathan moved to be near him and to help with that task.⁶²

Revealing her deep personal interest, Sara Nathan gave much of the instruction herself and ensured that it was different from other municipal or denominational schools. She particularly wanted to impart Mazzini’s moral principles to the children.⁶³ The school was also maintained by donations from the Nathan family, who bought the building for the school and paid to modify it to be better suited for schooling.⁶⁴ After Sara Nathan’s death, her daughter Ada Nathan Castiglioni took over as director.⁶⁵

**Continuing the Dream of the Risorgimento**

These schools attempted to enact the dreams of the Risorgimento through generational change. Italian Unification had been a mostly top-down phenomenon and changes to the lives of everyday Italians still needed to be made. Much of the rhetoric of the Risorgimento had stressed the repressed state of the Italians and how this had stunted their development as a people. The Italian government, along with these women, wanted to focus on education to make the Italian people stronger. Historians like Maura O’Connor have argued that schools like Schwabe’s or Chambers’, promoted by foreign women, were part of British imperialism and revealed an Orientalist mindset among the transnational women.⁶⁶ I argue that while these projects were based on a strong sense of superiority and a condemnation of the current state of the Italian people, this elitism was more class-based than nation-based. Middle-class Italian liberals shared

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⁶² Ciani, 66.
⁶⁶ O’Connor, “Civilizing Southern Italy,” 253-268.
these ideas about the poverty of the Italian people and Chambers and Schwabe found support among many Italians, especially those connected to the Risorgimento, and also from the Italian government. Additionally, the English women supported similar measures within England. Therefore, we cannot conclude that they were acting specifically as colonizers in Italy.

Despite this, some historians have argued that the actions of British women who established schools in southern Italy were arguably orientalist and part of a British colonial effort. Maura O’Connor, for instance, wrote about articles published in the *Englishwoman’s Review* in the late 1870s and early 1880s that talked about Schwabe’s school project. Based on these articles, O’Connor argued that the British women saw themselves “as nation builders” in southern Italy.\(^{67}\) Articles promoting Chambers’ school can be read to reinforce O’Connor’s findings. In August 1868, for instance, *The Standard* published an article announcing the creation of Chambers’ schools. In it, they said that the Italian people had played a “singularly small part” in politics, only reacting to a grist tax or tobacco monopoly and said this was due, in part, to Italy’s lack of education. The article claimed that, “Italy is the most ignorant country of Europe, Spain not excepted,” and noted that as over 17 million Italians could not read or write, the “masses remain in a state of utter intellectual degradation.” They also argued that the schools would help to remove from Italy, “its weight of ignorance, helplessness, and mendicancy.” The article further explained that Chambers and her school were part of the solution to combat this Italian ignorance and an association was formed in England, “assisted and distinguished by many whose names are household words, under the guidance of Mrs. Chambers, to promote a system

\(^{67}\) O’Connor, “Civilizing Southern Italy,” 258. In arguing that Schwabe was part of the Orientalizing of the South, O’Connor noted that both Pasquale Villari and Jessie White Mario, whose respective works *Lettere meridionale* and *La miseria di Napoli* helped to solidify the idea of the Southern Question in Liberal Italy, supported Schwabe’s schools. White Mario even wrote about Schwabe’s school in *La miseria in Napoli* and in an essay for *Scribner’s magazine.*
of plain social education for the Italians.” These patronizing sentiments provide excellent support for claims of imperialism.

Press coverage from within Italy, as well, indicates that Schwabe’s project was in some ways viewed as a foreign intrusion. Some detractors of Schwabe’s plan argued that the Italians should be left to forge their own destiny as independent people. Articles in the feminist press also frequently emphasized Schwabe’s foreign status and noted that while Schwabe and other foreign women were supporting the cause of education in Italy, Italian women needed to take up this work for themselves. Schwabe herself also argued that Italians needed to be as involved in philanthropy within Italy as foreigners were. She wrote, “while the foreigners, animated by a spirit of international philanthropy donated considerable sums to contribute to the foundation of a work in Naples,” the Italians had not yet organized themselves to perform similar labor.

Some Italians, like Italo Giglioli, responded to Schwabe’s work by forming Italian committees to spread similar educational projects across the peninsula themselves. In July 1877 Giglioli wrote to Giorgina Craufurd Saffi asking her to join one of these Italian committees. These efforts indicate that while Schwabe’s work was recognized and in many ways appreciated, it was also perceived as foreign and for that reason slightly unwelcome.

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68 “Multiple News Items,” *The Standard* (London, England), Saturday, August 15, 1868; pg. 4; Issue 13738. The British sense of superiority was made clear by *The Standard*’s article when they wrote that, “we, in Great Britain, who have so long regarded Italy as almost the foster-child of our freedom, may not ungracefully or ungenerously, welcome the proposal that we should extend a kindly hand to the pupils who, desirous of emulating our institutions, desire also to be intellectually civilized, and understand, while they enjoy, the principles of liberty.” They offered aid to Chambers and the Italians, but in a truly condescending fashion.


72 Italo Giglioli to Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, 7 July 1877, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 16, f. 1, cc. 1-379. What is strange is that Giglioli appealed to Saffi as an Italian, arguing that Italians need to take control of their cities and not leave it to foreigners, but Saffi was British.
Narratives coming from Schwabe’s organization itself also reveal orientalist sentiments and criticism of the Italians. In an essay, written under Schwabe’s guidance, Adele von Portugall described the Neapolitans as, “a demoralised people sunk in ignorance and superstition; a people where disorder, uncleanliness, and improvident negligence join hands in a fatal contract against well-being and regulated family life.” Portugall added that many people in Naples were homeless or beggars. Echoing a classic orientalist trope, Portugall then wrote about the natural beauty of Naples, saying “Truly a blessed land this Naples. Nature, with a prodigal hand, has strewn her richest treasures around, yet, in the midst of our enjoyment of all these beauties, there mingles a feeling of sadness.”

In another essay, Portugall expressed the Anglo-Saxon belief in Italian laziness, writing, “instead of intellectual life, one saw a dead routine everywhere in which my pupils, with the innate Italian indolence, participated.”

While Portugall’s language was arguably Orientalist, it also echoed the earlier language of the Risorgimento. She wrote that the poor state of the Neapolitan people was a result of their bad political system, and clerical oppression claiming,

Slavery can only produce slaves; obstruction and restraint, deceit and lying. An ever-changing foreign rule, constant servitude and oppression, and in the last century, with few interruptions, systematic stupefaction and submission under an abject priesthood- what people could fail to lose its self-reliance and energy and to die an intellectual death?

She then specifically praised the Risorgimento patriots, who “raised their voices fearlessly, risking freedom, life, and personal happiness, to secure the rights of their oppressed and enslaved brethren.” Her condemnation of the Italian people was thus a reflection of how deeply she, and presumably Schwabe, had agreed with and internalized the rhetoric of the Risorgimento.

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Many middle-class Italians also shared these ideas that the poor, and particularly the poor of the south, were uneducated, unfit for political life, and in need of civilization. Concerned about the situation in the south, the government made many derogatory statements about southerners. An 1874 pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Public Education, for instance, claimed that through night schools in Sicily and Sardinia the government was waging an “open war against ignorance.” With reference to an “open war,” in the south, the ministry undoubtedly raised parallels to the more literal and military battles which had recently been fought to keep the south under governmental control. The Italian state also expressed preference for English methods and looked to the English as a model. The Ministry of Public Education, for instance, used comparisons to the British state and the Factory Acts to argue for compulsory primary education. It argued that this was an instance when the government directly intervened in the life of the family and it worked out well. These seemingly Orientalist views were commonly expressed by Italians both during the Risorgimento and afterwards.

Chambers’ work in the schools of Sardinia evolved directly out of her partnership with Garibaldi forged during the Risorgimento and relied on the strength of his popularity to gain supporters for the schools. In March 1869, for instance, a committee offered to construct tables, chairs, and blackboards for the school Garibaldi and Chambers had opened in Ozieri. The secretary of this committee, Giuseppe Antonio Parés was a French and English teacher at the school, selected by Chambers. He gave a speech on April 26th 1869 expressing his gratitude for

76 Raccolta delle leggi, decreti, circolari emanati dal Ministero della pubblica istruzione fra il 1870 ed il 1874 (Torino: Stampa reale di G.B. Paravia, 1877) 180.
77 Atti parlamentari. Rendiconti del Parlamento Italiano (1867-1868), 10 June 1868, 936; Atti parlamentari. Rendiconti del Parlamento Italiano (1867-1868), 5 June 1868, 871-2. By drawing attention to the interventionist behavior of a well-regarded and prosperous state, it thus hoped to fight against the liberal belief that the government should not interfere in the lives of individual citizens.
Chambers, his honor at being associated with Garibaldi, and his fervent desire to work for them to the best of his ability. Interestingly, he mentioned his support for Garibaldi retaking Rome as the capital of Italy, revealing the connections between radical politics and the goals of education.  

Schwabe’s work in education in the south of Italy also came directly out of her work in the Risorgimento and was done in collaboration with Italian women from the beginning. In 1861, Garibaldi made a speech to Italian women, asking them to help elevate the country, which led to the founding of the Italian Ladies’ Philanthropic Association in Turin later that year. In a letter from June 1861, Garibaldi implied that Schwabe actually came up with the plan for the Ladies Philanthropic Association, saying, “An English Mrs. Schwabe proposed to me to ask the Italian women to form associations to improve the condition of the people, mostly in Naples and Palermo.” He added that he had written to the Marchesa Anna Pallavicino Trivulzio and she had accepted the position of leader of a such committee. According to Adele von Portugall, who worked as the directress of Schwabe’s school in Naples, in July of 1861, Pallavicino wrote to Schwabe asking for her participation in their endeavors saying,

Our will is strong but our hands are feeble; and therefore we appeal to you, who are so well acquainted with the destitute condition of the lower classes of Naples, as well as with the philanthropic intentions of Garibaldi, and our own objects, trusting that you kindly will be the interpreter of our intentions to our English sisters.

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79 Copy of speech by Giuseppe Antonio Parés, 26 April 1869 (Ozieri), ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “1867 e 1868” (Vol. D).
This story became part of the lore of Schwabe’s educational project. In July 1872, Il Progresso Educativo in Naples published an article about Schwabe, which was reprinted in La Donna, which emphasized Schwabe’s connection to Garibaldi and to the committee in Turin, arguing that the association asked Schwabe for help. See: “Di nuovo istituto di educazione popolare in Napoli,” from Progresso Educativo reprinted in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, (Venezia), a.V, n.188 25 July 1872, p.1101-02.
When the Association issued its manifesto in November 1861, its stated goal was to work towards opening schools in Naples, and they asked women across Italy to get involved. With kind-hearted yet patronizing motives, the women of the association wanted to act as mothers to the poor of the nation and to provide guidance, uplift, and education to the people of Italy, particularly those people in southern Italy.\(^8^2\) They claimed that their goal was to improve the poor of Italy so that Italy could become as civilized as other European nations.

Schwabe also drew on support from other proponents of the Risorgimento. Erminia Fuà Fusinato, Risorgimento patriot, poet, and supporter of education, for instance, approved of Schwabe’s work, saying that she was a “holy woman,” and “an apostle of charity.”\(^8^3\) She also helped Schwabe in organizing her schools.\(^8^4\) Schwabe also received support from Giuseppe Ricciardi through Aurelia Cimino Follier De Luna, founder of *Cornelia*, a feminist paper.\(^8^5\) De Luna was friends with Ricciardi and asked him to support Schwabe’s institute in Naples in December 1871.\(^8^6\) Ricciardi praised Schwabe’s school in *Cornelia* for its work in alleviating the poverty and ignorance among the people of Naples.\(^8^7\) Schwabe responded to Ricciardi’s letter in

\(^{8^2}\) Programma dell’Associazione Nazionale Filantropica delle Donne Italiane, 1 November 1861, Turin, MCRR, Busta 321, N. 10(3).

\(^{8^3}\) P.G. Molmenti, *Erminia Fuà-Fusinato e i suoi ricordi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1877) 122. Diary entry from 6 November 1874.

\(^{8^4}\) Molmenti, 68. According to Fuà Fusinato’s private diary, she received flowers from Schwabe in 1871, potentially as a thank you for her suggestion that Schwabe’s schools be offered free of charge. Fusinato also recorded opposition to Schwabe. Fuà Fusinato wrote that people in elevated circles in Rome had laughed at Schwabe for, “il suo zelo per l’opera buone.” Diary entry from 6 November 1874.

\(^{8^5}\) Giuseppe Ricciardi was an anti-Bourbon Mazzinian, pedagogue, and feminist from Naples. Ricciardi was interested in pedagogy and in 1831 founded the periodical *Il Progresso delle lettere, delle scienze e delle arti*, which had anti-Bourbon and republican tendencies. In 1834 he became a member of Young Italy and was secretary of the central revolutionary committee of Naples. He went into exile after 1836, spending most of his time in France. His exile was briefly interrupted in 1848 for the revolutions in Italy. After unification, he was elected as a deputy of the Realm and was part of the historic Left. See: Angela Russo, “Vostra obbligata amica”: Giuseppe Ricciardi e le amiche emancipazioniste (1860-1880)."

\(^{8^6}\) Angela Russo, “Vostra obbligata amica”: Giuseppe Ricciardi e le amiche emancipazioniste (1860-1880)” 52.

Cornelia with her own published account, thanking him for his plea and thanking the Italian government for the aid they had provided.88

The Italian state also supported Chambers’ and Schwabe’s schools. In 1868, The Standard reported that Chambers’ school would operate, “with the full consent and co-operation of the Government,” and would be opened by a member of King Victor Emmanuel’s Cabinet. The article stressed that this was not a partisan project of Garibaldi’s but one with a wide base of support, saying that, “although General Garibaldi approves warmly of the scheme, it is one of national and not of factious significance.”89 The city council of Ozieri also expressed their thanks to Chambers in a letter from April 20th 1869, which emphasized her foreign status saying that she had, “passed over immense seas,” and had “not feared the inconveniences of land and of sea to bring yourself to a country altogether unknown,”90 Later, in 1888, the Minister of Public Education paid homage to Schwabe with a medal of honor as a thanks for her help with education. Augusto Pierantoni also praised her in the Italian senate, calling her, “a true heroine of charity.”91 Clearly, this educational project, though it had elitist overtones, was not viewed as objectionable by the Italian government and was, in fact, in line with their mission.

Schwabe and Chambers’ schools can also be cleared of charges of colonial orientalism because the two women created similar schools in England. Their motivation was based on class and a belief in educating the poor, regardless of nationality. During her marriage in England,

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88 Julie Salis Schwabe, “Alla Direttrice della Rivista Cornelia,” Cornelia: rivista letteraria educativa dedicata principalmente agli interessi morali e materiali delle donne italiane, (Florence) a.5, n.14, 16 June 1877, p.108. Both Ricciardi and Schwabe were very upfront about the amount given from the governments, collected from benefactors, and given by Schwabe herself. This may indicate a need for transparency and to show they were not abusing funds.
90 To Mary Chambers, 20 April 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “1867 e 1868” (Vol. D). The letter also asked that she share this gratitude with her interpreter, “Miss Caroline Leonardi, who divides with you the fatigues of your mission.” This is interesting because I have not heard of Leonardi otherwise and it indicates that Chambers in fact did not speak adequate Italian to get by on her own in Italy.
Julia Salis Schwabe and her husband, Salis Schwabe, were active in philanthropy and supported children and education in Britain.\textsuperscript{92} They operated a school out of their factory in Manchester, which was considered quite exemplary for the time, and Salis Schwabe was also a founding member of the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education and a member of the directory committee of the Manchester School of Design.\textsuperscript{93} Later, Schwabe brought her kindergarten work to England and created the Froebel College in London in 1892.\textsuperscript{94}

Chambers was similarly active with industrial schools in England. She contributed to an industrial school, which opened at Bayswater on March 1\textsuperscript{st} 1869.\textsuperscript{95} The school served poor street children and taught them reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also washing, ironing, and sewing. Though religious instruction was provided, it was open to children of all denominations.\textsuperscript{96} The Bayswater school eventually closed due to a lack of interest. The \textit{Birmingham Daily Post} reported that this was because, “even the temptation of rice and boiled mutton will not always

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{92} Albisetti, “Education for Poor Neapolitan Children: Julia Schwabe's Nineteenth-Century Secular Mission,” 641.  
\textsuperscript{93} Le Rider, 137. Salis Schwabe (1800-1853) was Julia Salis Schwabe’s cousin and husband. He founded his business in Manchester in 1833. In the 1840s his factory became one of the largest in England: it employed 750 workers, had 5 steam machines, 21 printing machines, and a 321-foot chimney.  
\textsuperscript{94} Le Rider, 414.  
\textsuperscript{95} “Industrial Schools,” \textit{Daily News} (London, England), Monday, April 5, 1869; Issue 7153. The Bayswater school had 60 pupils and provided two meals a day for the children at a moderate cost. The children’s day was divided into three portions: three hours for reading, writing, and arithmetic; three hours of exercise and labor, including washing, sewing, ironing, mangling, tailoring, shoemaking, and printing; and three hours of cooking, cleaning, and domestic economy. There was a desire to make the school self-supporting, through the work of the students, and towards that goal they had a printing press, used to print circulars for the school and to give the boys productive work to do.  
\textsuperscript{96} “London Gossip,” \textit{Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser} (Dublin, Ireland), Friday, March 29, 1872; Issue N/A. The work of the children was used to help pay for the school. The \textit{Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser}, said that the street children remained in the school because of the apparent advantages of the education, it said that, “the advantages of another kind of independence have been made so clear to their understanding that they have needed to compulsion to induce them to profit by them when so generously offered.” Chambers also was known her for interesting approach to discipline in the schools. In 1883, the \textit{Birmingham Daily Post} reported that, “at the famous Garibaldi School she had established in the Moscow Road, the door was always left wide open, for the optional, not compulsive, attendance of the waifs and strays, with whom that quarter abounds. They were free to come, and what she judged as better still, were free to go, as they chose.” Her only rule was that the children remain quiet during their lessons. If they needed to talk, they were allowed to go outside. The older children rarely returned, but the younger ones did. This was, apparently, because they were the ones, “to whom the love of learning, and may be also the certainty of a good dinner, formed a more powerful attraction than the savage love of freedom from restraint, grown irresponsiblle in their elders.” See: “London Gossip,” \textit{Birmingham Daily Post} (Birmingham, England), Friday, May 11, 1883; Issue 7755.}
compensate your real street Arab for the loss of liberty.” The language of this article shows that the condescending and controlling approach to the education of the poor was found in both Italy and Victorian England.

**Education as an Alternative to Socialism**

The three schools reviewed in this chapter also shared an emphasis on practical education and instruction in job skills and proper discipline as a safeguard against socialism. Schwabe, Chambers, Nathan, and other supporters of the Risorgimento were often sympathetic to the working classes and wanted to help them, but were not believers in Marxist socialism. Though they were interested in earlier models of utopian socialism, including that espoused by the Saint Simonians, as religious members of the middle-class they could not support a system that was so avowedly materialistic and based on class conflict, rather than class cooperation. Their schools were intended as way to improve the lives of the working class while also operating as a safeguard against socialism.

Worries about socialism were common in post-Unification Italy, both among moderate Liberals and Catholics, and impacted debates about primary education. Throughout Europe proponents of primary education argued that it could be used to offset the impact of socialism while opponents feared that universal primary education would only further fuel the socialist party. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, a popular Catholic newspaper, for instance, frequently spoke out against public education by arguing it would give poor Italians ideas about revolution and

98 Mazzini was famously against socialism and lost many followers because of it.
99 There was socialist activity in Italy during the 1860s and 1870s but it had not yet really taken off and the Italian Socialist Party was not founded until 1892. Even the limited socialist influence worried many Italian liberals and pushed them to restrict the franchise. Fears were heightened by violent tax riots in the Romagna early in 1869. For more information, see Duggan, *The Force of Destiny*. 
provide them with the tools to enact that revolution. On the other hand, Senator Casimiro Sperino, a representative of the Right from Turin, argued that primary education would help fight against the natural indolence of the Italians and would make Italians more disposed to work and less vulnerable to the lures of socialism.\textsuperscript{100} Liberal supporters of the kindergarten also argued that though it was originally radical and focused on middle-class freedoms, it could be used to educate the working class to be orderly and respectful.\textsuperscript{101} In all instances, education was conceived of as a tool for the middle class to quell working class discontent.

One way Schwabe, Nathan, and Chambers tried to improve the lives of the working class, and to avoid socialist revolution, was to teach their students basic jobs skills and discipline. In her school in Sardinia, Chambers implemented a combination of methods from British ordinary schools as well as industrial and technical schools and taught her students basic skills, “including a practical variety, from simple sewing and laundress work to a capacity for spelling, reading, writing, and understanding the cardinal points of morality.”\textsuperscript{102} Her schools were intended for, “the acquirement, not only of elementary knowledge, but of specific callings, capable of affording the means of life in after years.”\textsuperscript{103} Recognizing the importance of providing children with skills they could use to earn their livelihoods as adults, Sara Nathan also provided her lower class students with, “a practical and useful instruction that could ease their lives, and render them ready and able to earn money and to live independently,” and for that reason taught them sewing and embroidery.\textsuperscript{104}

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\textsuperscript{100} Atti parlamentari. 1876-77, v.2 (Discussioni del camera dei deputati), 5 March 1877, 1812.
\textsuperscript{101} Taylor Allen, “Spiritual Motherhood,” 324.
\textsuperscript{102} Bazaar Flyer, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italian schools 1869” (Vol. B); “Multiple News Items,” The Standard (London, England), Saturday, August 15, 1868; pg. 4; Issue 13738.
\textsuperscript{103} “Industrial Schools,” Daily News (London, England), Monday, April 5, 1869; Issue 7153.
\textsuperscript{104} Adah Nathan Castiglioni and Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, MCRR, Busta 405, N.6.
Sarina Nathan. Finally, Schwabe promoted an education focused on practical skills and discipline and claimed she was educating her students to understand duty and to have confidence in their strength, to focus on the joys of domestic life and to avoid vanity and frivolousness. She was inspired in part by a letter from Pasquale Villari in 1877, in which he encouraged her to open an industrial school at her institute, which would transform “paupers and vagrants into workmen.” This shared approach reveals how Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan recognized the necessity for practical solutions for the working class, but also patronizingly believed that if left unaided, the working class might descend into vagrancy, crime, or socialist revolution.

The Italian press recognized Schwabe’s efforts in instilling a desire to work among her pupils and for forestalling socialist revolution and praised her for it. One paper noted that her school positively dealt with the issue of poverty and would help people avoid prison and begging. Another paper praised her for teaching the children of the people to become, “good citizens and happy workers,” and described her work as, “the most effective remedy for neutralizing the propaganda of the international.” Building on this reputation, Schwabe appealed to donors by proposing a “good international,” a network of supporters of education,

105 D’Ancona Modena, “Jewish Women in Non-Jewish Philanthropy in Italy (1870-1938)” 17. The Opera Pia Sarina Nathan also ran the Unione Benefica, which was founded in 1882 to provide vocational training and accommodations to girls arriving in Rome, so that they might avoid falling into illicit circles or engaging in prostitution. More on the fight against prostitution can be found in Chapter 6.
108 Leonardo Galimberti, “Inaugurazione dell’istituto froebelliano per maestre giardiniere in Napoli,” Cornelia: rivista letteraria educativa dedicata principalmente agli interessi morali e materiali delle donne italiane, (Florence), a.6, n.2, 16 December 1877, p. 11. They claimed that the school, “aumentata la ricchezza coll’amore dell’operosità e del lavoro; resa più proficua ed eleganta le convivenza sociale per le cresciute attitudini, e con esse il diletto alle sublimi compiacenza della mente distoglierà la nuova generazione dalle vulgari e grossolane letizie, e nobiliterà gli affetti nella soave corrispondenza di altri affetti non meno integri e rispettati quanto cari e desiderati.”
109 “Varietà: La Sig. Salis Schwabe,” La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, a.8, n.270-71, 25 December 1875 and 10 January 1876, p.2443-44.
which would counter socialist tendencies.\textsuperscript{110} The liberal middle-class fear of socialism was thus an important part of her project.

Another way in which these schools worked to prevent socialism from taking root in Italy was by providing direct charitable services, such as lunches for the children, that would alleviate the stresses of poverty. Schwabe’s Froebel Institute, for instance, provided a daily meal for many of its students, at the cost of roughly L.1,150 per year (L. 10,125.24 from 1873 to 1879).\textsuperscript{111} Chambers and her committee agreed to provide one meal a day for the students, but required that the children cook it themselves, “not only in an economic and proper, but even in a scientific manner.” They explained that this was necessary because, “good cookery is an essential thing to civilized man, whether regarded as a matter of luxury or health.”\textsuperscript{112} Attempts to provide food were not always successful. At first Sara Nathan provided her students with soup at lunchtime, but soon realized that the girls did not want to eat it and instead brought their own bread from home, which they happily ate.\textsuperscript{113}

Inspired by the popular doctrines of self-help and self-advancement that discouraged unrestricted charity, donors and paying students often demanded that the institutions were placed on a restricted budget and limited the extent of the charity and push for equality the schools provided. Schwabe, for instance, initially planned on educating poor children alongside rich children, but was unable to do so without alienating her paying pupils and was required to


\textsuperscript{111} Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13). The Institute also spent a large portion of its budget on feeding the live-in workers of the institute and the orphans who lived there (L. 66,366.51 from 1873 to 1877). It also spent money on laundry, lights, doctors and medicine, clothing and linens, and furniture for the kindergarten, elementary school, and the home.

\textsuperscript{112} Bazaar Flyer, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italian schools 1869” (Vol. B).

\textsuperscript{113} Adah Nathan Castiglioni to Jessie White Mario, 7 June 1890, MCRR, Busta 405, N.6.
educate the children separately. Like Schwabe, Chambers was also forced to move away from her egalitarian vision to accommodate the realities of her budget. To keep her schools from being too expensive, Chambers sold the labor of her pupils as they learned technical, industrial, or domestic skills. By advertising this plan in the newspapers, showed potential donors that she was thinking critically about finances and that she would make an effective use of their donation. More importantly, she emphasized that her school was one in which children would not be taught to rely on handouts, but would instead be given the tools and opportunities to learn to provide and care for themselves again revealing how her project fit into the larger plan of the liberal middle-class to use education to push back the rise of the socialist movement and provide alternate solutions for the working class.

Non-Traditional Religious Education

These schools consciously chose not to provide Catholic religious instruction to their students and instead promoted either secular or nondenominational vaguely Protestant religious education. While this choice won them support from liberal middle-class Italians, who saw freedom of religion as a key component of a modern state, and from radical anti-clericals who thought that years of Catholic monopoly on education had made Italy weak and corrupt, it also earned them the contempt and ire of Catholics and more conservative Italians. By promoting non-traditional religious education, Chambers, Schwabe, and Nathan each acted to make Italians less restrictively Catholic in their faith and more open to a cooperative transdenominational spirituality.

114 Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13).
Italian legislators, even some anti-clerical liberals, generally supported religious instruction, believed it was necessary for imposing morality and order among the people. These views were most established among the Catholic Right. Senator Francesco Correale, a noble from Naples, argued in 1868, for instance, that one needed morals to be a good citizen and that the only way to obtain these morals was through, “our religion.” Similarly, Senator Paolo Lioy, a noble from Vicenza, who also represented the Right, argued in 1872 that religious education was necessary to prevent criminality, claiming, “it is not just the abacus and the math textbooks that will depopulate the prisons, it is the education associated with the school, it is the Gospel and labor.” Proponents of religious instruction on the Left believed that instilling morality was more important than fighting the dogmatism of the church and sought to find a more enlightened means of education that still resulted in a law-abiding and authority-fearing society.

Religious education was a requirement for primary schools in Liberal Italy. As historian Alessandro Ferrari pointed out, in Liberal Italy, “the need to separate the state school from the Catholic religion never went as far as forgetting that a religious education could be a legitimate request on the part of parents and was something that could find a place inside a scholastic institution.” Title V, Article 315 of the Casati law initially made religious instruction part of the required curriculum in the lower level of the elementary school. It mandated an examination

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116 Atti parlamentari. Rendiconti del Parlamento Italiano (1867-1868), 5 June 1868, 868. Francesco Correale was a major proponent of Catholic influence in Italy and in 1866 published Religione e Civiltà, in which he said that religion was a necessary guide for the nation. He further argued that divine law was the basis for all other laws and maintained that a respect for the divine law was necessary if citizens were to respect any of the nation's laws. Correale thus revealed the extent to which Catholicism remained a part of Italian identity, even during this period of anticlericalism.

117 Atti parlamentari v.1 (1871-72), 1 March 1872, 920.

118 Ferrari, “The problem of civic cohesion and the role of the state school in France and Italy,” 536.
be given by the parish every semester and required all students to take it, with the exception of non-Catholics and the children of parents who specifically requested exemption.\textsuperscript{119}

The Correnti Circular of September 29\textsuperscript{th} 1870 then made religious instruction optional rather than obligatory. Arguing that it respected, “not only the diversity of sects, but the various opinions and authority of parents,” the Ministry of Public Education claimed that parents must be the ones who decide if their children attend religious instruction. The Ministry stated that it, “gave discretion to the parents” and will, “attribute to the fathers of the family the safeguarding of the liberty of conscience of their own children.”\textsuperscript{120} This was not an attempt to promote secular morality, but rather an acknowledgment that the state did not have a right to force religious instruction on unwilling participants based on classic liberal theories of laissez-faire government, religious tolerance, and individual decision-making.

The last major change to religious education came when the Historic Left government in Italy passed the Coppino Law on July 15\textsuperscript{th} 1877, omitting the issue of religious education entirely and requiring instead that the students learn about the rights and duties of a citizen. This was a reflection of the positivist pedagogy of the administration. Even after this law, however, many public institutions still taught catechism and dogma, in addition to biblical history and morality lessons.\textsuperscript{121} Even by the school year of 1896-97, for instance, only 27.7\% of municipal primary schools had no Catholic religious teaching.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{119} Pak, 160. Though the Casati Law required religious instruction, it also challenged the Catholic church’s power and monopoly on education, by specifying that a private religious institution did not count towards a commune’s requirement to fund a public school.

\textsuperscript{120} Raccolta delle leggi, decreti, circolari emanati dal Ministero della pubblica istruzione fra il 1870 ed il 1874, 182.

\textsuperscript{121} Pak, 164.

\textsuperscript{122} Ferrari, “The problem of civic cohesion and the role of the state school in France and Italy,” 537. Ferrari argued that the Coppino Law was “more a matter of principle than of practice” and “was never interpreted as a formal ban on Catholic teaching in public schools but rather as an undramatic transformation of it into an optional part of the curriculum organized by local authorities at the request of parents.”
Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan each took alternate approaches to religious education in their schools. Chambers and Garibaldi had initially contemplated providing a fully secular education and agreed, “to not accept priests of any denomination for the instruction of the youth,” but eventually decided to provide nondenominational religious education.123 Advertisements for the schools explained that they would be free, “to children of every denomination,” and that “instruction will be given from the New Testament by the Ladies’ Committee, except in cases where the parents of the children may be of the Jewish persuasion.”124 The daughter of an Anglican priest, Chambers had the most traditionally Protestant religious views of the three women and her approach to religious education reflects this. Her nondenominational vaguely Protestant approach to religious education would have found many supporters among the English middle class.

In her schools Schwabe took a strictly secular approach, leaving religious instruction to the families.125 In a letter to Garibaldi from March 1865, Schwabe celebrated that, “we have succeeded in establishing out system of education without the question of cults, and a school where no priest, neither Catholic nor Protestant, could enter and sow discord.”126 Though she was a Unitarian she did not want to use her schools to proselytize for Protestantism and refused to affiliate herself or her school with any type of religious agenda or organization.127 In 1866, for

123 G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 30 November 1868, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 4, Ins. 14. Garibaldi’s son Menotti Garibaldi also urged Chambers to avoid any religious instruction in their schools. Expressing his adamant belief that religion was harmful, he said that, “for me combating one religion by substituting another is an erroneous thing,” and explained that he believed that religions were “invented by parasites of humanity.” See: Menotti Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 9 December 1868, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 2, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 24.
125 Una bella lezione che danno alle nostre signore le dame forestiere,” in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, a.4, n.178 (Venezia), 25 February 1872, p.954. The article ensured readers, however, that Schwabe was a moral person and that her female instructors would promote morality among students.
126 Julia Salis Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 5 March 1865, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo, s.d. 2393. In the letter she also praised Garibaldi for bringing, “the freedom of conscience,” to Naples.
instance, Chambers approached Schwabe and offered to send her Bible extracts to distributed in the school in Naples. Schwabe refused this offer, saying that it would be a “breach of confidence” on her part to do so in a school that had always proclaimed to be “exclusively secular.” Though she did not create her own school, Jessie White Mario also was in favor of secular education and wrote positively about Schwabe’s approach in her work *La Miseria in Napoli* and in multiple articles.129

Sara Nathan promoted a unique version of religious instruction in her schools, teaching morality and religion according to Mazzinian principles.130 Nathan’s school followed a basic syllabus approved by the Ministry of Education, but instead of religious instruction taught lessons on morality according to the principles laid out by Mazzini in the *Duties of Man*.131 Specifically, it taught children about duty towards God, humanity, their country, their family, and themselves.132 Nathan was proud that her schools would provide children with a, “true civil education, as independent of Catholic or Pietistic prejudices as of the unpleasant affectations of bigoted and intolerant atheism.”133 This was in line with Mazzini’s faith, which eschewed atheism as much as it did Catholicism. The non-Catholic status of the schools was very important to the Nathan family. Ernesto Nathan, Sara Nathan’s son, even wrote a letter to his brother David

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128 Julia Salis Schwabe to G. Garibaldi, 20 March 1866, MRM, Fondo Giuseppe Garibaldi-Curatulo s.d. 2516. She suggested that Chambers instead send the bibles to the Ladies Meuricoffre in Naples who were establishing Protestant schools for the poor. Harriet Meuricoffre was the sister of Josephine Butler who led the European campaign against state-regulated prostitution discussed in Chapter 6.


130 Adah Nathan Castiglioni and Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, MCRR, Busta 405, N.6


Nathan in November 1898, explaining that their sister Adah had become unfit for leading the Mazzini school after marrying a marquis and becoming a Catholic.134

Nathan, Chambers, and Schwabe all shared a desire to provide specifically non-Catholic education that reflected not only the anti-Catholicism of the left-wing of the Risorgimento, but also British Protestantism. Chambers and Schwabe cultivated many of their supporters and fundraised from among the British middle-class by appealing to this British anti-Catholicism. Middle-class British reformers also approved of Sara Nathan’s school. In 1883, for instance, The Englishwoman’s Review published an article on Sara Nathan’s schools supporting her stance against Catholicism and describing how Nathan was trying to instill Mazzinian principles of duty into Roman girls, “whose parents were not completely under the thralldom of priestly superstition.” They added that Nathan was fighting against corruption, parental scruples, and “the superstition and the coarse engrained greed of the priests.”135 This article reveals how Nathan, Schwabe, and Chambers, even though they had no official religious affiliation, were accepted as part of a larger movement by British women to impose Protestant education in Italy.

As the article in the Englishwoman’s Review indicates, Catholics led a fierce resistance to the project of non-Catholic education. Opposed to the project of the Risorgimento and the movement by the new Italian state to take control of institutions like education away from it, the Catholic Church argued that by instituting compulsory secular education the Italian government was corrupting the people and further argued that mass literacy would spread anarchist and socialist ideals.136 Nathan originally had only seven students in her school, due in part to the

136 Pak, 161.
opposition of the clerical class in Rome. According to Nathan’s children, the priests, “saw eternal damnation in this teaching and therefore refused Easter and communion to the girls who confessed that they attended this School.” Even more sinisterly, they claimed, the priests would tell the parents of naturally pale children who attended the school that the children’s pallor was a sign that the school was deleterious to the children’s health. The frightened parents would then pull their children from the school. Prepared for this resistance, Nathan wrote to Jessie White Mario soon after opening the school, explaining that “the difficulties are many and we do not illude ourselves with the idea of succeeding.”

The Catholic Church was also opposed to the kindergarten system that Schwabe utilized in her schools in Naples believing that Froebel was basing his teachings on atheism or was secretly a Protestant. Schwabe also received criticism because of her resolutely secular agenda, and the Catholic clergy convinced local political authorities to reduce the municipal financial support allotted to her institutions. This clerical opposition occasionally made it more difficult for Schwabe to fundraise. In 1874, for instance, The Piccolo reported that Schwabe was having some difficulty finding financial supporters for her school due to tension with religious authorities, saying that one woman was reluctant to give too much money at risk of displeasing the Cardinal.

While some Catholics opposed her project, Schwabe’s secular aims required her to remain open to working with them and to show no preference for any single religious

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138 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 25 March 1873, MCRR, Busta 430, N.22(4).
139 Albisetti, “Froebel Crosses the Alps: Introducing the Kindergarten in Italy,” 167-69. They also did not like anything associated with Germany, including Schwabe, because Germany was launching its Kulturkampf against the Catholic church. The clerical fight against kindergartens was also somewhat beneficial, however, because anti-clerical leaders in government supported the kindergartens and helped them grow.
141 “Varietà,” from Il Piccolo (Naples) reprinted in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, a.7, n.235, 10 July 1874, p. 1857.
denomination. Schwabe received praise for not being overly partisan in her religious sympathies. The *Progresso Educativo* wrote in 1872 that Schwabe was, “one of the few women who aspired to do good, not to remove a soul from the Papal paradise and give it to a Protestant paradise, but for a purely moral principle, free from the fixations of one or another faith.”

Maura O’Connor argued that many Catholic Neapolitan families attended Schwabe’s school, despite the influence of their priests, because the poor funding of schools in the south left them without a viable alternative. Revealing her respect for Catholicism, she had a priest come into her school to teach the catechism to these Catholic students in 1874. Due to her balanced approach, Schwabe eventually cultivated some Catholic support. In July of 1888 *Time* reported that Professor Angiulli and Adele von Portugall gave lectures at Schwabe’s Froebel institute, which were attended by, “more than fifty ladies willing to teach on this system.” The article specified that this number included, “nine or ten nuns, a fact hitherto unparalleled in Italy.” This rapprochement was viewed as a “triumph” by Schwabe and the progressive education movement. Schwabe’s attempts to work with Catholics reveal her deep-seated commitment to transdenominational cooperation and a willingness to work with local Italians rather than forcing them to adopt Protestant British tendencies.

**Education as a Feminist Act**

These educational projects also provided a venue for Nathan, Chambers, and Schwabe to act as feminist agents. Education was a traditional sphere for women within the home and

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143 O’Connor, “Civilizing Southern Italy,” 258.
fundraising to support education was one way for women to become involved outside of the home. Through these projects, however, Chambers, Nathan, and Schwabe adopted executive leadership roles, dealing with budgets and legal contracts and fighting with government agencies for appropriate funds and locations. Their projects also promoted education for young girls and the training of women as professional primary school educators. As women, they could not serve in Parliament or direct educational policy on a government level, but they could act privately, as non-state agents, to create educational institutions and carve out a space for female agency.

Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan drew on the same traditional female fundraising techniques they had used during the Risorgimento to raise money for their schools. Sara Nathan, for instance, relied on the traditional Mazzinian fundraising method of subscriptions to raise the 5,000 to 6,000 lire her school cost annually. Chambers also repeated her strategy of hosting bazaars, which she had used to raise money for wounded soldiers and for Garibaldi’s yacht. Both Chambers and Schwabe used concerts for fundraising. In February 1869, for instance, Chambers hosted a concert at her home to raise money for her schools. For her concert, Schwabe relied on the talents of her friend Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, an incredibly popular

146 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 9 December 1873, Busta 430, N. 22(5); Adah Nathan Castiglioni to Jessie White Mario, 7 June 1890, MCRR, Busta 405, N.6.
147 “Metropolitan Gossip,” The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent (Sheffield, England), Saturday, August 22, 1868; pg. 5; Issue 4718. One bazaar, advertised in the Daily News, was to raise money for English teachers to go teach in Italy. “The Industrial Schools in Italy,” Daily News (London, England), Saturday, July 17, 1869; Issue 7242. The paper said that above all else, the schools required funds, saying, “Money, in short, is required, and Mrs. Chambers has been holding a bazaar with this object at her residence, Putney House, Putney.” See also: Bazaar Flyer, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italian schools 1869” (Vol. B).
148 “Amateur Concert at Putney,” The Era (London, England), Sunday, February 21, 1869; Issue 1587. On Wednesday evening, February 17th 1869, Chambers hosted a concert at her home, Putney House, in London to aid the English and Italian Industrial Schools. Tickets were five shillings each, but a family of five could purchase entrance for 20 shillings. The doors opened at 7:30 and the concert began at 8pm. The Era reported that the performers were Miss Braham, Mrs. T.L. Phipson, Mr. R.C. Grain and that Tito Mattei (late Court pianist to Victor Emmanuel) conducted. It also said that the concert was well attended, reporting that, “the room was very well filled, and the concert was honoured by the presence of many of the nobility.”; Concert Flyer, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italian schools 1869” (Vol. B).
Swedish opera singer, who gave a concert in London to raise money for the Froebel Institute that raised over 1,000 pounds.149

Schwabe became well-known for her ability to fundraise. Historian James Albisetti has argued that Schwabe skillfully utilized her international connections and had different fundraising strategies and rhetoric for each country, drawing on support in England and France for the industrial wing and in Germany for the Froebel training college.150 A published budget from her Froebel Institute from 1878-79 reveals her vast network of donors. The donations, totaling L.2,884.65 for 1878 and L.3,828.40 for 1879, came from 104 individuals and organizations from within Italy (forty-three from Naples, seventeen from Rome, and sixteen from Milan), and 16 from outside of Italy (six from Germany, one from Austria, eight from England, and one American friend in Paris).151

Though primary education was originally categorized as a duty of motherhood, it slowly became professionalized throughout this period. Due to the popularity of the Republican Motherhood discourses, which argued that women could serve the nation by teaching civic values and morality to their children, work in primary education was often conceived of as an extension of a woman’s maternal duties and was thus more socially acceptable to conservative elements of society. Much of the praise Sara Nathan received for her school in Trastevere, for instance, emphasized the maternal and caring aspects of her work rather than the radical politics

151 Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13). Her largest individual donors were Karl William Siemens, from London, who donated L. 1,420 in 1880, Miss Fox (of the Associazione d’amici from Plymouth) who donated L.284.75 in 1878 and L.280. in 1880, and the Prefect of Naples, who donated L.250 in 1878 and L.250 again in 1879. Some of the money from within Italy may not necessarily have come from Italians, however, as one can see by looking at the names. One donation from Naples, for instance, came from a Signora Sheperd, who was likely English. More clearly, we can see donations from Signora Marsh in Rome from 1878 and 1879. Signora Marsh was likely Caroline Crane Marsh, wife to the US Ambassador George Perkins Marsh.
or nontraditional education she espoused.\textsuperscript{152} The Froebel kindergarten method, which Schwabe promoted, tried to introduce an element of professionalization to this idea of the republican mother by saying that women, though naturally suited for education, needed proper training. Because of its promotion of female education and professionalization, many of the most ardent supporters of the kindergarten movement were women.\textsuperscript{153} Believing that teacher training was, “the professional training appropriate to the nature and condition of woman,” Schwabe set up a Froebel training school at her institute.\textsuperscript{154} She thus contributed to this professionalization of the teaching profession in Italy and offered valuable career opportunities for her female students.

Schwabe also wanted to ensure that her school had the best possible teachers and hired Adele von Portugall, a respected pedagogue trained in the Froebel system. In 1875 the Education Department of the Grand Council of Geneva chose Portugall to oversee the implementation of the kindergarten system in all the infant schools in the canton and due to Portugall’s efforts, Geneva became the first state in the world for formally adopt and carry out Froebel’s principles as the basis of education.\textsuperscript{155} She then came to work at Schwabe’s institute in Naples as head of

\textsuperscript{152} L’Opinione Nazionale (Florence), a.XVI, n.53, Wednesday, 23 February 1882, in MCRR, Busta 426, N.2(5). This obituary and other memorials like Nathan’s actions that were arguably maternal, such as her care for Mazzini and her work in the school, more so than her more radical work in planning revolutionary conspiracies or directing the finances of her institution.

\textsuperscript{153} Taylor Allen, “Spiritual Motherhood,” 322. Julia Salis Schwabe, in fact, first became aware of the kindergarten system because of her interactions with Bertha von Marenholtz Bülow, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, and Henriette Schrader-Breymann, all Froeblians and proponents of the kindergarten system. See: Albisetti, “Education for Poor Neapolitan Children: Julia Schwabe's Nineteenth-Century Secular Mission,” 644-45. Marenholtz-Bülow was an aristocratic woman who shocked her peers by supporting Frobel and with her “highly unfeminine independence manifested by her extensive travels and frequent public speeches.”

\textsuperscript{154} Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13). Even before her school in Naples was established, she had promoted advanced education for her teachers. In April 1872, Schwabe sent the Mosca sisters, two young educated Neapolitan women, to Germany at her own expense so they could study for six months at Paulsen Stiff, a voluntary organization that taught people the Froebel method, to prepare them to direct her institute. See: Di nuovo istituto di educazione popolare in Napoli,” from Progresso Educativo reprinted in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, (Venezia), a.V, n.188, 25 July 1872, p.1101-02; Linda Maddalozzo, “Venezia, Napoli, Roma, Vicenza,” in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, a.6, n.215, 10 September 1873, p.1533-35.

\textsuperscript{155} Froebel, 195-96. Adele von Portugall, maiden name Hoburg, married the Freiherr von Portugall, a noble of East Prussia, and was early left a widow, losing both her husband and a stepson, of whom she was very fond. She was
the kindergarten in 1884.\textsuperscript{156} Portugall was also called on upon two occasions to be the principal examiner for the Froebel Society of London.\textsuperscript{157} Portugall approached education as a serious field of study and believed that teachers needed to be trained to deal with intellectual as well as material inequality.\textsuperscript{158} She also promoted the study of pedagogy and Froebel’s principles. In September 1895, for instance, she organized the 12\textsuperscript{th} annual conference on infant education at Schwabe’s institute in Naples. The proceedings from the conference were then published in 1896.\textsuperscript{159} In 1905, she then published a book in German on Froebel and his methods.\textsuperscript{160} Portugall added to Schwabe’s mission by furthering the advancement of Frobel’s pedagogy and by demanding respect for herself as an educational theorist.

Recognizing that Schwabe’s school and other kindergartens like it promoted the education, professionalization, and advancement of women, Italian feminist newspapers, including \textit{La Donna}, \textit{Cornelia}, and \textit{La rassegna degli interessi femminili} supported those projects.\textsuperscript{161} In January 1871 \textit{La Donna}, for instance, published an article by Aurelia Cimino

sad, but found happiness in embracing the cause of childhood education preached by Frobel. She studied under Breymann/Schrader and Marenholtz-Bulow. She spent time in Manchester in England and worked in a private school there from 1861-63. She replaced Schrader in Geneva in May of 1864.

\textsuperscript{156} Portugall, “Forty Years a Kindergartener,” 344. Portugall had to leave Switzerland, in part because her “constant friend and companion” Mlle Progler had a “bronchial inflammation,” which was enflamed by the cold Swiss winters, and the doctor recommended a move south. At this critical moment, Schwabe came to visit for a few days. She had just received a letter from Fraulein Petermann, directress of the Froebel course in the institute, who had “for the fourth time tendered her resignation,” and Schwabe offered Portugall the post for the second time and she accepted. Portugall said she was nervous, but Schwabe helped in the move. She wrote, “Frau Schwabe, by her tender friendship and inexhaustible kindness, helped us over the sad part of this step; we did not seem to be going to a strange place, we knew that we should be sustained by her love in Naples.”

\textsuperscript{157} Froebel, 195-96.

\textsuperscript{158} Adele von Portugall, “How to deal with Dull Children. A paper read at the Conference of Women Workers among Women and Girls, held in Liverpool, November 11\textsuperscript{th} 1891,” Projected National Froebel and W.M. Ellis Institution. Froebel Archive Collection, Roehampton University Library.


\textsuperscript{160} Adele von Portugall, \textit{Friedrich Fröbel sein Leben und Wirken} (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1905).

\textsuperscript{161} Leonardo Galimberti, “Inaugurazione dell’istituto froebelliano per maestre giardiniere in Napoli,” \textit{Cornelia: rivista letteraria educativa dedicata principalmente agli interessi morali e materiali delle donne italiane}, (Florence) a.6, n.4, 1 December 1877, p. 3-5; “Notizie,” \textit{La rassegna degli interessi femminili}, (Rome) a.1, n.7, 15 July 1887. \textit{La Donna} published multiple articles describing and supporting Schwabe’s school and the efforts of other foreign
Folliero de Luna promoting kindergartens in which she argued that the mixing of the sexes in schools, part of the kindergarten platform, made girls stronger and made boys more moral.\textsuperscript{162} Another article in \textit{Cornelia} praised Schwabe’s school for mothers because it promoted the role of women and glorified their duties as mothers, saying that it, “sanctified the family returning the house into a temple of virtue.”\textsuperscript{163} These Italian feminist papers also recognized the contributions to feminism of individuals active in the kindergarten movement. In 1865 \textit{La Voce delle Donne} reported on the death of Emily Reeve, who had directed Schwabe’s first school in Naples, claiming that Reeve had been, “one of the first initiators of progress and of female emancipation.” It also said that with her death, the female sex had lost, “one of its first champions.”\textsuperscript{164} The connection between the kindergarten movement and the feminist movement was thus quite strong and recognized by women of the time.

More importantly, as directors of their institutes, Schwabe, Chambers, and Nathan acted in executive capacities and assumed leadership roles usually occupied by men. This was something made possible by their private status, as they would not have been granted these positions in the Italian or British states. One of Schwabe’s tasks as director was overseeing the budget, determining how the funds at her school were spent and documenting the expenditures.

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\textsuperscript{162} Aurelia Cimino Folliero de Luna, “L’indolenza in Italia e la donna italiane,” in \textit{La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo}, a.3, n.145 (Venezia), 22 January 1871. The article added that the schools were being slowly introduced into Italy and would be good for Italians in the future. The current problem, however, was a lack of qualified instructors, which made opening more schools quite troublesome.

\textsuperscript{163} Leonardo Galimberti, “Inaugurazione dell’istituto froebelliano per maestre giardiniere in Napoli,” \textit{Cornelia: rivista letteraria educativa dedicata principalmente agli interessi morali e materiali delle donne italiane}, (Florence), a.6, n.2, 16 December 1877, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{164} “Miss Emilia Reeve,” \textit{La Voce delle Donne: giornale politico, scientific, letterario} (Parma), a.1, n. 23, 18 Novembre 1865, p. 95.
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In 1880 Schwabe then published an account of the administration of the Froebel Institution. As the administration was closing its budget with a deficit, Schwabe felt the need to explain to the public that this was due to unforeseen circumstances and not a mismanagement of public funds or poor administration. By publishing the account, however, she acknowledged her ultimate responsibility for the failure or success of the project.

Chambers was very aware of her leadership position and had a forceful leadership style. Though she mainly directed the schools in Sardinia from her home in England, she required that Garibaldi keep her well apprised of developments with the schools, even minor ones. On September 21st 1869, for instance, he notified her that the school teacher in Maddalena had gone to Florence on vacation but would return in time for the opening of the school. He also sent his receipts to Chambers and felt a need to defend the high expenses he was incurring in hiring teachers. Chambers dictated the policies of the schools and both Garibaldi and Signor Maggioni, the Inspector of Schools in Sardinia, deferred to her judgment. In September 1869, for instance, Garibaldi wrote to Chambers to inform her that Signor Maggioni had located a new

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165 Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13).
166 Giuseppe Garibaldi to M.E. Chambers, Letter 5701, 25 May 1869 in Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Vol. XIII, 1868-1869, 211. G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 19 October 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 5, Ins. 27. In this letter, for instance, Garibaldi informed Chambers that they had found a new teacher but required money for travel expenses as well as a salary.
167 G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 21 September 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 5, Ins. 25.
168 G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 22 February 1870, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 6, Ins. 8. He said the expenses were, “rather heavy, for the reason that one must go on the Continent to look for the Teachers and anticipate to them their monthly salary, beginning from last October- a salary which is not less than £40- each (sterlings).” In another letter, from August 1st 1870, Garibaldi again reassured Chambers that they were following her orders regarding the teachers at St. Teresa and Maddalena. This shows her influence and power. See: G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 1 August 1870, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 6, Ins. 21.
169 Garibaldi wrote to Chambers in June 1869, saying that he had telegrammed Signor Maggioni, who was Inspector of Schools in Sardinia about the building of a school in S. Teresa. See: G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 13 June 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 5, Ins. 10. 9 days later, Garibaldi wrote again saying that they should work directly with Signor Maggioni in changing the building and the teachers, as he was the inspector and was quite capable. See: G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 22 June 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 5, Ins. 12; G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 27 September 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 5, Ins. 26.
teacher for the school in Ozieri, but they could not hire her without Chambers’ approval.\textsuperscript{170} Though she was not physically present to manage the day-to-day governance of the schools, Chamber was still active in managing the budget and in selecting the teachers for the institutions.

As part of her determination to ensure the high-quality of the schools, Chambers occasionally fired teachers who were underperforming or who did not meet her standards.\textsuperscript{171} While this was generally a simple process, it became a drawn-out struggle when Chambers fired one of her employees, Signora Antoinetta Borghi.\textsuperscript{172} Borghi had signed a contract in December 1868 with Chambers’ husband, John Chambers. According to the contract, Borghi had been hired by the committee for Italian and English industrial schools, with Mary Chambers as President, to found the schools in Italy, under the rules and guidance of the Committee, and to instruct in areas of technological education (including the use of Judkin’s sewing machine and Bradford’s washing machine). In return, Chambers promised to pay Borghi an annual salary of 70 lire sterling, payable by trimester, for these services. It specified that in addition to this salary, they would pay for her travel to the school, for clothing appropriate for Borghi’s position, and for her housing. Borghi also had the right to use John Chambers’ credit to make the necessary purchases for the school. Either party had the right to end the contract, but needed to send notice three months in advance to the residence of the other party.\textsuperscript{173} This very detailed and extensive contract reveals that Chambers and her committee were aware of potential legal or financial problems and were guarding against liabilities.

\textsuperscript{170} Giuseppe Garibaldi to M.E. Chambers, Letter 5822, 21 September 1869, 270; Giuseppe Garibaldi to M.E. Chambers, Letter 5828, 27 September 1869, 274.


\textsuperscript{172} Wrexham Advertiser, October 3rd, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 2, Fasc. 22, “Italian schools 1869” (Vol. B). Borghi was a governess for Mr. Whalley, M.P. of Plas Madoc. During the fighting in Italy in 1859, she worked in the hospitals and received commendations for her care treating the foreign soldiers.

\textsuperscript{173} Contract, 8th December 1868, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 7, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 1.
On February 4th 1869 the Chambers fired Borghi. John Chambers sent an official legally-worded letter to Borghi saying that in agreement with the terms of the contract signed in December 1868, he was giving her three months’ notice of her termination. Chambers wrote a longer letter that day explaining her reasoning for firing Borghi. It opened, “Your letters surprise me, more and more and with this you will receive a registered letter forcing a very early termination to your employment by the Committee over which I preside.” Expressing her displeasure that Borghi had selected a location for the school without proper authorization from her, she added, “For regard to the Countess’ house no one ever received the slightest authority from me even to enter into the least negociation respecting it much less take it, and I have nothing whatever to do with it.” Chambers was also upset that Borghi had placed advertisements in the papers without her approval. She wrote, “I learn with surprise and displeasure that you have allowed advertisement in the Sardinian papers alluding to the opening of the schools, without those advertisements having been first sent for my approbation.” In the end, she reinforced Borghi’s termination, writing, “after what has passed you will not open the school at all.” Chambers’ ire in this situation reveals how determined she was to be involved in the decisions of the school and the punitive actions she would take if her authority was questioned. She was by no means a figurehead in this organization nor did she restrict her involvement to fundraising and propaganda.

Acting as leaders, Chambers and Schwabe also demanded financial and institutional support from the local government. This was sometimes quite difficult, as municipal governments rarely had enough money to pay for their schools. Chambers’ third school in Ozieri,

175 Mary Chambers to Antonietta Borghi, 4 February 1869, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 8, S. Fasc. 1, Ins. 2.
for instance, was delayed in opening because Ozieri had failed to provide a suitable building.\textsuperscript{176} Schwabe also fought with the Italian government to obtain a proper building for her school in Naples. Upon starting her second educational project in the winter of 1871-72, Schwabe went to Rome and Naples to meet to Signor Correnti the Minister of Public Instruction. Correnti introduced her to the municipal authorities in Naples, who promised her part of an old monastery called Donna Regina and 24,000 francs for its adaptation.\textsuperscript{177} After a change in the personnel of the city government, however, the building was withheld. Schwabe was about to give up when Scialoja (the successor of Correnti) requested that she renew her attempt and gave her both the 24,000 francs that had been promised earlier and a different government building in Naples, the Ex-Collegio Medico, for a three-year lease. This building was nicer than the Donna Regina, had large gardens, and was better suited to the purpose.\textsuperscript{178} With the generous free assistance of the architect Castelli, Schwabe was then able to turn the Ex-Collegio Medico into a proper school.\textsuperscript{179} Though the original lease was for 3 years, in 1876, with the help of the Consiglio del Stato under the ministry of Signor Boghi, Schwabe was granted the building for 30 more years.\textsuperscript{180} By navigating the various ministries and changes of power in the Neapolitan government and

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\textsuperscript{176} G. Garibaldi to Mary Chambers, 22 February 1870, ACS, Fondo Chambers, Busta 1, Fasc. 1, S. Fasc. 6, Ins. 8. Garibaldi wrote that, “The Municipality of Ozieri behaved badly, and it is but proper that they should be a little mortified.- Where they have prepared a suitable building for the schools in that town, then the school Mistresses will be sent.”

\textsuperscript{177} Portugall, “Work and Workers,” 517. Enrico Pestalozzi described this location as, “humid, dark, and gloomy,” like a tomb.

\textsuperscript{178} Portugall, “Work and Workers,” 517.

\textsuperscript{179} “Varietà: Napoli,” from Giornale Roma printed in La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo, a. 7, n.231, May 1874, p. 1791. This was an expensive endeavor, however, and from 1873 to 1879, the Institute spent L. 61,723.76 on the reconstruction and adaptation of the building. Relazione Rendiconto Amministrativo per gli anni 1878 e 1879, Istituto Froebel Ex. Collegio Medico, Largo S. Agnello a Capo Napoli, March 1st 1880, MCRR, Busta 426, N. 6(13).

\textsuperscript{180} Portugall, “Work and Workers,” 518. In 1884, she also received an extra subsidy from the government for 50,000 francs compensating her for rebuilding an additional wing of the Ex-Collegio Medico which “she had received in a very ruinous condition.”
drawing on private support and appeals to philanthropic and patriotic sentiments, she was thus able to establish a proper and permanent location for her school.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Sara Nathan, Mary Chambers, and Julia Salis Schwabe worked as non-state agents in private educational institutions to claim a space for themselves as active women and promote the advancement of women and to continue their work in shaping the development of Italy that they began with the Risorgimento. I argue that their work was often elitist and revealed a deep-seated distrust of the working-class, but was not intentionally colonialist or imperialist. Though Schwabe and Chambers were foreigners importing new teaching methods with the stated intent of providing uplift to the Italian people, they worked alongside and with the approval of middle-class Italians who supported the Risorgimento. They also joined these Italians of the center-left and left in challenging the power of the Church by promoting secular or transdenominational education. Sara Nathan was particularly unique in this endeavor by promoting Mazzini’s ideals as a form of religious instruction. Throughout, they acted as transnational agents, bringing together the goals and dreams of the Italian Risorgimento with the reforming dreams of British Protestant philanthropists.
Chapter 6: New Civic Values

in Marriage, Motherhood, and Sexual Relations

In 1875, Giorgina Saffi wrote a letter for the Italian feminist paper *La Donna* arguing against state-regulated prostitution in Italy. The previous generation, she claimed, fought in the material sphere, for the geographic unity of Italy, and since this had been achieved the next generation now needed to devote all their strength and all the energy of their soul to “the moral Risorgimento of the Fatherland,” by advocating against state-regulated prostitution and for the moral education of Italian citizens. Saffi made her arguments against regulated prostitution from the position of a mother and directed many of her articles to the mothers of Italy, urging them to educate their sons in purity and away from vice. She claimed that mothers had a patriotic duty to be brave, to overcome their natural timidity, and to speak frankly to their sons about sexual matters and respect for women, teaching them to control their passions and to oppose legislation that sanctioned vice, the oppression of the working classes, and a sexual double standard.¹ Saffi’s letter illustrates how Mazzinians refused to accept a divide between public and private values. The family, they argued, was the building block of society and the primary incubator of civic virtues, and therefore relations within the home needed to reflect those of a more egalitarian and reformed society.

While the previous chapters of this dissertation have mainly focused on the activities that Schwabe, Nathan, White Mario and the others took in their professional lives, in this chapter I explore the choices they made in their private lives. I argue that these women made progressive

feminist choices in how they conducted their private lives, choosing marriages based on an equal partnership and raising their children with radical civic values. They also proclaimed these values in the public sphere, promoting an image of their marriages as love marriages based on a common goal and desire for collaboration, holding up their children as evidence of what the next generation of citizens could become, and speaking out against the sexual double-standard and the system of state-regulated prostitution in Italy. I argue that through these public actions and by participating in the international movement against state-regulated prostitution they created a foundation for the later organized feminist movements beginning after 1890. Furthermore, by recommending policies for Italian legislators and behaviors for Italian citizens, they again acted as non-state agents to impact the development of the Italian state.

To accomplish this, I first provide a basic overview of the expectations of motherhood and sexual relations in 19th-century Italy and England, including an introduction to the systems of state-regulated prostitution in Italy and the campaign against it. Then, I provide an overview of scholarship on the family, focusing on how authors have talked about the connections between familial and civic values and looking in greater depth at how scholars have examined the private lives of Italian patriots. In this section I also provide a brief overview to the scholarship on the campaigns against state-regulated prostitution. The rest of the chapter is comprised of three sections, focusing on marriages, motherhood, and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution respectively. In the section on marriages, I provide a basic overview of the marriages of Nathan, Schwabe, Saffi, Mario, and Chambers, arguing that the women believed them to be based not only on love but also on shared interests and a partnership towards a common goal. The next section, on motherhood, examines how the women raised their children, noting how they self-consciously promoted more egalitarian and civic-minded values to their children. The
final section then examines their involvement in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution in Italy, showing how they transgressed acceptable norms for female behavior by publicly speaking out and writing about the taboo subject of prostitution.

**Historical Background: Marriage, Family, and Sexual Relations**

In 19th-century Italy people married for different reasons, depending upon location and class. Historian Marzio Barbagli argued that there were three distinctive patterns of household formation systems in 18th- and 19th-century Italy: one based on patrilocal residence and late marriage, common in rural central and northern Italy; one based on neolocal residence and early marriage for women, common in southern Italy; and one based on neolocal residence and late marriage for both men and women, the dominant pattern in the cities and towns of central and northern Italy and in Sardinia.²

Marriage in both England and Italy was legally based upon hierarchy. The Pisanelli Code, the civil code of the new Italian state, subordinated women to men in their marriages requiring them to adopt their husband’s name and citizenship and to live where he demanded. Though married women were allowed to own property and to inherit or bequeath it, they required their husband’s consent to take any step regarding the management of this property.³ Similar restrictions were placed upon married British women. It was not until the passage of the Married Women’s Property Act in 1870 that British women were allowed to control their own

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³ Willson, 7.
earnings and not until the passage of the amended Married Women’s Property Act in 1882 that wives were allowed to control their own property.⁴

Though marriage was legally grounded in hierarchy, the ideals for marriage increasingly focused on equality and companionship both in England and Italy. The older marital model was based on a belief in the unity of work and household in which the wife was an informal partner and her legal personality was absorbed by that of her husband (in England through the common-law doctrine of couverture). This was replaced by the concept that life should be divided into separate spheres, a public work sphere in which the man dominated and a private home sphere in which the wife was the dominant force. Though this did not change a woman’s legal status, it did increase her value in society.⁵ According to historian Sharon Marcus, most historians of kinship agree that the ideal of marriage as a union of soulmates had become the norm by 1830 across all classes of English society.⁶ This focus on companionate marriage and the value of motherhood was actually accompanied by a decrease rather than an increase in the birthrate. Historian James A. Hammerton argues that dropping birthrates, common in the second half of the 19th century in England, particularly among professional families, were linked to higher expectations of companionate relations in marriage and more intense parental focus on those few children.⁷

In Italy, the shift towards the companionate marriage was part of the Risorgimento move away from older potentially corrupt forms of life and government grounded in monarchy and aristocracy. Prior to the 19th century, alternate familial forms such as the cicisbeo, a married lady’s male companion, were accepted as standard and were not considered adulterous or

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⁴ Hammerton, 30.
⁵ Hammerton, 27.
⁷ Hammerton, 72.
immoral. Italian patriots argued that these practices represented the moral failings of the Italian state and needed to be replaced by models of marriage that emphasized domesticity, companionship, love, duty, and fidelity for Italy to flourish. As historian Lucy Riall has put it, “domesticity acquired a political role as the link between nationalism, on the one hand, and morality, on the other; it also signals, in private life, a shift from the ‘libertine’ morals of the ancient régime to a sterner, bourgeois perspective on conjugal life.” Riall also noted that while in places like England, this shift was accompanied by a rigid division between the public and the private, it was not in Italy because of the importance of the family in nationalist discourses.

Procreation was considered integral to a marriage and motherhood was glorified as a woman’s major duty in life. In England, the focus on childrearing stemmed from evangelical emphasis on domesticity which elevated motherhood and the moral power of women. On the other hand, in Italy republican discourses claimed that mothers were responsible for moral upbringing of children and were to provide religious values, patriotic values, and basic education. While women were accorded the responsibility of caring for their children and providing them with moral guidance, they were not given legal authority over their children. The Pisanelli Code gave fathers a larger say in decisions about the children and though ideally both

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8 Patriarca Italian Vices; Bizzocchi, A Lady’s Man. There is disagreement about the exact nature of the cicisbeo relationship. In some instances, the relationship between a cicisbeo and his mistress was sexual, but in many instances it was not and cicisbei were sometimes known homosexuals. In most instances, however, these relationships had the consent of aristocratic husbands.


10 Hammerton, 71.

parents were to have a say in their children’s affairs, if the parents disagreed, the father’s view would prevail.\textsuperscript{12}

This popular model of domesticity and companionate marriage struggled to take into account sexual desire. In their recent work, \textit{Italian Sexualities Uncovered}, Valeria P. Babini, Chiara Beccalossi, and Lucy Riall reveal how Italian sexologists claimed that the focus on the monogamous family had moved Italians away from a life of “endemic sexual corruption, when prostitution, pederasty, orgies and even incest and bestiality prevailed, to an enlightened present which, although not rid of all sexual vices, was perceived as civilized and restrained.”\textsuperscript{13} Proper women, in particular, were assumed to be largely virtuous and lacking independent sexual desires.

At the same time, however, the Italian state assumed that men had undeniable sexual desires that would necessarily take them outside of the marriage bed, and so as not to harm the delicate sensibility of proper women, and set up systems to allow for this. The Pisanelli Code, for instance, set up a legal double-standard for marital fidelity. Women could be convicted for adultery based upon a single extramarital sexual encounter, while men were condemned only if they blatantly kept a concubine, in the marital home or otherwise.\textsuperscript{14} Prostitution was also accepted as an inevitable vice. To ensure the moral and hygienic safety of the Italian people, however, prostitution needed to be regulated. On February 15\textsuperscript{th} 1860, the Prime Minister of Piedmont Camillo de Cavour promulgated a ministerial decree on prostitution which would remain in effect until 1888.\textsuperscript{15} Under the regulations, prostitutes were required to register with the

\textsuperscript{12} Willson, 7.
\textsuperscript{14} Willson, 7.
\textsuperscript{15} This was put immediately into effect in Piedmont and the Italian territories under Piedmontese control at that time (Lombardy, Tuscany, Modena, Parma and the Romagna). As Piedmont gained control of other Italian territories (the Papal States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1861, Venice in 1866, and Rome in 1870), the jurisdiction of the Cavour Regulation spread.
police, undergo bi-weekly health examinations, and accept treatment in state-run sifilicomi
(hospitals for the treatment of venereal disease).\textsuperscript{16} The police could arrest any woman suspected of prostitution, a category that contained women who were out in public at the wrong time or in the wrong place. The system was inspired by the French regulations and was similar to many of the other systems of state-regulated prostitution across Europe, including the Contagious Diseases Acts, which were passed in England in 1864.

Reformers across Europe nearly immediately condemned the Contagious Diseases Acts and other similar systems of state-regulated prostitution. One of the leading figures in this international campaign was Josephine Butler, who in 1869 organized the English Ladies’ Association against the Acts to oppose the existence and extension of England’s Contagious Diseases Acts, arguing that regulated prostitution preyed upon poor women, opening them up, with governmental assistance, to the lascivious urges of middle- and upper-class men.

Furthermore, the association argued, the system unjustly punished the female prostitutes, subjecting them to regulation, enclosure, public censure, and medical exams which were regarded as a form of “medical rape,” while allowing the male clients total freedom and societal acceptance of their actions.\textsuperscript{17}

Not content with merely fighting against the system of regulated prostitution in England, Butler toured Europe from 1874 to 1875, spreading her ideas and creating an international reform movement, the British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, often referred to by the shortened name International Abolitionist Federation. The organization published their own journal, \textit{Le Bulletin Continental},

\textsuperscript{16} Mary Gibson, \textit{Prostitution and the State in Italy 1860-1915} (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986).  
starting in January 1876, and held international congresses starting in 1877. One nation Butler visited was Italy, which she had connections to through her family. Her father, a campaigner for the abolition of slavery and the reform of the electoral franchise, had been a correspondent of Mazzini’s and her sister Harriet had married into a Swiss-Italian family resident in Naples and had connections to Garibaldi and his supporters. The final section of this chapter reveals further the support that Butler received from the Italian Left and their work in the campaign within Italy.

**Historiography: Marriage, Family, and Sexual Relations**

Many social historians in the 1980s and 1990s studied the history of marriage. One of the most frequently-cited works from this period is Davidoff and Hall’s *Family Fortunes*, which examined the structures and expectations that governed English middle-class family life in the late-18th and early-19th century. While *Family Fortunes* was about the ideal of marriage, other historians of marriage have instead focused on the actuality of marriage, showing instances when marriages broke down into violence or divorce, or were supplemented by extramarital relationships, including friendships or affairs.

Italian historiography has looked specifically at how patriots and the new state promoted education policy and glorified the role of the mother as the first educator within the home as a

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18 Gibson, 39.
22 Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship: Conflict in nineteenth-century married life*; Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*. Marcus argued that friendships and sexual relationships between women were important in Victorian society and must be included in our ideas about how marriage functioned in society. Another fundamental text in this field is *Parallel Lives*, which calls for a re-examination of what middle-class Victorian marriages entailed and looks at a variety of dysfunctional and often sexless marriages. See: Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages* (New York: Random House, 1983). For an Italian example, see Seymour, *Debating Divorce in Italy*. 
way to shape the next generation of Italian citizens. One of the most noteworthy scholars in this field is Marina D’Amelia who argued for the importance of maternal love in the Risorgimento by analyzing the importance of Mazzini’s relationship with his mother, as well as other close relationships between mothers and patriotic sons. Recent works about Risorgimento families also emphasize the importance of motherhood and shared values within the family by showing how single families worked as a unit to achieve the same goal over multiple generations.

Scholars have also worked to reexamine how Italian patriots conceived of their marriages. Older works dealt with patriots’ wives or loves in a tangential and objectifying way, for instance casting the death of Anita Garibaldi as a loss for Giuseppe Garibaldi rather than the heroic martyrdom of a female freedom fighter. By shifting the focus from Mazzini and Garibaldi to more of the lesser-known members of the movement, however, historians have revealed new partnerships and recognized new patterns. Historians who have looked at the pairings of Elena Casati and Achille Sacchi, Enrichetta di Lorenzo and Carlo Pisacane, as well as Jessie White and Alberto Mario and Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi have seen how the

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23 See Famiglia e nazione nel lungo Ottocento italiano; Ipsen, Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era; Mitchell, Women and Gender in Post-Unification Italy; Gazzetta, “Sposa, madre, cittadina impareggiabile. Il mazzinianesimo femminile tra maternità e cittadinanza,” in Costanza Bertolotti, La repubblica, la scienza, l’uguaglianza: una famiglia del Risorgimento tra mazzinianesimo ed emancipazionismo (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2012) 45-64.

24 Marina d’Amelia, “Between Two Eras: Challenges Facing Women in the Risorgimento.” Also see her earlier work, La Mamma.

25 See: Istasia, Storia di una famiglia del Risorgimento; Laura M. Lepscky Mueller, La Famiglia di Daniele Manin (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2005); Bertolotti, La repubblica, la scienza, l’uguaglianza: una famiglia del Risorgimento tra mazzinianesimo ed emancipazionismo. This is a book of essays about the Sacchi family which displays how multiple generations were involved in patriotic, socialist, feminist, and scientific campaigns. The Sacchi’s were extremely close to the Mario’s, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

26 See Fazzini and Lucarelli, Cortigiani ed Eroine: Storia di un ‘altro Risorgimento.’ In particular, see Chapter 5, “Anita: Compagna, eroina, madre, moglie” and Chapter 9, Giuditta Bellerio Sidoli: Musa mazziniana, malinconica e triste.” See also, Sarti, Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics, 61. Quite interestingly, in this work, Sarti discusses the possibility that Mazzini had an illegitimate child with Giuditta Sidoli. This is not commonly discussed in works about Mazzini. Sarti claimed that in 1832 Sidoli gave birth to a boy, almost certainly fathered by Mazzini, whom they named Joseph Démotsthène Adolphe Aristide. Neither Mazzini nor Sidoli acknowledged the child and he was left with the Ollivier family and died in February 1835. Sidoli could not acknowledge the child for fear of angering her in-laws and losing access to her other four children, while Mazzini did not want to ruin his public image.
radical participants in the Risorgimento sought to challenge traditional familial boundaries and expectations to create alternate families and romantic partnering. An excellent example of this is Isabella Fabbri and Patrizia Zani’s 2011 work, *Anite e le altre: amore e politica ai tempi del Risorgimento*. Fabbri and Zani argued that certain revolutionary women celebrated grand passions, whether for an individual patriot or for the dream of a unified Italy, and believed that love was something that could help create liberty. For these women, they argued, affirming the right to love was not just about sentiment, it was also about independence and autonomy. Women had such little freedom that choosing the person they loved was a revolutionary act. They also argued that these marriages were based on shared political and civic values, once again showing strong ties between the public and private spheres.

Though many scholars have written about the ideals marriage, fewer have written about the sexual lives of married couples in Italy. This gap has been partially filled by a new volume of essays edited by Valeria P. Babini, Chiara Beccalossi, and Lucy Riall entitled *Italian Sexualities Uncovered*. The collection is notable because the authors integrated political and private life, based on their beliefs that “sex and sexuality are central to the political discourses of nineteenth-century Italy,” and that, “private behaviours and lived experiences are linked to the political

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27 See: Schwegman, “In Love with Garibaldi: Romancing the Italian Risorgimento.”; See also, Guidi, “Nobili o maledette? Passioni del Risorgimento fra tracce biografiche, narrazioni canoniche, riscritture.” In some ways, this is merely a revival of older feminist claims. In her 1963 work, Franca Pieroni Bortolotti argued that the patriotic couples had marriages based on partnership and collaboration. See: Bortolotti, *Alle origini del movimento femminile in Italia, 1848-1892*.

28 Fabbri and Zani, *Anite e le altre: amore e politica ai tempi del Risorgimento*.

29 Fulvio Conti, for instance, wrote about how the Saffi and Mario couples represented a unity of love and patriotism and were based, to an extent, on shared political values. See: Fulvio Conti, “Amicizia, amore e politica: relazioni affettive e battaglie ideali nel secondo Ottocento,” in *Politica e amicizia. Relazioni, conflitti e differenze di genere 1860-1915*; Pesman made similar arguments in her study of the marriage of Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi. Pesman argued, “for Saffi and Craufurd, intimacy and politics were inextricably intertwined; they saw their relationship and marriage as the union of equal partners working toward the realization of Mazzini’s republican nation of virtuous citizens.” See: Pesman, “The Marriage of Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi: Mazzinian Nationalism and the Italian Home,” in *Intimacy and Italian Migration*, 25-35.
sphere and are relevant to understanding prominent political figures.” A particularly notable essay within the collection is Lucy Riall’s, “The Sex Lives of Italian Patriots,” which emphasized the connections between public and private life among Risorgimento Italians, particularly republican patriots. One limitation of the essay, however, is that Riall focused on the private lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Massimo d’Azeglio, rather than the lesser-known figures who had more equal marriages. By focusing on these partnerships, such as that of Alberto Mario and Jessie White Mario, I show how women in the patriotic circles of the left maintained their independent opinions and viewed marriage as a partnership of equals, entered into of their free will and volition, rather than a hierarchical contract.

Some of the work about sexuality and sexual life in Italy focused on the history of prostitution and the campaigns to eliminate it within Italy. Early works about the history of state-regulated prostitution in Italy, notably by Rina Macrelli and Mary Gibson, note the connections between early feminists, Mazzinians, and the campaign to abolish state-regulated prostitution. The bulk of the scholarship on state-regulated prostitution and the campaign to abolish it, however, focused on Josephine Butler and her international abolitionist federation based out of England. Many books look just at Josephine Butler and her work in England, often with a biographical focus. While almost all of these works emphasize Butler’s feminism, some of

30 Babini, Beccalossi and Riall eds., Italian Sexualities Uncovered, 1789-1914. See also, Bizzocchi, A Lady’s Man.
32 Rina Macrelli, L’indegna schiavitù: Anna Maria Mozzoni e la lotta contro la prostituzione di Stato (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1981); Gibson, Prostitution and the State in Italy 1860-1915.
33 See: Nancy Boyd, Three Victorian women who changed their world: Josephine Butler, Octavia Hill, Florence Nightingale (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Jane Jordan, Josephine Butler (London: J. Murray, 2001); Jane Jordan and Ingrid Sharp, Josephine Butler and the prostitution campaigns: diseases of the body politic (London: Routledge Curson, 2003); There is still much recent interest in Josephine Butler and her work in Italy. This is illustrated by a recently published anthology, Féminisme et prostitution dans l’Angleterre du XIX siècle: la croisade de Joséphine Butler, ed. Frédéric Regard with Florence Marie and Sylvie Regard (Lyon: ENS Editions, 2013). The volume has an introductory essay that emphasized the links between the abolitionist campaign and feminism and later includes excerpts of Butler’s work and of the work of those she worked with, including William Tait, William Greg, William Acton, James Stansfeld, Annie Besant. Another recent work is Helen Mathers, Patron saint of prostitutes: Josephine Butler and a Victorian Scandal (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2014).
them place equal emphasis on her religiosity. Other historians, like Anne Summers and Marjan Schwegmann, focused on Butler’s transnational connections and work outside of England, sometimes emphasizing the work done with Butler and her organization in Italy. Circling back to the arguments of Macrelli and Gibson, these works note the involvement of Mazzinians, including the Nathans and the Saffis, in Butler’s campaign and debate why her movement was not more successful in Italy. Finally, biographical works on the Mazzinians, including the Nathans and the Saffis, mention their collaboration with Butler as a sign of the Mazzinian belief in gender equality.

This chapter builds on these studies and show the connections between the developments in companionate marriage, republican motherhood, and outrage against the sexual double standard and state-regulated prostitution. I show how the Mazzinian view that the private and public needed to be linked led to their push to make society more moral both within and outside

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34 Historians of Butler have struggled to reconcile her feminism alongside her religiosity. Early historians who wrote about Butler, including Judith Walkowitz, argued that Butler’s campaign had the end result of sanctioning coercive and repressive measures against many sexual practices, not just prostitution but also pornography and homosexuality. They also were troubled by the extent to which Butler emphasized female powerlessness and victimization in her campaigns and the custodial attitude she took towards the prostitutes. Defenders of Butler have argued that transgressed social more by publicly speaking about sexual matters and the sexual double standard and have maintained that she truly promoted sisterhood across classes. See: Lisa Severine Nolland, A Victorian Feminist Christian: Josephine Butler, the Prostitutes, and God (New York: Paternoster Press, 2004.). In particular, look at the edited volume, Sex, Gender, and Religion: Josephine Butler Revisited, ed. Jenny Daggers & Diana Neal (New York: Peter Lang, 2006).

35 A call for this research was made in 2006 by Anne Summers. See: Summers, “Which Women? What Europe? Josephine Butler and the International Abolitionist Federation.” Summers also published an essay looking at British women’s internationalism in which she mentioned how Protestantism gave British women a sense of duty to proselytize around the globe and care about far-off places and the people who lived there. Though it was not her focus, she included a reference to British women’s desire to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts and other structures across the globe. See: Summers, “British women and cultures of internationalism, c. 1815-1914.” For a more recent answer to Summers’ call, see Christine Machiels, Les feminimes et la prostitution, 1860-1960 (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016). Though this work shows Butler’s international work, it focuses primarily on her work in France and ignores Italy. It also covers a more extended period than this dissertation. For more on her work in Italy, see: Bruno Wanrooij, “Josephine Butler and Regulated Prostitution in Italy,” Women’s History Review, 17/2 (2008): 153-171; Schwegmann, “Amazons in Italy: Josephine Butler and the Transformation of Italian Female Militancy,“ Women's History Review, 17/2 (2008): 173-178.

36 See: Gazzetta, Giorgina Saffi: contributo alla storia del mazzinianesimo femminile; Bugani, Giorgina Saffi: Una gentile mazziniana di ferro; Istasia, Storia di una famiglia del Risorgimento.
of the home. I also add to the scholarship by showing how even more moderate radicals, like Schwabe and Chambers, also had companionate marriages and occasionally took radical steps in the rearing and education of their own children.

**Revolutionary Marriages**

An examination of the age at marriage and the age gap between spouses reveals two distinct patterns among the women. The first pattern is found in the marriages of Schwabe and Nathan, women of an older generation from Jewish backgrounds. Julia Salis Schwabe and Sara Nathan were both born in 1819 and were married in their late teens to men roughly twenty years older than they were. Both women also married men known to their family circles, with Sara Nathan marrying a trusted business associate and Julia Salis Schwabe marrying a cousin.

Giorgina Saffi, Jessie White Mario, and Mary Chambers display a different pattern. They were older when they were married, as White Mario was twenty-five and Craufurd Saffi and Chambers were both nearly thirty. The age gap between husbands and wives was also smaller. Alberto Mario was only roughly seven years older than his wife and Aurelio Saffi was approximately eight years older than Giorgina Craufurd. Violating the conventions of the time,

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37 Sara Nathan was born December 7th 1819 and married on May 29th 1836 to Moses Meyer Nathan, who was born on April 22nd 1799. Julia Salis Schwabe was born on January 31st 1819 and married on October 14th 1837 to Salis Schwabe, who was born February 20th 1800.

38 As explained in Chapter 1, I do not have a clear birthdate for Mary Chambers. However, as her parents were married in April 1822 and her mother died in August 1823, she was likely born between January and August 1823. See: “Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries,” The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland, &c. (Lancaster, England), Saturday, April 27, 1822; Issue 1089; “Births, Deaths, Marriages and Obituaries,” The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser, for Lancashire, Westmorland, &c. (Lancaster, England), Saturday, August 16, 1823; Issue 1157. Chambers was married in 1852, making her approximately 29 years old. See: Multiple News Items,” The Standard (London, England), Friday, January 26, 1883; pg. 2; Issue 18261.

39 Jessie White Mario was born on May 9th 1832 and married in December 1857 to Alberto Mario, who was born on June 4th 1825. Giorgina Craufurd was born October 11th 1827 and married on June 30th 1857 to Aurelio Saffi who was born August 13th 1819.
Mary Chambers was actually four to five years older than her husband John Chambers. Their pattern could be representative of Englishness or of their radical independence and unwillingness to settle down until a more advanced age for the period. It appears that Giorgina Craufurd and Jessie White did not have marriage as a goal for their lives prior to meeting their husbands and married only because they fell in love with someone they could admire and respect. Other Mazzinian women also found their husbands through their shared commitment to Mazzini’s ideals. Emilie Ashurst, for instance, married Carlo Venturi and Janet Nathan, Sara Nathan’s daughter, married Pellegrino Rossi. It is important to note that these women were already Mazzinian disciples when they met their husbands. Their husbands did not bring them to Mazzini; Mazzini brought them to their husbands.

Though she developed a reputation as a reserved woman, Giorgina Craufurd was rebellious in her youth and her sister, Kate Craufurd, had doubts when hearing of the marriage. According to Ros Pesman, Kate Craufurd,

doubted whether the amiable scholar [Saffi] filled with ‘noble principles and sentiments’ and ‘lovingness of character’ was the ‘strong and severe man’ who would eventually win over Giorgina, a strong-minded young woman, a ‘anima ribella’ who had displayed from childhood ‘a mania for independence.’

Giorgina Craufurd had met Aurelio Saffi through her connections to political radicals in London and the two fell in love. Her father, however, was reluctant to support a marriage between his beloved daughter and a penniless radical exile and initially withheld his consent. When the two were forbidden to see each other, they stayed connected by reading the same passages of the Divina Commedia at a designated time each day. Her father’s scruples kept the couple apart

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40 John Chambers was born in 1827, making him roughly twenty-four or twenty-five when he was married. See: Walford, 191.
42 Fabbri and Zani, Anite e le altre: amore e politica ai tempi del Risorgimento, 123.
from 1854 until 1856, when they were reunited and began planning for their 1857 wedding. This period of struggle before their marriage was seen as a time of special sacrifice for Giorgina Saffi. In 1891, her son Balilla Saffi asked to see copies of his parents’ letters and Giorgina Saffi struggled with this decision. She thought it could be beneficial, but she wanted her son to treat the letters seriously, saying they were, “for me today more than ever a sacred religious recording,” and asked that he read them, “with religious reverence.” This concern reveals the importance she placed upon the letters and on her courtship, not just personally, but for her family, her nation, and humanity.

Jessie White and Alberto Mario were also brought together through shared political commitment, meeting in Genoa in 1857 as the two participated in planning the Pisacane conspiracy. The pair developed their courtship further after their arrests, writing letters to each other in prison, and were married in England upon White’s release. White’s father was also apprehensive upon meeting a young Italian radical who was to marry his daughter, but according to White Mario, “not a day had passed before the cheerful blond became the favorite son.” In this same account, White Mario proudly described her civil ceremony, the first in the family. Both White Mario and Craufurd Saffi married for love and shared ideals rather than convenience, stability, or societal pressure.

The marriage between the thirty-six-year-old Meyer Nathan and sixteen-year-old Sara Levi was less likely based on ideals and more on a general belief in compatibility as a result of

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44 Giorgina Saffi to Livio Quadrento, 1 March 1891, MCRR, Busta 1170, N.5. Ballila Saffi was actually named Carlo, after Carlo Pisacane, but went by Ballilla.
45 For details on this conspiracy and their involvement please see Chapter 2. For more details on White Mario’s trial after her arrest, see Chapter 7.
46 Fabbri and Zani, Anite e le altre: amore e politica ai tempi del Risorgimento, 157. White was kept in prison longer than Alberto Mario, partly due to her refusal to cooperate with the authorities.
their similar backgrounds. The Nathan children, however, told their parents’ story as a love story. A biography compiled by Janet Nathan, their daughter, said that Meyer Nathan fell in love with young Sara Levi upon first sight, claiming, “and as soon as he saw Sarina he fell in love (she was beautiful) and within a week made her his wife, recognizing in her all of the most sublime qualities of a superior soul.” The story of their marriage was thus self-consciously presented as one of love and companionship.

Despite their disparate reasons for choosing to marry, all of these marriages grew into supportive partnerships. As shown in the previous chapters, Meyer Nathan worked with Sara Nathan in her Mazzinian campaign and supported the Italian radicals financially, while John Chambers and Mary Chambers were frequently together as they worked to support Garibaldi and construct schools in Sardinia. The Chambers worked together on their multiple endeavors, from raising money to buy a yacht for Garibaldi to travelling to Italy to participate in the fighting for independence. Chambers’ obituary claims that Mary Chambers worked with her husband on his book *Garibaldi and Italian Unity*, and deserved to be named as the primary author. During his life, Julia Salis Schwabe and her husband also worked together to support charity and education in Manchester and their marriage arguably grew to be based on deep love and devotion. In 1848, Geraldine Jewsbury wrote to Jane Welsh Carlyle revealing this love saying of Schwabe: “if you knew her, and saw what a good, kind-natured, hearty, handsome creature she is, you would feel, as I do and her husband does, that you could refuse her nothing.”

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48 Biography of Sara Nathan, MCRR, b.431, N.42. This may have been written by Janet Nathan. The front page says it was maybe “scende delle figlia Giannetta.”
49 “Theodora of Lothair died a few weeks ago at her residence, Putney House, Putney,” *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser* (Exeter, England), Wednesday, November 16, 1881; Issue 6092. The article claims that, “Her husband, Colonel Chambers was a great advocate of Volunteer development and though his name is appended to a book called ‘Garibaldi and Italian Unity,’ the deceased lady was the real authoress.”
concert Schwabe held at her home to surprise her husband for his birthday. Though she thought this a poor idea, Jewsbury believed that Salis Schwabe would accept the gesture out of love for his wife writing, “Fancy the poor man going innocently into his drawing-room, and finding it full of people, all come to do him honour, and themselves pleasure! And he will take it as it is meant, and be as pleased as she can wish.” While this statement is not flattering towards Schwabe, it does convey a marriage that was happy and loving.

Within Mazzinian circles, in particular, marriage was a partnership between equals devoted to a common goal. Aurelio and Giorgina Saffi ideally believed themselves to be a unit, sharing the same goals and dreams. Their desire for emotional, intellectual, and spiritual closeness is apparent in a letter from Aurelio to Giorgina from October 1874, while he was imprisoned, in which he described their strong connection. He wrote that now, as in the early days of their love, “a sacred harmony ties together our thoughts, our aspirations, our destinies.” He went on to explain, in his opinion, the purpose of their love, saying,

I feel strongly, my beloved, as I have always felt, in the best and most solemn moments of my life- since heaven has granted me your love- that our spirits were made for each other- that a fraternal comunion ties us together for mutual comfort in the struggles of life, to love each other and help each other, on the same path towards a common Ideal.

Their shared ideals were the desire to promote Truth, Beauty, Justice, and other Mazzinian ideals. At the end of the letter, Aurelio Saffi signed off, saying, “And this is the dearest hope of my life- a family worthy of the fatherland, a fatherland worthy of Humanity- and it is the wish I share with you with affection and united thoughts.” In another letter from 1877 Aurelio Saffi revealed his reliance on Craufurd Saffi as a partner, saying, “But I feel more than ever the need

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51 Geraldine Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle, Letter 75, February 19th 1849, Ireland, 283. A footnote to this letter confirmed the idea that the Schwabes’ marriage was a loving partnership by stating that, Salis Schwabe, “sympathized with all his wife’s fine tastes, and was much beloved.”

52 Aurelio Saffi to Giorgina Saffi, 14 October 1874, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b.11, fasc.4, cc.1-119.
for your company—the need to come together, in advice and in work, to overcome the difficulties of our condition,” thereby connecting the desire for emotional intimacy with the desire to achieve a greater good for society.\(^\text{53}\) For the Mazzinians, this was the primary purpose of the family. As the previous chapters have shown, through their marriage Aurelio and Giorgina Saffi had worked together towards their common political goals, raising money, writing and translating articles, and working with workers’ organizations to unite and reform Italy. This chapter adds that they also worked together to eliminate the system of state-regulated prostitution in Italy.

White Mario shared similar sentiments. In a memorial piece written after her good friend Elena Casati Sacchi’s death, White Mario praised the Sacchi’s marriage for being one focused on the common good, rather than just on individual love or companionship, saying, “For certain their union was not an egoisme a deux, as Sand has defined love. It seemed instead to redouble in each of them their forces for the difficult fight for the fatherland.”\(^\text{54}\) In doing so, she revealed the value that she and that other patriots put on acting towards the common good. \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}, the paper of the abolitionist movement, similarly praised the Sacchi marriage for their shared focus on the common good. In their obituary for Sacchi, they praised her for raising her children to the ideals of virtue, and for picking a husband or “a companion” who would work alongside her in these goals.\(^\text{55}\)

Jessie White Mario and Alberto Mario also had a strong sense of partnership in their marriage. The two were both prolific writers, so their work often took the form of an intellectual collaboration. As Alberto Mario refused to learn English, White Mario was required to translate

\(^{53}\) Aurelio Saffi to Giorgina Saffi, 9 July 1877, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 12, f. 1, cc.1-289


everything he wrote that they wanted to publish in English, including his book on Garibaldi and the Red Shirts. In exchange, he helped her write articles on Italian politics for English and American newspapers which provided their daily living. After Alberto Mario’s death from lip cancer in 1883, Jessie White Mario worked to print his writings and in her introduction to the work, she explained that while she knew it was necessary to carry on Alberto’s last wishes and honor his memory, she found it difficult to carry on and write without him, as previously, “in every work he helped me.” In 1877 L’Illustrazione italiana published an article accusing Alberto Mario of simply being a republican for love and following in his wife’s footsteps. Mario countered by saying that he had been a republican even before he met his wife and clarified that their conjugal bond, while strong, had not radically altered either of their political views. He did, however, acknowledge White Mario’s influence upon his thought process. After stating that he was always most content with the example she provided of loyalty, probity, courage, devotion, and hard work, he explained that,

She taught me how to practice the sentiment of duty in the course of every day.
She has profoundly modified my political and literary education, stripping away as much as possible all rhetorical luxuriance, calling me back to the observation of the real and initiating me in the secrets of English thought: a new world for me, who had been sailing peacefully on the lake of Hegelian idealism. I confess to you that I have profitted a little from her example, from her virtue, from her school.

This public acknowledgement of an intellectual debt to his wife is clear evidence of the level of respect within the Mario marriage and indicated that Alberto Mario was unusual for the time.

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56 Mario, The Red Shirt.
58 White Mario, “Della Vita di Alberto Mario. Memorie,” clxxiv. She added, “Ma la mente di Alberto non è tutto Alberto, e mi pareva di dover dire cose di lui che nissun altro poteva; e per ciò, pur sentendo la mia impotenza di scrivere in italiano senza averlo a me accanto, ho volute tentare l’impresa.”
59 Pier Luigi Bagatin, Tra Risorgimento e nuova Italia: Alberto Mario: un repubblicano federalista (Firenze: Centro editoriale toscano, 2000) xv.
This incident also reveals a key aspect of these marriages: disagreements. Though the partnerships were ideally based on shared views, in reality the partners occasionally had differing opinions. The Mario’s, for instance, had different views on writing style. While Alberto Mario preferred a more literary style, White Mario believed a simpler style was better suited for talking to the people.\textsuperscript{60} More substantially, they disagreed about politics. White Mario was always much more of a Mazzinian, while Alberto Mario was a more devout follower of either Carlo Cattaneo or Garibaldi. Throughout their discussions, however, they respected the other’s opinion and their right to form it.

White Mario did not believe that a woman should be subservient, submissive, or subsumed by her husband. In an article for \textit{The Nation}, in 1869 she publicly stated these views writing, “The Italian lady need not look up to her husband, and in some respects may look down upon him.”\textsuperscript{61} From the very beginning of her own marriage, Jessie White Mario sought to retain an independent identity. As she had already achieved a level of fame before her marriage, she was reluctant to become absorbed under her husband’s identity. Mazzini encouraged her in this, suggesting that she use her own names in the advertisements for the lecture tours, regardless of tradition state. He wrote, “you need to maturely consider if you intend to omit your name in everything! It is better to set aside tradition: your name is the known name, and consists half of the success.”\textsuperscript{62} During this transitional period, the advertisements listed both her maiden and married name to ensure the public were aware of her name change and would not forget who she was. Even the conservative press recognized that White Mario’s fame was greater than or equal to Alberto Mario’s. In 1859, for instance, \textit{La Civiltà Cattolica} referred to Alberto Mario as, “the

\textsuperscript{60} White Mario, “Della Vita di Alberto Mario. Memorie,” lxxxiv.

\textsuperscript{61} Jessie White Mario, “On the position of women in Italy,” \textit{The Nation}, Vol. 9, No. 231, 2 December 1869, pg. 481.

famed companion of the famed Miss White.”63 White Mario had established an independent identity for herself before her marriage and maintained it even afterwards. Of the five women studied for this dissertation, she is the one who most consistently held on her to maiden name and used it in addition to her married name.

The Saffi’s also had disagreements, including one over the proposed plan to implement Mazzini’s ideals throughout the early 1860s. Giorgina Craufurd Saffi was an intransigent advocate for revolution while Aurelio Saffi took a more reasoned and reflective approach and was initially willing to work within the monarchy, even accepting election into the first Italian parliament. 64 While Giorgina Saffi would occasionally describe herself as weak, reserved, or humble, her letters to Aurelio and their disagreements in them show that she had her own beliefs and would fight to impose those beliefs upon her husband.

All of the women except for Chambers outlived their husbands and were active beyond the bounds of their marriages. Schwabe became a widow at 34, making her the youngest, but Nathan also became a widow soon before her 40th birthday.65 Widowhood gave the women a strong degree of independence. Meyer Nathan, for instance, left Sara Nathan in complete control of their property upon his death, leaving her quite wealthy.66 As they became widows at such young ages and were most politically and socially active during their widowhood, it is impossible to tell how their partnerships with their husbands could have impacted their work moving forward, particularly once the women were beyond childbearing age. White Mario and Craufurd Saffi were older when they became widows, at ages 51 and 62 respectively.67 Though

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65 Salis Schwabe died on July 23rd 1853. Meyer Nathan died in 1859.
66 Biography of Sara Nathan, MCRR, b.431, N.42. This biography compiled by the Nathan children saw this as a sign of love and respect and also claimed that Meyer Nathan’s last words were of Sara Nathan.
67 Alberto Mario died on June 2nd 1883. Aurelio Saffi died on April 10th 1890.
widowhood came later in life for these women, it was still an emotionally significant experience for them. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, for instance, claimed that Jessie White Mario was devastated upon Alberto’s death writing, “no Indian wife’s life was ever more ended by her suttee than Jessie Mario’s life has practically been ended by her husband’s untimely death!”68 They also lived for many years as widows, living long after most of their contemporaries.69

**Motherhood & Childcare**

Sara Nathan, Mary Chambers, Giorgina Saffi, and Julia Salis Schwabe were all mothers and took pride in that role. Both Sara Nathan and Julia Salis Schwabe had large families. Sara Nathan had twelve children, spaced out over a twenty-year period, while Julia Salis Schwabe had seven children, before becoming a widow at age 34. It is likely that she would have had more children, had her husband lived.70 Giorgina Saffi and Mary Chambers had fewer children, perhaps due to the later age at which they married. Giorgina Saffi had four sons and Mary Chambers had two daughters and one son.71

Jessie White Mario did not have children, and some evidence suggests that she may simply have been unable to do so. In a letter to her friend Barbara Smith Bodichon, she referenced Elena Sacchi’s then nine children, saying, “Fancy having nine of your very own. I

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69 For more information on how the women worked to memorialize their husbands after death, please refer back to Chapter 4. For more information on how widows formed a significant portion of European society in the nineteenth century, see: Beatrice Moring and Richard Wall, *Widows in European Economy and Society, 1600-1920* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, Ltd., 2017). For instance, Moring and Wall report that in 1851, 11.1% of women over age fifteen were widows. Moring and Wall, 185.
70 Biography of Sara Nathan, MCRR, b.431, N.42. Meyer and Sara Nathan’s twelve children were: David, Enrico, Giannetta, Adolfo, Ernesto, Enrichetta, Giuseppe, Filippo, Gualtiero, Alfredo, Adah, and Beniamino. These are their Italian names, but the children also went by English versions of these names. Each of the children were born approximately a year and a half apart, with the exception of Adah and Beniamino who were three years apart.
wish I had. I don’t care what people say about the trouble & pain of losing them. Better the pain that comes from love than any other pleasure.”

Though she did not have children of her own, White Mario acted like a mother to the numerous Sacchi children, caring for them when needed and inviting them to come and stay with her. She was particularly close to Ada Sacchi. In October 1877, for instance, Mike and Ada Sacchi were staying with her and when she returned the children to their parents little Ada demanded to, “sleep in the room with ‘La Jessie’.” White Mario’s pride in relating this story to Bodichon reveals how much she also valued Ada Sacchi’s affection and dedication.

The Marios truly found an extension of their nuclear family with the Sacchis. White Mario expressed their perfect closeness and harmony in another letter to Bodichon from 1877, claiming, “Elena and I were friends before our marriage, so Alberto & Achille. Never a rift… nothing ever clashing across the friendship. Achille my comrade in 3 campaigns, a very ideal family this, so good, so happy it reconciles one with life to watch them.” Continuing, she noted that Elena Casati Sacchi would joke that, “she never quite knows whether Ada & Mike are hers are mine.” The Sacchi’s even named one of their daughters, Jessie, in honor of White Mario. Alberto Mario also believed the two families were close and wrote, “throughout twenty-four years the Sacchi family and mine were, so to speak, a single one.” As a result of the closeness between the two families, I use White Mario’s relations with the Sacchi children as evidence for how she would have raised her children and how she believed children should be raised.

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72 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, Date Unknown, MCRR, b.110, N.51 (19).
73 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 13 October 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50 (20). See also: Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 11 October 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50 (18); Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 12 October 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(19).
74 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 13 October 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50 (20). Unfortunately, this child died young.
75 Alberto Mario, _Il Giugno MDCCCLXXXIII: Elena Casati Sacchi_ (Bologna: Tipografia di Nicola Zanichelli, 1883), MCRR, b.426, N. 4(3).
Thus far, I have largely focused on women’s involvement outside of the home and motherhood. This should not be taken as evidence that the women did not want to be mothers. In fact, they largely prized their roles as mothers, believed they deserved respect in society due to their status as mothers, and valued their emotional connections with their children and later with their grandchildren. After the birth of her first granddaughter (born to her son Emilio and his wife Mary) Giorgina Saffi spent four and a half months acting as the child’s head nurse in Bologna. Saffi wrote to White Mario saying, “It seemed & was like a dream to be allowed at last to have a little girl (after such a lot of boys) to nurse & fondle.”

Additionally, archival collections of letters between Giorgina Saffi and her sons reveal a portrait of a mother intimately involved in the daily activities of her children. More strikingly, the recording and saving of the letters and the eventual archiving of them indicate that Craufurd Saffi and her family believed that their private behavior could be held up to public scrutiny and would be useful in perhaps serving lessons about how one raised a family according to Mazzinian values.

Grief expressed by the women upon the loss of their children also indicates the depth of their affection. After her son Joseph Nathan died in 1881 at age 33, for instance Sara Nathan wrote to White Mario claiming,

There are no words for a Mother separated from her child and a child like mine. The cherished existence and in whose cares I found an encouragement in life is gone. The anguish for one of his looks and for his sweet smile will be with me till we meet again.

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76 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, 28 March 1894, MCRR, b.430, N.28 (5). The girl was named Giorgina and her older brother had been named Aurelio. This was a traditional method for honoring family in Italy and by following that custom Emilio Saffi showed that he was taking the responsibility imparted to him by his parents to take his family legacy seriously.

77 The letters are available at the Museo Centrale di Risorgimento di Roma and the Fondo Saffi at the Biblioteca dell’Archiginnasio in Bologna.

78 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 5 May 1887, MCRR, b.430, N.22 (12).
In doing so, she revealed the emotional depth of their connection, which existed in addition to and in correlation with their shared interests in Mazzinian conspiracy and the campaign against state-regulated prostitution. Harriet Nathan expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Jessie White Mario. Explaining that she believed her poor health was caused by grief, she wrote, “I have never (& shall never be well again) since I lost my Angelic little Maurice. On Saturday it will be three years, but it seems to me 50. I feel quite desolate without him, he was such a noble loving little creature.”

Harriet Nathan’s comfort disclosing such intimate loss to White Mario reveals the extent to which the Mazzinian networks continued to provide an alternate family of support.

The Mazzinians believed that there should be no distinction between private and public morality and that the family should hold a sacred place as the first site of education and the central institution of the nation. The Saffis viewed themselves as a model Mazzinian family that could serve as an example to other Italians. Ros Pesman argued that Aurelio Saffi, saddened by his failures in politics and the political state of Italy, retreated into the family for solace. Both Aurelio and Giorgina Saffi took active roles in raising their sons, an act they viewed as a civic duty. When Giorgina Saffi experienced problems with two of her sons, she felt like she had failed as a mother in providing proper moral education. In March of 1891, for instance, feeling as though she was struggling to teach her adult children morality, she lamented, “Is what I now so forcefully suffer a just punishment for having failed in my duties as a mother? For not having known to find the true way to inculcate in them a sense of honor, of loyalty, of sincere uprightness?”

Saffi was upset because she believed her son Balilla was not acting in a way that

79 Enrichetta Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 23 July, MCRR, b.438, N. 39(1).
81 Giorgina Saffi to Livio Quadrento, 1 March 1891, MCRR, b.1170, N.5.
showed respect or consideration for the name that he carried or for Saffi herself and the grief that his actions caused her.

Much like the Saffis, the Mario’s looked not only to the general youth of Italy for the future, but also to the specific youth of their familial circles. In a letter to Barbara Smith Bodichon, White Mario spoke with pride about the academic success of the two eldest Sacchi brothers and Maria Sacchi and added, “They will make splendid citizens in the future.” In her memorial piece for Elena Casati Sacchi, White Mario also described how the Sacchi’s consistently devoted their entire familial resources towards the common good and saw the future for their individual children in the future for the country. She wrote,

in this occasion, if friends had not intervened, the wealth of the family, with the desires of both, would have been entirely used for the fatherland. When they were asked: And the children? They would respond: When Italy becomes free we will teach them to work for their living.

Once again, the praiseworthy manner in which she spoke of these affairs and her closeness to the Sacchi family indicates that White Mario would have had these same ideas about the role of the family and potentially her own family had she borne a child.

Believing in the power of Mazzini’s ideas, Nathan taught the values laid out in Mazzini’s writings to her own children, just as she had with her students in Trastevere. In a letter to Jessie White Mario she claimed that it was her highest aspiration that her children follow the principles laid about by Mazzini in the Doveri. For her daughters, this involved seeing that they made good matches and were good wives and mothers. Maurizio Quadrio, who acted as a tutor and later surrogate father figure for the Nathan children, also taught them Mazzinian values, placing an

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82 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 14 September 1878, MCRR, b.100, N.52 (4).
84 See a letter from Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 9 December 1873, MCRR, b.430, N.22 (5).
emphasis on duty and on respect for private life and public virtue. In a letter to Janet Nathan, for instance, he claimed that God had not given them life simply for pleasure, “but he has placed us on this earth, as on a testing ground, because we work to perfect each other.” Emphasizing the importance of motherhood, for the civic and moral good of the people, he added that, “the mother is the first link in the chain that unites God to the human creature.” He also told Janet that she had been blessed with a particularly strong mother and should follow her example as much as she possibly could.\(^{85}\) Within their private lives, therefore, the Nathans tried to follow the Mazzinian dictates that glorified the role of the mother and emphasized the moral, religious, and civic educational tasks of motherhood.

The Craufurd Saffi family also promoted Mazzinian values and even celebrated the anniversary of Mazzini’s death and other Mazzinian dates as civic and religious holidays.\(^{86}\) Craufurd Saffi’s letters to her children further reveal connections between public and private values, as they are full of Mazzinian-inspired maternal guidance. In one letter she praised “my Balilla,” for being, “brave, diligent, and attentive in the carrying out of your duties.”\(^{87}\) By referencing one’s duties, she reveals her Mazzinian faith. Letters from Aurelio Saffi to his children contain similar sentiments, praise, exhortations, and language. In one letter Aurelio Saffi wrote to Balilla saying,

> Work to educate yourself, in every means, my good son, in the firm exercise of your will in the performance of your duties... In this way you will become a brave, useful, and worthy man; and your loved ones will have the consolation of your work in life.\(^ {88}\)

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\(^{85}\) Maurizio Quadrio to Janet Nathan, 3-4 December 1858, MCRR, b.407, N.5 (30).  
\(^{86}\) Pesman, “The Marriage of Giorgina Craufurd and Aurelio Saffi,” 34. This is also visible in their letters. See, for instance, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Aurelio Saffi, 10 March 1878, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 12, f. 2, cc.1-209.  
\(^{87}\) Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Carlo Balilla Saffi, 17 February 1877, MCRR, b.1170, N.14.  
\(^{88}\) Giorgina and Aurelio Saffi to Balilla Saffi, 6 January 1880, MCRR, b.1170, N.14.
The similarity of the sentiments in each letter indicates a shared vision for their children.

When her children were in times of trouble, Saffi repeated these sentiments. In April 1890, after death of Aurelio Saffi, she wrote a letter of comfort to Balilla, saying that in this time of sadness he must, “restore your spirit to the duties of life,” arguing that the fulfillment of these duties was, “considered by you as the greatest testimony of your religious worship to the Memory of that Saint who was your Father,” and would be the best way to find comfort. In another letter she warned Balilla of his “moral ruin” and asked him to keep in mind the responsibility he bore not only towards his brother, but towards the, “Sacred Memory of your Father.” This is a fairly standard tone for her and repeats her common themes of duty, morality, self-disciplines, and respect for the family, the name they carried, and the nation.

Other Mazzinians also believed that the next generation of children had a duty to live up to the legacy of their patriotic parents. Just as Giorgina Saffi expressed a sentiment that her children had a duty to their father’s memory, White Mario wrote that Elena Casati Sacchi’s children had one to her legacy. She wrote, “the children can lay claim to a part of this comfort by fulfilling the serious task that attends them and reveals them worthy of such a mother.” Some of the Nathan children seem to have absorbed this lesson and strove to live up to their own Mazzinian heritage. After Sara Nathan’s death, David Nathan wrote to Jessie White Mario expressing his grief and stating, “I trust Her children may act in life in a way not unworthy of such a mother. The loss of whose advice and love is the greatest inestimable misfortune.” The emphasis on legacy, memory, and duty was thus quite common.

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89 Giorgina Saffi to Balilla Saffi, 22 April 1890, MCRR, b.1170, N.14.
90 Giorgina Saffi to Balilla Saffi, 5 March 1891, MCRR, b.1172, N.7. I think she did not like the business he was involved in and wanted to stop it, but the letters do not explain what they would have already known.
92 David Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 3 March 1882, MCRR, b.430, N.11(1).
Some of the values the Mazzinians imparted to their children were moderately radical. None of the twelve Sacchi children, for instance, were baptized, due to their parents’ stringent anti-clericalism.\textsuperscript{93} Within the Nathan family, the girls were as well-educated as the boys, which was a point of pride for the family.\textsuperscript{94} White Mario also supported a progressive education for the Sacchi children, particularly Ada and Maria. In 1877, as Maria Sacchi prepared to attend medical school, White Mario planned to use her connections to Dr. Emily Blackwell to find out pertinent information about the possibilities and practicalities of women entering medical school in America.\textsuperscript{95} Then in 1880, Alberto Mario’s paper, \textit{La lega della democrazia} proudly reported that Maria Sacchi had completed her studies at the liceo of Mantua and was able to apply for university, “regularly like any other scholar.”\textsuperscript{96} He thus shared White Mario’s support for the advanced education of the Sacchi children.

Though she was not a Mazzinian, Schwabe also was willing to promote radical or progressive values to her children and wanted them to be raised well. The best evidence for this lies in her selection of Malwida von Meysenburg as a tutor for her daughters. Schwabe was friends with Meysenburg, a German radical who had ties to Mazzini and was extremely close to the Russian radical Alexander Herzen and his family.\textsuperscript{97} Schwabe was introduced to Meysenburg in Kassel, the 9\textsuperscript{th} child of Carl Rivalier von Meysenburg. She read the theology of Theodor Althaus, whom she fell in love with, and became interested in Christian socialism and democratic radicalism. Meysenburg was in Frankfurt in 1848 and was involved with the revolutionary movement at that time. Later in the 1850s she lived amongst the exiles in London. She knew Mazzini and Aurelio Saffi, but became particularly close to the Russian Alexander Herzen. Meysenburg was part of the Herzen family and was a mother figure to Olga Herzen. Under Meysenburg’s guidance, Olga Herzen received a polyglot education in French, English, German, and later in Italian, but not in Russian (in August 1868, Herzen found Olga in Switzerland and spoke to her in Russian, but she didn’t understand him). Later in life, Meysenburg moved to Italy. She also became

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{93} Gazzetta, “«Sposa, madre, cittadina impareggiabile». Il mazzinianesimo femminile tra maternità e cittadinanza,” in \textit{La repubblica, la scienza, l’uguaglianza}.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Biography of Sara Nathan, MCRR, b.431, N.42
\item \textsuperscript{95} Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 13 October 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(20).
\item \textsuperscript{96} “Le donne e l’istruzione,” \textit{La lega della democrazia}, a.1, n. 45, Mercoledi 18 Febbraio 1880.
\item \textsuperscript{97} For more on Meysenburg, see \textit{Die Korrespondenzen der Malwida von Meysenburg}, Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archive des Landes Nordrhein-Westfallen, 3 Vols. (Detmold: Selbstverlag des Nordrhein-Westfälischen Staatsarchivs Detmold, 2000). See also: Le Rider, \textit{Malwida von Meysenburg: (1806-1903): une européenne du XIX siècle}. Malwida von Meysenburg was born in 1816 in Kassel, the 9\textsuperscript{th} child of Carl Rivalier von Meysenburg. She read the theology of Theodor Althaus, whom she fell in love with, and became interested in Christian socialism and democratic radicalism. Meysenburg was in Frankfurt in 1848 and was involved with the revolutionary movement at that time. Later in the 1850s she lived amongst the exiles in London. She knew Mazzini and Aurelio Saffi, but became particularly close to the Russian Alexander Herzen. Meysenburg was part of the Herzen family and was a mother figure to Olga Herzen. Under Meysenburg’s guidance, Olga Herzen received a polyglot education in French, English, German, and later in Italian, but not in Russian (in August 1868, Herzen found Olga in Switzerland and spoke to her in Russian, but she didn’t understand him). Later in life, Meysenburg moved to Italy. She also became
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through her cousin Johanna Goldschmidt, née Schwabe, who had been a close friend of Meysenbug in Hamburg, and the two met when Meysenbug went to London after 1848. In 1850 Julia Salis Schwabe invited Meysenbug for a summer vacation at her property in rural Wales to discuss pedagogical ideas. Schwabe paid for a first-class train ticket for Meysenbug and welcomed Meysenbug warmly into her home. Meysenbug found the Schwabe’s to be very formal, very wealthy, and very English and she liked Salis Schwabe, who as a self-made man, represented to her enlightened liberalism, practical progress, and magnificent generosity.

While the Schwabe’s may at first appear to be more moderate or even conservative due to their wealth and status, they still had cordial relations with a radical nonconforming feminist. During her visit, Meysenbug witnessed how the Schwabe children were being raised. They had a German tutor, a French governess, and multiple upper nurses and under nurses. She also witnessed tension between Julia Salis Schwabe and Miss Braddon, who governed the table and made sure the children had manners. Miss Braddon, Meysenbug claimed, was obsessed with manners, idolized the Church of England, and hoped for aristocratic marriages for the children. The Schwabes were unashamed of being middle-class, self-made, and Unitarian, however, and would not allow Miss Braddon free reign.

In 1859, Schwabe then asked Meysenbug to come live with her and to direct the education of her children and help with philanthropic works. Meysenbug accepted the trip to close with Wagner and with Nietzsche. The Nietzsche friendship was very important to her in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1876 she published her memoir in Germany and this made her a bit of a celebrity there.

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98 Le Rider, 136.
99 Upon moving to England, Meysenbug had been unsure how she would support herself as she lacked marketable skills and did not want to work as a governess. Schwabe put her in contact with a Jewish family that was looking for a governess and wouldn’t want her to provide any type of religious guidance, but they did not hire her because of her lack of experience. Meysenbug then wrote a letter to Schwabe, explaining what had happened, prompting Schwabe’s invitation to Wales.
100 Le Rider, 138.
101 Le Rider, 139.
Paris for the winter and the position teaching both the Schwabe children and the children of Richard Cobden, noted proponent of free trade and friend to the Schwabe family. In Paris, she stayed at 4 rue de Berri, near the Champs-Élysées, with the Schwabes, Cobden, his wife and their four daughters.\footnote{Le Rider, 228, 235. Schwabe had also proposed that they spend the summer in Wales before spending the winter with the Cobdends, but Meysenbug refused because Herzen invited her to stay with him and she could not pass up the opportunity to spend time with Olga Herzen. The visit went poorly, however, and she felt outcast, and wrote to Schwabe accepting the trip to Paris.} At this time Meysenbug was given sole care of Harriet Schwabe and became emotionally attached to her and an important influence in her life.\footnote{Michaela Tomaschewsky, \textit{Malwida von Meysenbug and the cult of humanism} (University of Illinois at Chicago, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1993, 9324307) 263.} Julia Salis Schwabe not only accepted Meysenbug, but was made concessions and fought to keep her as an influence on her children. Upon their return from Paris, Herzen again asked Meysenbug to care for his daughter Olga and Schwabe suggested as a compromise that Meysenbug have Olga Herzen stay in the Schwabe home with her. They lived together for a few weeks and Meysenbug took part in Schwabe’s efforts to send letters to Garibaldi’s troops.\footnote{Le Rider, 246.} Meysenbug was eventually far too distracted by the constant activity of the Schwabe home, however, and left with Olga Herzen. Their connection shows that Schwabe, a middle-class conservative, was close to radicals, inviting Alexander Herzen’s daughter to stay in her home and asking a radical and feminist with a leaning towards atheism to educate her children. Schwabe, like Nathan and Craufurd Saffi valued motherhood in a traditional sense, but also imparted progressive and radical values to her children.

\textbf{Prostitution Campaign and Protest Against the Sexual Double-Standard}

It is impossible to ignore the names of noted Mazzinians in the Italian abolitionist campaign. When Josephine Butler first travelled to Italy in 1874, searching for supporters, she...
went to Rome and attended the Nathan’s salon where she found a warm reception. The Nathan home in Rome became the heart of the Italian campaign and friends of the Nathan family became loyal supporters.105 In March 1876, Francesco Pallavicini and other Italians then founded the Italian Section of the British and Continental Federation for the Abolition of Governmental Regulation of Vice.106 Sara Nathan’s biography, written by her family, argued that it was upon her advice and under her influence that Joseph Nathan, lost after the death of his wife and child, dedicated himself to Butler’s cause. It claimed that, “with such an elevation of mind the Mother had known to direct the raw and barren sadness of the son into a sacred work towards a suffering part of humanity!” The biography claimed that Sara Nathan had tried to instill Mazzinian values in all of her children, but they had impacted Joseph Nathan the most intensely and deeply and this was evidence of that.107

Many other Mazzinians became involved in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution, both in England and in Italy. British Mazzinians, including Emilie Ashurst Venturi and the other Ashurst sisters were also involved within England in the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.108 Within Italy, Mazzinians Maurizio Quadrio, Vincenzo Brusco Onnis, Federico Campanella, and Aurelio Saffi joined the Italian branch of Butler’s Federation and the Shield, the newspaper of the movement introduced the men by stating, “all of these names are widely honoured in Italy: all of them are the names of friends and disciples of Joseph Mazzini.”109

105 Istasia, 86-89. In 1874, Joseph Nathan lost his wife and child and his brother Enrico and his wife Carolina had lost three of their children in three days. After this devastation, they were looking for something to believe in.
106 President was Francesco Pallavicini. Other members included: count Giuseppe Musio senator, count Carlo Rusconi, Senator Giorgio Tamajo, Deputy Giorgio Asproni, Professors Leopoldo Viglioni, Felice Scifoni, Vincenzo Rossi, Sante Venerati, and Joseph Nathan, who was the secretary. They later added in Jessie White Mario, Anna Maria Mozzoni, Sarina Nathan, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Michele Amadei, Agostino Bertani, Giovanni Bovio, Benedetto Cairoli, Vincenzo Brusco Onnis, and Aurelio Saffi. See: Istasia, 89.
107 Biography of Sara Nathan, MCRR, b.431, N.42.
109 “Progress of the Movement Abroad.” The Shield, Issue 238/29 (September 1, 1875): 254.
connections between Mazzinianism and abolitionism, were so strong, in fact, that the abolitionist campaign was sometimes viewed as a mere subset of the Mazzinian political agenda. In 1882, *The Shield* published an article arguing against this presumption, claiming that men of all Italian political parties were involved in the cause. In explaining the source of this presumption, however, they did note that, “the work of the Federation has hitherto been conducted almost exclusively by Mazzinians; hence the ignorant supposition alluded to.”\(^{110}\)

These men and women were still devoted to Mazzini’s principles and saw the campaign against regulated prostitution as part of their larger mission. In the *Lega della democrazia*, in 1881 White Mario explicitly stated this, claiming that Joseph Nathan’s campaign against state-regulated prostitution was his way of continuing Mazzini’s work.\(^{111}\) In a later article for the paper, she added that Sara Nathan’s work in the movement as well as her work in education were both ways to continue Mazzini’s project. White Mario claimed that Sara Nathan had pushed through her grief over the deaths of Maurizio Quadrio and her son Joseph Nathan to work on many projects, saying that since she was,

sustained by maternal love, she lived and worked to continue the teachings of the dear lost ones. And the Mazzini school and the school for helpless girls in Trastevere and the newspaper *il Dovere* and the propaganda for the abolition of the shameful laws that obligated woman to slavery and profanation, were proofs of how true sorrow, as true love, knows how to expand itself into action.\(^{112}\)

White Mario’s statements reinforce how the Mazzinians truly believed that this work in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution was not tangential, but as important as their revolutionary or educational work for promoting a better and more egalitarian Italy.

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\(^{112}\) White Mario, “Sara Nathan,” 2.
Josephine Butler was also connected to the Risorgimento through her sister, Madame Meuricoffre who lived in a Swiss Protestant community in Naples and had taken over care of the wounded soldiers in the hospitals when White Mario left Naples.113 When at the conference in Geneva in 1877, White Mario acknowledged this connection, writing to Barbara Bodichon Smith, “Mrs. Butler is looking very well & very handsome; her sister Mrs. Meuricoffe is here & she took all my wounded off my hands in 1860 at Naples that is a link between us. I have told Mrs. Butler that I will do whatever can help her most.”114 This again shows the development of a network of transnational philanthropic women.

One of the major ways in which the Federation operated was through regular congresses. In the autumn of 1875 the first congress of the Federation was held in Geneva and Joseph Nathan, Vincenzo Brusco Onnis, and Agostino Bertani attended.115 Then in Genoa in September 1880, Aurelio Saffi presided over and delivered the inaugural address at the Congress of the Federation.116 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi then contributed to a book issued in conjunction with this 1880 conference.117

Jessie White Mario attended the conference held in Geneva in 1877 and stayed with fellow Mazzinians, including the Stansfelds, the Ashursts, and Joseph Nathan. Butler put White Mario on the Bureau of Hygiene and White Mario consented to this, feeling like more of a follower than a leader in this instance. As she described it, “I think it just best to work in their way & I like the feeling of obedience. She told me that she had put me on the bureau d’higiene—

114 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 15 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N. 50(6).
115 Istasia, 89.
whatever that may be.” White Mario initially did not take the conference very seriously. One morning, when she was supposed to be taking notes on the proceedings, she instead wrote a letter to Barbara Smith Bodichon. Ultimately, however, she committed to the project. In a letter three days later she complained, “We have had very hard work our bureau meeting at 8am & sometimes the last public meeting lasting until 11p.m.”

White Mario’s letters from Geneva make her seem somewhat new to the cause, or at least to Josephine Butler. Though she believed in the cause of the conference, saying, “You know that I am with them in the principle of the thing so,” in another letter she tentatively wrote, “I shall like Mrs Butler I think.” This does not evince a strong feeling of pre-existing familiarity. Though White Mario was seemingly unaware of Butler’s character before the conference, by the final days she was quite enthusiastic about her. She wrote,

Mrs. Butler is a really splendid devoted active & convinced woman. It is false to say that she gets up her enthusiasm al freddo. The subject just absorbs her, she lives in it & for it just as the American women did for the abolition. They may criticize her for being absolute & intolerant & imperious at times. I do not do so. I know that nothing in this world that is against the caprice & interests & vices of the majority can be done without these qualities—that one has neither time for strength nor inclination for coaxing & cajoling people. You can’t be popular if you are in earnest.

This surely reflects White Mario’s own position and experience as an active, devoted, and sincere woman who pushed forward with her cause even when it meant she was poorly-received or disliked.

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118 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 15 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N. 50(6). At the time, White Mario was busy simultaneously participating at the conference and writing her articles for Fraser's Magazine on her experiences with the ambulances. This distracted her from a pure focus on the conference.
119 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 18 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(9).
120 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 21 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(11).
121 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 15 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N. 50(6). Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 17 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N. 50(8).
122 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 21 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(11).
White Mario was angry that the conference did not emphasize the equal responsibility of men and women in the case of illegitimate children and instead avoided the question. This, she argued, was particularly problematic for countries like Italy where paternity searches were forbidden. In response, she and “a good French woman” drew up a resolution stating that the congress, due to its general founding principles, must admit and affirm the principle of equal responsibility of men and women with regard to illegitimate children. This was signed by James and Caroline Ashurst, Shaen Ashurst, Harcourt-Johnston, and “all the Italians,” before Josephine Butler then read it at the general assembly, where it received universal approval. White Mario was only active behind the scenes in this venture and explained, “No one knows that it was mine, as mine would have no weight but as Mrs. Butler’s all weight.” The debate over paternity searches was also a major issue for leading Italian feminist Anna Maria Mozzoni, who argued that the prohibition of paternity searches pushed women into prostitution as it denied them financial support from the men who had impregnated them.

At the 1877 congress, the Mazzinian women publicly displayed themselves as opponents of state-regulated prostitution but were too reserved to speak out about the issue. Jessie White Mario praised Caroline Stansfeld for showing her public support for her husband James Stansfeld and his work in the cause. She wrote, “Caroline Stansfeld is behaving splendidly. I am so happy. She goes on the platform to shew that she approves of James. It is so brave of her because she hates the question.” In White Mario’s eyes, this made Caroline Stansfeld, “A worthy Mazzinian.” White Mario also expressed support for the British women who sat up front at the last meeting of the Congress, when Bertani gave his speech. She wrote, “Caroline Stansfeld & Mrs. Ashurst are in the front seats of the congress. That’s pluck if you like the pluck of British

123 Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 21 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(11).
124 Nicolaci, 214-17.
women who do the thing they think right however distasteful.”¹²⁵ White Mario also had no plans of her own to speak, claiming, “I shall not speak though they all want me to.”¹²⁶ While she wrote an article for the conference, she had a professor (a friend of Barbara Smith Bodichon) read it at the conference for her. This decision was not universally well-received and White Mario revealed that, “They were vexed with me for not reading it, but James [Stansfeld] did not care & if he was pleased I don’t mind anyone else.”¹²⁷

By the conference in 1880, however, the Mazzinian women felt comfortable enough to give speeches of their own. Elena Casati Sacchi, for instance, spoke at the Federation’s conference in Genoa in 1880 where many were impressed by her voice. It said that at the Congress many,

would recall her sweet friendly figure, her voice full of emotion, when, overcoming her reluctance to address a public assembly, driven by the sentiment of duty, she registered her protest against white slavery and she acted as interpreter of her dear absent friend Jessie White Mario.¹²⁸

In 1881, Giorgina Saffi then spoke at a conference she organized alongside her husband Aurelio Saffi, Agostino Bertani, and Dr. Matilde Dessalles in the Loggia degli Agricolturi in Bologna on June 16th 1881, which was reported by the Associazione Democratica Bolognese.¹²⁹ Though she chose to speak in public, Giorgina Saffi also acknowledged the difficulty she felt in doing so saying, “Although I am conscious of my utter inability to speak in public, I am nevertheless compelled on this occasion to introduce myself to you, imploring all your indulgence for a few moments, your benevolent attention to the few words I am about to tell you.” In her speech, Saffi argued that these laws were detrimental to both men and women, as they set up a system in

¹²⁵ Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 22 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(12).
¹²⁶ Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 18 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(9).
¹²⁷ Jessie White Mario to Barbara Smith Bodichon, 21 September 1877, MCRR, b.110, N.50(11).
¹²⁹ “Le donne cadute, la legge e la polizia,” Associazione Democratica Bolognese, MCRR, b.426, N.6(19).
which fallen women (who had fallen either of their own choice or through unfortunate circumstances) were set up as necessary instruments, “to the basest passions of man,” and by being excluded from other work and professions, became in some circumstances either accomplices or primary authors in leading young men towards vice. She asked why the shame fell only upon women and indicated that she would have wanted shame for extramarital sex to fall equally upon men as well as women. This speech exemplifies the contrasts in her thought. She would speak of sexual matters in public and would defend prostitutes, but only to an extent, and did in no way support prostitution or casual sex as a choice.

The Mazzinian women also contributed through their writings. Giorgina Saffi, for instance, published articles on the topic for *La Donna*, the most radically feminist paper. Her primary objection to regulated prostitution came on religious and moral grounds. In her first publication for *La Donna*, in August 1875, she argued that the campaign against regulated prostitution in Italy was done, “in the name of Moral Law, against the abomination” that sanctions the sister of Man to, “legal slavery to the brutality of the senses” and called Butler’s campaign a “sacred fight.” Saffi condemned scientists and doctors who supported the regulation on hygienic grounds, arguing that they subordinated the health of the soul to the supposed needs of physical health and encouraged moral depravation. Legislators, she argued, should worry less about material infections caused by “intemperate behavior” and worry more about the internal cost of these actions. She wanted there to be a connection between familial morality and the legal code and could not support a law that, in her eyes, sanctioned vice.

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130 “Le donne cadute, la legge e la polizia,” *Associazione Democratica Bolognese*, MCRR, b.426, N.6(19).
Revealing his partnership in the campaign, Alberto Mario published articles about the anti-prostitution campaign in his paper, *La lega della democrazia*. The paper also published some feminist articles, including an assortment by Ernesta Napollon, who wrote frequently for *La Donna*. A more substantial venue for Saffi, Nathan, and White Mario’s writing, however, was *La Coscienza Pubblica*, the official paper of the Comitato Centrale Italiano per la tutela della moralità e dell’igiene pubblica, which published its first issue January 1st 1882. Sara Nathan funded the paper using money left to her in Joseph Nathan’s will and the first issue was published in honor of him. The first issue began by stating their *Premesse*, in which they argued that the decrees that regulated prostitution under the premise of protecting public hygiene in fact turned vice into a state institution and arbitrarily punished women suspected of prostitution, submitting them to a medical exam, and putting them on a public list. This, they argued, was shameful to the state and insulting to both public morality and to public hygiene. Predicting complaints of factionalism, they argued that the movement was not connected to any specific political party or religion nor was it a mere importation of a foreign concept and

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In 1881 Joseph Nathan had died, leaving his mother his legacy with the duty to continue his work to defend prostitutes and in the school in Trastevere. On April 24th 1881 the *Dovere* published a letter from Sara Nathan thanking people for the demonstrations of affection she received after Joseph Nathan’s death and explained how she had divided up the money left to her by Giuseppe Nathan. 50,000 lire went to the diffusion of propaganda against regulated prostitution, 25,000 lire went to the Italian Section of the British Federation, 5,000 lire to the asili infantile in Roma, Genova, and Lugano, and 10,000 lire was distributed to private charities. See: Istasia, 205.
movement and asked for Italians of all political parties to understand the gravity of the problem and to study it.\textsuperscript{136}

Both Sara Nathan and Giorgina Saffi contributed to the first issue of \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}.\textsuperscript{137} In her letter, Nathan noted the support the cause had in London, emphasizing its status and history as a place of refuge for many Italians. She then argued that the fight needed to happen both privately and publicly and echoed the call for widespread support, saying, “The problem is moral; by choosing it there is the need for to the cooperation of all without distinction of caste, religion or class; and we are confident that through the stubborn insistence of one who is sure of victory it will be resolved.”\textsuperscript{138} In Saffi’s submission, she argued that Italian society should not place physical health and the avoidance of disease at a higher priority than moral health and the avoidance of vice. She also repeated her call to the mothers of Italy, saying,

\begin{quote}
And above all else we call with all our forces of spirit on the involvement and moral support of the women- of the mothers of Italy:- from them, more than any other, the fight undertaken in the name of truth, of morality, and of justice will receive such value and such efficient impulses that alone will guarantee victory.\textsuperscript{139}
\end{quote}

Her writings thus reinforce her belief in the Mazzinian idea of duty and of the push towards truth and morality and show how this work was part of the Mazzinian moral Risorgimento for society. They also highlight how emancipation for women was a key part of this agenda.

\textsuperscript{136} “Premessa,” \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}, (Roma) 1 January 1882, pg.1-2, in MCRR, b.426, N.2(3).

\textsuperscript{137} Ernesto Nathan asked White Mario to contribute to the first issue of \textit{La Conoscenza Pubblica} or at least to allow them to list her name as a virtual contributor. See: Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 20 December 1881, MCRR, b.430, N.1(2). White Mario did not contribute to the first issue. This is likely due to a lack of time. Nathan sent the letter on December 20th and said that he would need all contributions by the 26th.

\textsuperscript{138} Sara Nathan, Letter from 15 December 1881, \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}, (Roma) 1 January 1882, pg.3, in MCRR, b.426, N.2(3).

\textsuperscript{139} Giorgina Saffi, Letter from 15 December 1881, \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}, (Roma) 1 January 1882, pg.3, in MCRR, b.426, N.2(3). Aurelio Saffi also wrote a letter, once more indicating their shared focus on specific issues.
Giorgina Saffi believed strongly in the role of mothers in teaching their children to avoid prostitution and wrote about this topic.\textsuperscript{140} In her later articles, she wrote that women could not tranquilly sit by as the injustices of state-regulated prostitution were allowed to go on and needed to involve themselves in this issue, even if it was not considered a proper arena for respectable women. Stressing the detrimental effects the double standard had on the sons of those mothers, she wrote that the laws, in sanctioning bad customs and behaviors, while placing an immovable stain on the reputation of the fallen women, exonerated the man from every complicity in the sin, and would give him the impression that he was immune from sin and vice. This, she argued, was detrimental to the moral character of boys and men and women had a duty to overcome the impressions generated by this bad behavior and to raise their children, sons included, to virtue.\textsuperscript{141} The letters she wrote to her own children revealed similar sentiments again revealing the consistency between her privately-held and publicly-espoused views.

Reinforcing the call to women as mothers, \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica} also praised Elena Sacchi for being one of the first women, “to enlist herself in these troops that protested against the compulsory degradation of women as a tool of public incontinence,” and for teaching her sons the proper behavior and for recognizing the necessary partnerships that must exist between private and public education for proper citizens.\textsuperscript{142}

Saffi was deeply concerned about both the double standard that unfairly only punished women for sin and for the promotion of sin that she felt the laws created. She also preached Christian charity in contemplating vice, saying,


\textsuperscript{141} Saffi, “La Questione Morale,” pg.1 in MCRR, b.426, N.4(7). She wrote, “ogni madre, degna di quel sacro nome, deve sentire in pari tempo il dovere di associare l’opera sua, costante e devote, al lavoro che had per intento supremo l’educare e rialzare il senso morale nell’ambiente del civile consorzio.”

\textsuperscript{142} “Elena Casati Sacchi,” \textit{La Coscienza Pubblica}, a.1, n.5, 8 Maggio 1882, pg.1 in MCRR, b.426, N.4(7).
To those who with sad foolish pride attack straight on the most heinous of the injured, we repeat the words that the holy soul of the Nazarene offered against the Pharisaic accusers of adultery: *Let you who is without sin throw the first stone against her!*

Saffi also argued that the laws, by implicitly confirming the idea that prostitution was a necessary practice and institution in society, would undermine the progress that the Risorgimento had worked so hard to achieve for society at large, for both men and women.

Criticizing the double-standard, Saffi argued that men were just as stained and besmirched by the act of prostitution as the women. Though she was quite repressive and sex-negative, she also worked to lift up the position of prostitutes in society and brutally condemned the men who participated in prostitution as nearly bestial and far more sinful than the women, who were condemned by society as irreparably damaged. Craufurd Saffi wrote, that in these interactions, “the man degrades himself as much and more shamefully than the woman herself.” At the end she mentions the committee, which indicates that she wanted women involved in the Federation and was appealing to them as mothers to get supporters.

Jessie White Mario used her social science research skills, developed through her work in journalism, to support the cause. She boldly wrote about prostitution for the American paper, *The Nation*, as early as 1869, saying,

The streets of Italian towns are remarkably free from the opprobrium of the nocturnal trade (which is the more remarkable, as the streets are the common lounging places till late at night), not because there is any lack of prostitution, but because the women neither like nor understand the trade.

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143 Saffi, “La Questione Morale,” pg.1 in MCRR, b.426, N.4(7).
144 Saffi, “La Questione Morale,” pg.1 in MCRR, b.426, N.4(7). She wrote that the laws, “Remove every base to Morality, every faith in the Laws of Progress, which are the Laws of Life for Humanity; and deny virtually every efficacy to the Education, private and public, that must be designed for the betterment of the Human Creature- man and woman.”
146 White Mario, “On the position of women in Italy,” 481.
As there was in many ways a wall of public silence around the issue of prostitution, by so
blatantly mentioning it in the press White Mario challenged dictates for acceptable female
behavior. She also sometimes worked behind the scenes. In February 1881, for instance, Ernesto
Nathan wrote to her asking if she knew of reliable evidence on juvenile prostitution that he could
lay before a committee of the House of Lords.147

White Mario researched prostitution most intensively for her work La Miseria in Napoli.
She was initially in Naples, in fact, “to collect facts and ideas as to the causes of prostitution, and
to assist a well-known philanthropist in his inquiry into the causes of agricultural distress,” when
Villari approached her to publish the results of her studies in the Neapolitan paper Pungolo. Her
interactions with Villari inspired her to study the poor of Naples in greater depth, looking at
houses of licensed prostitution, along with the prisons, charitable institutions, hospitals,
fondacos, and grottoes.148 In La Miseria in Napoli, White Mario devoted an entire chapter to
prostitution and argued that this was an important subject, even if it was difficult to speak of. At
the beginning of the chapter she wrote, “arriving at this chapter, it is likely that many of you, and
if you are women quite a great many, are closing this book saying that certain subjects should not
be treated publicly.” This avoidance, she argued, was ineffective and ignored an issue plaguing
society.

Whereas Craufurd Saffi had focused on the moral and religious aspects of the prostitution
debate, White Mario generally focused on the social and economic aspects. She argued, for
instance, that seduction and abandonment, poverty, and the instigation of husbands and parents

147 Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 2 February 1881, MCRR, b.430, N.1(1). It is interesting to note that this
letter, though conducted on behalf of the Italian sector of the movement, was written in English. It gives evidence to
the impact that growing up in England had on Ernesto Nathan’s sense of national identity.
were three major reasons for why women entered prostitution: She interviewed prostitutes and learned about their lives and how prostitution played a role in them. This enabled her to see the economic connections between poverty and prostitution. She argued that, “prostitution in the lowest classes is a trade like any other: there is nothing particular about it; it even allows you to be a good mother to a family.” White Mario did not refrain entirely from talking about morality, however, and questioned why people were taught to refrain from stealing, lying, excessive drinking, and gambling, but were not taught, “to keep the sensual passions under the control of reason?” She added that mothers needed to speak frankly with their sons about sexual matters and to discourage this behavior and that fathers should stop encouraging it. A modern society, she argued, was no place for such an old vice.

**Conclusion**

Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, Julia Salis Schwabe, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Mary Chambers acted as non-state agents to advocate progressive values like companionate marriage and gender equality in Italy. They forged partnerships based on shared values and imparted progressive values to their children, making them unusual in both England and Italy. While they were not feminist in a 21st-century fashion, as they made claims as mothers, based their ideas in a Mazzinian or Protestant faith, and were prudish and sex-negative, even in their support of the rights of prostitutes, they were feminist for their time. They made claims as mothers because they believed that private life was important to the state and to humanity and thought that the same values must govern private relations as well as public ones. They also

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149 White Mario, *La miseria in Napoli*, 43-44.
151 White Mario, *La miseria in Napoli*, 43-44.
transgressed public boundaries in their outspoken discussion of sexual matters and criticism of the double standard. Finally, with their international cooperation on the issue of state-regulated prostitution, they laid the groundwork for the more organized feminism of the 1890s and early 1900s. Though they do not completely fit the stereotypical mold of a feminist, they deserve to be recognized as the leaders in female emancipation that they were.
Chapter 7. Neither Catholic nor Italian:
Issues of Citizenship, Religion, and Identity

As the preceding chapters have shown, Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, Julia Salis Schwabe, Mary Chambers, and Giorgina Saffi were all deeply invested in Italy and Italian nationalism, working earnestly to support Italian unification and to promote and perfect the Italian state. Most spent the majority of their adult lives in Italy and even married Italian men. Despite their deep connections to Italy, however, they all remained outsiders in one way or another; none of them fit the profile of the typical Italian. Sara Nathan and Giorgina Saffi were the only ones born in Italy and only Nathan had Italian parents. The others completely lacked a claim to Italian heritage. Additionally, none of the women were Catholic, unlike most nineteenth-century Italians. Nathan and Schwabe came from Jewish backgrounds, but both eventually adopted Protestant beliefs, thereby joining into the faith of most Britons. How can we understand their work in Italy and desire to shape Italy when taking into account their seeming disconnect from Italian politics and identity?

This chapter explores the intersecting and multifaceted ways that religious and national identities shaped not only these transnational nationalists’ motivations for action and their interactions in the Italian peninsula, but also their self-image and how they viewed and were viewed by the Italian people. I argue that these women identified, at least in part, as British women, and believed that as such they had special privileges, rights, and abilities. Many supporters of the Risorgimento, British and Italian alike, hoped that unification would bring with it not only a move away from despotic governments but also a curtailing of the Pope’s influence
in Italy, believing that this would allow for the moral regeneration of Italian citizens. Though this rhetoric resonated with British proselytizing and anti-Catholic sentiments and drew British women to Italian Risorgimento, it also reinforced negative stereotypes about Italians and made it easier for the British women to retain their sense of superiority in regards to the Italian people.

I also argue that religion was an important factor in the Risorgimento, drawing Protestant, Jewish, and nondenominational Italians to the cause while pushing Catholic Italians away. Though anti-Catholicism was a powerful motivating factor, deeply-held beliefs and spiritual connections also pushed supporters to act in situations where they might not have otherwise. Furthermore, in order to fully understand not only British involvement in the Risorgimento, but also Mazzini and the Mazzinians, including Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, we must take into account religious factors and consider this a spiritual movement. To his followers, Mazzini’s ideas truly represented a faith and they viewed themselves as his loyal apostles. By recognizing that Mazzini’s followers were nondenominational Protestants who worked alongside Unitarians and Anglicans, as well as Jewish populations, we reveal that the Risorgimento was not only a moment of religious involvement, but one of transdenominational cooperation.

Finally, I suggest that rather than focusing on how to determine a single national identity, we should allow for the use of a transnational identity when appropriate. White Mario, Saffi, Schwabe, and women like them travelled and lived in several countries at various points in their lives and were also constantly writing, communicating, and sending money across borders refusing to limit their activities, interests, or personal connections to one nation. Although the use of a transnational identity creates problems in labeling and easily writing about these women, it also opens up important new avenues for thought and exploration in our understanding of
nineteenth-century women’s identities. This transnational identity also reflects their cosmopolitan vision of nationalism, which promoted cooperation across national borders, and sharply contrasts with the exclusive racial, ethnic, and competitive nationalism that would become more popular throughout the later 19th and early 20th centuries.

To accomplish this, I first provide a historical background of Jewish and Catholic Italians in nineteenth-century Italy before sketching an overview of the historiography of religion and nationalism in Italy. I then provide a discussion of theories of citizenship and argue that although Schwabe, White Mario, and the others were in many ways Italian, they also retained a strong sense of British identity and pride and were often categorized as foreigners by Italians. In the next section, I look more specifically at religion, showing that the Mazzinians and non-Mazzinians were both motivated by religious sentiments and addressing the extent to which Sara Nathan and Julia Salis Schwabe were Jewish or were motivated by Judaism. Finally, I argue for the use of a transnational identity which would enhance our understandings of female identity and of romantic or cosmopolitan nationalism in the 19th century.

**Historical Background: Jews and Protestants in Liberal Italy**

Though Italy was a predominantly Catholic country, it had minority populations of Jews and Protestants. In December 1861, 22,458 Jewish people lived in Italy, comprising little more than 1/1,000 of the Italian population.\(^1\) The number of Jews living on the Italian peninsula rose from 31,400 in 1800 to 35,800 in 1871, but the number of Jews per thousand inhabitants had actually decreased slightly, from 1.77 to 1.34.\(^2\)

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the fall of Napoleon, previously existing anti-Jewish legislation was restored in Piedmont and in the Papal States. According to Andrew Canepa, this included “limitation of residence to ghettos, prohibition of ownership of landed property, exclusion from state schools and universities and from the legal and medical professions, interdiction from public charges and employment and from service in the military.” Both the Papal States and Piedmont made exceptions for wealthy Jews regarding place of residence and property ownership. In contrast, Canepa claims that “the most favourable legal status was found in Tuscany, Parma, and Lombardy-Venetia, states which to varying degrees admitted Jews to the civil rights denied them elsewhere in Italy.”

Most Italian Jews were fairly well-off. Many Turinese Jews were active in silk manufacturing and banking, even before emancipation. Roman Jews were the exception, as they were generally far poorer, less-educated, and had lived in a ghetto the longest. Though they were a minority in Italy, in some areas Jews had a sizeable presence. In Livorno, for instance, where Sara Nathan lived before her marriage, a large Sephardic community made its living through international trading and banking.

According to census of 1861, 32,684 Protestants lived in Italy, centered largely in the old subalpine realm and in Tuscany. These numbers grew rapidly and the 1871 census recorded 58,651 Protestant Italian subjects: 23,877 in Piedmont, 9,522 in former kingdom of Naples, 6,755 in Sicily, 4,881 in Lombardy, 4,607 in Emilia, 4,146 in Rome and in Tuscany only 3,184.

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3 Canepa, 405.
6 Ciani, 32.
7 They comprised approximately 0.15% of the population.
8 Giorgio Spini, Risorgimento e protestanti (Milano: Mondadori, 1989), 344.
While Protestantism was generally regarded as a foreign phenomenon in Italy, there were also native Italian Protestants, a small population in Piedmontese Alps known as the Waldensians.9

Protestants and Jews had similar experiences of religious persecution in Italy. Much of the harshest repression came in Papal Rome, before its annexation to the Italian State in 1870, which did not tolerate any form of public worship other than a Catholic one. Any foreign minister at the papal court could hold religious services under his roof but private citizens could not open churches.10 Not only were Protestants forbidden from proselytizing their religion, but they were discouraged and restricted in practicing their faith. Jews in the Papal States were allowed to practice, but were confined to ghettos and similarly subject to discrimination. In June 1858, papal police took Edgardo Levi Mortara, a six-year-old Jewish boy who had been secretly baptized years before by a Christian servant, from his family to “assure the salvation of his soul.” While papal forces had previously taken Jewish children from their parents, claiming that they had been baptized or wanted to be Christians, this time their actions caused outrage.11 One of the most egregious instances of Papal anti-Judaism in the minds of Italian Jews, however, came in 1867 when Pope Pius IX had Pedro d’Arbues, the first inquisitor of Aragon, proclaimed a saint. Historian Frank Coppa argued that for many Jews, the decision for canonization, “seemed to represent a repudiation of Jewry and a validation of the Inquisition.”12 Anti-Judaism was not

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9 The Waldensians, also known as the Valdesi or the Vaudois, were based out of the north of Italy, near France, and traced their historical roots to Peter Valdes in 1174. Michael W. Homer, “Seeking Primitive Christianity in the Waldensian Valleys: Protestants, Mormons, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy,” in *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*. Vol. 9, No. 4 (May 2006): 9.


12 Coppa, 691. This view was reinforced by the proclamation to the canonization, which emphasized the church’s opposition to its modern liberal Jewish citizens, saying, “The divine wisdom has arranged that in these sad days, when Jews help the enemies of the Church with their books and money, this decree of sanctity has been brought to fulfillment.”
unique to Italy, however and Jews in England were fighting a similar battle for emancipation and equality starting in the 1830s and 1840s.\textsuperscript{13} When Lionel Nathan Rothschild became the first Jew to be a member of Parliament in 1858 it was considered a sign that emancipation had occurred. The majority of Jews in England were Liberals, allied with the mercantile and Dissenting classes against the landed aristocracy and the Church of England.\textsuperscript{14}

As religious minorities, Italian Protestants and Jews welcomed the modernizing Risorgimento and the promises it offered of religious toleration in a secular state and participated disproportionately in the Risorgimento. In return, the Risorgimento benefitted them: Jews in Piedmont-Sardinia were granted emancipation with the Statuto Albertino that came out of the tumult of 1848. After 1848, most Piedmontese Jews identified strongly with the monarchy, supported it both financially and militarily, and later considered themselves among the founding fathers of the unified Italian state. Even religious practice included dedication to the state. As historian Andrew Stille has noted, “on the death of Carlo Alberto, the Jews of Turin painted the sacred ark holding the Torah scrolls black. Blessings to the Piedmontese royal family became a common part of the liturgy in the Turin synagogue from emancipation through the fascist era.”\textsuperscript{15}

Most of the remaining Italian Jews were emancipated with the unification of the Kingdom of

\begin{itemize}
\item Sara Nathan’s husband, Meyer Nathan, remained Jewish and worked alongside the many other Jews in London working in finance and banking. Salis Schwabe moved to Manchester to open a textile factory, thereby joining the profession of the majority of Jewish Britons in the provinces, who made their money not from finance, but from trade and manufacturing. Approximately 1,000 to 2,000 German Jews had migrated from northern Germany to the Midlands to work as merchants. Schwabe also converted to Unitarianism. This was also typical of German Jewish immigrants, who either abandoned their Jewish faith before leaving Germany or upon arrival in England. See: Lloyd P. Gartner, “Emancipation, Social Change, and Communal Reconstruction in Anglo-Jewry 1789-1881” Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, Vol. 54 (1987) 110-11.
\item Gartner, 110-11. Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) was a leading figure for the Conservative Party. He entered the House of Commons in 1837 and became Prime Minister in 1868 and served again from 1874-1880. Though Disraeli was of Jewish birth, he had converted to Anglicanism at age 12.
\item Stille, 24.
\end{itemize}
Italy in 1861 and Roman Jews were confined to the ghetto under the repressive rule of Pius IX until Rome’s annexation in 1870. Protestant Emancipation followed a similar path.

After unification, Italian Jews served vital roles in politics and society. Though only two percent of the Italian population were able to vote in the first Italian governments, Jews had a disproportionately high presence within that small percentage as they generally had higher rates of literacy, a taxable income, or a recognized professional qualification. After the electorate was expanded in 1882 to include all literate males, nearly all male Jews could vote. They also served in the Italian Parliament. Giuseppe Finzi and two other Jews were elected to serve in the first Italian parliament in 1861 and Isacco Artmon and Tullo Massarani were nominated as the first Jewish senators in 1876. In 1871, there were 11 Jewish members of Parliament. Italy also had the first Jewish Prime Minister in Europe, Luigi Luzzatti who served from 1910 to 1911.

While Jews were awarded citizenship rights they still faced anti-Semitism, particularly from the conservative clergy. The authors of the *Civilta Cattolica*, for instance, argued that Jews were a foreign race and could not really be Italian. Anti-Semitism would continue to exist in Italy throughout the 19th-century, despite a general acceptance of Jews into Italian society and their frequent assimilation. Andrew Canepa has argued that the specific nature of Jewish emancipation across Europe allowed for continuing anti-Semitism and encouraged Jewish assimilation. Nineteenth-century Liberals believed that Jews could have rights as individual citizens, but only if they gave up their rights as a collective Jewish nation and would essentially,

17 Spini, 281.
18 Schächter, 17.
20 Schächter, 17.
“relinquish their Jewishness.” In addition, rather than making their arguments on the basis of natural equality between Jews and Christians, proponents of Jewish emancipation claimed that the legal disabilities placed upon Jewish communities by Old Regime governments, “were responsible for all that was considered defective in the Jews and Judaism (clannishness, a narrow morality, materialism, parasitism, etc.).” Once these legal barriers were removed, they argued, Jewish communities could easily assimilate and adopt the characteristics of their Christian neighbors and become ideal citizens.22 Jewish emancipation, therefore, did not bring with it an acceptance of Judaism, but rather an implicit promise that emancipation would bring about the end of a distinctive Jewish community and Jewish traits.

Much of the foreign, particularly British, support for the Risorgimento came from its ties to anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism and a desire to proselytize in Italy and seek converts to Protestantism. Since the early 19th century, many Protestant foreigners, from Britain, America, and Germany, allied under the Evangelical Alliance promoted religious toleration and religious conversion in Italy, initially targeting the Waldensians as a key entry point into Italian society. In June 1850, Lorenzo Snow opened a Mormon mission in the Kingdom of Sardinia. This proved problematic, however, because the Statuto Albertino while allowing for religious toleration, also maintained Catholicism as the state religion and forbade any minority religion from publishing religious propaganda or seeking converts among the Catholic population.23 Because of his anticlericalism and hatred of the Papacy, many British men and women believed that Garibaldi would be the key to their success and would bring about a government more amenable to Protestant proselytization.

After Unification in 1861, more mainstream Protestant denominations flocked to Italy to

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22 Canepa, 403.
23 Homer, 11.
attempt conversion: Wesleyan Methodists in 1861, Adventists in 1864, English Baptists of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1866, American Baptists of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1870, and American Episcopalian Methodists in 1873.\(^24\) In 1861, after Garibaldi liberated Naples, a group of Anglican women approached him to ask if they could build a church of their own, and he agreed.\(^25\) Protestant missions largely failed to convert Italians, but had some moderate successes. In the Neapolitan provinces, for instance, the number of Protestants rose from 2,708 in 1861 to 9,522 in 1871, a proportionately large increase.\(^26\) By 1878 Protestant groups existed in 178 Italian towns, and 13 Protestant halls and churches had been established in Rome.\(^27\)

Overall, however, the Risorgimento did not bring about radical religious change and wide scale conversion to Protestantism in Italy.\(^28\) Many of those Italians who were willing to move away from Catholicism were uninterested in religion at all and preferred an atheistic materialism.\(^29\) The staggering rates of illiteracy among Italians also hampered Protestant conversion efforts, which relied on the practice of individual Bible reading. Finally, the Bible Societies and Protestant associations failed in their conversion efforts because of Italian xenophobia, intensified by the patriotic language of the Risorgimento. Many Italians associated Italian identity with Catholicism and thought of Protestantism as a foreign phenomenon and

\(^{24}\) Homer, 6. For more information on conversion efforts see: Annuario Evangelico ad uso dei Ministri e dei Membri delle Chiese Evangeliche d’Italia (Firenze, Tip. Claudiana, Via Maffia, 33, 1882).

\(^{25}\) Raponi, Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento. On March 11th 1865, Rev. Sanford, Bishop of Gibraltar, consecrated Christ Church as the first foreign Protestant church to be built in Naples after unification.

\(^{26}\) Spini, 344, 358.


\(^{28}\) Spini, 385.

\(^{29}\) Theodore Waterhouse, Theodore Waterhouse, 1838-1891: Notes of His Life and Extracts from His Letters and Papers (Printed for Private Circulation Only, London: Chiswick Press, 1894) 70. From Naples on January 13th 1865, Waterhouse wrote, “It does not seem, however, as if Protestantism was making much way. There are some schools at work, which they say are doing good, but among the great mass of the people the change, so far as there has been any in religious matters, has been to rationalism or open infidelity rather than to Protestantism.”
rejected it for that reason. Catholic customs like feast days had so entirely permeated the rituals of their lives that stepping away from them was quite difficult.

**Historiography: Italian Jews, Protestants, and the Risorgimento**

Much of the scholarship on Jewish history in Italy argues that Jews participated in the Risorgimento to gain emancipation, both from foreign domination and from the ghetto, and stresses how Jews successfully assimilated into Italian society. In contrast, other works, particularly those that cover the period from the Liberal Era into the Fascist Period, highlight lingering anti-Semitism, particularly among Catholics, and the struggles Jewish communities faced when deciding upon the paths of assimilation or integration into modern secular Italian society. Women’s historians have argued that Jewish women played an important role in the competing paths of integration and assimilation of the Italian Jews. Monica Miniati, for instance, argued that Jewish women were less likely to have public secular identities than Jewish men because they were assigned roles as carriers of the faith and were tasked with maintaining and teaching Judaism to their children. Contrastingly, Luisa Levi D’Ancona Modena looked at...
Jewish women in non-Jewish charities and argued that the women acted as, “active agents of their integration into the wider society, both as Jews and as women.”\(^\text{34}\) Stepping away from the purely national issues, certain authors like Arthur Kiron stress the inherent internationalism of the Jewish community and show how Jews were connected to international communities and networks of trade, activism, and philanthropy.\(^\text{35}\) In this dissertation, I build on these studies by showing how Schwabe and Nathan frequently breached the divides between public and private and between religion and politics by working as active agents in transnational networks.

Comparatively much less work has been done on the history of Protestantism in Italy, and much of the scholarship focuses on foreign evangelist efforts rather than on native Protestant movements. Giorgio Spini performed the most famous research on Italian Protestantism with his 1956 book *Risorgimento e Protestanti* and there are also a few interesting studies on the Waldensians.\(^\text{36}\) Far more work has looked at evangelicalism and foreign missionary work in Italy or at the connections between Protestantism and nationalism.\(^\text{37}\) By emphasizing the connections between Mazzinianism and Protestants and the importance of Protestantism to Schwabe, Chambers, and White Mario’s motivations and strategies, I add to these studies.

\(^{34}\) D’Ancona Modena, “Jewish Women in Non-Jewish Philanthropy in Italy (1870-1938),” 9-33. D’Ancona Modena studied Adele Levi Della Vida (1822-1915), Giula Salis Schwabe (1819-1896), Alice Franchetti Hallgarten (1874-1911), Sara Nathan Levi (1819-1882) and her daughter-in-law Virginia Nathan Mieli (1846-1925), and Nina Rignano Sullam (1871-1945).


Many of these studies argue that British support for the Italian Risorgimento cannot be understood outside of its fervent anti-Catholicism and relationship to Ireland. Historian Nick Carter argued, for instance, that, “it is difficult to exaggerate the strength of anti-Catholicism in mid-nineteenth-century Britain,” and further maintained that, “the Risorgimento in Britain was above all (as in Ireland) a Protestant cause, one that was intimately bound up with not only deep-rooted popular anti-Catholicism, but also the so-called ‘Irish question’ and popular British anti-Irish sentiment.” Anne Summers added to this scholarship by focusing specifically on how female British support for the Risorgimento and for Mazzini was motivated by religion, claiming “Anti-Catholicism had considerable staying power among liberal women,” and arguing that, “the nature of female support for Italian unification throws into sharp relief the religious content of what is often characterized as one of nineteenth-century Britain’s quintessentially liberal enthusiasms.” Throughout this dissertation, I have shown how Chambers, Schwabe, and White Mario worked as transnational agents, taking advantage of British anti-Catholicism to gain support for their projects.

Through their work, Carter, Summers, and other historians like them build on the increased historical interest in the role of religion in the 19th-century and the growing contestation of the secularization thesis, which had claimed that modernizing nations removed religion from politics. A key work in this field is Clark and Kaiser’s 2003 collection, *Culture*

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38 See: *Nation/Nazione: Irish Nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento*, ed. Colin Barr, Michele Finelli, and Anne O’Connor (Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 2014); See also, *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*.  
39 Carter, “Introduction: Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento” in *Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento*, 19. See also: Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento*. Raponi’s examines the attempts of British Bible Societies and Protestant associations to convert Italy to Protestantism Arguing for a connection between religion and politics, Raponi claimed that, “Anglo-Italian relations in the nineteenth-century cannot be fully understood if they are treated merely as political exchanges. Many British statesmen, missionary societies, and pressure groups saw a necessary link between religion and politics, believing that Italy would never be a united, modern, and civilised country if it did not rid itself of Catholicism and convert to Protestantism.”  
40 Summers, “British women and cultures of internationalism, c. 1815-1914.”
Wars, which emphasized the continued presence of religion in politics in the 19th century by focusing on the conflicts between liberal secular states and religious, generally Catholic, forces.\textsuperscript{41} Historian Abigail Green also contested the secularization thesis, arguing that “if anything, religion is emerging as more important than class as a category of identification and analysis for much of the nineteenth century.”\textsuperscript{42} Reflecting this historiographical shift, more works on the Risorgimento and on Liberal Italy have emphasized the importance of religion to politics. In 2012’s \textit{The Risorgimento Revisited}, for instance, Manuel Borutta wrote an essay emphasizing the importance of anti-Catholic feeling in Italy and drawing attention to the decades-long culture war fought between liberal Catholics and conservative Jesuits to determine what Italy and Italian Catholicism would look like.\textsuperscript{43} Within the British historical field, many historians have written about attempts by British Protestants to convert the working classes and combat what they perceived as secularization or a disinterest in religious institutions brought about by industrialization and urbanization.\textsuperscript{44} By devoting a part of a chapter to religion and its importance for motivation and identity, I too build on this growing trend.

The final group of scholarship relevant to this chapter are those works that stress commonalities between Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, and instances of transdenominational cooperation rather than religious conflict. There have been some works that look at Protestants and Jews together, showing their shared experiences as religious minorities in Italy.\textsuperscript{45} I argue that

\textsuperscript{41} Clark and Kaiser, \textit{Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth Century Europe}. For the Italian context, see Papenheim, “Roma o morte,” in the volume.
\textsuperscript{42} Green, “Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore,” 633.
\textsuperscript{43} Manuel Borutta, “Anti-Catholicism and the Culture War in Risorgimento Italy,” in \textit{The Risorgimento Revisited}.
we should look for more of this work and in doing so build specifically on the work of historian Abigail Green, who acknowledged the transnationalism of the Jewish communities, but also maintained that there were strong commonalities in religious sentiment and action among Jews, Protestants, and Catholics. Green urged scholars to move beyond their traditional areas of focus, the growth of nationalism and religious conflict, to see scale of international humanitarian activity and instances of transdenominational cooperation. To do so, she emphasized British philosemitism and connections between Jewish and evangelical groups. In this chapter, I build on Green’s argument and take up her call to action, seeing the slippages and linkages among Jewish and Protestant communities in Italy.

**Contested Nationalities: Citizenship & National Identity**

*Definitions of Citizenship and Legal Citizenship*

Much of the work on citizenship and national identity focuses on the late 19th or 20th centuries, an era of mass politics, showing how individuals, political parties, and European states spread nationalist discourses and excluded certain groups, including women and minorities, from full citizenship. Elena Camiscioli, for instance, wrote about how both colonial subjects and French women were denied equal rights of citizenship in France. This dissertation looks instead

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46 Green, “Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore,” 631-658. The Alliance Israélite, for instance, modeled itself on the Protestant Evangelical Alliance. And Sir Moses Montefiore collaborated closely over the Mortara Affair and on behalf of Syrian Christians with Sir Culling Eardley, who dominated Evangelical Alliance. See also: Abigail Green, “Nationalism and the ‘Jewish International’: Religious Internationalism in Europe and the Middle East c. 1840-c. 1880,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (April 2008): 535-558. Green argued that, “for anti-Semites Jewish ‘nationalism’ was an inherently international force.” She added, however, that Jews were not alone in forging these transnational religious-political identities and all religious orders at this time became more like this. Green saw evidence of “a distinctively modern form of religious internationalism, characterized by the emergence of new forms of sectarian politics, philanthropy, and the press.”

to more elite groups in society, focusing on cosmopolitan individuals who travel and move and have multiple identities. The most useful book on this topic for this chapter, in terms of content, was Sabrina Donati’s *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861-1950*, which fills a gap in the scholarship by providing an overview of citizenship in Liberal Italy in English.⁴⁸

One of Donati’s strongest points is her claim that, “citizenship is a multifaceted and dynamic idea that defies any single and unilateral explanation.” Jurists see citizenship as a legal status or formal membership in a political community; liberal political thinkers see it as a status enjoyed equally by everyone who is a citizen of a state; communitarians define citizenship as the role that the *civis* plays by participating in the determination of the common good; psychologists look at how it is an expression of individual self-understanding and helps us define ourselves in relation to others; and sociologists argue that it is an identity that provides a source of unity, solidarity, and social inclusion. Even more importantly, Donati argued that we must look at notions of citizenship in their individual historical and geographic contexts, as “citizenship is an evolving notion that adjusts and adapts itself to a variety of historical epochs, political regimes and diverse societies.”⁴⁹ I follow in her footsteps and do not attempt to argue for a single definition of citizenship or even national identity, but rather show how it existed for five specific women and their cohorts at a specific time.

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⁴⁹ Donati, 2. In her recent study of how the press contributed to women’s understanding of female citizenship, Jane L. Chapman presented another type of citizenship by focusing on the idea of cultural citizenship, which she argued, “encapsulates activities conducted in the public sphere for political and/or social ends, in this case articulated through or by the media.” See: Chapman, 4.
Citizenship was a legal category in Italy and as such was clearly defined through legislation that was crafted in Piedmont and had expanded across the Italian peninsula. Italian women had a legislated dependent or derivative nationality that came from their male spouse’s citizenship status based on the Latin maxim “uxor statum mariti sequitur.” The assumption underlying derivative citizenship was that the family (guided by the father) needed to be a single unit with a single citizenship. There could not be division within the home as it would undermine society as a whole and hurt traditional male authority as the head of the household. Under a system of derivative citizenship, if an Italian woman married a non-Italian she would lose her rights to Italian citizenship and would gain her husband’s citizenship. Contrastingly, if a foreign woman married an Italian, she became an Italian. Similar systems were in place in nations across Europe, including England and France. Under the regulations set in place by the British Nationality Act of 1730, for instance, British-born female subjects were similarly deprived of British nationality upon marriage to a non-British man.

Under these laws, when Jessie White and Giorgina Craufurd, British subjects, married Alberto Mario and Aurelio Saffi, Italian citizens, they too became Italian citizens and lost their British nationality. They were forced to keep this nationality until their death, as Italian women were required to keep their husbands’ Italian nationality during their widowhood until 1912.

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50 Donati, 20. These Italian notions of citizenship were based on the principle of allegiance owed by subjects in a monarchy to a sovereign who in turn was expected to provide them with protection. There were conflicting laws on nationality and citizenship initially upon unification, but the state worked diligently to impose uniformity as a means of solidifying the unity of the new nation.
51 Donati, 41.
52 There were exceptions to this rule if her husband’s nationality did not allow her to achieve citizenship and she would have been made stateless).
53 Donati, 40. Women in France also had derivative citizenship and French women who married foreigners were automatically stripped of their nationality and forced to assume that of their husbands. See: Camiscioli, 18.
54 Donati, 38-39. The ex-Italian wife could only regain her Italian nationality if her husband died and if she either lived in the kingdom of Italy or made a plan to return to the peninsula and made an explicit declaration. A woman would also be forced to change her nationality if her husband naturalized abroad, unless the woman kept her residence in the Italian peninsula.
Similarly, when Julia Schwabe, a German, and Sara Levi, an Italian, married Salis Schwabe and Meyer Nathan, both German-born men who had become naturalized British citizens, they became British. The children of these marriages assumed their father’s nationality, rather than their mother’s. As it was the father’s nationality that determined the citizenship of the child, this meant that children born to foreign nationals on Italian soil were not Italian. Therefore, though she was born in Italy because she was born to Scottish parents, Giorgina Craufurd was not Italian.

Legal citizenship comprises only a small portion of nationality identity and scholars must look beyond it. As a feminist scholar, I find it problematic to continue to define a woman’s identity by that of her husband or to focus on a category of legal citizenship that was effectively meaningless for women who lacked the right to vote. Additionally, legal status does not guarantee or show how the women saw themselves or how they were culturally viewed by their contemporaries. For this, we must look instead to issues of national character. Historian Silvana Patriarca has distinguished between national character and national identity, saying that while national identity was more subjective and included self-identification, national characters were observed dispositions, moral, and mental traits of a population.

Since the Middle Ages, Europeans had collectively held a loose collection of stereotypes about national character. In the early modern period, Enlightenment thinkers systematized these stereotypes and they were accepted as anecdotal truth. The literature of the Grand Tour, for

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55 Donati, 27. This was not actually the case. All of the Saffi children were born in Italy. Women were not able to hold and keep their own nationality on a level equal to men until 1927 in France, 1948 in the United Kingdom, and not until 1975 in Italy. They were not able to transmit nationality equally by maternal jus sanguinis until 1973 in France and 1983 in Italy and the UK. See: Donati, 47

56 Patriarca, Italian Vices.

instance, often described Italians as “indolent, morally and sexually lax, and quick to resort to fights and arms.”  

In the nineteenth century, these ideas of national character acquired an aura of scientific truth when they “became embedded in the comparative-historical paradigm that dominated the human sciences.”  

As a positivist, Aristide Gabelli argued that the absence of the Reformation in Italy had left the nation without the benefits of Protestantism, such as “firm self-confidence,” “industrious dignity,” and “pride in justice and truth.”  

Popular national discourses argued that while Italians were potentially flawed, due either to their geographic location or history of Catholicism and despotism, British women were naturally more active, industrious, and orderly. Similarly, these discourses claimed that Protestant women would work more diligently towards progress and civilization and were more moral than Catholic women, whose faith had been slowly eroded by the corruption of the Catholic Church. In this chapter, I show how Schwabe, White Mario, Saffi, and Chambers internalized these beliefs and claimed a place for themselves as English women.

Perceptions by Italians

Many Italians recognized White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, Schwabe, and others as outsiders and were sometimes resistant or unwelcoming. Saffi and White Mario, who married Italians were accepted as Italian more often than the women who did not, like Schwabe, Chambers, or Nathan. Julia Salis Schwabe, for instance, was always referred to as an outsider and a foreigner, even when she was being praised for her work for Italy. *La Rassegna Femminile* acknowledged Schwabe’s support of Italy, but set her apart from native Italians, referring to her as “a highly

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59 Leerssen, 16.  
60 Patriarca, *Italian Vices*, 70.
distinguished foreign benefactor of the Italian cause." This type of language was echoed across the Italian press. Certain papers even recalled Schwabe’s German heritage. An article reprinted in La Donna (originally published in Enrico Pestalozzi), for instance, described Schwabe in her fight with the government of Naples over a proper building for her school as a German warrior. They argued she must have appeared, like a Germanic seductress, sent to Naples perhaps, by the powerful emperor of her native land to conquer with a different strategy than Moltke, the formidable moral forces of the Neapolitan people, and in this way to win on the banks of the Sebeto the battles that were being fought on the banks of the Rhine against the legions of the Vatican.

Not only does this article mention Schwabe’s foreign heritage, but it also emphasizes her religion, casting her as Protestant enchantress working for the Germans in their Kulturkampf against the Vatican.

Craufurd Saffi and White Mario, on the other hand, were sometimes referred to as fellow Italians or were listed alongside native Italian women, with no distinction being drawn to their foreign birth. At a speech given in Forlì in 1873, for instance, Saffi was introduced as “our compatriot.” While White Mario and Craufurd Saffi had become Italian through their marriages, it was also possible to become Italian through extensive service to the nation.

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61 “Notizie,” in La rassegna femminile, a.2, n.3 (March 1888) 214.
65 Donati, 84. To become full citizens of Italy, with the right to vote and be elected at the national level, male foreigners had to go through an intentionally difficult process in Parliament known as “grand or legislative naturalization.” Full citizenship was only awarded to those non-Italian men who were able to demonstrate that they had devoted their life to and benefitted the country of Italy. Sara Nathan’s son Ernesto Nathan received honorary Italian citizenship through this method before launching his electoral career. He still, however, faced accusations of
neither Italian nor English women could vote at the time, the full rights of citizenship were
denied them regardless, but this idea shaped public perception of their nationality. Sofia
Cruafurd, Giorgina Saffi’s mother, was awarded this type of honorary Italian citizenship for her
connection to Italy. Her obituary, published in the Unità Italiana of Milan on January 6th 1866,
explained that “she had spent many years in Italy, and in this stay had learned to love our country
and our cause; and some of her children having been born in Italy, she thus had acquired nearly
the rights of citizenship.”66 Though they did not have Italian husbands, Chambers and Schwabe
could have also potentially earned this degree of acceptance due to their extensive commitment
to the Italian people.

Saffi and White Mario were not entirely viewed as Italian, however, and their foreign
heritage was sometimes remembered. White Mario’s obituary in The Nation, for example,
recognized her British citizenship, calling her “an honor to her sex and to Britain’s great name
for ardent, world-wide philanthropy.”67 In his 1901 work, Gl’inglesi nel Risorgimento italiano,
Benedetto Radice called White Mario a “splendid incarnation of the ancient ideal of the
Germanic woman.”68 In doing so, he emphasized how many Europeans believed that the British
and Germans shared an Anglo-Saxon national character.

Sara Nathan’s national identity was also subject for debate. Though Sara Nathan was the
only woman studied in this dissertation to be born an Italian citizen, she was not legally an
Italian as an adult, and she had a strong connection to England. She lived there for many years,
and all of her children were born in England and had English citizenship, English educations,

66 See footnote to a letter from Giuseppe Mazzini to Matilda Biggs, October 1865, Letter 7964 in Scritti editi ed
199.
68 Radice, 30.
and even English accents. Her son Ernesto Nathan would later go on to become Mayor of Rome, but was known for always speaking Italian with a strong English accent.  

When Nathan died in 1882 the Italian press expressed conflicting statements about her national identity, revealing this confusion. In her obituary, the Lega della democrazia called Nathan “foreign by origin, Italian by aspiration and by enthusiasm.” Two days later, White Mario published an obituary in which she emphasized Nathan’s connections to England, explaining that Nathan loved London for three reasons: it was where her children were born, it was where she met Mazzini and began their friendship, and it was there that her son Joseph’s body rested. White Mario added that Nathan, “was honored and loved in England as in Italy, and especially by the survivors of that group of disciples of Mazzini who were friends of Italy and not of fortune.” It was not until the next day’s issue, however, that the Lega della democrazia specifically corrected the error in the initial biography, claiming, “Misled by the martial name Nathan, the majority of newspapers, while paying tribute to the merits of the illustrious woman, left their readers to believe that she was of foreign origin.” The article went on to clarify that it would “correct the error. Sara Nathan was not only Italian by sentiment and aspirations, but by origin and birth. She was born in Pesaro in 1821 to the distinguished Levi family then domiciled there but of Roman origin.” As Alberto Mario ran the Lega della democrazia, and knew Sara Nathan, and the paper had a solid base among the radical left in Italy, the confusion over Nathan’s identity must have been widespread.

Nathan’s obituary on the front page of the Dovere, a Mazzinian paper, correctly categorized her as Italian, calling her “the ideal model of the Italian woman.” While recognizing

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69 Ciani, 31.
70 “Sara Nathan,” La lega della democrazia (Roma), a.III, n.52, Martedì 21 Febbraio 1882., p.3.
72 “Sara Nathan,” La lega della democrazia (Roma), a.III, n.55, Venerdì 24 Febbraio 1882., p.3.
that Sara Nathan had a British-German husband and had spent much of her life in England and in Switzerland, it affirmed that she “never ceased to consider herself as Italian, which she was through birth and sentiment,” and corrected what they viewed as the wrongful designation of her as a foreigner by many papers.\textsuperscript{73} A biography written by Sara Nathan’s daughter discussed this frequent confusion, saying that Meyer Nathan’s naturalization may have been the source of the idea, “that Sarina was English,” though she was born in Italy. The biography further explained that Sara Nathan, “was Italian in everything,” but did allow that her prolonged stay in England may have made her a little more serious and tranquil than one would normally see among Mediterranean people.\textsuperscript{74} This confusion has demonstrated how Nathan’s identity, like White Mario’s, Schwabe’s, and Saffi’s, was not clear cut, but actually up for debate and changed with time. While they were recognized as British in certain situations or by specific audiences, in other instances they were categorized as Italian.

\textit{Self-Perceptions of Britishness}

Privately, many of these women felt quite English. White Mario and Craufurd continued to write private letters in English and correspond with English friends and family. Many of the Craufurd Saffi family letters are in English or a mix of English and Italian, such as when Giorgina Craufurd wrote to her son, “Balilla mio- Oggi la mia comunicazione sarà short & sweet!”\textsuperscript{75} Jessie White Mario and Ernesto Nathan also occasionally corresponded in English,

\textsuperscript{73}“Sara Nathan,” \textit{Il Dovere}, a.5, n.210 (Domenica 26 febbraio 1882), MCRR, b.426, n.2(6).
\textsuperscript{74}“Biography of Sarah Nathan, likely by her daughter Janet,” MCRR, b. 431, n.42.
\textsuperscript{75}This means, “My Balilla- Today my communication will be short & sweet!.” Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Carlo Balillo Saffi, 14 Maggio 88, MCRR, b.1170, N.14(12); Another letter from 1889 shows this mixture, but this time was a primarily English letter, with a sprinkling of Italian phrases, rather than a primarily Italian letter, with a sprinkling of English phrases. See: Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Carlo Balillo Saffi, October 10th 1889, MCRR, b.170, N.14 (15).
even when discussing Italian matters, such as the campaign against state-regulated prostitution.\textsuperscript{76} Later in her life, after both her parents and her brother died and after she and her sister Kate had settled in Italy, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi started to lose touch with England. Saffi expressed this sense of distance in a letter from 1894 to Jessie White Mario, writing, “Almost all links with England seem to have drifted away from me now.”\textsuperscript{77} White Mario, on the other hand, has more letters in her private correspondence that indicate a sustained personal connection to England throughout her life.\textsuperscript{78}

White Mario characterized herself as English. In a letter in \textit{La lega della democrazia}, she criticized author Matilde Serao for claiming that, “Italian women are much more honest and serious than Anglo-Saxon women,” and that women had political sentiments, rather than political opinions, and therefore supported the monarchy. To defend Englishwomen and her right to criticize Italy’s monarchy, White Mario wrote,

\begin{quote}
By us less honest and less serious Anglo-Saxons, the monarchy is accepted as what it is. Queen Victoria is respected and also loved, not because she is the queen, but because she is \textit{an honest and serious woman}, but neither the monarchy nor the monarchs mocked and scourged by our greatest writers have ever inspired the fantasies of female English writers and poets.
\end{quote}

She also proudly argued that poverty in England was better than it was 30 years ago because of the actions of women, whose work towards charity, “had become a feeling, a passion among the Anglo-Saxons.” At end of her letter, White Mario wrote that she hoped that the readers were not displeased by these, “frank words of a woman, who feels profound respect for women in general and intense love for the Italian woman; neither will it offend you if this woman tells you she is

\textsuperscript{76} Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, February 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 1881, MCRR, b.430, N.1(1); See also: Ernesto Nathan to Jessie White Mario, December 20\textsuperscript{th} 1881, MCRR, b.430, N.1(2). In this letter, also in English, Nathan also wished White Mario, “a merry Christmas and a happy New Year to you in the old English fashion.”

\textsuperscript{77} Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Jessie White Mario, 2 April 1894, MCRR, b.430, N.28(6).

\textsuperscript{78} For example, see the letters from Jennie Ridley to Jessie White Mario, MCRR, b.437, N. 62.
Anglo-Saxon.” In a different letter she gave a similar signature, expressing her dual heritage, writing, so allow me to sign myself daughter of Albion and lover of Italy.” White Mario thus presented herself as English to the Italian press with some frequency and did not want to be considered entirely Italian.

Though they were not native to England, Sara Nathan and Schwabe also expressed a sense of English identity. In a letter of thanks to Mr. John Bright, Schwabe described herself as an Englishwoman, giving Bright her, “heartfelt thanks, first as an English subject who loves her adopted fatherland.” Privately, Sara Nathan appreciated her adopted homeland of England. In a letter to Jessie White Mario, she wrote, “I love still dear England and appreciate more and more the advantages she has acquired for herself, would that the Italians the same means.”

Jessie White Mario was acutely aware of the rights she held as a British citizen prior to her marriage. This is illustrated by the uproar she caused after she was arrested for her involvement in the failed Pisacane expedition of 1857. After her arrest, Jessie White first went to the British governmental forces in Italy for aid. On July 4th 1857, she appealed to the English consul in Genoa, Yeats Brown, explaining that the previous night the Italian police had searched through her papers and asked her to leave Genoa. White argued this was unjust as she had a valid passport, was in Italy merely acting as a correspondent for English newspapers, and the search had revealed no incriminating evidence. Refusing to leave Italy, White asked the Consul for his generosity in beginning an inquest into this insult to an English subject. After Brown received White’s letter, he visited the Intendente Generale, who convinced him that White had been

81 Julia Salis Schwabe to Mr. John Bright, June 20th 1886, MCRR, b.890, N.45(3).
82 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 10th June 1874, MCRR, b.430, N. 22(6).
83 For more on her arrest, see Chapter 2.
correctly implicated for participating in the attempted rebellion. After hearing this, Brown withdrew English support for White, claiming that she was not deserving of English protection and that they would not oppose her expulsion to the Italian frontier.

Though White then appealed to Sir James Hudson, the British Minister in Turin, he also refused to help her. In a letter to Brown, Hudson asked him to explain to White, “that her behavior in this country has had the purpose of challenging the king’s authority, and subverting the law and the public peace, and therefore I refuse to help her.” On July 12th, Rattazzi wrote to Hudson providing the evidence of White’s guilt and reinforcing the British government’s desire not to protect her. White was given the option to leave Italy voluntarily and when she refused, she was arrested and spent four months in prison. As the authorities lacked hard evidence to convict her in the crime of revolution, they attempted to declare White insane, but the doctors determined she was quite sane and she had to be released.

When the government refused to take up her case, White turned to the press and wrote a letter to James Stansfeld to be published in the English press. She began her letter by stating, “Sir,- Perhaps the following details of my late imprisonment may not prove uninteresting to such of your readers as are under the impression that a Foreign Office passport is any protection to a British subject travelling on the Continent.” Affirming that she traveled to Italy with, “

84 While White was complicit in the rebellion, other information from the Intendente Generale was less accurate. He, for instance, claimed that White was Mazzini’s wife. See: Blakiston, 39-40.
85 Blakiston, 40.
86 Blakiston, 41-42. Their letter focused on her known connections to Mazzinians and her residence with Enrichetta di Lorenzo, Piscacane’s partner. The letter explained, “Ma non volendo essa uniformarsi alla intimazione avuta, e nello stesso tempo essendosi sequestrate presso una signora Enrichetta Lazzari, concubine del Piscacane, una lettera diretta alla Miss White, viene ampiamente stabilata la prova della di lei compartecipazione al moto che vi era organizzato, e per mandato regolare dell’autorità giudiziaria, cui venne tale lettera allora comunicata, venne fatta arrestare e posta in istato di accusa.”
87 White Mario, The Birth of Modern Italy, 272-73. White claimed that Brown and Hudson, “were therefore willing to help Cavour in his attempt to have me proved insane, in which case no trial would be needed, insanity arguing irresponsible guilt; but my counsel, the ever-watchful and devoted Carcassi, got hold of the plot, and, by an article in the Italia del Popolo, warned the doctors, who were induced to lend themselves to the ‘pious fraud’ in the honest belief that a certificate of insanity would save me from the galleys.”
Clarendon passport, and with the visa of Austria, France, and Sardinia,” she then expressed outrage at the violation of her rights as a British citizen when on July 3rd, 1857, 21 carabinieri entered her apartment without a warrant, searched through her papers, interrogated her, and told her to leave, despite not finding anything.88

Citing the words on her passport and demanding her full rights and protections as a British citizen, she wrote,

Opening my passport I read the following words:- ‘We, George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon, &c., request and require, in the name of her Majesty, all those whom it may concern, to allow Miss Jessie Meriton White, British subject, travelling on the Continent, to pass freely, without let or hindrance, and to afford her every assistance and protection of which she may stand in need.

Based upon this claim on her passport, White demanded aid from the British government, despite Sir James Hudson’s refusal to help her. She directly criticized the British government in her letter, stating,

My object in addressing you is to expose the conduct of the British consul and British ambassador towards a British subject furnished with a Foreign Office passport; to expose their system, I might say, for both my Italian and English friends in Genoa told me, on hearing of my arrest, ‘Hope for nothing from the British embassy; if you had an American passport the case would be different.’

White claimed that as the British government had failed her, she would use the British press to defend herself.89

Even late in her life, White Mario maintained that her treatment was unjust. In her final work, The Birth of Modern Italy, which was published posthumously, White Mario said that both Brown and Hudson had “washed their hands of me, for Cavour had assured them that the

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evidence in his possession was more than sufficient to condemn me either to death or the galleys,” and were therefore quite consternated when it was revealed, “that there was no evidence whatever against me, and that I should have to be liberated without even being sent to the assizes, as no true bill could be found for the prosecution.” White claimed, “they knew that they would have to answer for their lack of protection of a British subject, who had been kept so uselessly and so unjustly in prison, without any energetic action, or even remonstrance on their part.”\textsuperscript{90}

White was not the only British subject to claim special treatment in Italy. Since 1862, British nationals had not been required to carry passports in Italy. This changed with the 1865 Law on Public Safety which decreed that all persons (Italian or otherwise) would be required to carry proof of identity at all times. As a result, a number of British residents and travelers in Italy between 1867 and 1877 were detained by the Carabinieri for being unable to or refusing to provide evidence of their identity. This law was difficult for Victorians to follow as they believed in the right of private individuals to go about their legitimate business free from intrusive surveillance by the authorities. They were unaccustomed to carrying identity documents around and were resentful when expected to do so. The British government was also angry about these arrests and protested them as a sign of Italy’s failure to evolve and become a proper liberal state on the British model.\textsuperscript{91}

White was also not the only British subject to claim these protections after engaging in revolutionary endeavors. In 1853, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi’s brother was thrown out of Tuscany after being arrested under suspicion of supporting an insurrection there. The British government

\textsuperscript{90} White Mario, \textit{The Birth of Modern Italy}, 272.
then demanded an apology from the Tuscans, who complied, claiming that they had insufficient evidence for the accusation. In 1864, Mary Chamber’s husband and his friends also were arrested without cause by the Italian police in Genoa and, angered by their treatment, claimed the rights and protections of British citizens in Italy. Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers wrote in a letter to the English consul,

I have to request you will do me the justice of causing the circumstances to be thoroughly investigated by the proper authorities, in order that my character as a British officer and an English gentleman may be completely cleared and exonerated from so serious a charge.

This story generated interest among the British people and was reprinted multiple times in the press. Sara Nathan’s children also claimed the rights and protections of their British citizenship when engaging in Mazzinian revolutionary endeavors. When Mazzini first sent Ernesto Nathan to Rome as the representative of the Mazzinian organization in 1870 the Roman police tried to have him expelled but the British government and Foreign Office protested his expulsion and had the decree reversed. It was this protection for British citizens that Mazzini depended upon. Nathan was chosen, in part, for the immunity granted by his British passport. In each of these instances, male British subjects claimed the rights of citizenship and protection that White Mario claimed for herself in 1857.

91 “Insult to Englishmen in Italy,” *Liverpool Mercury etc* (Liverpool, England), Thursday, February 11, 1864; Issue 4995.
94 “Insult to Englishmen in Italy,” North Wales Chronicle (Bangor, Wales), Saturday, February 13, 1864; Issue 1897; “Insult to Englishmen in Italy,” The Belfast News-Letter (Belfast, Ireland), Monday, February 15, 1864; Issue 32702; “Miscellaneous,” The Royal Cornwall Gazette, Falmouth Packet, and General Advertiser (Truro, England), Friday, February 19, 1864; pg. 3; Issue 3164; “Parliamentary Intelligence,” The Lancaster Gazette, and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, Yorkshire, &c. (Lancaster, England), Saturday, February 20, 1864; pg. 2; Issue 4012.
96 Ciani, 57. See Chapter 3 for more information on the various Nathan children activities and arrests.
Even after her marriage, White Mario continued to benefit from the lingering effects of British citizenship. When she was arrested after her marriage to Alberto Mario, she noted that she continued to receive better treatment due to her status as an Englishwoman, even though she had legally lost those privileges. She wrote that their jailer Cipriani, “perhaps forgetting that through marriage I had lost every right as an English subject,” had sent, “the benevolent inspector in a closed carriage; and I was condemned to the tower, where the caretaker was ordered to give us a decent room.”  

In this instance, as in the others, legal citizenship was not as important as the perception of citizenship or of national identity.

Religious Identity

A Protestant Identity

National identity is often deeply-tied to religious identity. 19th-century Irish nationalism, for instance, was inextricably tied to Irish Catholicism. Historian Linda Colley has similarly demonstrated how British national identity was forged around Protestant anti-Catholicism. The private British identity of White Mario, Saffi, Nathan, Schwabe, and others must, therefore, also be seen as a private Protestant or non-Catholic identity which provided them with a sense of place and purpose in the world and greatly impacted their actions in Italy and interactions with the Italian people.

Four of the five women studied in this dissertation belonged to Protestant churches in England. Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, and Mary Elizabeth Chambers were clearly Protestants: all had British parentage and were raised in Protestant households. Mary

98 Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). Religion and national identity are not only linked in European nations. During the Partition of India, for instance, Pakistan and India were formed as respectively Muslim and Hindu nations.
Chambers was even raised as the daughter of an Anglican reverend. Additionally, though she was born to a Jewish family, Julia Salis Schwabe converted to Unitarianism upon her marriage to Salis Schwabe and thus adopted not only his naturalized British citizenship but also his new British Protestant faith. The conversion of both Schwabes to Unitarianism is indicative of how important it was to be Protestant in order to fully participate in British society.

By focusing on their faith and on connections between their faith and their political views, historians categorize these women as missionaries, rather than as political radicals or agents of change. Scholars have shown how Protestantism gave British women a sense of duty to proselytize across the globe and to care about far-off places, and afforded them a special mission to enforce their view of proper Protestant female behavior on the world. In doing so, Christianity also provided a convenient vehicle for women wishing to get out of the home. While much scholarship focuses on how Protestant women used religion to be active in the public sphere in Italy, some work has been done on how Catholic women also used religion to claim a place for themselves in society and reform. Their work reveals that Catholicism was not solely a repressive force.

This British Protestant identity gave women a feeling of purpose but also a sense of superiority, teaching them that they were needed in societies that were lesser than their own and in need of uplift. This missionary spirit with its competing tones of cooperative sympathy and

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100 See: Paola Gaiotti De Biase, _Le origini del movimento cattolico femminile_ (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2002). As well as Helena Dawes’s work on Catholic feminism, including “The Catholic Church and the Woman Question: Catholic Feminism in Italy During the Early 1900s,” _The Catholic Historical Review_, Vol. 97, No. 3 (July 2011): 484-526 and _Catholic Women's Movements in Liberal Italy_ (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); See also, Roberto Sani and Anna Ascenzi. _Vita religiosa, carita ed educazione nell'Italia dell'Ottocento. Rosalie Thouret e la fondazione della Provincia modenese delle Suore della Carita (1834-1853)._ This work looks at the work of the Sisters of Charity in education to show the role they played in the modernization of Italy.
condescending paternalism influenced their actions throughout the process of Italian Unification and state-building. Protestant anti-Catholic desire motivated British involvement in the Risorgimento and allowed Garibaldi’s and Mazzini’s supporters to successfully fundraise in Italy, but also led to frequent criticism of the capabilities and morality of the Italian people. When working as nurses in the wars for unification, for instance, both Chambers and White Mario accused the Italian government and the Italian people of sloth and corruption and White Mario fought with the local Catholic nuns who volunteered as nurses.¹⁰¹ Chambers and Schwabe used similar arguments about the depravity and lack of morality and education of the Italian people when campaigning for funds for their educational projects in Italy and White Mario echoed these arguments in her writings about Neapolitan poverty and other socio-economic problems troubling Italy.¹⁰² Even privately, they displayed this sense of superiority. When Schwabe supported Garibaldi by sending items to his home on Caprera, she selectively sent British goods, believing that these goods were inherently superior to those produced in Italy.¹⁰³ These arguments stemmed not only from a nationalistic British assumption of Italian inferiority, but perhaps more importantly from a Protestant belief in Catholic inferiority.

¹⁰¹ Jessie White Mario, “Experience of Ambulances,” 781. White Mario wrote that it was hard to run the hospitals in Naples, “owing to the almost impossibility of securing efficient nurses,” and said the paid male nurses, the *infermieri*, “were about the worst set of rogues it was ever our lot to meet.”

¹⁰² Portugall, “Work and Workers,” 513. Adele von Portugall, one of the directors of Schwabe’s school in Naples, wrote an essay under Schwabe’s guidance in which she described the Neapolitans as, “a demoralised people sunk in ignorance and superstition; a people where disorder, uncleanliness, and improvident negligence join hands in a fatal contract against well-being and regulated family life.

¹⁰³ Julia Salis Schwabe to Giuseppe Garibaldi, 31 January 1862, MCRR, Busta 890, N.43(3). In January 1862, Schwabe wrote to Garibaldi altering him of her plan to ship English stockings to Caprera, writing “I wish to send you a dozen pairs of our English manufacture, so as to put you at once into marching order- Tell me whether you prefer woolen thread or cotton?”
Revolutionary Religion and Mazzinian Faith

Though many of his followers came from standard religious backgrounds, they adopted Mazzini’s beliefs as their own faith. There has been some scholarly debate over the religiosity of the Risorgimento and of Mazzini himself. As Mazzini was frequently anticlerical, opposed to the papacy, and not a Catholic, earlier scholars have categorized him and his movement as secular. This is incorrect and more recent scholars have acknowledged how Mazzini was deeply religious and made spirituality the foundation of his mission and vision for Italian society.\(^{104}\)

One scholar who has written a great deal on this subject is Roland Sarti, whose 1997 biography *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics* emphasized Mazzini’s religious inspiration and beliefs.\(^{105}\) Sarti claimed that Mazzini was sincerely religious and was disappointed when Italians did not show more interest in the moral or religious reform of Italian society. He noted that while Mazzini accepted religious freedom in principle, viewing it as a private matter, he rejected Roman Catholicism and would not consider it a valid option. Sarti also claimed that “Mazzini insisted that nationality was a spiritual reality waiting to manifest itself, something more permanent than anything material,” emphasizing Mazzini’s belief that progress towards a just society required religious enthusiasm and a unity of religion and politics.\(^{106}\) In a recent essay from 2014, Sarti reemphasized his belief in the importance of religion to Mazzini’s thoughts,

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\(^{104}\) See: *Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalization of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920*. See in particular, Alberto Mario Banti, “Sacrality and the Aesthetics of Politics: Mazzini’s Concept of the Nation,” in which Banti argued that Mazzini conceived of the nation as a creation of God, made protecting it a religious endeavor. See also Sullam, “The Moses of Italian Unity: Mazzini and Nationalism as Political Religion,” in which Sullam noted that Francesco de Sanctis called Mazzini the Moses of Italian unity in 1874 and argued that Mazzini believed that nationalism was a political religion. Sullam focused on Mazzini’s famous slogan, “Dio e il popolo.” Finally, note Biagini, “Mazzini and Anticlericalism: The English Exile.” Biagini argued that Mazzini deeply religious and that his religious views were influenced by English Unitarianism. This acceptance of multiple faiths then allowed for Mazzinian nationalism to spread more readily across the globe. Lucy Riall also characterized Mazzinianism as a religion. See: Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*. Raponi also characterized Mazzinianism and the Risorgimento more generally as a religion, claiming, “The Risorgimento was, in the minds not only of Cavour or Mazzini, but also of many other Italian patriots, a religious revolution.” Raponi, *Religion and Politics in the Risorgimento*.

\(^{105}\) Sarti, *Mazzini: A Life for the Religion of Politics*.

\(^{106}\) Sarti, *Mazzini*, 4, 82.
claiming that “Mazzini took references to God with the utmost seriousness. God, or the idea of God, were the foundations of the person and the creed.” Even democracy, he argued, was merely, “a form of association that furthered God’s plan for humanity, the fulfillment of which required, nevertheless, human cooperation.” Sarti’s work reveals the extent to which religion permeated Mazzini’s thoughts and shows that his ideas cannot be understood out of their religious context.

Most studies of political religion look at totalitarianism and draw a clear divide between true religion and political religion, focusing on how political religion was used to appeal to the hearts and minds of the masses in the growing democracies of the late 19th century. Recently authors have argued that we need to move beyond this sharp divide and recognize not only the difficulty in clearly defining either category of religion or politics, but the inescapable overlaps between religion and politics as certain behaviors can be both political and religious at the same time. In this chapter, I argue that though Mazzini called for an involvement in political affairs, he cannot be categorized as only a political thinker, as his plan for humanity developed out of his religious faith and his followers viewed those ideas as sacred.

Mazzini’s British followers in particular emphasized his faith. In her memoir of Mazzini, Emilie Ashurst Venturi emphasized the deep grounding of Mazzini’s thoughts in religion, stressing that he viewed the world as comprised of individual nations linked together into a larger family through God. She wrote,

He believed that the Almighty has indicated the special function and duty of each separate people, by certain special faculties and aptitudes bestowed upon each; precisely as the boundaries of the homes marked out for the different nationalities,

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108 Political Religion Beyond Totalitarianism: The Sacralization of Politics in the Age of Democracy.
are indicated by broad distinctions of language, character, and tendency, and ‘by geographical signs and limits traced by the finger of God.’

Ashurst Venturi also wrote that Mazzini’s goal was to found, “not a sect, but a religion of patriotism.” Like many other Mazzinians, she also viewed him as a martyr and worshipped him after his death.

Another English follower, Harriet Hamilton King, also emphasized Mazzini’s religiosity in her published recollections of him, but argued that Mazzini would have been uncomfortable with his followers claiming Mazzinianism as their religious identity, writing “nothing would have more distressed and shocked Mazzini than to be regarded as the founder of a religious sect.” Despite Hamilton King’s assertions, I argue Mazzini encouraged his followers to all believe in the same faith. In one letter to Matilda Biggs, for instance, talking about the dying Sophia Craufurd, Mazzini wrote, “She dies calm and a believer. She asked me questions about the future; and it was very touching to hear her speaking of our religion.” By providing deathbed solace and religious guidance to Craufurd, Mazzini assumed the role of a priest and intentionally promoted his views as an alternate faith to traditional Christianity.

White Mario, Craufurd Saffi, Nathan, and others also used religious language to describe Mazzini and his followers. Within the Nathan-Rosselli family circle, Mazzini was sometimes called “the New Moses,” and often called, “the great rabbi.” Using New Testament examples, Jessie White Mario called Mazzini, “the Christ of the century,” and claimed that Garibaldi was a John the Baptist who brought about an immediate impact on the common man. Aurelio Saffi

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110 Venturi, 43.
113 Capuzzo, 43.
was known as the last bishop of Mazzinianism and White Mario built up this idea in her obituary of Saffi in The Nation. She described a condolence letter that Aurelio Saffi had written calling it, “A letter breathing all the simple, absolute belief in God, in immortality, in the one mission of man to do his duty to his fellow-men here below.” Though these types of letters were rare those days, she argued, “it was the heart and soul of Saffi, who perhaps alone among Mazzinians shared the religious views of his friend and master.” Sara Nathan also called Maurizio Quadrio, “the first amongst the Apostles,” in a private letter to White Mario. In a more public letter written after Quadrio’s death, which was published in both L’Emancipazione and La Donna, Nathan claimed that with his death “humanity loses in him one of his most ardent apostles,” and expressed a belief in the afterlife, claiming, “the pure and fervent soul of Maurizio Quadrio, having accomplished his mission on this earth, is ascendant on the path to eternal Truth.” These references reveal the extent to which Mazzinians viewed their beliefs and practices as an alternative to a more institutionalized church.

Most notably, in her writings for La Donna Giorgina Saffi claimed that if Mazzinianism was a religion then women were its priests. She wrote,

Let us join in the embrace of love and work in agreement because our ideas of redemption will be realized and the ideal of life will be translated into splendid fact and the traditions will adapt to it, and the family, created on that, is the temple as the woman is the priest.

Beyond revealing her deep religious commitment to Mazzini’s ideals, Saffi also emphasized the importance she assigned to women’s role in society. Saffi promoted this view to others. She appealed, for instance, to Adele Butti in a letter to join the Mazzinian cause for its religious

**References:**


116 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 28th March 1872, MCRR, b.430, N.22(2).

117 “Un madre,” *La Donna*, a.8, n.274-75 25 (febbraio e 10 marzo 1876) 2485-2488.

sentiments and appeal to women, saying, “I wish that the woman in Italy, understanding with the intellect of love, all the power of His Faith, and all the sanctity of His Religion,” would join in the faith.\textsuperscript{119}

Both conservative and radical elements of Italian society recognized Mazzinianism as a faith. The Catholic paper, \textit{La Civiltà Cattolica}, while disavowing any claims by Mazzini to have uncovered religious truth, acknowledged that his followers believed he had. In one issue they sarcastically called him, “the \textit{prophet} of Italian Unity.”\textsuperscript{120} Speaking to a more receptive audience, in 1877, Saffi gave a speech in Bologna and was introduced as a woman for whom the “principles of Giuseppe Mazzini had become a religion.”\textsuperscript{121} Sara Nathan’s obituary in the \textit{Dovere} similarly labelled her as a Mazzinian. While acknowledging her Jewish heritage, it denied that she had a practicing Jewish faith, claiming that, “in every moment of her life she revealed a soul that had goodness and virtue in their divine greatness. She was a believer in the highest sense of the word. Of Jewish origin, she had only deep and unaffected faith in the God of Humanity.”\textsuperscript{122} Even into the twentieth-century, authors and scholars recognized their religious commitment to Mazzini’s ideals. In his 1901 work, for instance, Benedetto Radice referred to Saffi, White Mario, Nathan, and Mazzini’s other female followers as “consecrated deaconesses of the new patriotic religion.”\textsuperscript{123}

The Mazzinians used their faith to comfort themselves in times of hardship and sorrow and believed in an afterlife. After Mazzini’s death, Sara Nathan also wrote that she believed that, “Our Angel [Mazzini] smiles from Above on us, and will do so as long as we shall be true to our

\textsuperscript{119} Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Adele Butti, August 3rd 1877, MCRR, b.178, n.18.
\textsuperscript{122} “Sara Nathan,” \textit{Il Dovere}, a.5, n.210 (Domenica 26 febbraio 1882), MCRR, b.426, n.2(6).
\textsuperscript{123} Radice, 21.
resolve.”¹²⁴ In a similar letter to Jessie White Mario, written after her son Joseph’s death, she again stated, the anguish for one of his looks and for his sweet smile will be with me till we meet again.” As this indicates that she believed she would see her son after death, we can assume it would be in the afterlife.¹²⁵ In her obituary of Nathan, White Mario explicitly stated that she, “firmly believed, peacefully, unswervingly in the immortality of the soul, and believed she would be united in the next life with those loved and lost in this life.” White Mario acknowledged that readers may have been confused by Nathan’s faith, which did not limit itself to common religious forms, saying,

> But one must bear in mind, that this belief and this hope in no way resembled that taught by the priests of every religion, the belief that generates selfishness, that pushes the individual only to the care of his own soul and makes him neglect the well-being of others, making this land a true valley of tears.¹²⁶

White Mario thus showed how Mazzinianism was a true faith, providing spiritual guidance and comfort to its adherents like any other religion, and claimed that it was not simply a patriotically-infused Christianity but a pure and distinct faith of its own.

As the use of Mazzinian ideology to understand the afterlife shows, the Mazzinians were not simply using religious language to understand their political organization, but had developed their own faith with its own beliefs and rituals. Sara Nathan’s family biography claimed that the day she met Mazzini was a nearly religious experience, saying their first meeting in 1837 was, for her, “like a vision: the first words pronounced by the Great Master, were like a revelation for that sweet and holy soul, born to understand, to prize, to love the good, and put it into practice.”¹²⁷ In her own letters, Nathan used reverential language when referring to Mazzini,

¹²⁴ Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 28th March 1872, MCRR, b.430, N.22(2).
¹²⁵ Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 5 May 1887, MCRR, b.430, n. 22(12).
¹²⁷ “Biography of Sarah Nathan, likely by her daughter Janet,” MCRR, b. 431, n.42.
calling him, “that Sacred departed Soul,” and, “that dear Saint of ours.” Nathan shared her views with Maurizio Quadrio, who had served as a tutor and father-figure to her children and was an honorary member of the Nathan family. It was said that Maurizio Quadrio’s final words were, “I believe in God, in Mazzini, and in Duty.” After Quadrio’s death, Sara Nathan then fought for him to have a civil funeral that conformed to their religious ideals rather than a Catholic funeral. She similarly left orders in her will that she wanted a “purely civil” funeral. In both instances, they were met with resistance from the Italian authorities. Jessie White Mario wrote that it was only after “immense labors, inappropriate discussion, and operations made harrowing by the presence of the desolate family,” that they were able to place Sara Nathan in her tomb. White Mario added that these difficulties were “new evidence that for many parties Rome still lies in the barbarity of the papal times.”

It was this religious devotion to Mazzinian ideals for the revolution of Italian society that prompted the action and devotion of Saffi, White Mario, and Nathan. Much of Saffi’s involvement in the campaign against state-regulated prostitution was fueled by religious zeal. In La Donna, Giorgina Saffi wrote that a single moral law was needed to regulate society, maintaining that, “We believe in One Sovereign Moral Law, revealed to us in the broader harmonies of the universe as well as in the humblest and most spontaneous beats of the heart.”

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128 Sara Nathan to Jessie White Mario, 28th March 1872, MCRR, b.430, N.22(2). She also claimed that she could not write about Mazzini, saying, “To write about Him I cannot Jessie He is too grand for human morals, our love for each other shall take His place on Earth.”

129 Emilia Canevini, “Commemorazione,” La donna: periodico morale e istruttivo. Compilazione di donne italiane (a.17, n.2 30 May 1889) p. 18. La Civiltà Cattolica took issue with this statement and argued that Mazzinian dictates were meaningless and empty. In response to his belief in Duty, they argued, “in what duty? That is not known and cannot be known. Mazzini invented the Religion of duty. But if that Duty consists of giving or taking no one has ever known for certain.” See: “Roma (Nostra corrispondenza): Il Mazzini carbonaro,” La Civiltà Cattolica, Serie IX, vol. IX, fasc. 618, 9 March 1876, p. 177.

130 “Sara Nathan,” La lega della democrazia (Roma), a.III, n.55, Venerdi 24 Febbraio 1882., p.3.


Saffi and the other Mazzinians wanted more than just mere mechanical or political unification for society, they wanted a true revolution in politics, society, and religion. Saffi referred to this as, “the moral Risorgimento of the people.” All of their work, from fundraising, conspiring, and creating propaganda, to creating schools or promoting moral values, was therefore religiously motivated. Though they had a political agenda, it stemmed from their deep-seated Mazzinian faith.

Religion as a Weapon of Anti-Catholicism

The religious supporters of Mazzini and Garibaldi were not above using religion as a tool. Garibaldi even used religious language to appeal to Catholics in Italy. This chapter, however, focuses on how the members of the left used anti-Catholic language to appeal to Protestants abroad. Though Mazzini and Garibaldi also adopted this approach, I argue that White Mario, Chambers, Craufurd Saffi and the others were better at appealing to British Protestants because of their shared heritage. As transnational agents, they were better able to make connections between the needs of Italian patriots and the desires of British Protestants and thus performed a valuable service in the Italian Risorgimento.

Craufurd Saffi, White Mario, and Nathan all took part in movements to collect money for the Risorgimento by appealing to English anti-Catholic sentiment. In 1853, for instance, Giorgina Craufurd helped to distribute a statement sent by the Italian National Party, sent out

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134 Riall, Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero. Riall, for instance, noted how Garibaldi, created “impromptu scenes of popular religious fervor” when cultivating support in the south in 1860-61 and claimed “his use of a religious vernacular to communicate with the people was alluded to by Charles Forbes, the English volunteer who saw Garibaldi arrive in Messina.” She also noted that many people described Garibaldi as a saint and his officers as apostles. Though he was quite anti-clerical, when it suited his purposes, Garibaldi was willing to make use of Catholic forms and rituals.
along with the Pound Subscription, that appealed to this English anti-Catholic sentiment by
drawing attention to, “the battle which we are wagering against Papacy and its deadly
influences,” and by asking for aid from, “all those who sympathise with Italy, freedom of
conscience and the cause of eternal Right.” In 1854, Mazzini specifically asked Giorgina
Craufurd for a letter in English to convince English Protestants to support the cause of Italian
unification because it would involve fighting the Pope and limiting his power. This
demonstrates how Craufurd’s status as a Protestant and connection to the Protestant mentality
made her a valuable ally in the propaganda campaign. White Mario also was called upon by
Mazzini to make religious statements in her speeches across England and Scotland and did so.
While campaigning for support for the Roman campaign in Edinburgh, for instance, she argued
that once the Romans were freed from the French and the Papacy, “they would have an
opportunity of judging whether the Italians were as Catholic, and as fond of the Papacy, as they
were sometimes represented.”

Jessie White Mario also worked with Mazzini on a plan to sell Bibles in Lombardy to
raise money for their cause. Bible distribution was a major weapon of Protestant evangelicals. In

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135 Giuseppe Mazzini to Giorgina Craufurd, October 1853, Letter MMMDCCC, in Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe
Mazzini, Vol. L: Epis. XXVIII, 44.
136 Giuseppe Mazzini to Giorgina Craufurd, January 1854, Letter MMMDCLXXXVII, in Scritti editi ed inediti di
137 Giuseppe Mazzini to Jessie White Mario, January 1858, Letter MMMMDCCCLIII, in Scritti editi ed inediti di
Giuseppe Mazzini, Vol. LX: Epis. XXXV, 254-57. In a letter to Jessie White Mario from 1858, Mazzini
expressed his deep conviction that religion was necessary for society and his hope that the Risorgimento would
bring about religious renewal and conversion in Italy. He argued that the Italian Catholics, “having for its only
representative a corrupted priesthood, a vitiated dogma,” were pushed away from religion. The revolution would
change this, he claimed, stating, “it is in the name of Religion and godlike things that you
must appeal to the
necessity of an Italian Revolution. We must break the idols and reinstate the true God: this cannot be done except by
overthrowing, as the first step, Papacy and its agencies.” Mazzini urged White Mario to make religion a cornerstone
of her speeches in Scotland, writing, “It is not, then, for a mere quarrel of pride, [for] a mere question of a degree
more or less of local liberty, for a mere increase of physical well being, that you call on Scotch believers to help the
Italian insurrection: it is for the sake of 25 millions of souls wanting Truth and forbidden it.”
138 “Signora Mario on Italy and Garibaldi,” The Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh, Scotland), Saturday, March 29,
1862; Issue 22621.
1870, for instance, the British and Foreign Bible Society sponsored 27-30 colporteurs in Italy and sold 31,257 Bibles, New Testaments, and portions of Scripture.\textsuperscript{139} Mazzini had tried a similar plan of Bible distribution earlier in his career but it resulted in failure.\textsuperscript{140} In February 1860, White Mario and her husband Alberto Mario approached Mazzini with this idea as a way to “make war on the Pope,” and Mazzini appealed to Kate Craufurd, sister to Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, to find someone in British society who would provide them with free Bibles.\textsuperscript{141} On March 8\textsuperscript{th}, Mazzini wrote to White Mario saying that he had gotten a price for the Bibles; the first shipment would be free, but afterwards they would cost about 4d. each.\textsuperscript{142} In late April of 1860, Mazzini wrote again, expressing concern over the cost of shipping the Bibles, but maintaining faith.\textsuperscript{143} The final mention of the Bibles appears in a letter to Aurelio Saffi from May of 1860, when Mazzini wrote, “the bibles have departed.”\textsuperscript{144} I have found no information about the final distribution of the Bibles or their impact and assume the plan was ultimately ineffective.

Privately, as well as publicly, the women expressed distaste for Catholicism. Giorgina Saffi, for instance, believed that Catholicism had weakened the morality of the Italian people and in a letter to her friend Giacinta Pezzana she argued against the Roman Catholic Church’s stance that prostitutes were irredeemable. She wrote, “Our soul screams a protest against the Roman-

\textsuperscript{139} Koenig, 444.
\textsuperscript{140} In 1842, Mazzini made contact with the Christian Alliance, an American religious group, led by reverend Lyman Beecher. The group wanted to promote Protestantism in Italy and in other Catholic countries and set up a plan in which Mazzini would help smuggle Bibles into Italy in exchange for dollars, which he would use to buy guns. This did not work well and created considerable alarm. See: Sarti, \textit{Mazzini}, 116.
\textsuperscript{141} Giuseppe Mazzini to Kate Craufurd, February 1860, Letter 5639, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, Vol. LXVII, Epis. XXXIX, 140.
\textsuperscript{142} Giuseppe Mazzini to Jessie White Mario, March 8\textsuperscript{th} 1860, Letter 5651, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, Vol. LXVII, Epis. XXXIX, 159.
\textsuperscript{143} Giuseppe Mazzini to Jessie White Mario, April 25\textsuperscript{th} 1860, Letter 5689, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, Vol. LXVII, Epis. XXXIX, 249.
Catholic Apostolic conclusion,” saying that for her it was, “immoral because it was contrary to the true religious concept of life,” and because,

it allows no other expiation for the fallen woman- for the courtesan- than in the isolation of the cloister! Therefore, is there no possible rehabilitation for the adoptive mother, re-baptized by her children and then purified by this baptism of love?145

Saffi’s feminism, including her opposition to the sexual double standard and her respect for motherhood, thus made it difficult for her to accept Catholic doctrines. Her Mazzinian faith, in contrast, supported a general equality between the sexes.

Though they were quite critical of Catholics, these women were interested in potential cooperation between Jews and Protestants. Giorgina Saffi, for instance, called her campaign against state-regulated prostitution a sacred crusade and urged people to fight in a nonsectarian manner in the name of religion. She claimed to fight,

in the name- not of one religion or of religions, whose cadaverous tenets today no longer represent the faith in the future and in the progress of humanity- but in the name of Religion itself, eternal, which manifests itself to human consciousness in the teaching of the Greats for genius and virtue.146

She thus reaffirmed her belief that an alternative nondenominational and less established Mazzinian spirituality was superior to outdated or institutionalized religions like Catholicism or Anglicanism.

White Mario more directly promoted cooperation between Catholics and Jews in Italy. In an article for The Nation, she wrote about the wide extent of Jewish involvement in the Risorgimento and in society. Stating, “between a Catholic and a Jew in Italy there is no

145 Giorgina Craufurd Saffi to Giacint Pezzana, February 14th 1880, BAB, Fondo Saffi, Sezione II, b. 12, f. 3, cc.1-220.
distinction. Jews are as patriotic as Christians; they fill every office of the State, are ministers of the crown, prefects, mayor, generals in the army, conscripts with the colors.” She also implied that Jews may have been even more patriotic than Catholics, saying,

we may add that in the revolutionary battles for the unity and independence of Italy, Israelites were among Garibaldi’s volunteers on the battlefield and in the hospitals, even as Jews of Lombardy and of Mantua shared the plots and expeditions of the Young Italy pioneers.

This was not true, she claimed, of Catholics. In doing so, she encouraged her readers to think more positively of Italian Jews and put forth her vision of a society in which people of multiple faiths and religions worked towards a shared goal.

These types of arguments reveal the transdenominational networks operating in the Risorgimento. Recognizing Mazzinianism as a faith, I argue that the networks linking Mazzinians like Saffi and Nathan with Unitarians like Schwabe were a transnational transdenominational effort to rebuild and reform the Italian state. In doing so, I build on the work of Abigail Green, who revealed instances of transdenominational cooperation in international philanthropy efforts. This approach balances out studies that have overly emphasized the anticlerical or anti-Papal aspects of the Risorgimento, by revealing an additional religious component to Italian unification and state-building.

**Questions of Jewish Identity**

Thus far this chapter has focused solely on Protestant identity, but Sara Nathan and Julia Salis Schwabe also had claims to Jewish heritage and identity. While Schwabe made a formal

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conversion to Unitarianism and appeared to have generally left behind Jewish faith in her personal life, Nathan maintained much closer connections to Judaism.

The Nathans were likely practicing Jews. Mazzini frequently referred to the Nathans as Jewish and was interested in Meyer Nathan’s ability to collect money for the Italian cause through his connections to others in finance and banking, many of whom were Jewish.\textsuperscript{149} Sara Nathan was likely regularly attending Jewish services in 1853 as Mazzini wrote her a letter that year asking her to help Matilda Biggs’ children attend a Jewish service.\textsuperscript{150} Another letter from Mazzini from 1857, in which he wrote that Emily Ashurst Hawkes found herself at Sara Nathan’s home, “amongst people who fasted on a certain religious expiation ground during 24 hours- Jehovah giving them a special strength for that,” provides further evidence that the Nathans were still practicing Judaism.\textsuperscript{151} Even in 1868, years after Meyer Nathan’s death, when Sara Nathan had fully embraced her radical Mazzinian identity, Mazzini mentioned celebrating Passover (“il giorno di Pasqua”) with the Nathan family members then residing in London.\textsuperscript{152}

While “pasqua” can refer to either Easter or Passover, in a letter from 1870, Mazzini mentioned that Janet Nathan was busy celebrating “la Pasqua semitica,” and was overwhelmed with visits


\textsuperscript{152} Giuseppe Mazzini to Sara Nathan, 14\textsuperscript{th} April 1868, Letter 8707, in \textit{Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini}, Vol. LXXXVII, Epis. LIV, 43.
from aunts and cousins, “di tribú semitiche,” of the Jewish tribe.\(^{153}\) When discussing the Nathans, therefore, he used the term to refer to Passover. It is clear, therefore, that the Nathan family, at least the extended Nathan family, continued to practice Jewish rituals at the same time that they held Mazzinian beliefs.

**The Need for A Transnational Identity**

Rather than focusing on how to determine a single national identity, we should allow for the use of an alternate transnational identity when appropriate. White Mario, Saffi, Schwabe, and women like them travelled and lived in several countries at various points in their lives. Schwabe, for instance, was born in Germany, moved to England to marry a naturalized British citizen, and then ended her life living and working in Naples. Was she German, British, or Italian? The women were also constantly writing, communicating, and sending money across borders and did not limit their activities, interests, or personal connections to one nation. Schwabe drew support for her school from a circle of European acquaintances and she instituted the pedagogical principles of Friedrich Fröbel’s kindergarten in her school, connecting her to that transnational network, which stretched from Germany, across Europe, to America. Craufurd Saffi and White Mario were active in the transnational campaign against state-regulated prostitution in the late 1870s and early 1880s. They also remained in contact with their English extended families and friends and continued to write a portion of their personal correspondence in English rather than Italian.

Although the use of a transnational identity creates problems in labeling and easily writing about these women, it also opens up new avenues for thought and exploration. Ros

Pesman, for instance, has argued that transnational identities are exceptionally useful in studying women’s lives and questioned whether women, as technical non-participants in the nation, may be more naturally suited for transnational lives. The focus on the transnational, therefore, could help us to better understand women’s position in mid-19th-century society. In their collection of essays, *Intimacy and Italian Migration*, Baldassar and Gabaccia similarly argued that these transnational studies of intimacy can help unpack women’s national identity, claiming, “we believe that women’s relationship to the nation, women’s transformations of identities through migration, and women’s participation in nation building are more likely to be captured by our approach than through studies of politics and work.” To fully understand women’s history, therefore, a transnational identity is necessary.

The focus on the transnational can also help to uncover and highlight aspects of nationalism, particularly the connections between the national and the transnational. Recent scholarship on the Risorgimento has emphasized its transnational aspects, highlighting the importance of exile for Italian patriots, as well as international perceptions for the Italian sense of national identity. These works emphasize in particular the cosmopolitan aspects of Mazzini’s vision of nationalism. For Mazzini, and for his followers, like Craufurd Saffi or White Mario, the nation was simply a building-block in the larger project of improving humanity in general. Nations were not to be pitted against each other and pride in a nation did not necessarily exclude pride or loyalty to another nation. This nationalism involved a devoted dedication to one’s own

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154 Pesman, “The Meanings of a Transnational Life: The Case of Mary Berenson.”
155 See: Baldassar and Gabaccia, “Home, Family, and the Italian Nation in a Mobile World: The Domestic and the National Among Italy’s Migrants,” in *Intimacy and Italian Migration*.
156 *Italian Mobilities*, Ben-Ghiat and Hom, eds. This work focuses more on the large-scale Italian migrations at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, but its theoretical arguments are quite sound. See also: The *Risorgimento Revisited* and Patriarca *Italian Vices*; Scholars have increasingly paid more attention to the ways in which Italian national identity was shaped across borders and by migration. While Patriarca looked more generally at discourses of national identity, other scholars, such as Maurizio Isabella, have examined the lives and roles of individual Italian patriots, most notably Mazzini, in order to examine their international influence.
country, alongside a hope that the nations would work together and lead to peace. Mazzini’s British followers appreciated and recognized these cosmopolitan ideas. Emilie Ashurst Venturi, for instance, praised Mazzini’s vision of a cosmopolitan brotherhood of all men and cooperation amongst nations. It was not, therefore, illogical or inconsistent for a British citizen to take up the cause of the Italian nation.

While later nationalisms would be much more competitive, exclusive, or racialized, leftist mid-19th-century nationalisms were cooperative. I argue that we need to further explore the idea and implications of cosmopolitan or transnational nationalism and see the extent to which it was popular in the mid-19th-century. Many scholars of cosmopolitanism focus on the 20th century, rather than on earlier periods. Others, like Amanda Anderson, argue that cosmopolitanism led to detachment from society and political movements. I argue that cosmopolitan nationalism actually led to a greater involvement in European politics and philanthropy.

By focusing on the 19th-century and on the connections between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, I build on the work of scholars like Richard Bonfiglio and Esther Wohlgemut, who wrote about the popularity of liberal cosmopolitanism and romantic cosmopolitanism respectively. Bonfiglio posited the idea of a liberal cosmopolitanism, that sought to situate the radical politics of the Italian Risorgimento within a broader understanding of Europe as a family of nations and embraced the Victorian home as both a crucial political space and a trope for reconciling the threat of revolutionary violence with a love for law, order, and national sovereignty.

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157 Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalization of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920.
158 Venturi, 44.
Drawing attention to the echoes of the brotherhood or family of nations rhetoric, he claimed this is a type of nationalism that cultivates affective attachment, not critical detachment as Anderson argued.\textsuperscript{161}

Wohlgemut argued that romantic cosmopolitanism supported the nation and nationalism citing Samuel Taylor Coleridge who in an essay from 1809 called cosmopolitanism, “at once the Nursling and the Nurse of patriotic affection.” Building on Coleridge’s argument, she claimed that the, “relationship between patriotism and cosmopolitanism is not oppositional but rather mutually constitutive,” and that “cosmopolitanism does not supersede or transcend patriotic feeling. Indeed, Coleridge goes on to suggest, the best cosmopolitans are also patriots.”\textsuperscript{162} In a more globalized world, it is important to see how national identities can peacefully co-exist with local identities, regional identities, and transnational identities. Just as we have seen the blurred boundaries between the political and the charitable and between the religious and the secular, we must also see the continuities between the national and the transnational.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued for the necessity of studying the intersecting concepts of religious affiliation and national identity. White Mario, Chambers, Schwabe, Saffi, and Nathan were all motivated by their religious identity and their interactions with others were shaped by their national identity and national prejudices. Although they were in many ways Italian, they also retained a British pride and identity and were often categorized as foreigners by Italians.


Transnational studies must show how the dual factors of religion and national identity impact relations of people across borders and to track shifting self-perceptions and perceptions by others. I also argue that Mazzinianism was a religion and that White Mario, Nathan, and Saffi were motivated by religious sentiments in their support for his plan. Furthermore, through their work with Italian and British Jewish and Protestant populations, they displayed transdenominational cooperation. Finally, I argue for the use of a transnational identity which would enhance our understandings of romantic or cosmopolitan nationalism and of female identity in the 19th century.
Conclusion: Continuing the Legacy After 1890

Jessie White Mario, Giorgina Saffi, Sara Nathan, Julia Salis Schwabe, and Mary Chambers challenged ideas about appropriate female behavior and advanced the feminist cause. Not only did they step into transgressive roles, they also used traditional female activities for transnational and revolutionary purposes. Though they were not members of an organized feminist party and believed that men and women had distinct talents and abilities, they claimed a status of equality with men and refused to limit themselves according to prevailing discourses about acceptable behaviors for middle-class women. In addition to working behind the scenes, they were also visible in the public sphere and used the printed word to their advantage. Their actions, largely understudied, reveal a greater picture of the possibilities for female action and behavior across Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The left-wing politics and forces of the Risorgimento, as well as the weakness of the early Italian state, provided a space for women to exert agency as independent actors. Taking advantage of this period of fluidity, Schwabe, Chambers and the others worked as non-state actors through private philanthropic networks to shape the Italian state. In doing so, they worked alongside many other actors of the Italian left, who also operated through non-state and private channels rather than traditional political ones. Similarly, as they had during the Risorgimento, transnational organizations and foreign groups acted through non-state means to influence early Italian state-building. Italian nationalism and state-building were thus undeniably transnational.

Though they were sympathetic to the Italian cause and felt that Italy was their adopted country, these women also retained British Protestant identities and were influenced by popular
national discourses, which promoted the idea that British women were naturally more active, industrious, and orderly than Italian women. However, their prejudices against Catholicism were quite common and many of the middle-class supporters of the Risorgimento, British and Italian alike, hoped that unification would bring with it not only a move away from authoritarian governments but also a curbing of the Pope’s influence in Italy. They believed that a reduction in Catholicism, and the superstition and despotism they believed accompanied it, would allow for moral regeneration and a stronger generation of Italian citizens. This Liberal anti-Catholic rhetoric resonated with British anti-Catholic sentiment and desire to spread Protestantism and persuaded many Britons to join the Italian cause. Though these arguments inspired British women to raise funds, arms, and popular support for the Italian Risorgimento, and thereby aided in Italian Unification, they also reinforced damaging stereotypes about Italians and made it easier for the British women to retain their sense of supremacy in regards to the Italian people.

Despite what older narratives of secularization have argued, religion was important to the Risorgimento, Italian state-building and international philanthropic activity. While anticlericalism was a certainly powerful motivating factor, religious and spiritual sentiments also swayed people’s actions and pushed them to act in situations where they might not have otherwise. Even nationalist programs, which may have appeared secular, also had strong religious components. Mazzini’s movement was one of these religiously-based nationalist movements. To his followers, including Sara Nathan, Jessie White Mario, and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi, Mazzini’s ideas truly represented a faith, and they viewed themselves as his loyal apostles. One cannot fully understand their motivations or involvement without seeing their spiritual belief in Mazzini’s principles. Additionally, one should consider the ways in which they were
motivated by a more general Protestant faith that prompted missionary work and brought with it a mild elitism and anti-Catholic prejudice.

The End of Instability: Life after 1890

After 1890, Italian society changed character. Roughly thirty years after its creation, the Italian state had finally developed a significant structure and bureaucracy and was able to assume greater control of private agencies. While this was a triumph and sign of growth for the Italian state, it greatly limited the possibilities for non-state actors, particularly women, to influence organizations and institutions. Chambers, Schwabe, and Nathan had each exerted control and influence on Italian society through the charitable sphere. In this private realm, their wealth and personal connections outweighed their status as women, and they were able to fully participate in the running and managing of these institutions. With the passage of the Crispi Law of 17 July 1890 (n.6972), however, the state assumed control of these private charitable organizations, or opere pie, and thereby limited the power of women to act.¹

Additionally, the rise of mass politics at this time also limited the options for the smaller fringe groups and organizations that had been operating in Italy for decades and overshadowed their work with larger platforms and agendas. The rising popularity of the socialist party proved particularly problematic. By 1892, the socialist movement had grown to such an extent that Filippo Turati and Anna Kuliscioff were able to found the Italian Socialist Party (Partito Socialista Italiano, PSI).² As middle-class women with strong religious tendencies, Saffi, White Mario, and Schwabe were not supporters of materialistic Marxist socialism and disapproved of the support for the movement among members of the left and the working class. The Mazzinian

¹ Quine, *Italy's Social Revolution: Charity and Welfare from Liberalism to Fascism*.
party in general suffered from the rise of socialism, and Mazzinian reformers found themselves pushed away into a corner, deemed too radical by the moderates of the right and too conservative for the socialists on the left.

The 1890s also witnessed the rise of Italy’s first organized women’s movement, led by the *Lega promotrice degli interessi femminili*.\(^3\) Though White Mario and Saffi had individually pushed forward the cause of women’s rights and had been involved in feminist networks through their work against state-regulated prostitution, they were not actively involved in the later work of the organized Italian feminist movement and did not draw support from these efforts. The growing organized movements, large parties, and state-controlled agencies of the later Liberal Period therefore brought an end the opportunities provided by the instability of the newly forming Italian state in the earlier Liberal Period.

Though Mary Chambers and Sara Nathan had died before this time, in 1881 and 1882 respectively, Julia Salis Schwabe, Giorgina Saffi, and Jessie White Mario kept working after 1890 and struggled in some ways to adapt to the changes in Italian society. Schwabe was personally involved in the running of her institute and as she grew older, she took steps to ensure that it would continue to run after her death. Her chosen method was the school’s incorporation into an *ente morale*. On March 13\(^{th}\) 1887, under Coppino, then Minister of Public Instruction, the institution was constituted by Royal Decree into a corporate body (*Ente morale*) with name Istituto Fröbeliano Internazionale Vittorio Emanuele II. The Institute received the Ex-Collegio Medico in perpetuity, with an annual subsidy of 12,400 lire from the Ministry of Public

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\(^3\) The organization was founded in 1881 by Anna Maria Mozzoni, but made less of an impact in its earlier years. Nicolaci, 73. See also: Buttafuoco, “Motherhood as a political strategy: the role of the Italian women's movement in the creation of the *Cassa Nazionale di Maternità.*”
Instruction. Schwabe also endowed institution with 50,000 francs. These funds were sufficient for the institute to operate off the income from the money and increased revenue from fees and the institution was self-supporting by 1890.

The incorporation caused problems for Adele von Portugall, however, and she found her authority as directress of the institute in jeopardy. Unlike a private institute, an ente morale required a president along with an administrative and didactic council. According to Portugall, this led to bureaucratic complications and a loss of efficiency and it took away her power. Portugall was critical of the president, claiming that the president wanted to exert his authority in all situations, introduced favoritism and “often supported the introduction of impure elements.” She also said that the president wanted to make the institute more Italian and wanted to eliminate the foreign elements, including Portugall herself. Twice Portugall tried to resign but Schwabe refused to accept the resignation, the board followed her wishes, and Portugall felt compelled by her personal loyalty to Schwabe and her work to stay. Portugall made it clear that she was only willing to stay at the Institute because of her personal loyalty to Schwabe. Though she disliked many of the other staff, she truly believed in Schwabe’s saving grace, writing, “As long as Frau Schwabe represented the highest authority in her Institute there still glimmered a spark of the sacred fire in general among the teachers, and this the gifted foundress, by her personal character diffusing love and kindness, could always rekindle.”

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4 Portugall, “Work and Workers,” 518. This was reported on in the feminist press. See: “Notizie,” La rassegna degli interessi femminili, (Rome) a.1, n.7, 15 July 1887.
5 Froebel, 198.
6 Portugall, “Forty Years a Kindergartener,” 345-46. The first President later died of a brain paralysis on his way to Rome, but the next president was equally problematic and Portugall claimed he continued, “the decadence which had begun under the first.”
7 Portugall, “Forty Years a Kindergartener,” 345. In general, Portugall complained about a lack of support for her work in Naples, she wrote, “My entire career here at Naples has been paralyzed by persons who should have worked together with me. In the unity and blending together of our principles we should have mutually aided and strengthened each other, united we should have been able to attain the highest goal in our educational labors.”
After Schwabe’s death in 1896, the Institute became unbearable for Portugall. Initially, the Schwabe family tried, in accordance with Schwabe’s last wishes, to entrust Portugall with the direction of the Elementary Girls’ School. After four years of debate, however, the president and members of the council ultimately refused to hand her the position, arguing that she would hurt the authority of the institution. According to Portugall, “they preferred to leave it to its ruin.” Portugall was disheartened at the change in the tone of the institution, arguing that it was becoming more and more like other general Italian schools that provided instruction but not education and she retired in the fall of 1901.8

The fate of Schwabe’s school shows how her individual vision, which she could promote in the fluidity provided by the weakness of Liberal Italy when it relied on non-state actors, could not survive in an era of a more controlling state that enforced gender hierarchies and more traditional values. Despite the legal steps she took to preserve her institution and its legacy, Schwabe’s school changed in character, and one of its most devoted employees felt alienated from its mission and ultimately retired. Sara Nathan’s school similarly changed character and mission after her death, becoming an industrial school9. By adopting a more pragmatic curriculum, focusing on the instruction of job skills rather than education in the Mazzinian creed, it responded to both the rise of socialism and the loss of Mazzinian idealism.

Jessie White Mario and Giorgina Craufurd Saffi both lived into the twentieth century, until 1906 and 1911 respectively. Though they curtailed their activities slightly as they aged, they did not stop working and continued to carry on the legacy and dream of the Risorgimento for their deceased loved ones. In the 1890s and afterwards, Giorgina Saffi took advantage of her position as one of the few remaining Mazzinians and worked to publish multiple volumes of

8 Portugall, “Forty Years a Kindergartener,” 347.
9 D’Ancona Modena, “Jewish Women in Non-Jewish Philanthropy in Italy (1870-1938),” 17.
Mazzini’s writings and letters and Aurelio Saffi’s works. In 1892, for instance, she translated a somewhat obscure writing by Mazzini to George Sand.\textsuperscript{10} Saffi also worked with Giuseppe Mazzatinti, the director of the library in Forlì, to help collect the letters necessary for the publication of the letters to the *Famiglia Craufurd* in 1905.\textsuperscript{11} Saffi and Mazzatinti, with help from Luigi Minuti, had also organized the publication of the *Ricordi e Scritti di Aurelio Saffi* in 14 volumes issued 1892 to 1905.\textsuperscript{12} Stepping out from behind the scenes, she even wrote a preface for a reissued version of Aurelio Saffi’s *Vita di Mazzini* in 1904 in which she explained that she had the work reprinted so the children of Italy could learn about their national heroes.\textsuperscript{13} Though Italy had changed much by that time, Saffi continued to believe that the lessons of the Mazzinians were valuable for the new generations of Italians.

White Mario also worked on her Risorgimento histories up until her death in 1906. Her final work was *The Birth of Modern Italy*, a printed edition of collected papers left behind after her death. It was organized and published because the publishers believed in the unique perspective she had to offer. The Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese agreed to edit the work with help from Mrs. E.F. Richards, a close friend of Emilie Ashurst Venturi. The book discusses the formation of the Italian state up until the years 1864, when the notes trail off.\textsuperscript{14} At the time of her

\textsuperscript{10} Giuseppe Mazzini, *Prefazione alle lettere di un viaggiatore di George Sand. Traduzione di Giorgina Saffi. Prime edizione italiana a cure del periodico Il Popolo* (Firenze: tipografia commerciale, 1892) 3-4. The preface includes a letter from Giorgina Saffi in which she explained that looking through her family’s papers, she found an introduction that Mazzini had written in French for an English translation of Sand’s *Letters from a Traveler*. Though it was unknown in Italy, she believed it was still important for understanding Mazzini and for Italy and so wished to translate it and have it published.

\textsuperscript{11} Bugani, 23-4. See: Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Lettere di Giuseppe Mazzini ad Aurelio Saffi e alla famiglia Craufurd (1850-1872)* per cura di Giuseppe Mazzatinti (Roma, Milano: Società editrice Dante Alighieri, 1905). In 1907, Giorgina Saffi also oversaw the publication of Mazzini’s 1847 work *Byron e Goethe* and the *Lettere inedite di Giuseppe Mazzini e M.me X* and also carried out the translation into Italian of articles that Mazzini had published in English during his exile in London for the Committee for the National Edition of the Works of Mazzini.

\textsuperscript{12} Bugani, 23. See: *Scritti e ricordi di Aurelio Saffi*, vol. 1-14 (Firenze: G. Barbera, 1892-1905). The preface to the first volume was explicit that this was a work of education, not just memorialization.

\textsuperscript{13} Aurelio Saffi, Giuseppe Mazzini. *Compendio biografico, novamente pubblicato da Giorgina Saffi* (Firenze: G. Barberà, 1904).

\textsuperscript{14} White Mario, *The Birth of Modern Italy*, vi.
death, she was also working on a “Life of Sir James Stansfeld, and Mazzini and the Friends of Italy in England.” In a letter to The Nation, written shortly before her death, we can see that White Mario had not yet given up on her hopes of enacting change. She said that her enclosed pages, “are the first that I have been able to write since I last sent a letter to the Nation. I have been very ill, but the new hopes for Italy have wakened me a little.” White Mario wrote less frequently about England, but had not removed herself entirely from its politics. Her book, which was only three-quarters finished because of her frequent illnesses, was designed to celebrate, “the pioneers who rendered possible the Liberal triumph of to-day.” She hoped that the book would have an important political impact, saying, that she wanted, “to get my Stansfeld-Mazzini book ready by the time the Liberals ‘come back again.’ I would ask no more of fate. Surely, surely, we shall not return to ‘protection’ in old England??? If we do, then ‘manhood suffrage’ has proved a delusion and a snare.”15 White Mario was thus clearly continuing to work towards her dual goals of historical remembrance and political reform. She was unhappy with the way politics in both Britain and Italy had been turning out, but was unwilling to give up on her ideals or her steadfast promotion of them.

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