

UPPER CANADIAN PROTESTANT PERCEPTION
OF THE ITALIAN 'RISORGIMENTO': 1846-1860

by

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The period from the election of Pius IX (1846) to Garibaldi's successful liberation of the Southern Provinces (1860) may be considered the peak of the 'Risorgimento': the struggle for the unity and independence of Italy. In those years the various states in which the Peninsula was subdivided went through the political and social turmoil out of which emerged a united Italy. Such an extraordinary event fulfilled an old dream which had inspired Italian literature since Dante. However, more importantly for this paper, it ended a long struggle conducted with two opposing methods, which in the final analysis complimented each other: namely, Cavour's cautious diplomacy and Mazzini's revolution. Our object here is to trace in general lines, regardless of individual or denominational differences, Upper Canadian Protestant perception of and reaction to what was happening in Italy in those years. It should be understood, that what we may say about the reactions to any one specific Italian event do not necessarily reflect the views of all Protestants in Upper Canada.

By the time Cardinal Mastai had been elected to the chair of Peter and took the name of Pius IX, the Italian Risorgimento, its misfortunes, and its heroic struggles were well known to the Canadian

people in general and the Protestants of Upper Canada in particular. For example, when in 1845, there occurred a local rebellion in Rimini, a small city in the papal states, the Toronto Globe published an editorial, its first on the Risorgimento, an editorial in which the support of the Protestants of Upper Canada for the Italian cause was uncompromisingly stated and the general terms of the question clearly put: it was a struggle against the foreign domination of Austria and against the Ecclesiastic despotism of the Church of Rome. It reads:

Italy, one of the finest countries in the world, but long held down by civil and ecclesiastic despotism, seems ready to burst its chains. Many attempts have been successively made to throw off the yoke, and the feeble sovereignties, would long have been swept away, and given place to a institution more becoming the present state of society, and the ancient fame of the country, but for the Austrian military power, which is ever ready to suppress the least appearance of a liberal or independent spirit.

In Upper Canada, however, Protestant Perception of the Italians and of Italy was somehow distorted. It was a view both too idyllic and too prejudiced: their classic education, their prejudices against Catholics, their frustration with the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec, and their firm belief in freedom as embodied in the British parliamentary institutions, all intermingled in the often harsh judgements and some times false images of Italy and the Italians. For example, Canadian Protestants had high regard for the great Italian past and the artistic treasures of that country; but they showed contempt for the present Italy dominated by popery which represented everything they had been taught to hate and despise:

petty tyrants, intriguing Jesuits, and corrupted and immoral priests and prelates. Furthermore, the natural beauties of the land were presented as if it were taken out of pastoral poetry: the Italian sky was always blue, the climate always sunny and warm, and the countryside rich with luxuriant plants and trees bearing exotic fruit. Italy was pictured, in the words of a reporter of the Christian Guardian, as the "Eden of the Earth."²

But the Italians were perceived to be in a state of profound degradation. The lower class was considered "lazy, unprincipled, vindictive," and without private or public morality.³ The Protestants' judgements were particularly harsh against the poor unemployed of the large cities, such as Rome and Naples. They had no better opinion of the upper class who were thought of as "exceedingly civil, but heartless, - frank in manners, but capable of great duplicity in action, - fiery-hearted, but not steadily brave, and selfish to any amount of meanness. In a word, you cannot trust them."⁴ Italians, in the opinion of the Canadian Protestants, had lost the ability to govern themselves democratically. Consequently, they would have used freedom to disrupt the social order and bring about anarchy. Canadian Protestants would have liked to see the transition from a despotic to a democratic form of government occur without dramatic social and political change. They favoured a constitutional rearrangement of the existing states as it was prospected by the moderate party of Cavour and Gioberti.

The cause of such degradation was not in the Italians themselves, but, according to the Canadian Protestants, it was in the Church of Rome, which suppressed any spark of freedom and destroyed every form of free thinking and free expression. As a consequence of such brutal repression the 'Italian race', which was once master of the world, had fallen into slavery. "Italian people, whether in town or country, have degenerated into a race of slaves, and paupers; their noblest heroism is that of the bandit and their highest wisdom cunning."⁵

Upper Canadian Protestants began to change these opinions about the Italians after the 1848-49 Revolution, when the Italians proved that they were, not only mature enough to govern themselves democratically, but that they had fortitude and courage to defend their land and, if necessary, to die for it. The Christian Guardian wrote: "Whenever the Italians break away for a short time, from their ecclesiastic and other tyrannies, they show true manhood, and reveal what they could be if they had fair play ././.. The people fought well, they disproved the common imputation of cowardice. Better heroism has not been displayed in modern time than these poor, downtrodden men exhibited at the sieges of Rome and Venice."⁶

The Protestants of Upper Canada perceived the problem of the Italian decadence, and consequently of the Italian Risorgimento, to be fundamentally "moral and religious" rather than political

and military. They saw its outcome in the religious "regeneration" of the Italians, who, in many years of oppression, had been deprived of their natural abilities. The Italians "are a gifted race, they perceive quickly, feel intensely, and possess an earnest and eloquent manner of expression: qualities which render them capable of the most brilliant intellectual efforts."⁷ But in order to regain their natural gifts it was necessary for them to break away from the oppression of the Jesuits and the priests. This was also the aim of most of the Italian patriots, and above all of Mazzini. The Guardian rightly pointed out that, "the most intelligent and patriotic Italian writers have since 1814 been occupied with one leading object, - the mental emancipation and moral improvement of their countrymen."⁸ Such aims coincided, then, with basic aspirations of the Protestants: namely, evangelization of the world and destruction of popish power. But for the Italians "regeneration" or Risorgimento meant the awakening of national pride and of the desire to emulate and compete with the great nations of Europe; whereas for the Upper Canadian Protestants "regeneration" meant nothing less than "evangelization of the Italians."

In fact when the Italian refugees living in New York asked for assistance from the Christian Alliance, an organization created to co-ordinate missionary work in the popish countries, the hopes of the North American Protestants to penetrate into Italy rose to a new peak. "The evangelization of Italians," wrote the Christian

Guardian, "through the agency of Italians of high personal worth, is by itself an object of sovereign interest to all believers in the doctrine of Reformation, - to all admirers of art and literature ./././ But when through this evangelical work incalculable benefit may be derived to the rest of the world, and to our own country ./././ (it) cannot fail to awake ./././ the interest which we individually take in the preservation of our blessing, or our families and country."9

In the insistence that the Italian question was mainly "moral and religious," we can perceive a reflection of the Canadian Protestants' experience with the French Canadian Catholics. The latter enjoyed political and religious freedom, but they still were, according to the Protestants of Upper Canada, a backward society dominated by the priesthood. Furthermore, their perception in Italy of a religious struggle directed against the spiritual authority of the Church was contrary to facts: that was merely a projection of their own ideals. For the Italian patriots the struggle was political and directed against the temporal power of the Pope. They never intended to suppress the spiritual authority of their Church. Even the radicals, in proclaiming the Roman Republic, made quite clear that the Pope was free to return to Rome and exercise his spiritual authority under the protection of the Republican Government. Father Gavazzi, who was very close to Protestantism, recognized the

real nature of the Italian struggle. During a speech delivered in Toronto on May 31st, 1853, replying to the question, "are you a Protestant?", he said frankly: "I do not belong to any Protestant denomination, because it could be against our entire mission in Italy. Don't mistake, my Italy is so greatly prejudiced that if I go again with a Protestant name the Italians will take flight from my platform; because we don't wish in Italy to hear any one speak against Pope and Popery."¹⁰

Another aspect characteristic of the Canadian Protestants' support for the Italian Risorgimento was the apparent total lack of practical help to the Italian patriots. Except for a collection of funds for financing a missionary to be sent to Rome, nothing practical had been done.¹¹ Although it is possible that individual Canadian Protestants may have contributed financially to collections initiated in the United States and England. This absence of concrete participation contrasts with the contribution in money, men and military goods given by the people of both England and the United States.¹² It contrasts also with the contribution of money and men given to the other side of the struggle by the Canadian Catholics.¹³

The real reason for this lack of Canadian practical involvement in the Risorgimento might be that no one was interested enough to initiate some practical activity, in the form of organizing a public meeting, initiating a collection etc. The Italians living in Upper Canada at the time were very few: 18 in Toronto, 11 in Ottawa, 7 in London, 2 in Hamilton, and another 25 or 30 spread all over the Province.¹⁴ Of these 70, only two had been linked at any time in their lives with the struggle for

Italian independence. They were James Forneri, professor of modern languages at University College at the University of Toronto, and Gian Maria Bonacina of Montreal, who in 1841 was affiliated to Mazzini's party "Young Italy."¹⁵ Forneri, who came to Canada in 1852, at the age of 64, was too old to be an active conspirator. He had been a fervent carbonarist in his youth in Turin.¹⁶ The others, as far as we know, were not interested in or at least uninvolved in what was happening in Italy.

The election of Pius IX occurred in an atmosphere of expectation created by Gioberti's book: Il Primato Civile e Morale degli Italiani, in which he proposed the unity of Italy in a federation of all states under the leadership of the Pope. Pius IX's political amnesty and his public blessing of Italy, **were** understood to mean that he was accepting the leadership of the projected federation. Meetings of public support for Pius IX were held in every town of the Peninsula, and abroad non-italian Catholics joined the Italians in praising the Liberal Pope. This tide of sympathy for the Pontiff turned against him, when, in the midst of the 1848 Revolution, by his famous locution of April 29th, he condemned the war that Sardinia's army and Italian patriots from all corners of the land were fighting against Austria for the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia. From that moment to the end of the revolution in the following year, the political leadership passed from the moderates into the hands of the revolutionaries. In November, the

Pope, wrongly fearing for his life, left Rome secretly. All these events, where the people were involved in public meetings and political demonstrations on the 'piazze', were perceived by the Protestants of the Upper Canada as the symptoms of anarchy which they so much feared.

Nothing but the wildest anarchy can spring out of this, -wrote the Christian Guardian- for the liberties which the Pope has already granted to his subjects far exceeded their deserts or their ability to turn them to good account. If, therefore, this calamity has occurred beyond all hopes of redemption, we can only apprehend the sort of consequence from it not only to the Roman States, but to the rest of Italy, and there is a great reason to apprehend that the struggle which began for independence will end in anarchy.¹⁷

The proclamation of the short lived Roman Republic on February 9th, 1849, was received with bewilderment. The Protestants of Upper Canada, who had time and again said that "Popery is nowhere so weak as in Italy and that no people hate it more cordially than the Italians,"¹⁸ were amazed at the truth of their own words. This was an event that made history for every one, but particularly for Canadian Protestants, who could not believe what had happened. The Pope had been forced to leave Rome or had been taken prisoner other times before, but always by hostile foreign armies; this time the Roman people themselves had decided to depose him. "Of all events that have shaken Europe within the last 14 months," wrote the Christian Guardian, "there is none more astonishing than the fall of the Pope. A sacred prestige formerly hallowed his person; his subjects knelt as he passed, ././ and now he is

declared dethroned, - the popedom banished for ever, ././. and this by his own subjects, by the Roman Catholics themselves."¹⁹

When the French troops marched into Rome, it was a sad day for Liberals all over the world. Upper Canadian Protestants felt rage and indignation against France and even against Great Britain who allowed the perpetration of such a crime. "France is chiefly to blame for this catastrophe, although our own government is not free from it,"²⁰ said the Globe. The virtues, skill, courage, and humanity of those who manned the walls of the city to defend Rome, and of those who led the short lived Republic were highly praised. In Canada the struggle for defending Rome was considered one of the greatest moments in the life of that glorious city. The Globe published one of the most solemn and dignified eulogies of the event and of the men involved in it. The following is part of that long editorial:

Never was a revolution more justifiable than that of Rome. The people readily embraced the new government, sanctioned it by their votes at the elections, and have given it their hearty support ever since. The leaders were worthy of their cause. Their gallantry and skill in the field, their preservation of order in Rome under circumstances of most exciting character, their humanity to their prisoners, their moderation in victory, must cast a ray of glory around their short lived administration, which will yet be recorded as not unworthy of the brightest period of Roman history. The very conception of defending Rome against powerful armies, set on by hostile governments surrounding her on every side, could only have originated with men of undoubted courage, and heroism, and we are much mistaken if Mazzini and Garibaldi will not yet perform part in the important transactions of this era.²¹

French prestige had reached the lowest point in the opinion of the Protestants of Upper Canada who felt that France had betrayed the freedom which was the very foundation of her own existence.

These sentiments were well expressed in a poem by the title "France and Rome" published in the Globe:

For shame, O France! was it for thee
 To strike at Rome, the despot's blow?
 Thou boaster of thy liberty.
 To turn to freedom as his foe!
 For shame, though braggart - it was for thee
 To lift the voice, and shake the steel
 And on the neck of Tyranny.²²

In Upper Canada the 1850's were characterized by the Protestants' animosity against Catholicism, triggered by the promotion of Doctor Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, to Cardinal. In the atmosphere of suspicion and fear created by the failure of the European Revolution, Wiseman's appointment was considered an act of "Papal aggression" against the political and religious freedom of the British world. In Italy, the Italian Princes, returned to power, repudiated the constitutions that they had granted the people and there began a period of political and even religious repression: for some Italians, particularly in Tuscany, had been converted to Protestantism by preachers who had gone to Italy during the years of reforms and freedom.

Only Sardinia, led by a group of Liberals, retained the constitution. D'Azeglio and Cavour, prime ministers of this country, began a new policy aiming at two objectives: to regain the leadership of the Italian patriots from the hands of the Mazzinian revolutionary party, and to win the support of the French and British governments for the unity of Italy. In

those years the Sardinian government took certain political steps which hurt the Roman See's interests in that country. Such policy was very popular with Protestants all over the world. In fact the Upper Canadian Protestants, who earlier preferred no specific Italian state, or leader, or government, in the 1850's were all whole heartedly for Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, king of Sardinia. Furthermore they saw in the Piedmontese monarchy the mean to transform the old Italian states into a modern nation without the risk of republicanism and the consequence of anarchy: monarchy would insure a smooth transition to unity.

The Canadian press reported accounts of repression, torture and abuses imposed on Italians suspected of Liberal opinions. English and American tourists who happened to be in Italy denounced the illegal detention of patriots and the phony trials concocted to destroy the most prestigious persons of Italy. Even in Tuscany, which the Rev. Egerton Ryerson had described in 1845 as "the most liberal, and perhaps, the best despotism in the world,"²³ the Grand Duke followed blindly the political line of the reactionary powers of Europe; namely, the Pope and Austria. The persecution against Liberals of even moderate opinion became as cruel as everywhere else in Italy and Europe. But in Upper Canada the persecution of the few converted Protestants living in Florence had wider resonance.

The arrest on May 7th, 1851, of Count Guicciardini, descendant

of the famous Florentine historian, and of his friends, because they had been "found assembled and occupied in reading a chapter of the Gospel,"²⁴ was widely reported and commented on in the Upper Canadian Press. The arrest of Miss Cunningham, and above all the imprisonment of Francesco Madiai and his wife, Rosa, became an international case (cause celebre), and the two governments of Britain and Tuscany exchanged diplomatic notes on the subject. This case had the widest publicity in the Upper Canada's press, and in the tense atmosphere of the "Papal Aggression," it became the focus of Protestant indignation against the abuses by Popery. The following passage gives an idea of the feelings aroused by this case. It was written in response to a previous report which held that Francesco Madiai was dead. "Madiai lives; from his prison, and not from his tomb, he bears testimony against the power that persecutes man for studying God's revelation of His will and purpose, and for worshipping his maker in the way that he believes to be most acceptable. Madiai is still the Duke of Tuscany's victims, and not yet a martyr of his faith as former reports from Europe led the American people so suppose. Very well, he lives, and may not be forgotten, as the dead too often are."²⁵

Only Sardinia and its King had been able to resist the Papal aggression and honor the commitment taken by King Carl Albert in granting the people political and religious freedom. "The most important event of modern times," wrote the Christian Guardian, "is the establishment by the constitutional regime, and its

attendant freedom of religion in Piedmont and Sardinia."²⁶ There had been three occurrences which made Piedmont and its King Victor Emmanuel dear to the Protestants of Upper Canada: namely, the policy which led to the Papal excommunication; the recognition of the Waldenses' religious rights; and the Piedmontese participation in the Crimean war as an ally of the British and the French.

The Sardinian political decisions which infuriated the Pope and led him to condemn publicly all those involved were: the Siccardi law which abolished the ecclesiastic courts; the matrimonial legislation; the abolition of some religious orders and the confiscation of their property. This last fitted quite well with the Clergy Reserve question at that time being discussed in this country. The Globe praised the Sardinian government for its firm stand: "We almost feared", it wrote, "that the Sardinians would quail before the traditional authority of Rome. But we have been most agreeably re-assured, for they have executed their plan, with all the boldness and determination in which it was conceived."²⁷ In this praise directed to the Sardinians, George Brown, the Globe editor, had in mind the Canadian question of the Clergy Reserves, and the indecision infecting Canadians. In fact he closed his article as follows: "surely the people of Canada can be as wise as those of Spain and Italy. Surely they can act as determinantly."²⁸

The recognition of the Waldenses' religion rights was

received with approval and satisfaction by the Canadian Protestants. "Piedmont", wrote the Globe, "permits the Waldenses to build churches; she treats them well that they take their place in public procession and the Royal troops present arms to them as they pass. Bravo Piedmont".²⁹ The old Protestant dream of evangelizing the Italians in the atmosphere of a revival, seemed to the Protestants of Upper Canada more real and concrete than ever. "An event", wrote the Guardian, "fought with interest and hope to Protestants just occurred in Italy, the opening of a Protestant church for the long persecuted Waldenses, in Turin, the metropolitan city of the country."³⁰ Hopes were certainly high: Protestants saw a general interest of the Italians in this old religious sect. "exception of ultrarepublicans, every patriot," commented the Guardian, "every lover of the real welfare of his country, fixes his eyes upon the Waldenses, and builds his chief hope in Italy on the progress of their doctrines."³¹

Of course this was wishful thinking. Italians in general were not attracted to the Waldenses, who in many years of isolation had lost their Italian origin and their Italian language, and even Italian Protestants could not get along with them, after a futile attempt at collaboration, because most of the Italian Protestants had been influenced by the Free Church of Scotland and Switzerland. Consequently they, unlike the Waldenses, believed in a church of voluntarism and participation.

Furthermore most of the members of the Italian Free Church came from the revolutionary left, whereas the Waldenses boasted of their loyalism to the Savoy House. Italian Protestants were patriotic and nationalist; the Waldenses were concerned mainly about their valleys.³²

There is no doubt that the religious freedom granted to the Waldenses of Piedmont made Victor Emmanuel very popular with the Protestants of Upper Canada. They saw it as a gift given by the King to the subjects, rather than as a right of citizens. This was a peculiar position because fundamentally, they believed in the natural rights of Man. It could only mean that they, as good monarchists had veneration for the crown as symbol of freedom and stability. They had words of praise and admiration for that King: "Victor Emmanuel," wrote the Guardian, "the worthy son of immortal Charles Albert conducted himself as an affectionate father towards the Waldenses, and on more than one occasion, has given indisputable proof of special attachment to them."³³

Hence it is not a surprise that Victor Emmanuel's visit in England was widely covered by the Canadian Protestant press. Although they did not believe him to be a Protestant, at least they considered him an enemy of the Church of Rome. "The King of Sardinia," reported the Guardian, "is now under excommunication from the Pope, but seems not to ^{hold} hold the impotent curse."³⁴ In reality Victor Emmanuel was worried by it, and secretly sent

a personal messenger, Mons. Rinaldi Vicario, to Pius IX asking for absolution.³⁵

The participation of Piedmont in the Crimean war with a contingent of 15,000 men, was welcomed by the Protestants of this country who now considered Sardinia an ally of Great Britain. "Bravo Piedmont", said the Globe, "no wonder that nations which have spirit and courage to defy the ghostly tyrant should be found side by side with the allied in a war with Russia."³⁶ The entrance of the King of Sardinia in the alliance with England, France and Turkey, according to the Globe, "has given additional importance and strength to that alliance, and the efficient force which his Sardinian majesty has sent to the seat of war to co-operate with the allied armies, will not fail to maintain the high reputation by which the army of Sardinia has ever been distinguished."³⁷ And in fact, every war report, which illustrated the conduct of the men in battle, did not fail to mention how the Sardinian soldiers distinguished themselves. The following taken from the description of the battle of Tehernaya~~x~~, in which the Piedmontese troops were in action, is one example: "they [the Russians] had their flank turned to that of the Piedmontese, who had got the range to an inch, and fired with accuracy little short of marvellous. ././.. The remanant of the [Russian] column got undercover on the other side of the stream, and remained there for some times, until two battalions of Piedmontese came out

upon the plane, and throwing out skirmishers advanced upon the river. The Russians retired in haste, and not in very good order, skirmishing as they went, until they reached the high ground on which their cavalry and the reserve of the artillery were stationed. During the pursuit the Piedmontese made some prisoners."³⁸

In the Paris conference of 1856, the French Minister, Count Walewski, introduced the Italian question to the attention of Europe. This was taken up by Count Cavour, representing Sardinia, who accused the Papal Government and the King of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand II, of the most atrocious cruelties against innocent people. The British Minister added his authoritative voice against those two Governments, and repeated the charges advanced by both France and Sardinia. He forcefully asked the two Governments to reform and put an end to the political and religious persecutions.

England, according to the Christian Guardian, did not have the doubts of France regarding Italy. In France Napoleon was in power because of the Jesuits' party, which supported him, but in England this was not so. England, according to the Canadian press, fully supported Sardinia, which was labouring to ameliorate the political conditions of the Peninsula, "for her moral, social and physical interests [were] involved."³⁹ The newspapers registered the reaction of the Jesuit party all over Europe on the subject. They added, however, that the interest displayed in the progress of Italy by the European nations was a positive act. The Italians

reaction on the Paris conference was described as follows:

The Italians hail with enthusiasm this ray of light which penetrates their darkness. They see that Europe does not forsake and forget them and that they may count on having protectors. These poor oppressed people lift up the head at Rome, Bologna, Naples, Palermo, Florence and Milan. They wait with feverish impatience the realization of these promises and the most daring are preparing arms in case their hope is deceived. If the reforms are not granted a revolution will infallibly break out and it would be the signal of an extensive overtuning. God grant that we may be spared the calamity of such violence.⁴⁰

Although the Protestants of Upper Canada predicted, time and again, the revolution in Italy, when it did occur, they considered its leader Joseph Mazzini to be a man "full of dangerous fancies, which he easily takes for realities."⁴¹ However they mitigated this harsh judgement with the respect that every freedom lover owes to that great man. "Mazzini", they said, "is truly a firm, courageous man of a strong will and devoted to the cause of liberty."⁴² The fact was that they were not convinced that revolution could resolve the Italian question. They had in mind the evangelization of the Italians. Therefore they thought that for Italy "national unity is not the work of a day, nor even of one or two generations."⁴³

The war against Austria in 1859, the revolution in Tuscany and in part of the Papal states and the victorious campaign of Garibaldi took Canadian Protestants and not only them but even most Italian moderates, by surprise. That is why they call it the miracle of 1859-60. Of all the many intriguing and surprising events of those two great years, what drew most the sympathy of the

Upper Canadian Protestants and of all the people in the world had been the brilliant success achieved by Garibaldi. The people of the Southern Provinces of Italy, the poor and illiterate who were considered fanatically pro Pope and pro Ferdinand II, followed Garibaldi who knew how to talk to them. In Canada the General has been the most popular man of modern Italy to our day, maybe more than the hated Mussolini. He had all the characteristics that the Protestants associated with great men, or, at least, that is how they presented him in their newspapers. The following is taken from a biographic sketch published in the Christian Guardian:

The great leader never drinks wine, and never eats more than two sorts of meat at dinner. At eight o'clock in the evening he goes to bed, and regularly gets up at two o'clock in the morning. He then reads for two hours some military book, and at four o'clock he has his breakfast, after which he goes into his office to transact military business. Garibaldi is never seen in public except on duty. Even when he wants to take the fresh air of the sea he rides out of the town taking the shortest and quickest way which leads to the Marina. Loaded with stars and medals by more than one monarch he never wears any decoration whatever, and when he is obliged to wear his uniform he does it with such nonchalance that you would scarcely believe that he is a hero-of-so many expeditions of almost fabulous daring. ⁴⁴

Of course nothing is said of his many women, but that would have ruined the picture of this idealized Protestant hero and saviour.

In conclusion the reaction of the Protestants of Upper Canada to the events in Italy was that unity was still to be achieved because the Risorgimento did not end with the evangelization of Italians. Upper Canadian Protestants felt that they had been

betrayed; and for different reasons so did all the Italian radicals who were expecting more than a geographical and political union. That is why we conclude with a poem of Alexander McLachlan to Garibaldi, which expresses Canadian Protestant feelings towards Italy at the end of 1860.

GARIBALDI

O sons of Italy, awake!
 Your hearts and altars are at stake!
 Arise, arise, for Freedom's sake
 And strike with Garibaldi!

The Liberator now appears,
 Foretold by prophets, bards, and seers-
 The hero sprung from blood and tears,
 All hail to Garibaldi!

Let serfs and cowards fear and quake!
 O Venice, Naples, Rome, awake!
 Like lava from your burning lake,
 Rush on with Garibaldi!

Up and avenge your country's shame,
 Like Aetna belching forth her flame,
 Rush on in Freedom's holy name,
 And strike with Garibaldi!

'Tis Freedom thunders in your ears;
 The weary night of blood and tears,
 The sorrows of a thousand years
 Cry "On with Garibaldi!"

The Roman Eagle is not dead;
 Her mighty wings again are spread
 To swoop upon the tyrants's head,
 And strike with Garibaldi!

The land wherein the laurel waves
 Was never meant to nourish slaves;
 Then onward to your bloody graves;
 Or live like Garibaldi!⁴⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. The Toronto Globe, November 4th, 1845.
2. Christian Guardian, July 1st, 1846.
3. For example, see how President Durbin describes the Neopolitan "lazzaroni" in the Christian Guardian, July 5th, 1843; and also what Rev. Ryerson Egerton says about the poor peasants of Rome and Naples, in the same paper, December 10th, 1845.
4. See the article 'Death in a Theatre', Christian Guardian, September 4th, 1844.
5. Christian Guardian, July 1st, 1846 .
6. Ibid., September 17th, 1856 .
7. Ibid., January 16th, 1850 .
8. Ibid., February 21st, 1844 .
9. Ibid..
10. See Gavazzi's speech delivered in the St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto Examiner, June 8th, 1853.
11. In the Christian Guardian, November 8th, 1848, we read: "Contribution received from Ministers and Congregarions, on the behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the purpose of sending the Scriptures to France and Italy -- to the 26th October, 1848;" then follows a list of names with respective contribution.
12. See Federico Curato's article on "Gli Italiani in Gran Bretagna;" and Edward R. Marraro's "Gli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d'America," in Il Veltro, N. 5-6, anno V, May-June 1961: special number dedicated to "Gli Italiani nel mondo e il Risorgimento."
13. I refer to the Canadian Zouavers in the Papal Army, and of course to the many meetings which were held in the Canadian Catholic churches to pray for the Pope; and to money collections on behalf of the Vatican States.
14. This paragraph is the symthesis of research that I have done in the Canadian National Archives in Ottawa on the Sensus Return Forms of Upper Canada Sensus for the year 1861.

15. Giuseppe Mazzini, Scritti Editi ed Inediti, Imola, Vol. 20, pg. 104.
16. For Forneri's biography see John King, "McCaul: Croft: Forneri," published in Varsity, 1881; and also Wm. Oldright, "Professor James Forneri, LL.D.," in University of Toronto Monthly, May 2nd, 1902.
17. Christian Guardian, June 7th, 1848.
18. Ibid., February 21st, 1844.
19. Ibid., March 21st, 1849.
20. The Globe, July 26th, 1849.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., June 27th, 1849
23. See Egerton Ryerson, "Letter from Europe", Christian Guardian, December 10th, 1845.
24. The Globe, December 25th, 1851
25. Christian Guardian, February 23rd, 1853. On the Madiai case, there is much material in the Canadian press, but the most informative and useful are the articles in the Christian Guardian (February 23rd, and April 13th, 1855) and the one of February 16th, 1853, in the Toronto Examiner.
26. Ibid., May 4th, 1853.
27. The Globe, August 31st, 1855.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., August 27th, 1855
30. Christian Guardian, February 15th, 1854.
31. Ibid., May 4th, 1853.
32. See Giorgio Spini, L'Evangelo e il beretto frigio: Storia della Chiesa Cristiana Libera in Italia: 1870-1904, (Editrice Claudiana - Torino, 1871), pp. 10-13.
33. Christian Guardian, May 4th, 1853.
34. Ibid., September 17th, 1856.

35. D. Massé, Pio IX Papa e Principe, (Edizione Paoline, Modena, 1961), pp. 149-50.
36. The Globe, August 27th, 1855.
37. Ibid., September 1st, 1855.
38. Ibid., September 14th, 1855.
39. Christian Guardian, July 16th, 1856.
40. Ibid.,
41. Ibid., October 7th, 1857
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., April 15th, 1857.
44. Ibid., November 23rd, 1859.
45. Alexander McLachlan, Poetic Works, (Toronto, 1900), p. 73.