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

Anne O'Connor

Introduction

Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-1889), the ‘warrior-priest’¹ is a well-known figure in the history of the Risorgimento, famed for his patriotic oratory, his tireless support of the Italian nationalist cause, and – after Pope Pius IX’s repudiation of Italian nationalism in 1848 – his virulent anti-Catholicism. Following the collapse of the 1848-9 revolutions in Italy, the former Barnabite monk spent much of his life abroad preaching on Italian and anti-papal themes, first and principally in the United Kingdom, but also in North America. Gavazzi’s lecture tours in England, Scotland, the United States and Canada have all been subject to scholarly scrutiny, particularly in relation to the ‘Gavazzi riots’ in Quebec and Montreal in 1853.² In contrast, nothing has been written on Gavazzi’s Irish tours, despite their frequency – Gavazzi came to Ireland on at least seventeen occasions; a single tour could contain upwards of a dozen lectures at venues across the country (see Appendix 1) – and his considerable impact on mid-century Irish sectarian relations and debates regarding the ‘Italian Question’. Biographers of Gavazzi mention these visits only in passing.³ Historians of nineteenth-century Ireland meanwhile rarely and only briefly mention the Italian, without fully comprehending the scope and range of his influence.⁴ This essay seeks to fill that lacuna.

First contacts

Gavazzi arrived as an exile in London in the late summer of 1849. It was here that he probably first made contact with the Irish writer and journalist Francis Sylvester Mahony.

Mahony, originally from Cork, had been ordained as a Catholic priest in Italy in 1832 but had quickly become estranged from the Church on his return to Ireland and had subsequently moved to London, where in the mid-1830s he began writing for the Tory-oriented *Fraser's Magazine*. By the late 1840s, Mahony was the Rome correspondent for the liberal *Daily News* – and (following the Pope's abandonment of the liberal-nationalist cause in Italy and the suppression of the Roman Republic) an advocate of Mazzinian republicanism.⁵ It appears that Mahony sought out Gavazzi after reading (or possibly attending) the Italian's oration in memory of Ugo Bassi, the Italian patriot priest executed by Austrian soldiers in August 1849. Mahony subsequently organised a series of speaking engagements for Gavazzi in the capital (January-May 1851), during which Gavazzi 'electrified London audiences [...] with his dramatic attacks on the Papacy'.⁶ The Irishman translated the lectures for the *Daily News* and then published them in a collection that was to be the first of Gavazzi's many publications in English.⁷ Mahony was Gavazzi's first and main point of contact with Ireland in the years between 1849 and 1852 and, given the evident affinity between the two men, it is reasonable to assume that Mahony's views on Ireland influenced those of Gavazzi.⁸ Certainly, Mahony provided a link between Italy, England and Ireland for the recently-arrived Italian emigrant and the linguistic and journalistic skills of the Irishman did much to promote Gavazzi as a figure of note in the 1850s, as the Italian gratefully acknowledged in his autobiography.⁹

From the outset, Gavazzi's London lectures and his subsequent tour of Britain in 1851 generated enormous interest within Ireland's Catholic and Protestant communities, albeit for very different reasons. Archbishop Paul Cullen, who would become Ireland's first cardinal and a major adversary of Gavazzi, was aware of the Italian's preaching as early as January 1851. In a letter to the rector of the Irish College in Rome, Cullen observed that Gavazzi was 'acting the devil' in London, adding the rather unchristian sentiment that it was a pity Gavazzi was not with Ugo Bassi when the latter was taken and executed by the Austrians.¹⁰

In a further letter in March, Cullen said that Gavazzi was preaching ‘truly diabolical things, and these are then put in all the newspapers to edify the public’.¹¹ In April 1851, the Catholic MP for Mayo, George Moore, raised questions about Gavazzi in the House of Commons - and received a taunting public letter in reply to these assertions, which mocked his learning and invited him to hear Gavazzi preach the following day.¹² It is quite possible, given the punning use of English in this letter, that Mahony was involved in writing this reply. From the other side of the sectarian divide, the *Belfast News-Letter* was equally assiduous but rather more positive in its coverage of Gavazzi, frequently dedicating columns of newspaper space to the Italian (indeed, the *News-Letter* carried articles on Gavazzi on an almost weekly basis from January 1851).

Gavazzi, then, was a well-known, controversial and divisive figure in Ireland before he even set foot in the country. As we shall see, his frequent tours of Ireland from 1852 only served to heighten Irish interest in him and to polarise opinion still further. To understand why Gavazzi generated such passions in Ireland, we need to recognise some important contextual factors. Firstly, the events of the Risorgimento in Italy (relayed through the Irish press) generated huge interest in Ireland.¹³ In the 1850s and 1860s, Italy was not perceived in Ireland as a distant country embroiled in internal upheaval; rather it was felt that Italian affairs were of particular relevance to the Irish people. In the wake of the Roman Republic, it was clear to Catholics in Ireland that the aspirations of the Italian nationalist movement threatened the Pope’s temporal authority in the peninsula. They perceived the threat to the Pope’s territories as a threat to themselves. Consequently, the Irish Catholic community was actively involved in fundraising for the pontiff and, in 1860, in sending an Irish Papal Brigade to Italy to help in the military defence of the Papal States.¹⁴ Irish Protestants, on the other hand, for precisely the same reasons, supported the Italian nationalists, with many hoping for the complete erosion of papal power through Italian unification. Irish responses to

the Italian situation thus divided along religious lines with domestic preoccupations dominating reactions to continental developments. In these circumstances, the arrival of Gavazzi was manna to many within the Irish Protestant community, especially since he was the only regular visitor to Ireland among the high profile Italian nationalist exiles living in England (most, like Mazzini, never came at all). Equally, it was hardly surprising that Catholics should denounce Gavazzi's presence and activities in Ireland.

Secondly, Gavazzi's reception must be seen in the context of proselytism and evangelism in mid-nineteenth century Ireland. The Irish Church Missions had been set up by the evangelical Anglican minister Alexander Dallas in 1849 to convert Catholics in Ireland. The controversial Mission, which enjoyed substantial financial support from England, was particularly active in Connaught and garnered widespread publicity in both the Catholic and Protestant press in Ireland in the early 1850s for the alleged success of its programme.¹⁵ The object of the evangelisers was to demonstrate the dangers and wrongs of Papal authority and to tempt Roman Catholics away from their Church by a variety of means (including in the case of the Mission, making food aid during the Famine conditional upon conversion). It was no coincidence that Gavazzi, with his visceral hatred and denunciation of the Papacy, was especially welcomed by Irish evangelists. Gavazzi received particularly strong support in Ireland from Rev. Thomas Scott, John Ouseley Bonsall and a committee of Protestants, a core group who were all members of the Priests' Protection Society (itself chaired by Scott). The aims of this society were:

FIRST, to protect Priests of good character, who consciously abandon the apostasy of Rome for the pure faith of the Gospel; SECOND, to afford protection and education to a class of young men originally intended for the priesthood in the Romish Church; THIRD, to disseminate throughout the world, by means of the pulpit and the press,

Scriptural and Anti-Popish instruction; FOURTH to reform Romish Priests throughout Great Britain, Ireland, and foreign countries.¹⁶

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

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

In November 1852, shortly after the end of Gavazzi's first major Irish tour, Cullen observed: 'The fury of the Protestants everywhere is currently very great. They are doing nothing but preaching and inveighing against the Church. Gavazzi has made twenty or so tirades here in Dublin. He seems possessed by the devil, but he earns at least one hundred *scudi* per day with his nonsense. [...] there are many other friars and apostates who are still endeavouring to promote Hell's cause'.¹⁸ Later that month, Cullen sent a report to Rome complaining that

Protestants were spending huge amounts of money trying to ‘eradicate the faith amongst our poor’.¹⁹

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

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

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

Evangelism was not the only source of heightened religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants in mid-century Ireland.²² The re-establishment of the English

Catholic hierarchy (1850); the Synod of Thurles (1850); the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill (1851); the Madiari affair (1851-3) in Italy (where a Protestant husband and wife were jailed for proselytising in Tuscany); the Achilli-Newman libel case (1851-2); the declaration of the Doctrine of Immaculate conception (8 December 1854); and the Mortara case in 1858 were among some of the flashpoints which served to create a tense and charged context for Gavazzi's visits to Ireland. They were also the controversial issues that Gavazzi, who did not tiptoe around local sensibilities, readily incorporated into his lectures.

Lectures

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

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

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

Adding to Gavazzi's exoticness was the fact that, on his early tours at least, he spoke in Italian. When he had arrived in London in 1849, he had no knowledge of English and

initially struggled with the language. Consequently, Gavazzi preferred to lecture in his native tongue and then have a member of the organising committee deliver a translated summary of what he had said. How much of the Italian was understood was debatable. The *Freeman's Journal* again:

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

Friendlier papers than the *Freeman's Journal* admitted that Gavazzi's early Irish lectures were not always easy to follow. The *Nenagh Guardian*, for example, reported (30 October 1852) that Gavazzi had 'delivered an oration on the subject of the Pope, of which he subsequently gave a translation in English; but the latter was pronounced with a rapidity and an occasional indistinctness, which renders it impossible for us to present even an accurate epitome of the address'.²⁶ Not long after, however, the same paper reported a Gavazzi lecture in which he had spoken 'at great length in Italian, repeated observations in excellent English, and was fully comprehended and loudly cheered throughout'.²⁷ The paper made similar comments when Gavazzi lectured in Ireland in the spring of 1854: the audience, it claimed, had followed his sermon with intense concentration and comprehension; Gavazzi had spoken with his 'usual power and eloquence'.²⁸ Even then, though, Gavazzi apologised before a

lecture for 'coming forward again with his poor broken English,' which he described as 'baby-like'.²⁹

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

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

An editorial some days later was more scathing:

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

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

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

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

We can glean the substance of Gavazzi's Irish lectures from the titles of his talks, from newspaper reports and from the publication of some of the lectures subsequent to his tours of Ireland.³⁶ In the 1850s and 1860s, the religious and the political concerns of the

Italian sat side by side. Gavazzi could talk, for example, on a religious theme in the morning and on current events in Italy in the evening. For him there was no clear delineation between the two: the realisation of Italian unification and liberty required the destruction of the Papacy.

As was to be expected, Gavazzi regularly spoke on ‘Popery in Ireland’. Ireland, he argued, was a sister to Italy in talent, courage and adversity, but both had suffered under the malign influence of the Papacy. Catholicism, he said, taught a trade of pauperism and propagated it wherever it went. This was evident in Italy, where there were many poor people, but even Italy ‘did not equal the squalid poverty and miserable huts he had seen in Ireland. When he found among a people such ignorance, such poverty and such carelessness, he said there was something underground – something wrong on the part of the clergy’.³⁷ In contrast stood Protestant Albion:

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

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

If an Austrian garrison held Dublin, and a French garrison London and Plymouth, and if a Russian army were in possession of Edinburgh, would Britons consider

themselves free and independent? [...] If the motto 'England for the English' holds true, no less true is it that Italy should be for Italians. They all spoke one language, they were a homogeneous people, and therefore they should be free under one government.³⁹

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

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

Gavazzi denounced the influence of the Catholic church on Irish education, the role of priests in Irish society, the Jesuits and the Irish hierarchy, the use of miracles to influence the people in their religious beliefs, and Irish religious superstitions such as the Purgatory of St. Patrick in the North and Patrick's Well in Downpatrick. Priests he often referred to as 'toads' and 'snails'; Maynooth was a 'cobra' that needed to be crushed; the Pope himself was 'a senseless, perjured, godless murderer'⁴¹ Throughout the 1850s, Gavazzi repeatedly – but wrongly – blamed the Catholic priesthood for the persistence of the violent agrarian movement, Ribbonism. When Irish volunteers went to fight in defence of the Papal States in 1860, Gavazzi derided them as 'Popish Paddies'.⁴²

Reactions

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

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

We currently have here Mr. Gavazzi whose exploits are known in Rome. He wears a habit like a Barnabite and a cross on his chest. The day before yesterday, he preached against the Pope in the most atrocious fashion, and then he described the Cardinals as Judases and traitors. Yesterday, he delivered an invective against confession, and

described the most scandalous things. The Protestants spread these sermons around as much as they can, and in this way seek to poison the poor people. They have by now resorted to every despicable means to destroy the Catholic religion. If Mohammed came to preach against us, he would be welcomed with applause and would receive every assistance. Gavazzi is paid around fifty pounds sterling a day for his preaching.⁴⁵

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

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

Cullen's comments point to one further source of concern regarding Gavazzi: his influence on rebel priests and the damage that they could do to Cullen's attempts to 'Romanise' the Irish Catholic Church (i.e. to bring it in line with the Church in Rome). As a former priest,

Gavazzi was a threatening figure and it is interesting that Cullen conflated Gavazzi with rebellious priests who crossed his path in Ireland, particularly Father Patrick Lavelle.⁴⁸

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

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

We declare that it is not safe for the public peace, in the face of the melancholy reciprocity of bitter feeling between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast, that such a man as Mr. Gavazzi should let off such inflammatory harangues as his, in such a place as Belfast. We do appeal to every lover of harmony, to every humane and rational citizen – to every sensible Protestant – and ask, What is likely to be the effect of Mr. Gavazzi’s harangue on the mournful state of feeling existing between Catholic

and Protestant in Belfast! Will it calm the fiery sea, or will it make the hell broth boil? Will it heal the wounds of past strife? Will it make neighbour meet neighbour, Catholic meet Protestant, and Protestant meet Catholic, as friends and fellow-Irishmen – or will it tend to embitterment, hatred, strife, riot and bloodshed? [...] unhappily, it may be a month hence, when [Gavazzi] is safe beyond the reach of explosion, that his infernal machine may set Belfast in a blaze.⁵⁰

In the event, Belfast remained quiet. When Gavazzi lectured in staunchly Catholic Galway the following March, however, his entourage was ‘hooted and pelted at with stones, sods of turf and every description of missiles’. Gavazzi’s party attempted to flee, but were ‘hotly pursued by the great body of the infuriated crowd’. Protestors also broke the windows and doors of the lecture venue and attacked several buildings in the city associated with Protestants. It took the intervention of forty armed police to restore order.⁵¹ Gavazzi cancelled all further lectures in Galway and immediately left for Athlone.⁵² Despite the attacks on Protestant property – and *The Times*’ portrayal of the disturbance as ‘a disgraceful outbreak of religious fanaticism’⁵³ – the authorities concluded that the ‘unfortunate riot [...] originated in no ill-will towards the Protestant inhabitants of Galway, but appears to have been a sudden outburst of popular indignation against a gentleman, who, it was believed, intended to treat the religion of the majority of the inhabitants with disrespect’.⁵⁴ Proceedings against those arrested during the riots were quickly dropped.

In Tralee, the catalyst for the riot appears to have been remarks made by Gavazzi during an evening lecture at the Benner Hotel on ‘Garibaldi and the present political state of Italy’, in which he described Irish Papal Brigade volunteers as ‘cowardly ragamuffins’. His comments aroused the passions of some of the Roman Catholics present and the police subsequently ejected them. In the commotion that ensued, eggs were smashed on the wall of

the lecture room.⁵⁵ By the time the lecture had finished a mob had gathered outside the hotel and windows were broken. Gavazzi and his audience found themselves trapped in the building. The parish priest addressed the rioters, imploring them to go home, and the Riot Act was read, but the crowd still refused to disperse (in fact, some protestors went on to smash the windows of several houses belonging to local Protestants). Only in the early hours of the following morning did the demonstration finally break up, at which point those present in the hotel were able to leave and even then, some protestors continued to throw stones.

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

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

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

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

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

Gavazzi denied that he had attacked Catholic liberties and claimed that he had never attacked the Reform Bill or the Emancipation Bill, nor had he even spoken against the Maynooth Grant (these last statements were in fact untrue since he frequently *did* speak against them).⁶³ On a few occasions such as in Newry in 1862, just weeks after the riots in Tralee, Gavazzi's lectures were cancelled due to concerns regarding the likely reaction of local Catholics, something which greatly angered the Italian who claimed that such cancellations were 'a servile subserviency' to Cullen and an affront to his rights.

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

The audiences he attracted, the protests and outrage he provoked, and the voluminous column space he occupied in publications of all political and religious hues in Ireland from the 1850s to the 1870s, attest to Gavazzi’s enormous impact on Irish sectarian relations in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Two final examples will suffice. Firstly, Colin Barr has recently shown how Gavazzi’s visit to Carlow a few weeks before the General Election of 1859 led to rising Catholic anger against the favoured Protestant Tory candidate and the unlikely victory of the Catholic Liberal candidate Lord Acton, despite the fact that Acton had never set foot in the constituency.⁶⁷ Secondly, when in 1858 the Committee of the Athenaeum in Cork city refused Gavazzi permission to speak at the venue, local Protestants united to fundraise for and build a Protestant Hall. The new hall opened in 1861. This

development led to even greater sectarian segregation of assembly in the city. More generally, as Jennifer O'Brien has suggested, Gavazzi's fervent anti-papal oratory encouraged Irish Protestants to view the conflict between the papacy and the Risorgimento as an essentially religious struggle thus confirming the resolve of evangelical Protestants to fight papal influence in Ireland.⁶⁸ As had happened in New York, Quebec, Tralee and other places where he visited, Gavazzi's preaching in Ireland exacerbated local sentiments and entrenched religious opinion. In Ireland, this translated on the one hand into millenarian, evangelical Protestantism becoming ever more strident in its denunciations of the papacy, and on the other hand, an increasingly ultramontane strain of Catholicism. The perceived threat of apostate and/or rebel priests strengthened Paul Cullen's determination to fight deviations from Roman Catholic norms and galvanised his efforts throughout the country. As a result, Irish religious divisions in this period, following their interaction with the events in Italy, and in particular with Gavazzi, became more sectarian, more segregated and more hostile. Having poured much oil on the fire of Irish religious debate in the 1850s and 1860s, the incendiary Italian, with his unique brand of oratory and religious argumentation, left a legacy of igniting volatile Irish situations and exacerbating the burning religious issues of the day.

Appendix 1: Table of Lectures by Alessandro Gavazzi in Ireland

Note: This table does not pretend to be in any manner comprehensive, but serves rather to give an indication, as much as has been possible, of Gavazzi's lecturing in Ireland. We know

from his orations that he could give as many as twenty lectures on each visit to Ireland and that he also visited towns such as Carlow and Waterford (which are not mentioned here). He generally visited the chief provincial towns during his visits but as the lectures in Dublin and Belfast attracted the largest amount of press interest, these feature more prominently in the table than the lectures given in provincial towns. The table should therefore be taken as an indication of Gavazzi's tours rather than a complete list of all his talks in Ireland.

Date	Location	Title	Details
16 th February 1852	Music Hall, Dublin	“The Papacy”	Chair: Sir William Betham
25 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“The Pope”	Chair: Colonel Lewis
26 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Transubstantiation”	Chair: Rev. Dr. Urwick
27 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“The Papal System is Blindness”	Chair: Rev. Hugh E. Prior
28 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“The Papal System is Intolerance”	Chair: Colonel Lewis
29 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Mariolatry”	Chair: Sir William Betham. Morning Lecture
29 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Popish Processions”	Chair: P.J. Marjoribanks. Evening Lecture
30 th October 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“The Inquisition”	Chair: John Litton
1 st November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Worship of Saints”	Chair: Rev. Hugh E. Prior
2 nd November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Purgatory”	Chair: Major Crawford. Morning Lecture
2 nd November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Rome in England”	Chair: Rev. John Nash Griffen
3 rd November 1852	Belfast	“The Pope and the Bible”	
4 th November 1852	Belfast	“The Inquisition”	
5 th November 1852	Belfast	“Auricular confession and nuns”	
5 th ? November 1852	Belfast	“The capital errors of Rome and their	

		supporters in these countries”	
6 th November 1852	Round Room of the Rotunda	“The gunpowder plot in 1605 and 1852”	Chair: C.M.Fleury
8 th ? February 1853	Exeter Hall	Farewell Lecture	Went from Ireland to America
Monday 10 th ? May 1854	York Street Chapel	“Nunneries are Anti-Scriptural, Anti-Christian, and contrary to British Institutions”	Chair: Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Lewis
11 th ? May 1854	York Street Chapel	“The Bible and education: the only safeguard against the pretensions of the Church in Rome in Great Britain”	Chair: Rev. George Tredennick/ Wm Nesbitt
12 th ? May 1854	York Street Chapel	“The Papal army in Great Britain and its Protestant allies”	Chair: Major Boyce
11 th ? May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	“The pretensions of Rome in Great Britain and Ireland”	Chair Rev. Dr. Drew
12 th May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	“Popery in America”	One o’clock lecture
12 th May 1854	Music Hall Belfast	“The Ireland of St. Patrick and that of Dr. Cullen”	Evening Lecture. Tickets priced from 6d to 2s. Chair Rev. J. Macnaughtan
15 th May 1854	Coleraine		Afternoon lecture
15 th May 1854	Ballymena		Evening lecture
16 th May 1854	Newry		
17 th May 1854	Antrim		
17 th May 1854	Tontine Rooms Armagh	“The Papal Army in Ireland and its Allies”	Chair Rev. J.R.McAlister
18 th ? May 1854	York Street Chapel	“ The Romish Inquisition and the claims of the Church of Rome to toleration”	Chair: Rev. H.E. Prior
10 November 1858	Rotunda	“Martin Luther”	Chair: Col. Boyes. Gavazzi preached daily during this week
13 th November 1858	Rotunda	“The confessional”	Chair: Col. Boyes
Week of 10 th November 1858	York St., Dublin	“Gavazzi versus Wiseman”	
16 th November 1858	Music Hall, Belfast	“Martin Luther”	Chair: Dr. Cooke
16 th November 1858	Belfast	“Papal tyranny and	Four lectures

17 th November 1858	May Street Church, Belfast	errors of Popery” “Cromwell”	delivered Rev. Dr. Bryce
23 rd November 1858	Cork		Series of lectures
21 st March 1859	Round Room of the Rotunda	Public Breakfast for Signor Gavazzi	50 th birthday celebrations for Gavazzi with speeches.
March 1859	Merchants Road, Galway	“Italy and the Papacy”	
1 st April 1859	Round Room of the Rotunda	“Reminiscences of Ireland”	Rev. Dr. Urwick presided. Parting address
17 th July 1861	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“Religious Reformation in Italy”	Chaired by Earl of Clancarty, rev. Thomas Scott and John Ouseley Bonsall also presiding
18 th July 1861	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“Italy – its social, political and religious aspect”	Chair: Lieutenant Colonel Boyes
22 nd July 1861	Protestant Hall, Cork	“Evangelization of Italy”	
23 rd July 1861	Scots’ Church, York St. Kingstown		Proceeds to the furtherance of the Italian Mission
31 st August 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Romans, v.9,10	Morning sermon
31 st August 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“The Conscience”	Afternoon sermon
1 st September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“The progress of Christianity in Italy”	Evening Lecture. Chair: J.O. Bonsall
2 nd September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“ Italy under Victor Emmanuel”	Morning Lecture One o’clock. Admission between 1s 6d and 6d. Chair: Lord James Butler
2 nd September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“The Pope, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi”	Evening Lecture Eight o’clock. Admission between 1s 6d and 6d. Chair Colonel Warburton
3 rd September 1862	Grosvenor Road Church, Rathmines	“ Italy: Its present state and future prospects”	Admission 1 Shilling One o’clock
3 rd September 1862	Presbyterian Church, York Rd, Kingstown	“Italy and her Rulers”	Admission 1 Shilling Eight o’clock
25 th September 1862	Benner Hotel, Tralee	“The progress of religion in Italy”	Afternoon lecture
25 th September 1862	Benner Hotel, Tralee	“Garibaldi and the	Evening lecture

		present political state of Italy”	
28 th September 1862	Bray Presbyterian Church		Mention of Tralee Riots
29 th September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?”	Morning sermon
29 th September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“Many are called but few are chosen” Matt. 19-16	Evening sermon
30 th September 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“Popery in Ireland”	Chair Colonel Boyce
8 th October 1862	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Farewell Lecture	Chair Colonel Boyce The Ladies’ Printing Press presented to Gavazzi. Some disturbances outside Hall.
13 th August 1865	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin		Sunday Preaching at 12, 3 and 7
14 th August 1865	Wesleyan Chapel, Eglinton Rd. Bray	“Italy – its Evangelization”	Tickets 1 Shilling
14 th August 1865	Lecture Rooms, Corrig Avenue, Kingstown	“Monks and Nuns”	Tickets 1 Shilling
15 th August 1865	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“Confessional”	
15 th August 1871	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	Farewell Sermons	12 noon and 7 pm
13 October 1872	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin		Preach twice
14 th October 1872	Metropolitan Hall, Dublin	“The condition of Religion in Italy and England”	Lecture
15 th June 1873	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin		Special Sunday Service
16 th June 1873	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin	“Decline of Popery in Italy”	Proceeds for the Free Italian Church
5 th August 1874	Concert Hall of Exhibition Palace	“Ritualism”	Rev. T. Scott presided
6 th August 1874	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin	“Ritualism”	Rev. T. Scott presided

8th August 1874	Assembly rooms, Corrig Avenue, Kingston		1 Shilling
9th August 1874	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin		Preach the Gospel, admission free
16th May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin	“Good news from Rome for the world”	Preaching at 12 noon and 7pm
19th May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin	“Vaticanism”	
20th May 1875	Methodist Church, Blackrock		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
21st May 1875	Methodist Church, Charleston Rd., Rathmines		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
23rd May 1875	Presbyterian Church, Bray		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
23rd May 1875	Presbyterian Church, York Rd., Kingston		Collection to sustain the Mission and the Free Italian Church
28th May 1875	Metropolitan Hall, Lower Abbey St. Dublin	“Vaticanism” and “The Pope and Freemasonry”	Farewell Lecture. Rev. Thomas Scott presided.
22nd July 1877	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace	“The Bishop of Rome”	Collection made for ‘The evangelization of Italy’
25th July 1877	Wesleyan Church, Wicklow Town		
7th July 1878	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace		Sunday Service, 12 noon and 7pm
10th July 1878	Rotunda		
11th July 1878	Large Hall of Exhibition Palace	Farewell Lecture	
14th July 1878	Belfast		

¹ A. Gavazzi (1854) *The Lectures Complete of Father Gavazzi, as Delivered in New York*
(New York: M. W. Dodd), p. iii.

² M. Ambrose (2002) 'Four Italian Exiles in Edinburgh', *Bulletin of the Society for Italian Studies*, 5-11; R. Sylvain (1962) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Clerc, Garibaldien, predicant des Deux Mondes* (Québec: Tours); V. Breton (2006) 'L'émeute Gavazzi: violence et liberté d'expression au milieu du XIXe siècle', *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, 14, 2, 63-70; E. K. Senior (1981) *British Regulars in Montreal. An Imperial Garrison, 1834-1854* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), pp. 109-133; J. King (1857) *Alessandro Gavazzi: A Biography* (London: J.W.King).

³ Sylvain, *Gavazzi*; L. Santini (1955) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Aspetti del problema religioso del Risorgimento* (Modena: Società Tipografica Editrice Modenese); M. Rughi (1944) *Alessandro Gavazzi: Italian Priest, Patriot and Reformer* (Dublin: Connellan Mission); King, *Gavazzi*.

⁴ B. Jenkins (2006) *Irish Nationalism and the British State*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press); D. Bowen (1995) *History and the shaping of Irish Protestantism*. (New York: Peter Lang).

⁵ F. Dunne (2009) "'Unfurling the Banner of Reform": Public Opinion, Nationalism, and Facts and Figures from Italy', *Irish Studies Review*, 17, 3, 327.

⁶ D. G. Paz (1992) *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), p. 28; B. Hall (1975) 'Alessandro Gavazzi: a Barnabite friar and the Risorgimento', *Studies in Church History*, 12, 303-356.

⁷ A. Gavazzi (1851) *Twelve Orations by Father Gavazzi on Papal Usurption and Intolerance* (Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy).

⁸ For more on Mahony's views on Irish and Italian affairs see Dunne, 'Unfurling the Banner of Reform'; F. S. Mahony (1847) *Facts and Figures from Italy* (London: Richard Bentley).

⁹ Sylvain, *Gavazzi*, p. 269. In a letter to his superiors, the Irish Archbishop, Paul Cullen, wrote warning the hierarchy in Rome about the dangerous possibilities presented by the two men. Cullen to Frasoni, 2 February 1852, Archives of Propaganda Fide (APF) SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 88 (r) - 89 (v).

¹⁰ Cullen to Kirby, 20 January 1851, Pontifical Irish College Rome (PICR), KIR.NC.1.1851.5.

¹¹ Cullen to Kirby 18 March 1851, Bernard Smith Papers Rome.

¹² *The Nation*, 5 April 1851.

¹³ C. Barr, M. Finelli, A. O'Connor (eds.) (2013) *Nation/Nazione: Irish nationalism and the Italian Risorgimento* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press).

¹⁴ O'Connor, A. (2011) 'The Pope, the Prelate, the Soldiers and the Controversy: Paul Cullen and the Irish Papal Brigade', in D. Keogh & A. McDonnell (eds.) *Paul Cullen and his World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 329-349; O'Carroll, C. (2008) 'The Papal Brigade of St. Patrick' in D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (eds.) *The Irish College, Rome and its World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press), pp. 167-187.

¹⁵ D. Bowen (1978) *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800-1870* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan); J. H. Murphy (ed.) (2005) *Evangelicals and Catholics in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press); M. Moffitt (2008) *Soupers & Jumpers: The Protestant Missions in Connemara, 1848-1937*. (Dublin: Nonsuch); Moffitt, M. (2011) 'The Conversion of Connemara and Conflict between Paul Cullen and John MacHale' in Keogh and McDonnell *Cardinal Paul Cullen and his World*, pp. 231-242.

¹⁶ A. Gavazzi (1852) *The Orations of Father Gavazzi Delivered in Belfast on 3rd, 4th and 5th November 1852* (Belfast: William McComb). The Priests' Protection Society was behind the publication of the *Orations* and claimed in that volume to have aided and protected '25

reformed priests and 27 reformed Romish students'. The Society also claimed to have 'issued from the press 254,810 copies of Scriptural and Anti-Popish publications'. The Society was based in 23 Upper Sackville St. Dublin and also at Rev. Scott's residence Richmond Hill, Rathmines.

¹⁷ Cullen to Barnabò, 26 March 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 124 (r)-125 (v).

¹⁸ Cullen to Kirby, 10 November 1852, PICR, KIR.NC.1.1852.58.

¹⁹ Cullen to Kirby, 16 November 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 291-292 (v).

²⁰ Letter reproduced from the *Daily Express* in the *Freeman's Journal*, 9 November 1852.

Further evidence of Gavazzi's divisiveness is to be seen in an article in the *Irish Times*, 3 July 1860, which reported that a majority of 22 against 12 councillors had decided that Mr. Ounsely Bonsall should not be elected Lord Mayor of Dublin because he entertained strong religious opinions. It was held against him that he presided at a public meeting where Gavazzi spoke.

²¹ King, *Gavazzi*, pp. 57-58; Santini, *Gavazzi*, p. 111.

²² Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland*.

²³ See Appendix 1 for details of the locations and topics of a sample of these lectures.

²⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.

²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.

²⁶ *Nenagh Guardian*, 30 October 1852.

²⁷ *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 February 1853.

²⁸ *Nenagh Guardian*, 13 May 1854.

²⁹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 13 May 1854.

³⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.

³¹ *Freeman's Journal*, 21 February 1852.

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- ³² *Irish Times*, 3 September 1862. See also descriptions of his orations and style in King, Gavazzi, pp. 50-53.
- ³³ Hall, 'Gavazzi'.
- ³⁴ E. Bacchin (2011) 'Il Risorgimento oltremarica. Nazionalismo cosmopolita nei meeting britannici di metà Ottocento', *Contemporanea*, 2, 173-202; M. Isabella (2009) *Risorgimento in Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- ³⁵ L. Riall (2007) *Garibaldi: the Invention of a Hero* (Yale: Yale University Press).
- ³⁶ A. Gavazzi (1852) *Father Gavazzi's Gift to the People of Ireland* (Dublin: s.n.); A. Gavazzi (1851) *Twelve Orations* (Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy); A. Gavazzi (1852) *The orations of Father Gavazzi delivered in Belfast on 3rd, 4th and 5th November 1852* (Belfast: William McComb); A. Gavazzi (1858) *Fourth Lecture, Gavazzi in Belfast, Pope Pius IX* (Belfast: s.n.). See also Appendix 1 for titles of lectures.
- ³⁷ *Irish Times* 1 October 1862.
- ³⁸ Gavazzi, *Fourth Lecture*, p. 20.
- ³⁹ *Irish Times* 3 September 1862.
- ⁴⁰ *Irish Times* 19 July 1861.
- ⁴¹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 21 February 1852.
- ⁴² *Irish Times* 19 July 1861.
- ⁴³ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1852.
- ⁴⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 9 November 1852.
- ⁴⁵ Cullen to Franson, 19 February 1852, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 31, ff. 103 (r) -104 (v).
- ⁴⁶ C. Barr (2008) 'Lord Acton's Irish Elections', *Historical Journal*, 51, 1, 87-114.
- ⁴⁷ Cullen, 20 January 1855, quoted in D. Bowen (1983) *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 252.

⁴⁸ For example in an undated letter, Cullen sarcastically compares the trials of the Pope in dealing with rebel Italian priests to Cullen's own trials in dealing with such figures in Ireland, he says: 'The scenes that are taking place will be without doubt a cause of great harm to the clergy and the religion, but patience is required, and at the end of the day, if Italy has its Pantaleo, and Bassi, and Gavazzi, I do not know why we must not have the honour of producing the Lavelles, Kenyons and Vaughans.' Cullen to Kirby, date unknown, PICR, NK, 3, 1, 28.

⁴⁹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 9 February 1853.

⁵⁰ *Nation*, 13 November 1858.

⁵¹ *Vindicator*, quoted in *The Times*, 30 April 1859.

⁵² I am very grateful to Dr. John Cunningham, NUI Galway, who shared his lecture notes on the Gavazzi riot in Galway with me.

⁵³ *The Times*, 1 April 1859.

⁵⁴ *Irish Times*, 28 April 1859.

⁵⁵ *Irish Times*, 27 September 1862.

⁵⁶ S. Gilley (1973) 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *Historical Journal*, 16, 4, 697-732.

⁵⁷ Cullen to Barnabò, 2 November 1862, APF, SC, Irlanda, vol. 34, ff. 552 (r) – 556 (r). In another letter to Rome, Cullen said, 'Let us hope that the Holy Father will no longer be harassed by *Garibaldini*. Here Fr. Gavazzi has caused uproar. In London also, there has been commotion between Catholics and *Garibaldini*, but naturally the Catholics will be punished, and the others, who are the cause of the ills, will go unpunished'. Cullen to Barnabò, 7 October 1862, APF SC, Irlanda, vol. 34, ff. 531 (r) – 534 (v).

⁵⁸ *The Times*, 30 September 1862.

⁵⁹ *Irish Times*, 1 October 1862.

⁶⁰ Gavazzi, lecture in Liverpool, April 1859. Reference supplied by John Cunningham. See also n. 51.

⁶¹ *Irish Times*, 31 September 1862.

⁶² *Irish Times*, 1 October 1862.

⁶³ *Irish Times*, 8 October 1862.

⁶⁴ *Nation*, 13 November 1858.

⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 17 May 1875, 23 July 1877.

⁶⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 23 June 1879.

⁶⁷ Barr, 'Lord Acton's Irish Elections'.

⁶⁸ J. O'Brien (2005) 'Irish public opinion and the Risorgimento, 1859-1860', *Irish Historical Studies*, 34, issue 135, pp. 289-305.