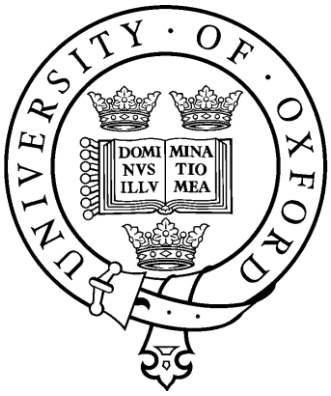
Viva l'Italia, Viva la Repubblica: Popular Political Engagement and Participation in Tuscany during the Italian Risorgimento, c. 1830-1861



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Short Abstract

This thesis explores popular politics and political participation in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during the Italian Risorgimento. On the one hand, this project examines the processes of politicisation which enabled broad cross-sections of Tuscany's labouring classes – artisans, petty traders, sharecroppers – both in the cities and in the countryside, to access political knowledge and develop an awareness of new political ideologies and discourses. On the other hand, this research explores the uses which 'popular groups' made of this new political knowledge, and the ways in which 'ordinary Tuscans' constructed and expressed political opinions and formulated their own understandings of political events. For Florence and other Tuscan cities, this project examines the role of the Tuscan democratic movement, along with the politicising impact of urban military mobilisation, which took place over 1847-49, and uses police records to explore the ways in which the artisan and working classes of Florence engaged with and made use of new political language and ideas. For the Tuscan countryside, this research turns to the years 1859-60, focusing on the impact of the popularly-oriented propaganda campaign of Bettino Ricasoli, and using transcribed compilations of oral popular songs to examine the ways Tuscan sharecroppers sought to make sense of and come to terms with national politics, and construct their own representations of the events of 1859-60. From this, the thesis argues that the Risorgimento in Tuscany ought to be seen as a mass movement in which popular groups – in both the cities and the countryside – actively engaged with the ideas and ideologies of Italian patriots, while at the same time drawing upon established channels of oral communication, and the idiom of popular culture, to construct and shape their own understandings and meanings of the Risorgimento.

Long Abstract

This thesis explores popular politics and the nature of popular political participation in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany during the Italian Risorgimento. Broadly conceived, there are two strands to this research. On the one hand, this project looks at the various processes of politicisation taking shape in Florence and the grand ducal countryside in the decades leading up to National Unification, exploring the ways in which various labouring groups in Tuscany acquired an awareness of new political ideologies and discourses. Many of these ideologies – such as patriotism, nationalism and republicanism – were still very much in the process of being refined, developed and culturally communicated by Italian intellectuals, liberals and patriots in the period in question. On the other hand, this thesis also endeavours to understand the experiences of those *being politicised*. This research therefore analyses the ways in which popular groups in Tuscany, both in the cities and in the countryside, made use of new political knowledge, in order to construct and express political voices and formulate their own understandings of political events and changing political vocabularies. By 'popular groups', this thesis takes two broad socio-economic categories which were particularly numerous in the cities and the countryside in nineteenth-century Tuscany. In Florence, this project focuses on the urban working and petty-bourgeois classes, which encompasses small shopkeepers, petty traders but mostly artisans, craft-workers and apprentices. In the countryside, the project focuses on one particular community of sharecroppers, or *mezzadri*, inhabiting the plains between Florence and Pistoia. This thesis therefore explores the development of political consciousness among broad categories of the Tuscan labouring classes, however it also endeavours to restore a sense of agency to those Tuscans involved in processes of politicisation, by analysing the ways 'ordinary Tuscans' used political knowledge to construct, express and perform a range of political identities and opinions.

This research engages with both the historiography of the Italian Risorgimento as well as with broader historiographies and research trends in nineteenth-century European history. Popular political participation has been largely overlooked by the mainstream historiographies on

Risorgimento Italy. While the older, Marxist historians of the Risorgimento have tended to separate popular movements from Risorgimento and democratic politics, the recent cultural turn in the historiography of the Risorgimento has, for the most part, taken research on nineteenth-century Italy even further away from popular politics by focusing disproportionately on Italian nationalism as a process of discursive construction and cultural representation, to the almost complete exclusion of research into how such national discourses were received by contemporary audiences, especially popular audiences. Similarly, the broader historiography on popular politicisation in nineteenth-century Europe has had a tendency to see politicisation as a straightforward, top-down process and lower-class groups as passive receivers who were acted upon by bourgeois politics. The current research project engages with both of these historiographies by exploring the ways in which real, flesh-and-blood Tuscans responded to the events and language of the Risorgimento, and attempted to construct their own sense of meaning out of them. This project therefore focuses on precisely those Tuscans who were on the receiving end of politicisation, analysing their intellectual and emotional responses to major political events and the changing political vocabularies through which the Risorgimento was articulated. In so doing, this research seeks to offer new perspectives on both artisan and peasant politicisation in nineteenth-century Europe, as well as prompting new ways of thinking about popular political participation and the reality of nationalisation.

This project identifies and analyses two broad, interconnected processes of politicisation, which took place in the major Tuscan cities and the grand ducal countryside respectively. In Florence and other urban centres, artisan and working populations were given an early, piecemeal exposure to new political ideas and discourses by Young Italy and the Tuscan democratic movement, which took root in the main grand ducal cities in the early 1830s and which laboured to forge links with and educate the Tuscan urban masses. Urban politicisation in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany then reached its apogee over 1847-49 with a sweeping military mobilisation, which served to transport large sections of the urban (and mostly male) populations of Tuscany out of the worlds with which they were familiar, introducing Tuscan men to new concepts and struggles and broadening their political

horizons. In the countryside, the politicisation of Tuscany's sharecroppers occurred slightly later in the century, in the very last months of the grand duchy's existence, as Bettino Ricasoli and the Tuscan moderate patriots, who assumed control of the grand duchy from April 1859, mounted a state-wide, popularly-oriented propaganda campaign which aimed to educate all Tuscans, especially rural communities of sharecroppers, in the importance of Tuscany's destiny to become aligned with the emerging Kingdom of Italy. Ricasoli's propaganda, which penetrated every corner of the grand duchy, played a significant role in introducing Tuscany's sharecropping populations to an increasingly pro-union, pro-Piedmont political discourse and to the importance of national politics. These separate, though interrelated, processes contributed to a heightening of political awareness on the part of both urban artisans and, later, rural sharecroppers, endowing broad swathes of Tuscans with new political knowledge which they would then use to construct and fine-tune their own political voices and opinions.

As well as exploring the complementary processes of politicisation taking shape in Tuscany over the first half of the nineteenth century, this project also investigates the ideas and political opinions which different groups of labouring Tuscans formulated, along with the uses which such groups made of elite political language. In order to study the political ideas and sentiments of the urban artisans and petit-bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Tuscany, this research makes use of the extensive grand ducal police and court records contained in the Florence state archive. The reports of prefects and police agents present a wealth of information about a range of illegal political activities in which the urban popular classes were engaged, as well as a bank of personal witness statements and testaments which allow a unique glimpse into the personal political beliefs and ideas of plaintiffs and defendants. An analysis of a broad chronological range of these police records, from the 1830s to the late 1850s, enables the historian to build a detailed picture of the kinds of political ideas being expressed by different urban groups on the streets, as well as how these ideas changed over time. This current research uses police data to argue that, as early as 1847, labouring groups in the grand ducal capital were experimenting with new political vocabularies in order to articulate

their feelings of dissatisfaction with the state and protest against the government of Leopold II. By the 1850s, in the aftermath of the military mobilisations of 1847-49, police records reveal changes of even greater significance in Florentine popular political culture. By the time of the second grand ducal Restoration, artisans and workers in Florence were exhibiting considerable competence in their ability to appropriate a range of strategies and vocabularies poached from the Tuscan democrats, while simultaneously drawing upon established channels of public communication, in order to construct their own political voices which expressed a hostile, oppositional attitude towards the government of Leopold II. Artisans living in the first years of the second Restoration expressed their political attitudes openly, through chanting and singing in the streets and discussions centred on coffee houses or other sites of working-class sociability. However, they also sought to perform their political identities privately, through the hoarding and collecting of material items and trinkets. By using patriotic political language to construct their own political opinions and express their own grievances, the urban working classes of Florence were in the process of transforming themselves into a politically-active citizenry, capable of drawing upon a range of political ideas in order to exercise a political will and contest the legitimacy of Leopold II.

To explore political sentiments and understandings amongst rural populations, this research uses compilations of popular vernacular songs, collected from rural sharecropping communities by contemporary Tuscan linguists and folklorists. Popular oral song, in particular love songs known as *rispetti* and *stornelli*, served a crucial cultural function in rural Tuscany in the nineteenth century, constituting one of the most important documented vehicles through which people in rural communities sought to express both their emotions and their understandings of the external world. According to numerous contemporary observers, the Tuscan love song genre also possessed a capacity to become politicised and turn into a channel for the expression of political ideas, rather than just amorous sentiments. These songs thus offer a rare opportunity to investigate the political ideas which sharecroppers – as well as their families – were formulating and expressing. By undertaking a comprehensive comparison of the language used in a selection of vernacular songs,

collected by one particular folklorist in the years immediately following National Unification, with the language employed in a range of popularly-oriented, pro-Piedmont political pamphlets, disseminated by the Ricasoli government in the months preceding the Tuscan plebiscite of March 1860, this thesis argues that the emerging discourses on nationhood and patriotism, distilled through popular printed propaganda, were beginning to leave noticeable imprints on rural popular culture. Oral songs collected from specific regions of the Tuscan countryside in the early 1860s make repeated reference to Piedmont and Victor Emmanuel, suggesting that national politics was very much in the process of making inroads into rural popular consciousness – in some areas of the Tuscan countryside at least – on the eve of Unification. However, oral popular songs treating national political topics were not shaped solely by political propaganda; they were also heavily structured by the conventions of oral singing culture, employing a language and a form which was highly typical of the genre of Tuscan popular love songs. This thesis therefore contends that vernacular representations of political events were shaped as much by familiar frames of reference and oral communicative media as they were by 'elite' political vocabularies.

Drawing upon all of the evidence discussed, this thesis goes on to suggest new ways of thinking about both the nature of popular participation in Risorgimento Italy and the character of popular politicisation in nineteenth-century Europe. From an assessment of the sources, the project argues that the Risorgimento in Tuscany constituted a mass movement in which lower-class, labouring groups in both the cities and the countryside actively engaged with the ideas and ideologies of Italian patriots and intellectuals, while at the same time drawing upon the familiar channels and idiom of oral communication to formulate and construct their own understandings and meanings of the Risorgimento. The thesis also contends that the 1840s and 50s in Tuscany witnessed the beginnings of the emergence of a politically-conscious citizenry – centred chiefly on the male urban artisan and petty bourgeois populations, but also on the cusp of emergence on the eve of Unification in the plains and hills of rural Tuscany – which was becoming increasingly articulate in the use of new political vocabularies and more competent at employing a range of different vehicles in order to

express a political voice. This project also argues that the politicisation of the lower classes should not be seen as a simple, top-down process of downwards transmission, but should in fact be seen more as an exchange, between intellectually-conceived ideologies on the one hand and the established infrastructure and practices of popular culture on the other. While rooted in nineteenth-century Tuscany, therefore, the conclusions of this thesis are intended to shine new lights on the nature and character of popular political participation both in Italy throughout the Risorgimento period, but also in national revolutions in Europe more generally in the nineteenth century.

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List of Abbreviations

Aff. Gov.	Affari Governativi
Arch. Stor. Fir.	Archivio Storico del Comune di Firenze
Arch. Seg.	Archivio Segreto
A.S.F.	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
B.N.C.F.	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
B.S.M.C	Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea di Roma
C.F.	Comunità di Firenze
F.R.C.	Fondo Rossi Cassigoli
P.B.G.	Presidenza del Buongoverno
Pref.	Prefettura del Compartimento Fiorentino
aff.	affare
b.	busta
f.	filza
fasc.	fascicolo

Introduction

On the night of 15th November 1851, in the Santo Spirito district of Florence, a group of gendarmes arrived at the home of the 43-year old printer, Luigi Ricci. After conducting a thorough search of his rooms, the gendarmes then arrested Ricci and escorted him to prison. Over the course of the next days, Ricci was interrogated about his suspected involvement in a secret society which, according to police intelligence, was seeking to undermine the Restoration government of Leopold II. The police authorities subjected Ricci to a sequence of questions about his relations with other known dissidents, his knowledge of the fabled secret society, and his activities over the revolutionary juncture of 1848. Towards the end of the interrogation, and after a further barrage of probing questions, Ricci started to become agitated and made a plaintive attempt to plead his innocence. In a desperate bid to defend himself, Ricci claimed that he had always lived an honest life and that he had followed the events of 1847-48 'honestly and spontaneously.' He then told his interviewers that he had always avoided riots and, perhaps most revealingly of all, that he had never presented himself to speak at political clubs, coffee houses or other public spaces.[1]

Ricci's protestations to his interrogator shine an important light on popular politics, and on the nature of political participation, in Florence in the years following 1848. In his attempts to claim his innocence, Ricci did not just make vague statements about having avoided political matters. Instead, he was much more exact, telling his interviewer specifically that he had never participated in discussions in 'political clubs, coffee houses and public spaces.' In so doing, Ricci was trying to distance himself from the very institutions which he equated with subversive political behaviour, the

[1] 'ho seguito onestamente e spontaneo il movimento politico del 1847 ed anni successivi non per questo ho preso mai parte ai tumulti di Piazza né mi sono presentato a parlare a circoli, caffè o luoghi pubblici.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 9, aff. 212, n. 1, Delegazione del Quartiere Santo Spirito, transcript of interrogation of Luigi Ricci, dated 21st Nov. 1851.

institutions in which he *knew* political discussions took place. By specifying these places, Ricci was, inadvertently, putting his finger on precisely those spaces in which oppositional politics was 'practiced' by broad sectors of the urban, and to a lesser extent rural, populations of nineteenth-century Tuscany. Ricci's comments, by drawing attention to these places, reveal that popular political participation was largely a public affair in mid-nineteenth-century Florence, which took place in the streets and coffee houses as much as it did in more formal political institutions, like electoral assemblies or committees.

Tuscany, Italy, Europe: Historiographical Considerations

Ricci's comments would not come as any surprise to modern-day historians of nineteenth-century Europe and Italy. Since the post-linguistic turn scholarship on the French Revolution – which reinterpreted the Revolution in terms of new linguistic formulations and symbolic representations of power, rather than as the outcome of conflict between distinct social groups[2] – historians have been very aware of the wide range of more informal and symbolic opportunities for political engagement which existed for the disenfranchised masses of post-revolutionary Europe, including political clubs, the popular press, civic festivals and political clothing.[3] Historians of Risorgimento Italy have been no less influenced by this new cultural historiography. The pioneering work undertaken by Alberto Mario Banti, which explores the language employed in a number of 'canonical' texts written by prominent patriots of the Risorgimento,[4] has encouraged many historians of Italy to think about Italian nationalism less as an ideology and more as a discourse, and to view the Italian nation not

[2] The principal historical works which pioneered this approach are: F. Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, tr. E. Forster (Cambridge, 1981); L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984); K. M. Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990).

[3] For political clubs, see P. Amann, *Revolution and Mass Democracy: The Paris Club Movement in 1848* (Princeton, 1975); for political festivals, see M. Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, tr. A. Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., 1988) and J. Sperber, 'Festivals of National Unity in the German Revolution of 1848-49', *Past & Present*, 136:1 (1992), pp. 114-38; for political clothing, see Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class*, pp. 74-86; R. Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances. Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 2002).

[4] A. M. Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Turin, 2000).

simply as a political system which emerged with National Unification in 1861, but as a discursive entity which needed to be imagined, evoked and culturally constructed. This shift towards the view of the Italian nation as a discursive construct has spawned a wealth of new research into the myriad ways in which 'Italy' was represented and projected, not just in the imaginations of patriots and literary intellectuals, but through a host of more popularly-oriented media, ranging from opera to statuary and from paintings to statistics.[5]

Historians of nineteenth-century Italy have, therefore, become much more sensitive in recent years to the wide range of activities and discursive practices through which disenfranchised, non-elite groups – that its, those excluded from established institutions of political, economic and cultural power, but also those who were not ideologically or organisationally involved in the Italian patriotic or democratic movement – came into contact with new political language and the crystallising discourse of Italian nationhood. This has led to some important avenues of research, especially amongst historians of Tuscany and the Papal States, with a new focus on symbolic conquests of public space and popular participation through festivals and demonstrations. The period between 1846 and 1849 in Tuscany and the Papal States witnessed the emergence of a more open and inclusive kind of street politics, which developed out of the emotionally-charged atmosphere following the election of Pius IX as Pope, and which was characterised by a series of mass political festivals, public celebrations and popular demonstrations. While the range of actions available to participants at these events may have been somewhat circumscribed, as festivals were officially-sanctioned and crafted as expressions of gratitude for the reforms enacted by Pius IX and Grand Duke Leopold II, these civic festivals introduced a new, demotic element to Risorgimento politics, allowing the urban and (to a lesser extent) rural publics to participate in liberal politics

[5] On opera, see C. Sorba, 'Il Risorgimento in musica: l'opera lirica nei teatri del 1848', in A. M. Banti and R. Bizzocchi (eds.), *Immagini della nazione nell'Italia del Risorgimento* (Rome, 2002), pp. 133-56; for statues and pictorial iconography, see F. Mazzocca, 'L'iconografia della patria tra l'età delle riforme e l'Unità', in ibidem, pp. 89-111; on statistics, see S. Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, 1996). A useful summary of this new cultural history of the Italian Risorgimento is L. Riall and A. Körner, 'Introduction: The New History of Risorgimento Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, 15:3 (2009), pp. 396-401.

through the chanting of slogans in support of their sovereign's reforms. Furthermore, while the civic festivals of Central Italy may have been carefully planned and controlled, police were unable to prevent patriots and liberals from using the festival as a discursive space into which to project the language and symbolism of Italian nationalism: participants in Tuscany's festivals in 1846-47 may well have chanted 'Long Live Leopold' and 'Long Live reform', but they also chanted slogans of a more nationalist bent, such as 'Long Live Italy' and 'Long Live Independence', as well as encountering an increasingly elaborate imagery of fraternal cooperation and understanding.[6]

The civic festivals of 1846-49 in Central Italy were, however, not the only form of street politics through which political discourses were publicly disseminated. In recent years, historians have also called attention to the broad range of mass civic rituals, from the plebiscites of 1860 to Liberal Italy's official cults commemorating fallen patriots, through which large numbers of participants – women as much as men[7] – could become versed in the language and history of the Patria.[8] In fact, so numerous were the opportunities for public participation in politics, in the decades both preceding and following National Unification, that two pioneers of the cultural turn have recently concluded with confidence that the Risorgimento was a 'mass movement', in which 'many tens of thousands of people took an active part; and many more hundreds of thousands, often close to those who fought in the strict sense, witnessed the Risorgimento with sincere sympathy or cautious trepidation.'[9]

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[6] A. Petrizzo, 'Spazi dell'immaginario: Festa e discorso nazionale in Toscana tra 1847 e 1848', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), *Storia d'Italia*, Annali, 22, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 2007), pp. 509-39; C. Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals in Germany and Italy', in D. Dowe *et al.* (eds.), *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 799-829. For festivals in the Papal States, see L. Nasto, 'Le feste civili a Roma 1846-1848', *Rassenga storica del Risorgimento*, 79:3 (1992), pp. 315-38.

[7] Another rich vein of research inspired by the cultural turn explores the new opportunities for political expression which opened up for women during the Risorgimento, as well as research into the gendered experiences of the Risorgimento. See S. Soldani, 'Il Risorgimento delle donne', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Il Risorgimento*, pp. 183-224,

[8] G. L. Fruci, 'Il sacramento dell'unità nazionale. Linguaggi, iconografia e pratiche dei plebiscite risorgimentali (1848-70)', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Il Risorgimento,* pp. 567-605; L. Riall, 'Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Journal of Modern History*, 82:2 (2010), pp. 255-87; A. M. Banti, 'The Remembrance of Heroes', in L. Riall and S. Patriarca (eds.), *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 171-90.

[9] A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), 'Per una nuova storia del Risorgimento', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Il Risorgimento*, p. xxiii.

The new historiography on the Risorgimento has, therefore, made a considerable contribution towards assimilating the mass of Italians into mainstream narratives on the Risorgimento, by exploring the range of public and collective opportunities for political participation available to non-elite groups. This cultural history has also done much to challenge many of the received ideas about popular political activism embedded in older historical studies of the Risorgimento. The findings of this historiography have, for instance, called into question the assumptions of earlier Marxist narratives about both peasant uprisings, especially those centred in Lombardy and the Veneto, and urban artisan unrest of the late 1840s. Drawing upon Antonio Gramsci's idea that nineteenth-century Italian peasantries constituted a social mass that needed to be transformed into a revolutionary force by the democratic bourgeoisie, or Action Party,[10] Marxist historians of the 1960s and '70s largely presented a picture of rural populations as lacking in the class consciousness necessary to mobilise themselves, formulate their own political platforms and establish their own leadership.[11] In a similar vein, historians of the Marxist school have also downplayed the political consciousness of Italy's urban working populations, by disaggregating the social and economic demands of the workers from the political programmes of the democratic bourgeoisie, intimating that the urban popular classes of the 1840s remained separate from and extraneous to the realm of patriotic politics.[12] In both cases, politics is largely conceived of as a middle-class affair from which the poorer elements of society remained detached. The new cultural history of the Risorgimento, however, by redefining politics as a discursive and symbolic activity accessible to all, shows us that even if Lombard peasants, or Italy's urban craftsmen, never managed to turn their aspirations for economic improvement into a coherent set of political demands, there existed broader

[10] A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell Smith (London, 1971), pp. 61-3, 74-5.
[11] F. della Peruta, 'I contadini nella rivoluzione lombarda del 1848', in F. della Peruta, *Democrazia e socialismo nel Risorgimento: Saggi e ricerche* (Rome, 1965), pp. 59-108; S. Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo'' nella rivoluzione del 1848-49 in Italia', *Studi Storici*, 14:3 (1973), esp. pp. 573-83, 587-89; P. Ginsborg, *Daniel Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-49* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 167-70, 369-70.
[12] Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo''', pp. 604-8; C. Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini nella rivoluzione del '48-49* (Florence, 1963), pp. 160-67.

manifestations of political activities and a wider and more variegated array of opportunities through which all categories of people – be they peasant or artisan – could interact with Risorgimento politics. In this definition, people did not need to be subscribed, active members of the democratic movement in order to be political; even those groups primarily concerned with economic difficulties or working conditions had the capacity to participate in politics, by engaging with, absorbing or even just listening to political vocabularies being disseminated through the public space. Politics in the Risorgimento has now become an affair for the masses, open to people of a similar socio-economic standing as the printer Luigi Ricci, rather than just the preserve of the middle-classes.

Yet, while the new cultural historiography may have been important in democratising the history of the Risorgimento, the research it has spawned has gone only so far in capturing the experiences and sentiments of those who lived through the events of the Risorgimento. Firstly, despite the confidence with which Banti asserts that the Risorgimento was a 'mass movement', Banti's work does not convincingly reconstruct this mass public of the Risorgimento in any concrete terms. The precise nature of this mass movement and who it consisted of is never fully explained.[13] Secondly, historians of Italy writing in the wake of the cultural turn have focused almost exclusively on the cultural representation and discursive construction of Italy, but far less attention has been given to the ways these discourses were received by the audiences for which they were intended, and there has been virtually no research whatsoever into the receptions of *popular* audiences, that is, the crowds who participated in civic festivities and cults of remembrance.[14] Critical research into popular participation in the Risorgimento, and in particular into popular receptions of national discourses, has also been made all the more urgent by additional claims made by Banti about the evocative

[13] A criticism made by L. Riall in 'Nation, 'Deep Images', and the Problem of Emotions', *Nations and Nationalism*, 15:3 (2009), p. 404.

[14] A further criticism by Riall made in ibid, p. 407. There have been a handful of studies which have explored the ways literary and artistic constructions of Italy were received and interpreted by intellectuals. See A. Körner, 'The Risorgimento's Literary *Canon* and the Aesthetics of Reception: Some Methodological Considerations', *Nations and Nationalism*, pp. 410-18. Some interesting insights on the contemporary reception of theatre have also been suggested by Carlotta Sorba, who has shown that melodrama often shaped the perceptions, and in some cases even the actions, of participants in real demonstrations. C. Sorba, 'Il 1848 e la melodrammatizzazione della politica', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Il Risorgimento*, pp. 481-508.

power of the language of Italian national discourse, claims which are predicated on certain untested assumptions about the nature of human emotional responses. According to Banti, nineteenth-century Italian national discourses were based largely on a figurative triad of 'kinship', 'saintliness' and 'honour'.[15] The Italian nation was represented simultaneously as an extended version of the family, united by common blood ties; as a sacralised object, achieved through the use of Christian imagery and symbolism in national discourses; and as an entity whose honour needed to be defended.[16] For Banti, these images not only had a remarkable ubiquity in the principal nationalist texts of the Risorgimento, they also had a significant emotional force. Banti argues that these metaphors were drawn from existing and long-standing discursive systems, with which the mass of Italians would have been intimately familiar. The use of such well-known images had the effect of infusing the Italian nation with a rhetorical and emotional currency which made the abstract concept of nationhood immediately recognisable and meaningful to Italians.[17] Not only that, these 'deep images',[18] as Banti henceforth calls them, also had the capacity to elicit strong emotional responses from the mass of Italians: they 'dig deep into collective consciousness and touch highly sensitive chords.'[19]

What makes these claims so controversial is the fact that they are based not on sustained, critical research into the ways this language was popularly received, but rather on a set of problematic presuppositions about human emotions. Banti assumes both that the images of national-patriotic discourses derived from ancient and well-known symbolic systems, and that such images would provoke certain predictable emotional responses from the mass of Italians. Thus, as Lucy Riall aptly points out, Banti's work is predicated on the idea that emotions are simultaneously culturally

[15] *Parentela*, *santità* and *onore*. These are the terms which Banti uses in *Nazione del Risorgimento*.
[16] For definitions of these various metaphors through which the Italian nation was evoked, see Banti, *Nazione del Risorgimento*, pp. 66-72, 83-102, 121-48; Banti and Ginsborg, 'Per una nuova storia', pp. xxviii-xxxiv.
[17] Banti and Ginsborg, 'Per una nuova storia', p. xxviii; Banti, 'Conclusions: Performative Effects and 'Deep Images' in National Discourse', in L. Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 223-24.
[18] *Figure profonde*. The first time Banti uses this term is in Banti and Ginsborg, 'Per una nuova storia'. They are 'deep' because they are derived from the 'ancient continuum'.
[19] Banti, 'Conclusions', p. 228.

constructed but also universal, predetermined and trans-historical. Popular receptions of national discourses, therefore, are not explored because there is an implicit suggestion in Banti's work that emotions either cannot be studied, or that they can be predicted as observable, trans-historical phenomena, and therefore do not need to be studied.[20]

The historiography inspired by the work of Banti therefore provides a convincing sketch of the Risorgimento as a mass movement, encompassing many thousands of Italians engaged in a range of discursive activities and rituals. However, this body of new research largely fails to define the movement in terms of flesh-and-blood people, while simultaneously removing agency from the popular masses by representing them as the passive audiences of various cultural constructs, bound and limited by certain predetermined emotional responses. While this historiography may well have offered some very useful insights for new directions in the study of the Italian Risorgimento, there is still much research to be done. It is necessary to describe with greater historical specificity which social groups made up the 'mass movement' – who participated and to what extent – and to investigate the ways in which the lower tiers of Italian society responded to and engaged with the new political vocabularies which were being propagated throughout the Risorgimento period. It is also important to investigate more thoroughly the ways in which political ideas and language were communicated to lower-class and labouring groups throughout the nineteenth century. While it is certainly true that symbolic and communicative media such as opera, visual culture and demonstrations constituted effective means of disseminating national-patriotic discourses, it is also true that there existed other mechanisms and processes of change, operating in pre-unification Italian society, through which disenfranchised groups could become inducted and socialised in a more systematic manner into new political ideas.

In order to explore the wider range of ways in which the Italian lower classes accessed cultures of political knowledge, historians of Risorgimento Italy would benefit from integrating the wider European historiography on popular politicisation in 1848, paying particular attention to historians

[20] Riall, 'Nation, 'Deep Images', and the Problem of Emotions', pp. 405-7.

of France and Germany, whose research focuses on changing patterns of social interaction and the role of political organisations as agents promoting the diffusion and embedding of bourgeois politics at the local level. The interpretative models championed by these historians may stimulate new approaches to the study of popular political engagement in Risorgimento Italy, adding an important new dimension to the recent cultural historiography. Maurice Agulhon's extensive work on popular republicanism in the Var region of France, for one, has drawn attention to the importance of a vibrant associative culture, developing at village level in Provence during the Restoration and modelled on middle-class forms of sociability like the *cercles*, which provided an important social space in the village for rural-dwelling people to converse, socialise and ultimately discuss political ideas. At the same time, middle-class political ideas, most notably left-wing and republican ones, were transmitted downwards into the village via an intermediate class of artisans and young bourgeoisie, who acted as a bridge linking the village to bourgeois political culture.[21] In Agulhon's wake, a generation of American scholars then turned their attention to the role of political organisations and leaders, most notably the French *démoc-socs*, in exploring the causes of rural politicisation in Central and Southern France. For many of these historians, the success of the *démoc-socs* in rural France lay in the ability of montagnard leaders to engage with rural economic grievances and assimilate peasant demands into the *démoc-soc* political programme, while at the same time embracing traditional forms of village sociability as part of the associational culture of their organisation.[22] A similar approach, looking at the intersection between popular grievances and the politics of democratic opposition, has also been adopted by Jonathan Sperber, whose work on the Rhineland analyses the success of the Rhenish democrats in bringing the politics of the democratic movement to broad swathes of both the urban artisan and rural peasant populations. Like the *démoc-socs*, the effectiveness of the Rhenish democrats was located in their skill in

[21] M. Agulhon, *The Republic in the Village: The People of the Var from the French Revolution to the Second Republic*, tr. J. Lloyd (Cambridge, 1982).
[22] T. W. Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt: The Insurrection of 1851* (Princeton, 1979); J. Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic. The Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France, 1848-1851* (London, 1978), pp. 164-90; E. Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton, 1984).

harnessing pre-revolutionary social tensions and popular complaints, and their ability to channel such complaints into the democratic political platform.[23]

This model for the study of popular politicisation has also had a limited influence on the historiography of Risorgimento Italy. Drawing upon Agulhon's concept of sociability, a handful of historians of the Papal States have sought to analyse the role of local associative structures in facilitating the implantation of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849 in the Pontificate hinterlands. In this analysis, the provincial *circoli popolari*, which promoted social interaction and integration at local and village level, acted as important components in the 'information network' which connected the Roman centre to the provincial peripheries, assisting the spread of political information and news about the Roman Republic into towns and villages all over the Papal States.[24] Moving geographically from the countryside of the Papal States to that of Tuscany, and temporally from 1848 to the 1860s and '70s, French historian Gilles Pécout has also adopted an Agulhon-inspired, and decidedly Weberian, approach to the politicisation of rural Tuscany in the years immediately following National Unification, in an analysis which sees the national integration of rural Tuscany as dependent on state-imposed processes of modernization, such as schooling and national service.[25]

The broad field of research outlined above offers a wealth of insights into the more direct, systematic mechanisms, agents and social processes which existed alongside cultural constructions, and which helped to facilitate a sustained interaction between lower-class groups and democratic and national politics. However, much like the Italian cultural historiography inspired by Banti, a great deal of this historical scholarship on popular politicisation suffers from a top-down perspective, which accords little importance to the groups on the receiving end of the processes of politicisation. As Peter McPhee has pointed out, studies like those of Agulhon tend to represent popular

[23] J. Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals. The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton, 1991), esp. pp. 223-53.
[24] F. Rizzi, *La coccarda e le campane. Comunità rurali e Repubblica Romana nel Lazio (1848-1849)* (Milan, 1988), esp. pp. 17-37, 61-84; M. Ridolfi, *Il circolo virtuoso. Sociabilità democratica, associazionismo e rappresentanza politica nell'Ottocento* (Florence, 1990), pp. 112-18.
[25] G. Pécout, 'Politisation et intégration nationale en Italie: les compagnes toscanes des années 1860', *Revue Historique*, 303:1 (2001), pp. 83-108.

politicisation as a uni-directional process in which political ideas flowed downwards from the educated, urban bourgeoisie to rural villagers, while those being politicised are seen as 'empty vessels' or passive receivers of external, bourgeois politics, with no political ideas or awareness of their own.[26] What these 'diffusionist' studies rarely take into consideration is the role which the lower classes *themselves* – be they rural labourers or urban artisans – played in the process of their own politicisation. Those groups occupying the lower tiers of urban or village society possessed ideas, attitudes and shared knowledge of their own – all of which could influence the ways middle-class ideas were received and interpreted – as well as the capacity to appropriate and subvert the institutions, practices and values imposed on them by external economic or political elites, often in service of their own ends or interests.[27] Popular groups were never simply passive recipients in a straightforward, downwards transmission of ideas, but rather active agents participating in an exchange. If historians of Italy are to engage with the historical school of Agulhon and his disciples, they must also endeavour not to lose sight of the agency of lower-class groups, and to treat subaltern peoples as subjects in their own right, and not just the objects of politicisation.

This project seeks to go beyond both the cultural and linguistic determinism of Banti and the new cultural approach to the Risorgimento, however it also endeavours to penetrate beneath the top-down paradigms of Agulhon and the 'diffusionist' scholarship. A large part of this research project will, like Agulhon and the American modernization school, explore the processes of politicisation at work, both in the cities and in the countryside, but it will also seek to capture the agency of those who experienced these processes and explore the ways in which people responded to new political knowledge. The central tenets of this research are, therefore, not simply about how elite ideas were brought to popular groups, but about the meanings which lower-class and labouring peoples

[26] P. McPhee, 'Historians, Germs and Culture-Brokers: The Circulation of Ideas in the Nineteenth-Century Countryside', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23:1 (1986), pp. 118-21.

[27] The extent to which popular groups could take over and appropriate elite-imposed models of sociability is demonstrated in the ways villagers in the Habsburg Galician lands used the Agricultural Societies which were set up at local level by the landowning gentry, not as educational institutions, as their creators intended, but as alternative sites of popular leisure activities. See K. Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland 1848-1914* (London, 2001), pp. 127-33.

attached to new political ideas and the uses which people made of political language and discourse. Did people use patriotic political ideas in the same ways as the democrats and patriots themselves, or did they use them in pursuit of their own agendas and purposes? Did 'ordinary' Italians just repeat the words they encountered in political propaganda, or the slogans they heard chanted at demonstrations, without really thinking about their meanings, or did they actively engage with them, ruminate on them and adapt them in ways which invested new meanings to political vocabularies? In addition to exploring processes of politicisation and the content of popular political thought, a central element in the analysis of this thesis will also be the concept of a 'public sphere.' This is not a public sphere defined in the strict Habermasian sense – as an exchange of ideas confined largely to the educated bourgeoisie and civil service – but rather as a fluid and inclusive 'communicative phenomenon' which takes into account all of the public channels through which the lower classes could access political discourse and forge their own ideas and voices. In this analysis, the act of singing a political song on the streets is just as much a part of participation in the public sphere as is discussing political affairs in coffee houses.[28] In order to understand the various ways in which subaltern peoples constructed and expressed their own political voices and participated in patriotic politics, this research will investigate all of the uses which such groups made of this 'public sphere'. This will include discussions in coffee houses and taverns, such as those alluded to by the printer Luigi Ricci, but also the singing of songs and the chanting of political slogans. This research will therefore explore what people were thinking but it will also consider the ways in which these thoughts were expressed, and the important role played by public spaces and established channels of communication, chiefly in the cities but also to a lesser extent in the countryside, in the formation and articulation of popular political ideas.

[28] For this definition of a 'public sphere', see J. M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, 2007).

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany: Participants and Processes of Politicisation

This project focuses on popular politics in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, concentrating on the decades between the establishment of Young Italy in the early 1830s and Tuscany's integration into the Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel in 1859-60. To a certain extent, the place of Tuscany in Restoration Italy is little different from most of the Central Italian duchies. A central tenet of the Congress of Vienna had been to establish Habsburg control throughout most of the Italian peninsula, in recompense for the loss of imperial lands by Austria in Germany. In keeping with these plans, the architects of the Vienna Settlement restored Ferdinand III, a Habsburg Prince and the younger brother of the Emperor of Austria, to the grand ducal throne, as a means of allowing Austria to exercise influence in Central Italy.[29] Much like Maria Luisa in Parma and Francesco IV of Austria-Este in Modena, Ferdinand represented an important fulcrum of Austrian imperial power in Central Italy after 1814, and the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Klemens von Metternich, expected him to act accordingly. Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, the Court of Vienna was never shy of demanding compliance from its Italian princes, nor of treating the Grand Duchy of Tuscany as an imperial possession. Following the risings in Naples and Piedmont in 1820-21, Austria put pressure on Ferdinand to prosecute political dissidents seeking refuge in the grand duchy, before attempting in 1824 to interfere in the succession of Ferdinand's son, Leopold II, to the grand ducal throne.[30] However, unlike the Habsburg rulers of Parma and Modena, and much to the frustration of the Court of Vienna, Ferdinand and his son Leopold, along with their chief minister Vittorio Fossombroni, acted in a manner which served to restrict the incursion of Austrian imperial power into Tuscany. In the 1820s, Ferdinand and Leopold often refused to prosecute individuals deemed by Austria to be dangerous, seeking instead to cultivate a relatively tolerant political atmosphere in the grand duchy, promoting the development of important organs of liberal political debate, such the the *Gabinetto*

[29] C. Duggan, *The Force of Destiny. A History of Italy since 1796* (London, 2008), pp. 74-5.
[30] A. Zobi, *Storia civile della Toscana dal MDCCXXXVII al MDCCCXLVIII* (Florence, 1852), vol. IV, pp. 296-97.

Viuesseux, and transforming Tuscany into the destination of choice for political dissidents and exiles from all over Italy.[31] In 1831, as popular risings started to envelope Modena and the Papal States, Leopold II caused even greater offence to Habsburg imperial dignity when he refused Metternich's offer of Austrian military intervention to prevent disorders spreading into Tuscany. Instead, he opted to temporarily arm his own citizens, through the creation of a short-lived Urban Guard, as a means of ensuring law and order in the grand duchy.[32] While the Urban Guard existed only for a matter of months, the refusal to accept Habsburg military aid sent a very powerful message to the Court of Vienna: Leopold was more interested in acting as a ruler of Italians than as a Habsburg Prince.

Leopold's decisions soon put him on a collision course with his own family. In the aftermath of Pope Pius IX's reforms of 1846-47 – pardoning political prisoners, liberalising the press and establishing a government consultative assembly[33] – and facing mounting pressure from liberal and democratic opinion in his own state, Leopold in 1847 bowed to liberal demands and started to concede reforms. In May 1847, he reformed the laws regulating press censorship, which allowed the development of political journalism in Tuscany. Despite Austria's attempts to extinguish liberal agitation in Tuscany and the Papal States, by reinforcing Ferrara in July 1847, Leopold continued in his attempts to win over his democratic critics. In September, Leopold made gestures towards liberalising his regime by establishing a Civic Guard and appointing influential Tuscan moderate liberals, such as Cosimo Ridolfi, to his ministry. In February 1848, Leopold, accepting the inevitability of constitutional change, followed reluctantly in the footsteps of Naples and Piedmont and granted a constitution with limited suffrage. Finally, in March 1848, facing rising anti-Austrian sentiment in his own state, along with a growing mobilisation against Austria across the Italian peninsula, Leopold II,

[31] W. K. Hancock, *Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany* (London, 1926), pp. 26-7; G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. II, *Dalla Restaurazione alla Rivoluzione nazionale* (Milan, 1958), pp. 56-7. For the *Gabinetto Vieusseux* and the principal organs of liberal debate in the first decades of the Restoration, see R. P. Coppini, *Il Granducato di Toscana dagli ''anni francesi'' all'Unità* (Turin, 1993), pp. 223-46.
[32] Zobi, *Storia civile*, vol. IV, pp. 423-24; E. Michel, *F. D. Guerrazzi e le cospirazioni politiche in Toscana dall'anno 1830 all'anno 1835* (Rome, 1904), pp. 17-8; Hancock, *Ricasoli*, p. 28.
[33] H. Header, 'The Making of the Roman Republic, 1848-1849', *History*, 60 (1975), pp. 173-76; Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, pp. 165-67.

in another bid to unite his subjects behind him, agreed to enter the War of Independence on the side of the Lombard rebels against Austria.[34]

Leopold, in following the path set out by his father, had become swept along by liberal and patriotic agitation in the mid-1840s and in March 1848 found himself at war with his own cousin, Emperor Ferdinand of Austria. Declaring war against his own family was, however, a step too far for Leopold, and it was not long before the grand duke began to vacillate. Following the defeat of Charles Albert in the War of Independence in July 1848, the pace of political change in the grand duchy started to quicken and a new democratic vision of Italian unity began to crystallise and gain purchase in Tuscany. In the summer and autumn of 1848, prominent Tuscan democrats, such as the Pisan Professor of law Giuseppe Montanelli, proposed that the chief failing of the War of Independence had been that the Italian states had attempted to expel Austria without having first achieved political unity. According to Montanelli, in order to be successful in leading the war against Austria, it was necessary for all of Italy to unite as one political nation through the election of an Italian National Constituent Assembly, which would consist of deputies from all over Italy. Montanelli was given the opportunity to implement his plans when, in October 1848, Leopold II, in a last-ditch attempt to assimilate Tuscan democratic opinion into mainstream politics, called on the most vociferous of the Tuscan democrats – Montanelli, along with the Livornese Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi and the Pratese Republican Giuseppe Mazzoni – to form a ministry. In January 1849, the new democratic ministry took the first step towards making Montanelli's vision of Italian unity a reality by undertaking preparations for the election of 37 Tuscan deputies, through universal manhood suffrage, to a proposed Italian Constituent Assembly. Leopold, fearing that political events were running away from him, fled the grand duchy in early February, leaving behind a provisional

[34] For Leopold's reforms of 1847-8 and his decision to enter the War of Independence on the side of Lombardy and Piedmont, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. III, *La Rivoluzione nazionale* (Milan, 1960), pp. 40-9, 76-9, 139-40; G. Luseroni, 'Appunti per una storia del movimento democratico in Toscana. Parte I: La concessione della guardia civica e la questione della Lunigiana', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 14:1 (1978), pp. 39-92. L. Lotti, 'Leopoldo II e le riforme in Toscana', in *Le riforme del 1847 negli stati italiani*. Atti di Convegno di studi, Firenze, 20-21 marzo 1998, *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 45:2 (1999), pp. 241-51; N. Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane e le occupazioni stranieri in Toscana, 1537-1860* (Castello, 1916), vol. II, pp. 687-734.

government, led by the triumvirate of Montanelli-Guerrazzi-Mazzoni, which attempted to rule Tuscany in the grand duke's absence while continuing with the (ultimately abortive) preparations for the Italian Constituent Assembly.[35]

The Provisional Government run by the Tuscan democrats struggled to maintain order and collapsed in April 1849.[36] On 28th July, Leopold returned to the grand duchy, but only after Austrian troops had occupied the whole of Tuscany in May, in order to guarantee the security of the state for the re-entry of the Grand Duke.[37] The events of 1848-49 had permanently soured Leopold's attitude towards Italian democracy, and his return to Tuscany was to inaugurate an irrevocable break between the grand duke and Italian liberalism, as well as a period of increased reliance on Austrian imperial power. Throughout the 1850s, Leopold went about turning back the clock on the reforms he had granted; he restricted the press in 1850 and repealed the Constitution in 1852, as well as seeking closer relations with the Court of Vienna, whose armies remained on Tuscan soil until 1855.[38] By 1859, as the anti-Austrian movement gathered pace once more in Italy, this time spearheaded by the international diplomacy of Cavour and Napoleon III, Leopold turned his back on Italian nationalism and remained faithful to his imperial House, refusing to enter a military alliance with France and Piedmont in April 1859. When a large demonstration in favour of war against Austria flared up in Florence on 27th April, Leopold, in contrast to his decision in 1848, chose to side with Austria, fleeing Tuscany for the safety of the Court of Vienna.[39] After his brief flirtation with Italian liberalism and nationalism in the mid-1840s, Leopold decided in 1859 that his dynastic

[35] For events from July 1848 to February 1849 in Tuscany, see Candeloro, S*toria dell'Italia*, vol. III, pp. 287-310, 382-6; Coppini, *Granducato*, pp. 391-95; A. Scirocco, *L'Italia del Risorgimento, 1800-1871* (Bologna, 1990), pp. 303-5, 307-8.
[36] For the policies of the Tuscan Provisional Government and its struggle to maintain order, see A. Foà, 'La politica interna del governo provvisorio Toscano (8 febbraio-13 aprile 1849)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 77:2 (1919), pp. 232-62. See also below, pp. 111-16. For its collapse, see Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, pp. 353-94.
[37] For the Austrian intervention in Tuscany in 1849, see G. Lumbroso, 'L'intervento austriaco in Toscana e l'opera della Commissione Governativa', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 18 (1931), pp. 329-48.
[38] Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. IV, *Dalla Rivoluzione nazionale all'Unità* (Milan, 1964), pp. 44-50; H. Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790-1870* (London, 1983), pp. 88-90.
[39] Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. IV, pp. 341-47; Coppini, *Granducato*, pp. 416-26.

loyalties were stronger than his interest in Italian national aspirations. Following his departure, Leopold would never again return to rule Tuscany.

Leopold's split loyalties, between his dynastic House and the Italian population over which he ruled, ultimately cost him his throne. However, Leopold's penchant for reform in the mid-1840s also helped to set in motion important developments in the civil and political lives of his Tuscan subjects. As is well known, the grand duke's reforms were met with enormous popular celebrations, which helped to open up new opportunities for street politics and civic festivity in the grand duchy.[40] Far lesser known, but of equal importance, is the fact that 1847-49 also witnessed in the grand duchy a sustained period of popular military mobilisation, starting with the Civic Guard in September 1847 and intensifying during the War of Independence. As this research will seek to show, this period of mobilisation had a profound impact on the urban working and artisan populations of Florence and the other main grand ducal cities. As in the Papal States, the liberal atmosphere fostered by the grand duke over 1847-48 also facilitated the development of a network of popular political clubs, the *circoli popolari*, established by the more radical strand of the Florentine democrats in the summer of 1848, which were created with the express purpose of educating the popular masses, chiefly in the cities, in important political issues and principles of the time.[41] Finally, there also existed in Tuscany in these years a vibrant culture of popular political print, sustained by a robust network of clandestine printers and publishers, who produced a steady tide of ephemeral political literature which continuously pressed the grand ducal government for reform. Following the relaxing of press censorship in May 1847, many of these publishers emerged from obscurity and transformed their patriotic, reformist prints into a more regular form of political journalism.[42] The decades leading up to National Unification in Tuscany therefore witnessed the emergence and development of a wide

[40] Petrizzo, 'Spazi dell'immaginario'.
[41] Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 148-58; C. Lovett, *The Democratic Movement in Italy, 1830-1876* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 121-22, 126-27.
[42] On the Tuscan 'clandestine press', see G. Luseroni, *La stampa clandestina in Toscana (1846-47). I ''bulletini''* (Florence, 1988); F. della Peruta, 'Il Giornalismo dal 1847 all'unità', in A. G. Garrone and F. Della Peruta (eds.), *La stampa italiana del Risorgimento* (Laterza, 1979), pp. 254-57.

range of politicising agents and processes which helped to expose broad cross sections of the grand ducal population to new political concepts, ideas and discourses. Grand ducal Tuscany thus offers a fascinating case study for the historian of popular politicisation.

Popular politicisation in Tuscany throughout the period of the Risorgimento was a twin process which affected both urban and rural populations. However, the pace and nature of this politicisation varied from city to countryside. The technologies, mechanisms and agents through which political discourses were disseminated and projected into the public space in the cities were very different from those which carried political ideas into the countryside. Urban populations were exposed to, and socialised in, the emerging political discourses and vocabularies of nineteenth-century Italy at a different rate to Tuscans living in the countryside. It is therefore important, when investigating popular politics in nineteenth-century Tuscany, to treat urban and rural politicisation as separate, though closely interrelated, processes, which involved different agents of change, worked on different time-frames and operated within different cultural contexts. The uses which the urban and rural masses made of new political ideas and language also differed markedly, according to both cultural conditions and the respective groups' experiences of the Risorgimento.

In order to make this research manageable, this project will largely confine itself to one distinct urban context and one rural context. The grand ducal capital, Florence, will form the basis of the analysis of urban popular politics. However, political activities in other Tuscan towns will also be explored in instances where such activities provide illustrative examples. Florence was one of the most economically important urban centres of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, as well as a city which resembled very closely the largely craft-based urban economies of most major cities in nineteenth-century Europe.[43] The findings for Florence, and other urban centres, are then compared to the

[43] Another economically significant city in Tuscany throughout the Risorgimento was the port-city of Livorno. As a port-town, Livorno was, arguably, less typical of nineteenth-century European cities in that its economy was based less on artisan crafts and more on the ship-building and maritime industries, with large armies of dock- and construction workers. The impact of 1848 and Risorgimento politics on Livorno and its populations has also been studied in a handful of monographs. See F. Bertini, *Risorgimento e paese reale. Riforme e rivoluzione a Livorno e in Toscana (1830-1849)* (Florence, 2003).

processes of politicisation and forms of popular political expression in the countryside, with attention focused on the rural region of Montale, a commune which lies to the north-east of Pistoia and which straddles the hills and plains of Pistoiese province. The choice to focus on Montale is partly geographic. Montale was a region with a system of agricultural organisation and with social structures which were largely typical of much of rural Tuscany in the nineteenth century. The nature of politicisation and popular participation in Montale will thus offer some solid insights into the processes of politicisation more broadly in the grand ducal countryside. However, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4, the decision to use Montale as a case study is also driven by the availability of sources, in particular, by the existence of a large body of oral literature which, it can be said, offers a rare glimpse into the cultural and intellectual lives of the region's inhabitants.[44]

Florence and the urban working classes of Tuscany

In Florence, the most numerous of those who actively participated in public political discourses and activities – whether through chanting political slogans, singing patriotic songs, or attending the meetings of democratic clubs – were artisans; that is, independent, skilled craftsmen who were employed in small-scale, workshop-based production and who, in many cases, possessed their own workshop and means of production.[45] Equally prevalent in the politics of the streets in Restoration Florence were small-scale traders, shopkeepers and the owners of drinking establishments, as well as a range of workers employed in Florence's nascent industries, most notably printers. This observation is not wholly surprising, as historians have long been aware of the seminal role of male craftsmen in popular political action throughout Western Europe in the nineteenth century. In France, skilled craftsmen were amongst the most numerous of the participants in the July Revolution of 1830, as well as in the February uprising and June Days in 1848; in the major uprisings of 1848 in

[44] For a fuller discussion of the region of Montale, along with the specific vernacular texts which made research into Montale possible, see below, ch. 4, pp. 185-88. For a discussion of the challenges and opportunities presented by oral literature as a historical source, see below, pp. 46-51.
[45] For a comprehensive definition of the term 'artisan', see J. Farr, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914* (Cambridge, 2000).

Milan, Venice and Genoa, artisans also predominated.[46] The pre-eminence of artisans is, therefore, well documented and Florence proves no exception to that rule.

To a certain extent, the preponderance of artisans and petty traders among the ranks of the politically-engaged reflects the social composition of the nineteenth-century urban economy. Throughout the period of the Risorgimento, Florence was little different from the majority of Italian and Western European cities, in that manufacturing was largely based on traditional artisan crafts, with the most sizeable proportion of the male working population employed in various kinds of small-scale artisan production.[47] Of the 48,577 Florentine men recorded as economically active in the census of 1841,[48] over 10,000 of them were employed in the artisan crafts. Of these, the largest proportion (4,059) worked in the clothing industry, which included 1,644 tailors and 1,353 shoemakers. A further 1,911 men were employed in metalwork, the majority of whom (1,008) working as blacksmiths and coppersmiths, but with a sizeable portion (637) making a living through the crafting of precious metals, as goldsmiths, silversmiths and watchmakers. There were also over 1,200 men registered as carpenters in Florence in 1841, and similar numbers employed in the manufacture of food and tobacco. The leather tanning industry in Florence also retained a strongly artisan character, with high concentrations of tanners living and working around the Santa Croce region of the city.[49] Alongside the artisans of mid-century Florence stood large numbers of men who earned their livings through small-scale and petty commercial activities. This included 3,477 owners

[46] D. H. Pinkney, 'The Crowd in the French Revolution of 1830', *American Historical Review*, 70:1 (1964), pp. 1-17; C. Tilly and L. H. Lees, 'The People of June, 1848', in R. Price (ed.), *Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic* (London, 1975), pp. 170-209; M. Traugott, 'The Crowd in the French Revolution of February 1848', *American Historical Review*, 93:3 (1988), pp. 638-52; Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo''', pp. 600-2.

[47] S. Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700-1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London, 1991), pp. 286-87. For Milan, see F. della Peruta, *Milano nel Risorgimento. Dall'età napoleonica alle Cinque Giornate* (Milan, 1992), pp. 31-2.

[48] The data from the 1841 census has been published by P. Bandettini in 'La popolazione della Toscana alla metà dell'Ottocento', *Archivio Economico dell'Unificazione Italiana*, III-IV, fasc. 1, (1956), pp. 1-130. For figures relating to the professions and economic activities of Tuscans, Bandettini has arranged the statistical data taken from the census into twentieth-century professional classifications borrowed from the of the *Istituto Centrale di Statistica*.

[49] L. Dal Pane, *Industria e commercio nel Granducato di Toscana nell'età del Risorgimento*, vol. II, *L'Ottocento*, (Bologna, 1973), p. 244; F. Cesati, *La grande guida delle strade di Firenze. Storia, aneddoti, arte, segreti e curiosità della città più affascinante del mondo attraverso 2400 vie, piazza e canti* (Rome, 2003), p. 181.

of small shops, 823 proprietors of coffee shops, taverns and inns, and a further 451 men registered as ambulant street-sellers. There was also a growing printing industry in Florence in the mid-nineteenth century, with 372 men employed as printers in the Tuscan capital, while Florence's service economy was also thriving, with 3,423 men employed as domestic servants (working as cooks, grooms, manservants, drivers) and just short of 800 working in the transportation industry, as coachmen, carters and porters, to name just a few.[50]

In recent decades, historians have sought to explore the structural causes underpinning the motives for artisan involvement in political struggles and the labour movement in nineteenth-century Europe. Drawing upon the wider historiography about the formation of an urban proletariat and the development of class consciousness, historians have posited that structural changes to the nineteenth-century artisan economy, brought about by greater economic integration and the linking up of local and national markets, were bringing the artisans of Great Britain and Western Europe under increasing economic control of large-scale merchants and manufacturers, who, to a greater and greater extent throughout the nineteenth century, subcontracted work out to nominally-independent craftsmen and controlled artisans' access to both sources of credit and the consumer market. At the same time, the doctrine of liberalism, which espoused the virtues of free trade and the abolition of corporate privilege, along with the abrogation of the system of guilds across Western Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution, served to undermine the social standing and status of the artisan. The consequence of these changes was a loss of both independence and social prestige on the part of Europe's artisans, which in turn predisposed large numbers of skilled craftsmen to new political ideologies, especially utopian socialist ones, which appealed to artisan corporate and collectivist traditions and which offered promise of improved material conditions.[51]

[50] For all of these figures about the economic activities of Florence's male population, see P. Bandettini, 'popolazione della Toscana', pp. 117-18.

[51] J. Breuilly, 'Artisan Economy, Artisan Politics, Artisan Ideology: The Artisan Contribution to the Nineteenth-Century European Labour Movement', in C. Emsley and J. Walvin (eds.), *Artisans, Peasants and Proletarians, 1760-1860: Essays presented to Gwyn A. Williams* (London, 1985), pp. 187-225; R. Magraw, *A History of the French Working Class*, vol. 1, *The Age of Artisan Revolution, 1815-1871* (Oxford, 1992); J. R. Farr, 'The

The urban manufacturing economy in Florence was not immune to such structural changes, especially in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Guilds in Tuscany had been abolished as early as 1770, as part of Peter Leopold's shift towards a policy of unrestrained free trade, which eliminated the corporate protection and regulation of the artisan crafts in Tuscany, and undermined Tuscan artisans' sense of economic security.[52] The 1780s and 1790s then witnessed a crisis in the Florentine silk industry, as manufacturers, in an attempt to reduce production costs, lowered weavers' wages and shifted towards the earlier stages of silk production, concentrating on the manufacture of raw, semi-worked silk, rather than finished cloth. These changes contributed to a deskilling of the silk industry and to a decline in the absolute number of master weavers in the Tuscan capital.[53]

However, while the 1790s were disastrous for the male artisan weavers, in the half-century that followed, most of the principal artisan crafts in the major Tuscan cities enjoyed a degree of protection from further industrial development. The same pressures which led to the contraction of the Florentine silk industry in the 1790s also triggered a shift in the centre of manufacture from city to countryside, as silk manufacturers sought out cheaper labour amongst rural populations. From the early nineteenth century, the manufacture of Florentine silk largely became a putting-out industry which focused on the primary stages of textile production and which recruited sizeable portions of its workforces from the countryside.[54] These rural textile industries provided important

Disappearance of the Traditional Artisan', in S. Berger (ed.), *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 98-108.

[52] A. Zobi, *Manuale storico degli ordinamento economici vigenti in Toscana: opera premiata dalla R. Accademia de' georgofili nel 1847 con un'appendice fino al 1856* (Italy, 1858), pp. 141-42.

[53] For the decline of the Florentine silk industry, see G. Turi, *Viva Maria. La reazione alle riforme leopoldine (1790-1799)* (Florence, 1969), pp. 35-6, 41-9; S. Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1986), pp. 162-63. The decline in the number of artisan master silk-weavers is also reflected in official records of Florentine charitable institutions under the Napoleonic regime, such as the *Congregazione di San Giovanni Battista*, which make little mention of silk weavers. Large numbers of workers who applied to the institution for charitable aid, however, declared job-skills which related to the earlier phases of silk production which preceded weaving - spinner, winder, throwster, reeler – suggesting a proliferation in the number of semi-skilled workers in the silk industry. See S. Woolf, 'Language and social reality: job-skills at Florence in the early nineteenth century', in G. Lepschy (ed.), *Su/per Meneghello* (Milan, 1983), p. 170.

[54] Turi, *Viva Maria*, pp. 33-34; Dal Pane, *Industria e commercio*, vol. II, pp. 62-5.

primary materials which sustained many of the urban artisan and finishing crafts, while the physical separation which existed between rural textile production and the main urban centres served to protect the artisan, craft-based economy from large-scale industrial and commercial developments. All the while, urban artisans were supported by a market of affluent landowners and wealthy tourists with a taste for high-quality, hand-crafted goods. This confluence of fortuitous economic conditions helped to uphold the urban, craft-based economy and allowed most artisans to retain their independence and sense of craft identity throughout the nineteenth century.[55] Developments in the Florentine silk industry also helped to reinforce the male-dominated nature of the urban artisan crafts. At the same time as shifting to the countryside, Florentine silk manufacturers also responded to the need to reduce labour costs by recruiting mainly from the female working population. By the 1840s, Florence's silk weavers were almost all women, who were usually employed on a putting-out basis, working textiles on looms kept in the home, and often balancing their work as silk weavers with other causal work.[56] The nature of economic and industrial change in Tuscany in the nineteenth century therefore shielded urban artisans from processes of industrial expansion, while at the same time buttressing the gendered division of labour in the urban manufacturing economy. Consequently, while it may be true that artisans in Britain and France were succumbing to the control of merchants and manufacturers, in the same period, most Florentine master craftsmen managed to hold on to their independence and traditional craft identities.

Yet, this does not mean that economic conditions played no part in the politicisation of Florence's sprawling population of male workers. The Florentine economy did have its role to play. Economic adversity, however, functioned less as a push factor in urban politicisation, and more as a backdrop, creating the conditions of popular discontent in the grand duchy's cities which gave the urban

[55] This is true of most urban economies in Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century. See J. A. Davis, *Conflict and Control. Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 97-9.
[56] In 1841, there were 5,362 women employed in the Florentine textiles industry, vs. only 478 men. see Bandettini, 'popolazione della Toscana', pp. 117, 119. For similar statements on the gendered nature of the Florentine silk industry, see Dal Pane, *Industria e commercio*, vol. II, p. 221; S. Woolf, *The Domestic Economy of the Poor of Florence in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Florence, 1986), p. 18.

masses an opportunity to 'try out' political ideas which were new to them. As in most Italian cities, the 1830s and 1840s were characterised by a period of economic stagnation, caused by a decline in demand for manufactured goods and services.[57] These economic conditions were then exacerbated by the grain crisis which struck Tuscany, along with almost the whole of Europe, in the mid-1840s. A series of poor harvests, in 1845 and 1846, caused a spike in food prices which reached a crescendo in Tuscany over the winter of 1846-47. By the beginning of 1847, the price of grain had risen by almost 40%, with Tuscan grain reaching 30 lire a sack in March 1847.[58] The rising cost of food triggered unrest amongst Tuscany's urban populations. As Florentines were forced to spend more of their wages on food, people struggled to pay their rent. Tensions then exploded in spectacular fashion in February 1848 with the *moto delle pigioni*, when renters throughout the Tuscan capital engaged in a series of nocturnal protests against their landlords, who were in the habit of demanding payment of 8 months' rent in advance from their tenants.[59] The following months then witnessed unrest amongst the capital's porters and printers, who complained about both food prices but also low wages, as well as reactions to the introduction of new industrial technology, including an attempt made by the coachmen of Santa Croce to attack the newly-opened railway, which threatened to take away their business in the transportation industry.[60]

As economic conditions deteriorated over 1847-48, the Florentine labouring classes resorted to older forms of political unrest, mobilising collective ideologies drawn from an established repertoire of popular political protest. Throughout the winter and spring of 1847, for instance, large numbers of people drawn from Florence's working strata blamed the grand duke for causing economic discomfort, and for attempting to starve the people, and expressed this blame through graffiti and

[57] Davis, *Conflict and Control*, pp. 99-100.
[58] Zobi, *Manuale storico*, pp. 430-31, 436; P. Bandettini, *L'evoluzione demografica della Toscana dal 1810 al 1889* (Turin, 1960), p. 18; *Idem*. 'I prezzi sul mercato di Firenze dal 1800 al 1890', *Archivio Economico dell'Unificazione Italiana* (1957), V, fasc. 1, pp. 1-26.
[59] G. Andriani, *Socialismo e comunismo in Toscana tra il 1846 e il 1849* (Milan, 1921), pp. 26-8.
[60] A. Gori, *Gli albóri del socialismo* (Florence, 1909), p. 401; F. Catalano, 'Socialismo e comunismo in Italia dal 1846 al 1849', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 38, fasc. III-IV (1951), p. 312; M. Miller, 'Communes, Commerce and *Coloni*: Internal Divisions in Tuscany 1830-1860', *The Historical Journal*, 21:4 (1978), p. 848, n. 38.

other marginal street writings. However, as well as falling back on older forms of political protest and 'famine plot' motifs,[61] Florentines also started to experiment with more modern political vocabularies, taken from elite-patriotic lexicons, in order to voice their discontentment and criticise the government. Alongside the time-honoured cries of 'Down with Leopold', which echoed around the Tuscan capital during the crisis years of 1847-48, the first flashes of a popular republicanism also started to make an appearance in street protests, in a manner not dissimilar to the appearance of republican symbolism in rural protests across Southern France under the Second Republic.[62] Some Florentines, drawn from the class of petty traders and shop owners, also went a step further and espoused fully-developed republican discourses, both during commercial transactions with customers but also more publicly around the streets of Florence. By 1848, therefore, republican language was already beginning to infiltrate popular discourse in the Tuscan capital, and small pockets of working Florentines were already starting to deploy republican motifs as a means of protesting against the grand duke during times of economic crisis. The economy, however, did not bring about this embryonic flirtation between the working populations of Florence and democratic political language. Rather, economic conditions in 1847-48 were like a theatre stage in which the Florentine lower classes could act out the new political ideas with which they were already in the process of engaging.

The seeds of urban politicisation in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany can be located earlier than the subsistence crises of 1846-47. A promising avenue of research would be to explore the role of political associations, most notably Young Italy, in exposing urban audiences to new political ideas and discourses. Young Italy rapidly established itself in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in the early 1830s and its Tuscan collaborators attempted to capture the support of the popular masses, both

[61] For which, see S. L. Kaplan, 'The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 72:2 (1982), pp. 1-79.
[62] For which, see Agulhon, *Republic in the Village*, pp. 163-68, 172-75; Berenson, *Populist Religion*, pp. 203-13; R. J. Bezucha, 'Masks of Revolution: A Study of Popular Culture during the Second French Republic', in R. Price (ed.), *Revolution and Reaction*, pp. 236-53; P. McPhee, 'Popular Culture, Symbolism and Rural Radicalism in Nineteenth-Century France', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 5:2 (1978), pp. 238-53.

urban and rural, by producing a didactic-propagandistic literature which both divulged Mazzini's ideology but which also addressed common economic and social grievances.[63] While Young Italy's existence in Tuscany was to be brief, the organisation did have some success in bringing the ideology of unitary republicanism to the Florentine working classes. The use of republican language as a watchword of political protest by a host of different groups during the food crisis of 1847 was to be one of the most enduring legacies of Young Italy in Florentine popular culture.

Young Italy was, however, to provide only a very brief introduction to new political ideas. The second, and far more intense, phase of politicisation for Florentines was to be the sustained period of mobilisation, which started in September 1847 with the Tuscan Civic Guard and which culminated in February-March 1849 with the general call to arms of the Florentine male population in its near entirety, under the Provisional Government of Guerrazzi-Montanelli-Mazzoni of 1849. The Tuscan Civic Guard gave large swathes of Tuscany's male, urban artisan populations arms, authority and a sense of patriotic duty, as well as granting its recruits access to new political knowledge. Almost as soon as Tuscany's artisans had become enrolled as citizen guards, Tuscan men were called upon to participate in an even more important patriotic endeavour. From March 1848, the First War of Italian Independence opened the way for hundreds of male volunteers, both enrolled civic guardsmen and non-serving civilians alike, to travel to Lombardy to assist in the struggle for independence against Austria. Participation in this conflict exposed large numbers of Tuscan men, from a diverse range of social and economic backgrounds, to new, nationalising discourses, as well as to an increasingly aggressive anti-Austrian rhetoric, helping to broaden popular political consciousness to an even greater extent than did the Civic Guard. Finally, the widespread armament which took place under the Provisional Government of 1849 was to be the crowning moment of this long period of civic mobilisation, as the beleaguered democratic government of Guerrazzi-Montanelli called upon Florence's male population to defend the Tuscan patria from enemies converging both from within and from outside. At the same time, these months in 1849 also

[63] F. della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani. Il ''partito d'azione'' 1830-1845* (Milan, 1974), pp. 130-32.

witnessed a renewed propagation of republican symbolism, as the Florentine popular clubs sought to use the grand duke's absence from Tuscany as an opportunity to shape public political discourses more along republican lines.

The abrupt demobilisation of Tuscany's urban men, which accompanied the fall of the Provisional Government and the return of the Grand Duke to Tuscany in July 1849, would be the final phase in the politicisation of Florence's urban populations. Disarmament and disbandment were construed as an assault on the former guardsmen's claims to citizenship and masculinity, generating widespread popular disaffection amongst Florence's working men, a situation which was made no easier by lingering economic discomfort and continuing high unemployment. To add insult to injury, the grand ducal restoration was also accompanied by an Austrian military occupation, the presence of which served only to exacerbate feelings of alienation from the state and hatred towards the grand ducal government. Under these conditions, the working populations of Florence, especially those artisans who had served in the Civic Guard, drew upon the political knowledge they had become educated in over the course of their political apprenticeship as guardsmen, and used the political vocabularies in which they had become versed – most notably republicanism – to frame their expressions of hostility towards the restored government. The process of urban popular politicisation which started in the 1830s with Young Italy, and which reached its apogee with the military mobilisations of 1847-49, had by the early 1850s given rise to a new political culture, one in which a political lexicon poached from elite discourse was being appropriated, reworked and revised to serve popular political agendas and express popular political sentiments. While the most overt manifestations of this new oppositional culture would prove to be transitory, dissolving in the face of Austrian military repression from around 1852 onwards, the political behaviours exhibited by Florentines in these brief years were most certainly significant, providing evidence that Florentine artisans and workers, in the early years of the second Restoration at least, were learning to use democratic political language to exercise a political will and construct their own political voices. These actions

constituted the first major steps taken by the Florentine artisanry towards becoming a politically-conscious citizenry.

It must be acknowledged at this point that there were very real social limits to both the mobilisations which took place in Tuscany over 1847-49 and the political culture which took shape in the early 1850s. The Civic Guard, for one, excluded certain social groups from active service. This included manual labourers and domestic servants but also Tuscany's entire population of rural sharecroppers.[64] The effects of participation in the Civic Guard therefore penetrated no deeper socially than the level of artisan. The military mobilisations of 1847-49 were also gender exclusionary, in that women were barred from both the Civic Guard but also from the general call to arms of 1849. As historians of the Risorgimento have recently pointed out, discourses of national regeneration in Italy imposed a gendered vision of society in which masculine identity was equated with martial duties and the need to bear arms for one's nation. Popular armament in the Risorgimento was largely seen as an opportunity for the nation's men to re-invent themselves as armed protectors of the land, while women were largely relegated, in the Risorgimento imagination, to subordinate roles of supporting the nation's fighting men.[65] The mobilisations which took place in Tuscany proved to be no exception to this model. Tuscan women were formally exempt from taking arms and so enjoyed only limited access to the heightened political consciousness that came with either the Civic Guard or the Provisional Government's policy of urban armament. This exclusion from both political and martial culture, it must be said, was never an absolute one. Florentine women would have been just as exposed as men to the government's patriotic (and later republican)

[64] *Bandi e ordini da osservarsi nel Granducato di Toscana pubblicati dal 1 gennaio a tutto dicembre 1847. Raccolti per ordine successivo di tempi col sommario dei medesimi disposti per ordine alfabetico di materie e di tribunali.* Codice 54 (Florence, 1847), doc. C, article 6.

[65] On the relationship between national discourses and gender constructions in nineteenth century Italy, see S. Patriarca, 'Indolence and Regeneration: Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism', *The American Historical Review*, 110:2 (2005), pp. 380-408; A. M. Banti, *L'onore della nazione: identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Turin, 2005), pp. 217-40; L. Riall, 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in Riall and Patriarca (eds.), *Risorgimento Revisited*, pp. 152-67. More generally, see G. L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality. Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York, 1985).

discourses evoking the Civic Guard, and it is also likely that some women would have attempted to respond to the Provisional Government's general call to arms in 1849, possibly even in the guise of male fighters.[66] However, it is important to recognise that these politicising phenomena, and thus the political culture they gave rise to, had definite social limits. These limits also provide another explanation as to why the most prominent participants in the oppositional popular political culture of the early 1850s were male artisans: the political culture which developed in the aftermath of the suppression of the Provisional Government was both heavily gendered and (largely, though by no means entirely) socially limited to artisans and petty traders because it reflected the social and gender biases which permeated the mobilisations of 1847-49.

The countryside and Tuscany's population of rural labourers

A much slower, more dilatory process of politicisation took place in the Tuscan countryside. While the artisans of Florence were already starting to engage with new political language and ideas in the early 1850s, it would take another 10 years before rural populations became receptive to, and started to make active use of, left-wing political ideas and national discourses. This delay was not, as contemporaries have suggested, entirely down to the isolation of Tuscan peasants on their dispersed farmsteads.[67] Rather, a very different process of politicisation took place in rural Tuscany, one which began its work later in the century but which also had to contend with the cultural conditions peculiar to the grand ducal countryside, including a set of collective memories which made large

[66] Cross-dressing warrior women, who took arms to fight for Italy in 1848-49, are a known phenomenon in Risorgimento Italy. See L. Guidi, 'Patriottismo femminile e travestimenti sulla scena risorgimentale', *Studi storici*, 41:2 (2000), pp. 571-87. However, such women were exceptional and can be seen largely as transgressive of the dominant gender roles in Risorgimento conflict. For this judgement, see S. Soldani, 'Il campo d'onore. Donne e guerra nel Risorgimento italiano', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *Gli Italiani in guerra: conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostril giorni*, vol. 1, *Fare l'Italia: unità e disunità nel Risorgimento* (Turin, 2008), pp. 140-41. Due to time restraints, the extent to which women participated in the civic and martial culture of 1847-9, and the political culture which developed in the 1850s, is, regrettably, an avenue which I was not able to pursue in any great depth for this research.

[67] For a discussion of nineteenth-century economists' and agriculturalists' perceptions of the isolation of rural Tuscany, and the effects of this isolation on politicisation, see chapter 4, pp. 169-71.

sections of the Tuscan peasantry hostile to the prospect of political change, especially change which had a republican colouring.

It is certainly true that life in the Tuscan countryside was perhaps more sedentary than in other rural contexts in nineteenth-century Europe. Agricultural life and economic activities in rural Tuscany – on the plains and in the hills, but to a far lesser extent in the mountains[68] – were structured almost entirely by the *mezzadria*, or the *contratto colonico*, a form of sharecropping in which the tenant and the landlord each contributed 50% of the capital input and possessed equal shares of the produce. While the purpose of the *contratto colonico* was to provide an income to the landlord, the contract was also designed to offer economic security and independence to the tenant farmers. Typically, the landlord was obliged to provide his tenant with a *podere*, a farmhouse with sufficient land and resources to meet the subsistence requirements of a whole family. The landlord usually furnished their tenants' *poderi* with vines, olive trees, livestock, outhouses and drainage, while the tenant's contribution usually consisted of seed and whatever animals and tools they possessed.[69] Agricultural labour in the Tuscan countryside was therefore concentrated on these self-sufficient rented peasant farmsteads, with each *podere* worked by a resident family who cultivated both cash crops for their landlords but also food for their own subsistence. As well as functioning as the primary unit of economic activity in rural Tuscany, the *podere* was also the main locus of social life in the grand ducal countryside. The *mezzadria* system tended to foster the formation of large, extended, and in most cases very cohesive, family networks, with single households often accommodating multiple families and conjugal units. The reasons for this were mostly economic. Large family units meant more able bodies to work the lands of the *podere*, but they also put the family in a better position to

[68] In the mountainous regions of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the altitude and poorer soil quality were not conducive to the division of land on the basis of the *mezzadria* contract. See C. Pazzagli, *L'Agricoltura Toscana nella prima meta dell'800: tecniche di produzione e rapporti mezzadrili* (Florence, 1973), p. 348. Agricultural activities in the mountains were centred more on the raising and pasturage of sheep and cultivation of chestnuts. For agriculture of the mountains, see J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *Tableau de l'agriculture Toscane* (Geneva, 1801), pp. 233-53.

[69] For a description of the *contratto colonico* and its provisions and obligations, see Pazzagli, *L'Agricoltura Toscana*, pp. 356-63, 395-97; A. Lyttelton, 'Landlords, Peasants and the Limits of Liberalism', in J. A. Davis (ed.), *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution* (London, 1979), pp. 109-10.

overcome the challenges of agricultural life: the death of an able-bodied relative could be catastrophic for a small family, but less disastrous for an extended family with more members to draw upon. Considerations such as these also prevented families from splitting and mitigated against the formation of new households. In an economic context in which subsistence depended on the number of hands available to work the land, the separation of one conjugal unit from the extended family could be economically ruinous, for both the absconding couple but also for the family unit from which the couple was separating, leading to a situation in which neither family possessed enough human power to make the lands productive. As such, it was common in nineteenth-century rural Tuscany for children to inhabit their parental *podere* well into their adulthood, often with their spouses and children.[70]

The highly patriarchal nature of the *mezzadria* also served to reinforce this tendency towards large, extended families. The *capoccia*, the recognised male head of the household who represented the interests of the family to the landlord and his agents, held almost absolute authority over all other members of the family, and possessed final say over whether members of his household, including adult males, could marry, buy and sell land, or leave the *podere* to set up their own household. The dependence of all family members on the *capoccia* was also acknowledged by the landlord, who would refuse to grant a land contract to any adult male who did not have the permission of their *capoccia* to leave.[71] Economic imperatives and a deeply patriarchal culture thus worked in tandem to restrict the liberty of young Tuscans and limit opportunities for sharecroppers to leave the household and establish new family units.

One may therefore reasonably argue that social and economic relationships in rural Tuscany tended towards sedentariness and immobility. In fact, this characteristic of the grand ducal countryside comes into even sharper focus when compared to other rural regions of Italy and Europe. The Tuscan countryside was not home to armies of landless, semi-proletarianized, and

[70] F. McArdle, *Altopascio: A Study in Tuscan Rural Society, 1587-1784* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 130-40, 145-46.
[71] Ibid, pp. 135-37; F. M. Snowden, 'From Sharecropper to Proletarian: The Background to Fascism in Rural Tuscany, 1880-1920', in Davis (ed.), *Gramsci's Passive Revolution*, pp. 146-47.

relatively mobile, rural labourers, such as those who worked the maize- and rice-growing regions of the Po Valley, or who constituted an increasingly conspicuous presence on the large estates of Apulia at the beginning of the twentieth century.[72] What's more, rural Tuscany did not boast anything like the rich associational culture which developed in rural Provence in the aftermath of the French Revolution, and which connected rural villagers to the urban culture of the provincial towns.[73] Similarly, the Tuscan countryside witnessed little of the activities of underground political associations, such as the *démoc-socs* in Southern and Central France under the French Second Republic, which brought left-wing political ideas to French rural audiences.[74] Rural Tuscany was, therefore, largely devoid of many of the important motors of politicisation, which were exerting an influence in different regions of Europe throughout the nineteenth century. Finally, many of the mechanisms and agents through which political ideas were disseminated and carried to the popular masses in the grand duchy's cities did not extend to anywhere near the same extent into the countryside. The lively culture of civic and political festivals, while by no means non-existent in the countryside,[75] was far less prevalent in rural Tuscany than in the cities, and the Tuscan Civic Guard, a veritable engine of popular politicisation, had a negligible impact in the countryside, as Tuscan sharecroppers were excluded from active service, along with manual labourers of all stripes, although they were permitted to join the reserve.[76] Tuscans living in the countryside were, therefore, largely excluded from many of the opportunities for political involvement which were open to urban artisans, while the dominant social and economic relationships of rural Tuscany created relatively few circuits of communication through which news and political information could circulate.

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[72] For studies of these regions, see G. Prato, *La vita economica in Piemonte a mezzo il secolo XVIII* (Turin, 1908); F. M. Snowden, *Violence and Great Estates in the South of Italy: Apulia, 1900-1922* (Cambridge, 1986).
[73] M. Agulhon, *La vie sociale en Provence intérieure au landemain de la Révolution* (Paris, 1970), esp. pp. 405-25; Agulhon, *Republic in the Village*, pp. 124-50.
[74] Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt*; Berenson, *Populist Religion*; Merriman, *Agony of the Republic*, pp. 164-90.
[75] Patriotic festivals did take place in the countryside, and usually involved the blending of political symbolism with religious rituals. See Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals', pp. 801-2.
[76] *Bandi e ordini*, 1847, doc. C, article 6.

However, this does not mean that rural Tuscans in the nineteenth century lived in complete isolation. While it is true that the *mezzadria* constituted the dominant economic structure in rural Tuscany, the sharecroppers of Tuscany were most certainly not relegated constantly to their farmhouses. On the contrary, they regularly moved around the countryside, most typically to attend local markets and fairs held in the nearest towns. These markets played an important economic and social role in rural Tuscany, offering sharecroppers an opportunity to trade foodstuffs and livestock, but also to acquire news, gossip and political information.[77] Information also circulated around the Tuscan countryside through the movements of ambulant salesmen and pedlars, along with itinerant artisans, who travelled between *poderi* selling their wares and offering their services.[78] While it is important to recognise that rural Tuscany in the nineteenth century was perhaps more sedentary than other European contexts, with fewer communication networks connecting Tuscany's rural populations to the cultural influences of the cities, along with fewer politicising and integrative processes serving to expose rural people to political discourses, it is equally important not to exaggerate the isolation and immobility of Tuscany's rural populations. Tuscan sharecroppers may never have encountered political activists of a montagnard ilk seeking to disseminate their ideologies to peasant populations – indeed, many sharecroppers may not have even ventured further than the market square more than once a week – but this should not be construed as evidence that Tuscany's rural dwellers were completely cut off from the world of politics. Rather, what the economic, social and cultural conditions of rural Tuscany show us is that a very different set of politicising processes were at work, different to both those taking place in the main Tuscan cities and those shaping the political-cultural landscape in other rural European contexts.

[77] G. Biagioli, 'Il podere e la piazza. Gli spazi del mercato agricolo nell'Italia centro-settentionale', in P. Bevilacqua, *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana in età contemporanea*, vol. III, *Mercati e istituzioni* (Venice, 1991), pp. 3-63; E. Francia, 'Il pane e la politica. Moti annonari e opinione pubblica in Toscana alla vigilia del 1848', *Passato e Presente*, 17, 46 (1999), pp. 134-37.

[78] Biagioli, 'Il podere e la piazza', pp. 62-3; the role of rural artisans in the spreading of political information to peasant populations has been recognised by historians working on other nineteenth-century European contexts, most notably France. See Agulhon, *Republic in the Village*, pp. 168-72; Berenson, *Populist Religion*, pp. 144-48.

Another factor which further complicated the politicisation of rural Tuscans, and which arguably made many country-dwelling populations suspicious of new political ideas and concepts, were the prevailing collective memories of 1799 which existed in the Tuscan countryside. In April-May 1799, rural populations all over Tuscany, and with particular ferocity in the Valdarno and around Arezzo, rose up in spectacular fashion in defence of their traditional religious practices, against the French occupying forces which, since March 1799, had continued the pro-Jansenist, reformist religious policies first set in motion by Peter Leopold in the 1770s. The rural insurgents blamed the new French government for both the tremendous increase in the prices of foodstuffs – itself a consequence of disruption to international markets caused by the French revolutionary wars, along with a scarcity caused by the requisitioning of food to sustain the French standing army – and for what was perceived to be an attack on local religious customs and traditions.[79] As part of the uprising, rural rioters attacked the various symbols of French Republic, most notably liberty trees which, having been erected by the French only a few months previously, were cut down in piazzas and town squares all over Tuscany by bands of disgruntled peasants.[80] To many rural Tuscans, the republican iconography of 1799 represented little more than a rapacious alien government which was determined to impose exorbitant taxation and strip away the important cultural artefacts of popular religion.

These events, along with the negative connotations attached to the concept and symbolism of the republic, would still have been in living memory for many rural Tuscans in 1848. Thus, while many artisans in 1848 were making their first tentative attempts to engage with republican symbolism as a language of political protest, at the same time, for many in the countryside, the memories of the events of 1799 still carried a potency sufficient to instil a widespread repulsion at the suggestion of a republic. It was this deep-seated anti-republicanism, alongside an even deeper-seated loyalty to the

[79] Turi, *Viva Maria*, esp. part 2, chs. 2-4.
[80] Ibid, pp. 249-58.

Crown,[81] which lay at the heart of the popular risings which took place throughout Florence's rural hinterlands in February and March 1849, in response to the grand duke's flight from Tuscany and the consequent rumours of the establishment of a republic. All over the *compartimento fiorentino*, rural Tuscans took up arms in opposition to the Provisional Government and in support of the grand duke, menacing the outlying suburbs of major towns and threatening on numerous occasions to breach the city walls of Florence and Pistoia.[82] Many of the regions which rose in 1849, in opposition to the rumoured republic, were also the same regions which had taken up arms against the French regime in 1799, suggesting that, for many rural populations at least, the memories of the previous republic played some part in the decision to oppose the new government.[83] This widespread fear of a republic thus explains why rural populations in Tuscany reacted so differently to the peasants of Lombardy and the Veneto, who in the spring of 1848 rose in support of the revolutions in Milan and Venice. Whereas the Lombard and Venetian peasants in 1848 took up arms for similar reasons as the Tuscans in 1799 – out of protest against a rapacious, foreign military regime[84] – the popular anti-republicanism which existed in rural Tuscany in 1849 served to cement the allegiance of Tuscan country-dwellers to their sovereign in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, while peasants across the upper regions of Italy pinned their colours to the masts of national independence, in February 1849, rural Tuscans were not yet ready to join any revolution, less still one that entailed exchanging their beloved grand duke for a loathed republic.

[81] Loyalty to the old Italian dynasties was an important element which gave shape to most of the popular insurrections against the French regimes and Italian Jacobins in 1799, including the *Viva Maria* risings in Tuscany. For which, see M. Broers, 'The Parochial Revolution: 1799 and the Counter-Revolution in Italy', *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 33:1 (1989), pp. 162-63.

[82] For descriptions of the pro-Leopold rural risings of 1849, see below, pp. 114-15. See also L. Passerini, *Il Quarantotto in Toscana: diario inedito del conte Luigi Passerini de' Rilli*, ed. F. Martini (Florence, 1918), pp. 246-48, 277-79; Foà, 'Politica interna', pp. 247-49; G. Petracchi, *Pistoia nell'età del Risorgimento tra cronaca e storia (1803-1849)* (Pistoia, 1984), p. 19; Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals', p. 818.

[83] Arezzo, the epicentre of the rural insurrection of 1799, rose again in March 1849, in response to the Provisional Government's attempts to extend the general call to arms to the countryside. Foà, 'Politica interna', pp. 254-55.

[84] della Peruta, 'I contadini nella rivoluzione lombarda', pp. 66-78; P. Ginsborg, 'Peasants and revolutionaries in Venice and the Veneto, 1848', *Historical Journal*, 17:3 (1974), pp. 507-15; idem, *Daniel Manin and the Venetian Revolution*, pp. 104-12.

The mechanisms of politicisation which were to have the greatest impact on rural Tuscany were to begin working very late under the second grand ducal Restoration, almost on the very eve of National Unification. The popular propaganda campaign mounted by Bettino Ricasoli, following his installation in power after the Florentine revolution of April 1859, was to prove amongst the most effective in bringing the vision of a national Italian polity to audiences of Tuscan sharecroppers. The statesmen who took over the government of Tuscany after April 1859 were perhaps in a better position than most patriots, including the Mazzinians and democrats, to reach the Tuscan peasants. Most of the men who were elevated to power in 1859 were liberal-minded landowners with sizeable estates in the countryside, which they rented out to sharecropping tenants. The men of 1859 therefore understood the challenges of the countryside and the difficulties involved in communicating with rural populations. Politicians like Ricasoli thus knew how to get political messages across to audience of sharecroppers. Ultimately, it was not enough to ensure that political literature circulated around the estates; it also had to penetrate the *mezzadria*, and its messages needed to be understood and internalised by the peasants working the land. To achieve his ambitious goal, Ricasoli charged his prefects with the mission of spreading pro-union, nationalist literature into every corner of Tuscany. However, of greater importance in Ricasoli's propagandistic endeavours were local notables and estate managers, who were instructed by Ricasoli to assist in the dissemination of pro-Piedmont propaganda to audiences of peasants.[85] This task became especially important in the month leading up to the plebiscite of March 1860, an event which put the fate of Tuscany into the hands of the whole Tuscan male population. Ricasoli needed to make sure that his pro-union propaganda was being received and understood by all Tuscans, including rural sharecroppers.

[85] For Ricasoli's tactics to 'illuminate' rural voters, especially in the lead up to the Tuscan plebiscite of March 1860, see R. della Torre, *La evoluzione del sentiment nazionale in Toscana dal 27 aprile 1859 al 15 marzo 1860* (Milan, 1915), p. 503; Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 210-14, 287-90; N. D. Vasoli, *Il plebiscito in Toscana nel 1860* (Florence, 1968), pp. 76-9. See also below, pp. 192-95.

It was not long before Ricasoli's propaganda campaign began to bear fruit. In the first years following unification, new political language started to make an appearance in peasant vocabularies, and new political concepts and ideas started to crop up in important popular cultural artefacts, most notably the popular love ditties which structured social interaction and courtship in rural Tuscany. The appearance of this new language in rural popular culture provides some of the most convincing evidence of an emerging popular engagement with new ideologies in the countryside, along with the beginnings of a broad political consciousness, which saw Tuscan peasants thinking about and discussing national political events.

Literacy and Sources

Any study which seeks to explore the political sentiments of lower-class groups must confront the problem of literacy. Literacy determined whether or not people living in the past could commit their experiences to writing – and so leave behind a useable ego-document as a historical source for historians – however, on a more basic level, literacy also influenced the extent to which people could understand the political discourses which circulated around them. As important as symbolism was as a tool of political communication, in nineteenth-century Tuscany the printed word remained one of the most dominant media through which new political doctrines were publicly disseminated, with patriots spreading their ideas through both books and the press, but also through more ephemeral publications such as broadsheets, pamphlets and flyers. Printed textual ephemera was the weapon of choice of the clandestine press, activated by Giuseppe Montanelli in 1846, but it was also the preferred means of public communication for patriots and liberals of all colours in the years that followed Leopold's liberalisation of the press in May 1847.[86] If few people living in Tuscany during the Risorgimento possessed the faculties of reading and writing, then few would have been able to

[86] Luseroni, *Stampa clandestina*.

make much sense of the constellation of new political ideas taking shape around them, and fewer still would have been able to leave behind any written document of their existence.

The statistics furnished from census records in this period do not make for reassuring reading. According to the data collected from the census conducted in 1841 in Tuscany, only 19% of the grand duchy's population possessed the faculties of reading and writing, while a further 3.5% could read but not write.[87] The situation had little improved by the time of National Unification, with the census of 1861 – the first census conducted on unified Italy – declaring 74% of Tuscany's population to be illiterate.[88] Confronted with these statistics, it may be tempting to conclude that Tuscany's subaltern populations are doomed to historical oblivion.

Despite this rather pessimistic picture, it is likely that a greater number of Tuscans could decipher the written word than these official statistics suggest. It has long since been established that, in general, people acquired literacy skills in stages, grasping the basics of reading before they could master the art of writing. Statistics which define literacy in terms of an individual's ability to write, therefore, risk exaggerating the absolute numbers of illiteracy by branding as completely illiterate those who could read but not write.[89] This is especially true of the national census of 1861, which made no distinction between grades of literacy.[90] Many who registered as illiterate on the first Italian census may well have been able to understand basic written material even if they could not write. Reading skills were also likely to be more widespread than writing in this period because the ability to read depended less on formal schooling and could be learned through more familiar channels: before the advent of free, national schooling, many Europeans' inductions into reading came through the assistance of family members, friends, the parish priest or even fellow workers.[91]

[87] In 1841, out of Tuscany's population of 1,489,980, 197,767 Tuscans could read and write, while 52,328 could only read. Bandettini, 'popolazione', p. 47.
[88] T. de Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* (Bari, 1963), p. 88.
[89] This point has been underlined by scholars of literacy in early-modern England. See, for instance, M. Spufford, 'First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Autobiographers', *Social History*, 4:3 (1979), pp. 407-35.
[90] de Mauro, *Storia linguistica*, p. 35.
[91] M. Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France* (London, 2008), p. 4.

The printed word also had ways of reaching even those on the absolute margins of literacy. As historians of early modern France and Britain have pointed out, popular printed matter rarely existed in isolation, but in fact inhabited a vibrant oral culture which reinforced and extended the written word to those who possessed little or no reading ability.[92] Oral culture was no less important in broadening access to the printed word in nineteenth-century Europe. During the French Second Republic, for instance, collective readings of seditious political literature were especially commonplace in sites of popular sociability, such as coffee houses, taverns and workers' clubs, and constituted an important mechanism in the spreading of political messages to urban and rural working populations.[93] Nineteenth-century Florence was no exception to this; collective readings and discussions in public spaces were regular occurrences in all of Italy's major towns and cities, especially over 1847-49.[94] The spoken word and the phenomenon of collective, public readings thus helped to bridge the gap that existed in Florence and other European cities between the printed word and the illiterate masses.

The lively culture of political song which developed in Tuscany throughout the Risorgimento also facilitated the democratisation of the printed word. The culture of civic festivals which took shape in Central Italy over the juncture of 1846-48 was accompanied by an explosion of patriotic hymns and choruses. While the majority of these political hymns were distributed and circulated through print – as cheap, single-page verses which were hawked on the streets – these were designed to work in tandem with a singing culture which was largely oral in nature, written with the intention of being sung aloud or collectively on the streets. The most famous of these patriotic hymns was *Il Canto*

[92] Many genres of popular literature – such as broadside ballads, chapbooks and even government announcements – were produced with the intention of being read aloud, or in some cases even sung collectively, in prominent public places. See R. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, tr. L. G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987), pp. 225-31; T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. pp. 11-38.

[93] M. Agulhon, 'La diffusion d'un journal Montagnard Le Démocrat du Var sous la Deuxième République', *Provence Historique*, 39 (1960), pp. 17-9; Merriman, *Agony of the Republic*, pp. 28-30.

[94] Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo'', p. 611. For reports of readings of newspapers and other political literature in coffee houses and tobacco shops in Florence in the 1850s, see A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 13, aff. 323, note dated 14th Jan. 1859, and 1851, b. 51, aff. 186, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito dated 4th October, 1851.

degli Italiani or – to use its more popular name – *Fratelli d'Italia*, which was written in September 1847 by the Genoese patriot and follower of Mazzini, Goffredo Marmeli. The hymn was first distributed on single printed *fogli volanti* in December 1847, and soon became popular all over Italy, allegedly being sung on the barricades in the streets of Milan during the *Cinque Giornate* of March 1848.[95] While *Fratelli d'Italia* may have been amongst the most well-known, it most certainly did not dominate centre stage. From 1846 onwards in Tuscany, there was a proliferation of hymns about Pius IX which, like *Fratelli d'Italia*, were printed with the intention of being sung aloud, usually at religious festivals and ceremonies, but also at more informal occasions.[96] Many are the examples of young patriots who sought to use public singing as a means of spreading liberal ideas. To cite just one example, at a showing at the theatre in Pisa on 4th September 1847, a group of youths took to the stage in between the scenes and, 'bearing a number of National and Pontificate flags, amidst the usual *evvivas* and clapping of the audience they sung the hymn of Pius IX.'[97] Printed ephemera in nineteenth-century Tuscany thus existed within a robust oral culture which both supported and broadened access to the printed word, helping to make printed material comprehensible to all, even those who lived on the fringes of literacy.

Even in the Tuscan countryside, where illiteracy was, according to the official statistics, nearing absolute, the written word was most certainly not an alien concept. Tuscany had for a long time been home to an expansive market of cheap print, consisting for the most part of cheaply-produced, ephemeral almanacs and astrological calendars, which enjoyed a wide circulation in the cities but which also penetrated the countryside.[98] The flow of printed ephemera making its way into rural Tuscany then increased markedly from the 1830s, when economists and liberal reformers centred on Tuscany's main fora of political debate – the *Gabinetto Vieusseux* and the *Accademia dei*

[95] For 'Fratelli d'Italia', see S. Pivato, *Bella Ciao. Canto e politica nella storia d'Italia* (Rome, 2007), pp. 44-53.
[96] An example is in E. Jona, *Le canzonette che fecero l'Italia* (Milan, 1962), p. 23.
[97] 'muniti di un numero di bandiere Nazionali, e Pontificie, ed intonarono fra i consueti evviva, e i battimano del pubblico, l'inno di Pio Nono'. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 18, aff. 60, report of the Inspector of Police of Pisa, dated 5th September, 1847.
[98] G. Solari (ed.), *Almanacchi, lunari e calendari toscani tra settecento e ottocento* (Milan, 1989), pp. ix-xxxvii.

Georgofili – attempted to harness the popular press in order to educate the sharecroppers of rural Tuscany in agricultural reform. In an attempt to achieve their reformist goals – making Tuscan agriculture more productive while retaining the integrity of the *mezzadria* – Tuscan liberals employed genres of popular literature such as the almanac and gave them a didactic purpose: teaching Tuscany's rural populations about new agricultural techniques and desired standards of moral behaviour.[99] While it is largely believed that these educative almanacs made relatively little impact on the minds of rural Tuscans, since the scientific subject matter and specialist language proved to be inaccessible to audiences of semi-literate sharecroppers,[100] the penetration of this literature into the Tuscan countryside throughout the 1830s and 1840s reveals that even the pre-literate society of rural Tuscany was, to borrow the phrase used by Adam Fox of early-modern Britain, 'structured and fashioned by text.'[101]

The printed word was, therefore, quite prevalent in Tuscany's rural hinterland. In addition to this, traditions of oral cultural communication in the countryside transpired to help bring the messages contained in written texts to those who possessed no comprehension of the printed word whatsoever. On the great sharecropping plains of Tuscany, estate managers and landlords often functioned as intermediaries helping to bridge the gap that existed between the printed word and the semi-literate world of the Tuscan peasantry. It was common practice for estate managers to read out printed literature, normally instructions or notifications from the landlord, to the sharecroppers under their supervision,[102] and in some cases reform-minded landlords, believing in the elevating effect of literature on the minds of peasants, even read excerpts from popular novels to their tenants. Raffaello Lambruschini, for one, was known to read out passages of Manzoni's *Gli Promessi Sposi* to audiences of sharecroppers who rented land on his estates, and even encouraged

[99] Ibid, pp. xxxvii-xlvii; U. Carpi, *Letteratura e Società nella Toscana del Risorgimento. Gli intelletuali dell'Antologia* (1974, Bari), pp. 281-330; P. Clemente, 'I 'Selvaggi' della campagna toscana: note sulla identità mezzadrile nell'ottocento e oltre', in P. Clemente *et al*. (eds.), *Mezzadri, letterati e padroni* (Palermo, 1980), pp. 46-50.
[100] Solari, *Almanacchi*, pp. xli-xliv.
[101] A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), p. 6.
[102] Miller, 'Communes, Commerce and *Coloni*', pp. 856-57.

his fellow landlords to partake in acts of social reading.[103] There is also evidence that Tuscan sharecroppers participated in collective readings, often on their own initiatives, in the intimate, private social setting of the familial winter wake. In Tuscany, wakes were an important social event for the sharecropping household. They offered an opportunity for the family to bond during long winter evenings, through fireside gatherings at which each member of the family would take turns to tell stories and entertain the children with nursery rhymes and fairy tales. Winter wakes thus provided entertainment but they also helped to cement the household as a cohesive social unit.[104] The wakes, however, were not just opportunities for storytelling, they also provided a venue for the consumption of printed material. According to the observations of Simonde de Sismondi, the Swiss political economist who studied the living conditions of the Tuscan peasants, it was not uncommon for at least one member of the household present at the wake to possess some rudimentary reading ability, having encountered some form of education either through a career in the priesthood or through some other influence. During the winter wakes, this member would often read from books, normally the Bible or some other religious text, while the rest of the family listened.[105] What all of these examples suggest is that, while the majority of rural Tuscans may have been unable to read themselves, there existed plenty of opportunities for illiterate sharecroppers to encounter the written word through processes of oral diffusion.

There is, thus, reasonable grounds to be optimistic about the ability of urban and rural Tuscans to understand and decipher the printed word. The same cannot be said, however, about popular writing practices. Since the acquisition of writing abilities typically followed reading skills, the statistics on literacy provided by the census results are probably quite accurate in their low estimations on writing abilities. While many Tuscans may have been able to make sense of the

[103] Carpi, *Letteratura e Società*, pp. 313-14. Ricasoli was also known to read sermons to his tenants on Sundays. See Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 61-2.
[104] The important social function of the winter wake has been emphasised by twentieth-century anthropological studies of rural Tuscany, for example A. Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia* (London, 1980).
[105] Simonde de Sismondi, 'Della condizione degli agricoltori in Toscana', in *Biblioteca dell'economista*, series 2, vol. II, *Agricoltura e quistioni economiche che la riguardano* (Turin, 1860), p. 557.

written word, far fewer would have been sufficiently accomplished in literacy to write extensively about their own personal experiences. As such, the mid-nineteenth century in Tuscany yields relatively few examples of popularly-authored ego-documents. The indomitable working-class autodidacts and auto-biographers of nineteenth-century Britain and France, whose writings provide such valuable insights into the professional and cultural lives of various strata of workers,[106] are virtually non-existent amongst the ranks of the Florentine artisanry. As historians of literacy have convincingly shown, in Italy the regular use of writing amongst 'ordinary people' was to occur later in the century, when the twin phenomena of mass emigration and conscription in World War I prompted many young Italians to pick up the pen and begin tentatively to write, in order to keep in touch with the friends and family they were leaving behind.[107] Separation was thus one of the primary motors for mass literacy in nineteenth- (and twentieth-) century Italy. In Risorgimento Tuscany, however, extended and reflective auto-biographical writing practices remained relatively rare amongst the popular masses.

Where disenfranchised groups did not themselves write about their experiences, the historian must look to other sources in order to explore popular political beliefs, sentiments and ideas. A particularly valuable source, especially for the urban masses, are the records left behind by the police, prefects and courts. According to Richard Cobb, police agents, spies, gendarmes and prefects were amongst 'the most prolific and zealous historians of popular protest'.[108] It was the duty of police officers to observe closely the patterns of popular behaviour and understand the habits, practices and assumptions of the popular masses, in order to be able to detect crime, deviance or sedition. The police therefore lived alongside the people, monitoring the people's actions and acquiring extensive knowledge about the rhythms of popular life.[109] The reports written by police

[106] D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London, 1981); J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London, 2001); Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices*, pp. 111-38.
[107] M. Lyons, *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860-1920* (Cambridge, 2013).
[108] R. C. Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820* (Oxford, 1970), p. 4.
[109] Ibid, pp. 17-26, 37-45.

agents on the streets thus provide a fascinating insight into the lived world of the urban working classes.

The policing apparatus of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany provides exceptionally copious and detailed reports about the goings-on at the micro level, in the main cities and towns around Tuscany. Following the restoration of Ferdinand III to the grand ducal throne in 1814, the French system of prefects, sub-prefects and mayors was abolished and all of the policing duties divided between these various offices were invested in the newly-restored *Presidenza del Buongoverno*, a heavily centralised police apparatus with exceptionally broad powers and jurisdictions. Originally established by Peter Leopold as an umbrella institution covering multiple administrative offices and civil authorities, the *Presidenza del Buongoverno* performed every conceivable policing and surveillance function. Under its authority came the various administrative divisions of the state, including the governors, auditors, local police chiefs (*commissari*) and town mayors (*Podestà*), who were expected to liaise regularly with the President of the *Buongoverno*, or chief of police, about affairs in their jurisdiction. At the street level, the *Buongoverno* relied on an extensive network of *birri*, who were organised into squadrons and placed under the command of *caposquadre* and *bargelli*. The *birri* were not a regular, uniformed police force like the French *gendarmerie*, but in fact resembled much more closely a system of spies, whose principle responsibilities consisted of surveillance and the interception of private correspondence. The *birri* kept a watchful eye on almost every aspect of Tuscan society, from conversations in coffee houses and theatres to meetings in private residences. The *birri* then reported their findings to the *caposquadre* and *bargelli* who in turn liaised with the *auditori* and *commissari*, the local police authorities who communicated with the central office of the *Buongoverno*.[110] The *Buongoverno* remained in place in the grand duchy for 33 years before it fell victim to Leopold's series of reforms in 1847. In September 1847, as part of his attempts to liberalise the grand ducal government and win over his liberal critics, Leopold abolished

[110] A. Aquarone, 'Aspetti legislativi della Restaurazione in Toscana', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 43 (1956), pp. 11-3; Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 23-4; A. Viviani, *Servizi segreti italiani, 1815-1985* (Rome, 1986), pp. 50-1.

the office of the *Buongoverno*, instituting in its place a system of prefects and sub-prefects based on the French model, although the *Buongoverno* and its large network of *birri* continued policing the grand duchy until the end of 1848.[111] The shift towards the prefecture was an attempt by the grand duke to confer greater accountability onto the grand duchy's central policing apparatus. The office of the prefecture was, however, no less extensive in reach, nor less panoptic in ambition, and the records it collected provide an equally comprehensive, street-level record of urban popular behaviour. The data contained in the records of both the *Presidenza del Buongoverno* and the *Prefettura* offer a wealth of information about the day-to-day activities of the urban popular classes, allowing the historian to explore both the quotidian, but also the more overtly political or illegal activities in which the urban masses were engaged, ranging from chanting and singing to clandestine political conversations in coffee houses.

While police sources may be very useful in documenting the range of political and seditious activities in the streets, evidence from police authorities must be treated with a degree of caution, as Richard Cobb duly warns us. The choices made by police agents on the ground, including choices about who to apprehend as the instigators of social unrest, were often shaped by institutional assumptions and prejudices, which permeated police guidelines and which targeted certain groups as troublemakers. The decision of a nineteenth-century policeman to arrest a particular individual for seditious behaviour may reveal more about the attitudes of the police than about the social reality of political protest.[112] Even if one can overlook these questions of impartiality, there still remains the fact that information contained in police reports provide in most cases only a description of people's actions. They do not, for the most part, tell us much about the content of people's ideas and thoughts. Thus, the reports written by police agents and prefects often stop short of penetrating popular ideology: they tell us what people were doing but not what they were thinking.

[111] Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, p. 77. The records of the *Presidenza del Buongoverno* contained in the Florence State Archive run to the end of 1848. The records of the *Prefettura* also commence in 1848.
[112] Cobb, *Police and the People*, pp. 26-37.

While all of this may impose real limitations on the reliability of evidence from police records, these issues should not invalidate police and prefects' reports as important historical sources for popular political activities and sentiments. Police data collected between the Restoration and National Unification in Tuscany are amongst the most comprehensive records of popular behaviour and political action at the street level, and provide details about the nature of public political life which few other sources can. The police records are thus a rich treasure-trove of information about the ways in which people expressed their political sentiments publicly in the streets and in sites of popular sociability. The multi-faceted nature of the information in police records also mitigates against some of their problems as a historical source. While many police records offer only descriptions of the activities of individuals or groups, police data can also contain mediated versions of the voices of suspects themselves. When police conducted interviews, suspects were permitted to explain their actions and give their version of events, thus allowing a rare glimpse into the personal political beliefs and ideas of individuals under examination. Similarly, court records, in particular the *Tribunale di prima istanza*, which dealt with petty civil crimes and political transgressions, also gave individuals the opportunity to convey their points of view. While this does not mean that historians should expect to find in the Tuscan police and court records files full of individuals willing to expound their whole personal ideology, in a manner akin to the sixteenth-century Italian miller researched by Carlo Ginzburg,[113] what this does mean is that voices contained in official records are not just those of the police and judges; they are also those of individuals interviewed as suspects or witnesses. These 'voices of the people' are a great historical boon and can be used in conjunction with the reports of police agents and prefects to give a more rounded, accurate version of the past.

While grand ducal police records provide extensive information about goings-on in the cities, information about events in the countryside in these sources is far less complete. For rural populations, historians of popular politics and culture in nineteenth-century Tuscany would benefit

[113] C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, tr. J. and A. Tedeschi (London, 1980).

from investigating compilations of popular vernacular songs, collected from rural communities by contemporary Tuscan linguists and folklorists. Popular oral songs offer certain advantages to historians of rural populations. Unlike written ego documents, which remained rare in the largely preliterate world of nineteenth-century rural Tuscany, songs were deeply ingrained into the fabric of everyday cultural life. Oral song constituted an effective means through which preliterate rural communities could organise and transmit cultural information from one generation to another, as well as helping people in the countryside to galvanise and construct collective identities.[114] In nineteenth-century Tuscany, popular oral song – in particular the short, single-verse love ditties known as *rispetti* and *stornelli* – served a very specific cultural function, helping to facilitate social interaction and courtship between young lovers living in the countryside. The performance of *rispetti* and *stornelli* lay at the very heart of couple-formation in rural Tuscany. Typically performed under the watchful eye of the extended family during the winter wake, these monostrophic love songs were dialogic in nature – intended to be sung as an exchange between two individuals – and consisted of a series of coded symbols and metaphors which permitted young lovers to exchange romantic sentiments in a way that was deemed to be acceptable and inexplicit. This essentially allowed young men and women to bond and flirt without breaching the jealously-guarded moral code of the household.[115]

The exchange of *rispetti* and *stornelli* usually started with the performance of a *rispetto*:[116] an 8-line verse, typically made up of 4 alternate-rhyming lines and 2 rhyming couplets, which generally contained a declaration of love or an intention towards courtship.[117] In response to the *rispetto*, the

[114] J. Fentress and C. Wickham, S*ocial Memory* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 41-7.
[115] Anthropological studies of Tuscan oral culture and the winter wakes emphasise these characteristics. See Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside*, pp. 106-43. The folklorist Giuseppe Tigri also tells us that performances of *rispetti* were for the most part reserved for evenings, see G. Tigri, *Canti popolari toscani raccolti e annotati da G. Tigri* (Florence, 1856), p. xxv. Similar traditions of courtship through dialogic singing also existed in other rural regions of Europe in the nineteenth century. See D. M. Hopkin, 'Love Riddles, Couple Formation, and Local Identity in Eastern France', *Journal of Family History*, 28:3 (2003), pp. 339-63.
[116] *Rispetti* could be performed by both men and women, however twentieth-century anthropologists have pointed out that it was typically the male partner who started the singing of love songs at the winter wake. See Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside*, p. 107.
[117] *Rispetti* typically focused on the physical beauty of the singer's intended: 'And you are the most beautiful girl/ That can be found in the sky or on land,/ Your colour is more beautiful than that of a fresh rose:/ And

performer's lover (or intended lover) would then sing a *stornello*, a shorter, 3-line song with a set number of syllables (5 in the first line, 11 in the second and third lines) which functioned as a response to the preceding song. The first line of the *stornello* – typically an invocation of a flower – established the rhyme pattern which the second and third lines would follow.[118] The broad range of different *rispetti* and *stornelli* available allowed singers to perform an array of emotional declarations and responses. There were *stornelli* through which singers could offer compliments or reciprocate sentiments of affection,[119] however there also existed *stornelli* through which young Tuscans could spurn unwanted advances or even end a relationship altogether.[120] There were even *stornelli* which singers could use to reject suitors for economic reasons: because they were too poor to qualify as marriageable material.[121] *Rispetti* and *stornelli* therefore offered young Tuscans, both male and female, a degree of emotional independence and agency, enabling them to negotiate the complex considerations involved in couple-formation. Oral song of this nature thus constituted one of the most important documented vehicles through which rural-dwelling Tuscans could express both their emotions but also their understandings of the world, offering historians a unique window

whoever sees you, falls in love with you./ And whoever sees you and does not give you their heart,/ Have not been born and do not know love:/ And whoever has seen you, and has not given you their heart,/ Does not know love, and has not been born.' (G. Tigri, *Canti popolari toscani raccolti e annotati da Giuseppe Tigri*, 2nd edn. (Florence, 1860), n. 72, p. 20.)
Rispetti could be used, however, to express other themes and emotions. Some *rispetti* lamented the departure of loved ones, during periods of seasonal migration for work, for example, while others expressed jealously and suspicion. See ibid, pp. 155-82; 204-26.

[118] For definitions of traditional *rispetti* and *stornelli*, see Tigri, *Canti popolari* (Florence, 1856), pp. xxiv-xxviii; R. H. Busk, *The Folk-Songs of Italy. Specimens, with Translations and Notes, from Each Province: and Prefatory Treatise*, (London, 1887), pp. 18-27; V. Santoli, *I canti popolari italiani: ricerche e questioni* (Florence, 1940), pp. 47, 103-4; A. M. Cirese, 'Revisione di nozioni correnti: Lo stornello', in *Studi in onore di C. Naselli* (Catania, 1968), pp. 87-107.

[119] Like *rispetti*, *stornelli* intended to flatter or compliment, sung by both men and women, focused on certain common physical attributes. A typical *stornelli* performed by a man to a woman was: 'My little flower,/ My Rosina has lips of coral:/ And her little ear is like a jewel.' (Tigri, *Canti popolari*, 2nd edn., no. 31, p. 331) A woman's *stornello* sung to complement a man went: 'You have lips of coral;/ You have black eyes and a beautiful face;/ Young man, you are an image of grace.' (Ibid, no. 62, p. 335).

[120] 'Bean flower./ We see your face, but we don't see your heart:/ You are a beautiful face, but I will not love you' (Ibid, n. 374, p. 373).

[121] 'Stick flower./ Beneath your shoes you have no heels;/ You have made me stay and it's been the death of me.' (G. Nerucci, *Saggio di uno studio sopra I parlari vernacoli della Toscana: vernacolo montalese (contado) del sotto-dialetto di Pistoia; varie appendici* (Milan, 1865), no. 76, p. 177).

through which to explore the feelings and sentiments of rural country communities during the Risorgimento.

While the primary function of the *rispetti* and *stornelli* was to facilitate courtship and the exchange of amorous sentiments, very often these songs were used to express more than just affection between two lovers. The performance of *rispetti* and *stornelli* was not limited solely to the winter wakes; singing also took place alongside agricultural work, especially during harvest and threshing season when men and women worked together.[122] As such, the genre of Tuscan love songs was not wholly restricted by parental supervision. While young Tuscans were working in the fields, the *rispetti* and *stornelli* could take on different colourings and meanings, and the genre could be used to express a variety of different ideas and opinions alongside the strictly romantic. Of particular relevance to the present research, these short love ditties even possessed the capacity to become politicised and function as a vehicle for conveying an individual's political beliefs and opinions.[123] It is precisely this characteristic which makes these songs such a valuable source for historians of popular politics in rural Tuscany. Oral songs offer a glimpse into the emotional lives of rural Tuscans, but they also shine an important light on the personal political sentiments of people living in the countryside. Songs of this nature can therefore be used by historians to fill the void created by the absence of written sources documenting personal and lived experiences.

One of the greatest problems when using oral sources of this nature is the fact that, for obvious reasons, those who created and performed them rarely wrote them down. Historians are therefore dependent on the intervention of outsiders – literate academics, travellers and writers interested in documenting oral culture – if they wish to use popular vernacular song as a historical source. In Tuscany, academic and intellectual interest in oral and folkloric culture exploded in the 1830s,

[122] Numerous foreign travellers in Tuscany in this period allude to the habit of the Tuscan *contadini* to sing while engaged in agricultural labour. See L. Scott, *Tuscan Studies and Sketches* (London, 1888), pp. 173, 177-78; Busk, *Folk-Songs of Italy*, pp. 16-7.

[123] The propensity of Tuscan love songs to absorb patriotic language and express political themes alongside romantic sentiments has been noted by nineteenth-century folklorists. See Tigri, *Canti popolari*, 2nd edn. (Florence, 1860), pp. xxx-xxxi.

commencing with the Dalmatian-born linguist Niccolò Tommaseo, who went out in search of the nation's soul in the singing cultures of Pistoiese mountain communities. The trail-blazing work carried out by Tommaseo sparked a long-term academic love affair with the Tuscan country folk and their popular poetry, with Tuscan intellectuals retaining an interest in rural folklore for many decades.[124] The result of these folkloric researches was the publication of a series of voluminous collections of transcribed popular oral songs, proverbs, sayings, stories and legends, which provide historians with a rich textual document of the oral cultures of rural Tuscany.[125]

The methodological problems associated with using such sources are well known. The song texts which have been transcribed by folklorists and published in collected volumes do not constitute the pure, unmediated voice of the people who created and performed the songs. The form and content of published song texts were often shaped by the assumptions of the folklorists themselves, as well as by the tastes and expectations of the urban, bourgeois reading market.[126] Folklorists also invented their own ideological constructs which they used to inform their choices about which songs they should publish,[127] while the process of transcription also served to reduce the song from a complex oral-visual performance – a media in which tone, pace, cadence and gesture were just as important as language in the construction of meaning – to a mere set of words. Folkloric collections, therefore, present very real challenges as a historical source, but their advantages far outweigh their problems. Unlike reports on village life written by external observers such as officials, judges and gendarmes, oral literature constitutes one of the few sources which capture (albeit in a mediated fashion) voices from subaltern, pre-literate rural communities of the past, which left very few other testaments of

[124] For Tommaseo and the development of folklore as a discipline of academic study in Tuscany, see below, pp. 173-80. See also U. Carpi, 'Classi dominanti e letteratura popolare nella Toscana dell'Ottocento', *Lavoro Critico. Rivista di analisi sociale della letteratura*, 14 (1978), pp. 101-27; L. Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci e le Sessanta Novelle Popolari Montalesi* (Pistoia, 2006), pp. 63-80.
[125] The major works for Tuscany in the period before unification are N. Tommaseo, *Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci* (4 vols., Venice, 1841-42); G. Giusti, *Raccolta di proverbi toscani: con illustrazioni* (Florence, 1853); G. Tigri, C*anti popolari toscani*; G. Nerucci, *Saggio di uno studio sopra I parlari vernacoli della Toscana*.
[126] R. B. Bottigheimer, 'Fairy Tales, Folk Narrative Research and History', *Social History*, 14:3 (1989), pp. 344-45, 348-49, 352.
[127] See below, pp. 176-80.

their existence. Without sources such as these, the emotions, sentiments and lived experiences of the mass of the rural population would be inaccessible. Oral literature thus offers a unique opportunity for historians. However, such sources must be treated with caution and their mediated nature must be borne in mind.

The first chapter of this thesis will consider the early politicising effect of Giuseppe Mazzini's patriotic society, Young Italy, on the working and artisan populations of Florence and other smaller towns, in the 1830s and '40s, before then going on to explore the ways in which the Florentine lower classes made use of new political language to express a range of popular concerns and grievances, in the context of the economic crisis of 1846-48. Chapter 2 will then turn to the prolonged period of popular mobilisation which took place in Tuscany from the inception of the Civic Guard in September 1847 to the Provisional Government's call to arms in February-March 1849, considering the impact such experiences had on the popular political consciousness and awareness of the mass of the male, Florentine working populations. Chapter three then investigates the ways in which the Florentine working classes (mostly male artisans) used the political knowledge they had acquired during the mobilisations of 1847-49 to express and construct a range of political voices which gave vent to popular complaints and grievances. This chapter will explore the use of both public channels in the shaping of political opinions but also the importance of the private space in helping people perform their political identities. The final chapter then turns from town to country, looking at the ways political ideas were disseminated through the Tuscan countryside, with a particular focus on the propaganda campaigns undertaken by Ricasoli's government in the months leading up to the Tuscan plebiscite of March 1860. Like the previous chapters, this chapter will explore active processes of politicisation, but it will also seek to probe the content of popular political thought amongst labouring groups, examining what rural-dwelling Tuscans thought about political change, and how they sought to express these ideas. This chapter will focus on one particular region of rural Tuscany: the sharecropping commune of Montale near Pistoia.

Chapter 1: Young Italy, Republicanism and Urban Popular Culture in Tuscany, 1830-1848

The politicisation of urban artisan and working populations in Tuscany has its origins in the early 1830s, owing itself in part to the influence of Giuseppe Mazzini's nationalist-patriotic association, Young Italy, which developed extensively in the main urban centres of Tuscany in the first half of the 1830s. Historians have dedicated a lot of attention in recent decades to the role played by various political organisations, across Central-Western Europe in the nineteenth century, in modernizing political conflict and in exposing lower-class groups to new political ideologies.[1] Much less attention, however, has been paid to the politicising impact of Young Italy on working populations in Risorgimento Italy.[2] The relative paucity of research into the impact of Young Italy on popular politics is surprising, especially when one considers the aims and objectives of Mazzini and his followers. The Mazzinian movement constituted a notable juncture in the history of Italian nationalism, representing a shift away from the earlier tradition of political dissent centred on secret societies. Mazzini and his disciples believed that the best way to achieve national regeneration was by inspiring faith and educating all Italians in the principles of the organisation's patriotic mission. For Mazzini, the Italian nation was to be forged through the coordinated insurrectionary actions of a population committed to fulfilling Italy's national destiny. Mazzini's unique brand of Italian

[1] C. Tilly, 'How Protest Modernized in France, 1845-1855', in W. O. Aydelotte et al. (eds.), *The Dimensions of Quantitative Research in History* (London, 1972), pp. 192-255; T. W. Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt: The Insurrection of 1851* (Princeton, 1979); J. Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic. The Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France, 1848-1851* (London, 1978), pp. 164-90; E. Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton, 1984); J. Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals. The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton, 1991).

[2] The noteworthy exceptions are F. della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani. Il ''partito d'azione'' 1830-1845* (Milan, 1974), esp. pp. 128-37, 241-44; M. Ridolfi, *Il circolo virtuoso. Sociabilità democratica, associazionismo e rappresentanza politica nell'Ottocento* (Florence, 1990), pp. 104-12.

nationalism therefore accorded considerable importance to goal of politicising Italy's labouring populations and bringing the principles of unitary republicanism to as many people as possible.[3]

During the principal period of Young Italy's expansion across the Italian peninsula, from 1831 to 1834, Mazzinianism also acquired considerable support amongst the intellectual elite in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. As early as August 1831, various *congreghe* of Mazzinians – centred on important liberals with whom Mazzini had already made contact in the late 1820s – were already beginning to organise themselves under the name Young Italy and conduct meetings in Livorno and Siena. From these centres, Young Italy then spread to Florence, absorbing a wide array of wealthy middle-class professionals and intellectuals, before then branching out even further to Pisa, Pistoia and Montevarchi, and to smaller towns such as Montepulciano and Poggibonsi.[4] The aims and strategies favoured by the Tuscan branch of Young Italy were also particularly conducive to popular politicisation. The Tuscan intellectuals who supported Young Italy were not just ambassadors of Mazzini seeking to impose the discourse of national independence and patriotic struggle onto the grand ducal population. The Tuscan branch of Young Italy developed within a complex matrix of pre-existing social and political tensions and those who supported the association oriented themselves to the political debates already taking place within Tuscany, reconciling Mazzini's ideas about national unity and republicanism with existing political grievances of Tuscan liberals and the concern for economic and social reform.[5]

The Tuscan democrats also embraced with particular enthusiasm Young Italy's goal of educating the masses, seeking to forge links with the artisan and working classes in the big cities but also in

[3] The literature on Mazzini and Young Italy is extensive. The aims and goals of Young Italy are perhaps best described by Mazzini himself. See G. Mazzini, *Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini* (London, 1891), vol. 1, pp. 96-113. Good summaries are also provided in R. Sarti, 'Giuseppe Mazzini and his opponents,' in J. A. Davis (ed.), *Italy in the Nineteenth Century, 1796-1900* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 74-107; C. Duggan, *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy since 1796* (London, 2008), pp. 125-34; L. Riall, 'The Politics of Italian Romanticism: Mazzini and the Making of a Nationalist Culture', in C. A. Bayly and E. Biagini (eds.), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism, 1830-1920* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 168-86.

[4] della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani*, pp. 91-2, 125-28. For Mazzini's contact with Tuscan intellectuals in the late 1820s, see E. E. Y. Hales, *Mazzini and the Secret Societies: The Making of a Myth* (London, 1956), pp. pp. 33-5, 43-4.

[5] C. Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini nella rivoluzione del '48-'49* (Florence, 1963), pp. 50-5.

smaller provincial towns. Like many other political associations of nineteenth-century Europe which aspired to a mass following, the Tuscan democrats sought to achieve this goal through a popularly-oriented propaganda campaign. In a manner similar to the French *démoc-socs*, the Tuscan Mazzinians disseminated a vast corpus of ephemeral didactic literature which aimed to spread the ideas of the democratic movement while simultaneously calling for improvements to the social and economic conditions of the poor.[6] Through this strategy, Tuscan democrats sought to capture urban audiences by championing popular grievances, while at the same time exposing readers to the ideology of Mazzini. The Tuscan branch of Young Italy was, therefore, well placed to exert a strong influence on popular politics and popular culture, helping to disseminate new political concepts and discourses throughout the artisan and working populations, and offering the urban popular classes a first acquaintance with the principles of unity, liberty, republicanism and national independence.

The ideas propagated by Mazzini and Young Italy in the early 1830s were to have a lasting legacy in popular culture and popular consciousness. While the existence of Young Italy as an organisation would prove to be fleeting, both in Tuscany and in the Italian peninsula as a whole, the ideas and language of Young Italy, most notably that of republicanism, left a deep imprint on urban popular culture in Tuscany, embedding themselves into the cosmos of popular political ideas, ready to be drawn upon as a language of political protest during periods of popular crisis or political conflict. The grain and manufacturing crisis of 1846-47 offered the first such context in which the word 'republic' could be mobilised as an expression of popular discontentment with the government. While many of the popular tumults which took place over 1847-48 drew upon older ideologies and established patterns of collective protest – including food riots and the use of graffiti to blame the government for economic problems – alongside these more traditional forms of popular politics, a popular republican idiom also started to emerge as a language of political protest. Republicanism thus became a ready-made political vocabulary of opposition, which existed in the background of popular

[6] della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari italiani*, pp. 130-32. For similar attempts made by the French *démoc-socs* to integrate rural popular grievances into their political platforms and popularly-oriented campaign literature, see Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt*, pp. 138-42; Merriman, *Agony of the Republic*, pp. 40-4.

imagination and which could be mobilised by different social groups as a means of expressing discontentment with the government.

As well as becoming a vocabulary of popular protest, police and court records from 1848 reveal that the term 'republican', as a distinct category designating an individual with specific political beliefs, had also managed to establish itself in the parlance of everyday life among the popular classes of mid-nineteenth-century Florence. Witness statements submitted to the police over the summer of 1848 by craftsmen, artisans, apprentices and working people of every sort provide evidence of a growing familiarity with the term 'republican' among the Florentine popular classes. In some rare cases, the republican ideology had also found committed and outspoken converts among the lower ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and even amongst the poorer classes of ambulant petty traders. All of these observable characteristics of urban popular culture in the mid-late 1840s, which left their traces in police and court records, testify both to the impact of Young Italy and to important developments in urban popular political consciousness. Artisans, workers and petty traders were beginning to think about, engage with and assimilate new political concepts and ideas.

Young Italy in Tuscany: The Genesis of Urban Popular Politicisation

While the existence of Young Italy in Tuscany was most certainly short-lived, spanning the brief period between 1831 and 1834, the history of the organisation in Tuscany coincided with important changes taking place in the political environment of the grand duchy. The Tuscan Mazzinians were able to take advantages of these changes, integrating existing social and political grievances into their propaganda and extending the influence of the association over as broad a range of Tuscan people as possible.

The early 1830s in Tuscany witnessed the rise of a trenchant popular hatred of the grand ducal police regime. It is largely believed that the Tuscan police force had been run quite even-handedly by

Chief of Police Aurelio Puccini since the restoration of the *Buongoverno* police apparatus in 1814.[7] This however all changed in 1830 upon the appointment of Torello Ciantelli, who has been judged by many historians as having attempted to use his position as chief of police to turn the Tuscan police force into an instrument of the Court of Vienna.[8] Popular resentment towards the grand duchy's police force started to grow after 1831 when Ciantelli took advantage of the popular tumults taking place in the states immediately bordering Tuscany to bolster the power of local police constables – the *bargelli* and *caposquadre* – which in turn opened the floodgates to a host of abuses at local level. Ciantelli allowed the *bargelli* and *caposquadre* to correspond directly with the Police Headquarters in Florence without having to report to local police chiefs (the *commissari* and *vicari*). These changes gave the local *bargelli* almost absolute autonomy and allowed the *birri* under their command to inflict vexatious harassments on Tuscan citizens. At the same time, Ciantelli also expanded his network of spies, intensified surveillance on known liberals and heightened repressive measures against paupers begging in the streets.[9] The proliferation of abuses in the lowest echelons of the police force, along with the bolstering of surveillance at the street level, led to the growth of mistrust and popular antipathy towards the police in the early 1830s. In the words of Antonio Zobi, historian and attentive observer of Tuscan society, 'as the severity increased, the hatred of it also grew, along with the disdain for the unwarranted harassments inflicted by the police on so many honest people, whose only crime had been to have uttered inconsiderate words.'[10] So hated were the *birri*, especially in their treatment of the poor, that Florentines soon started to refer to them pejoratively as 'the executioner's snakes' (*biacchi del boia*).[11]

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[7] A. Aquarone, 'Aspetti legislativi della Restaurazione in Toscana', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 43 (1956), p. 11.

[8] E. del Cerro, *Misteri di polizia: storia italiana degli ultimi tempi ricavata delle carte d'un archivio segreto di Stato* (Florence, 1890), pp. 8-9; E. Michel, *F. D. Guerrazzi e le cospirazioni politiche in Toscana dall'anno 1830 all'anno 1835* (Rome, 1904), pp. 2-3.

[9] A. Zobi, *Storia civile della Toscana dal MDCCXXXVII al MDCCCXLVIII* (Florence, 1852), vol. IV, pp. 433-34, n. 14; G. Conti, *Firenze vecchia. Seconda edizione riveduta ed ampliata con 94 illustrazioni*, 2nd edn. (Florence, 1928), vol. II, p. 97.

[10] 'Se non ne a misura dell'aumento insano rigore, accrescevasi pure l'aborrimento per esso, e lo sdegno per gli'indebiti fastidi arrecati dalla polizia a molte oneste persone, tutto al più rimproverabili d'inconsiderate parole, o di desideri molesti a' Sanfedisti', Zobi, *Storia civile*, vol. IV, p. 433.

[11] Conti, *Firenze vecchia*, vol. II, p. 98.

As well as a deepening popular hatred of the grand duchy's police force, the early 1830s were also characterised by a period of mounting political tension between, on the one hand, the grand duke and his ministry and, on the other, the liberal opposition to government, which was centred on important literary and cultural institutions such the *Gabinetto Vieusseux* and the influential Florentine literary-political journal, *L'Antologia*.[12] Tensions between the liberals and the government erupted in February 1833 following the death of one of *L'Antologia*'s most well-respected contributors, Professor Giuseppe Montani. The editors and writers of *L'Antologia* disobeyed the orders of the new chief of police – Giovanni Bologna, who had replaced Ciantelli in 1832 – and organised an enormous public funeral procession which followed the path of the coffin from the Church of Santa Maria Novella to Santa Croce. The following day, in continued violation of police ordinances, *L'Antologia* encouraged a huge crowd of people to attend the interment of the body at the Santa Croce Church. The founder and chief editor of *L'Antologia*, Giovan Pietro Vieusseux, was subsequently reprimanded by the chief of police for his civil disobedience and *L'Antologia* was forbidden from publishing the funerary orations for Montani.[13] Relations between *L'Antologia* and the government deteriorated further when the editors of the popular journal turned their sights to denouncing Austrian imperial presence in Italy. In 1833, *L'Antologia* published two literary articles, one by Niccolò Tommaseo and the other by Luigi Leone, which made thinly veiled criticisms of Austria as modern-day oppressors of the Italian people. The journal was immediately condemned by the Austrian Court, as well as in the newspaper of the Duke of Modena, *Voce della Verità*. The severity of the Austrian backlash forced Leopold's hand and in March 1833 he decreed the

[12] The Gabinetto Vieusseux was a reading room established by the Genevan merchant Giovan Pietro Vieusseux to facilitate the exchange of ideas among Tuscan intellectuals and promote the dissemination of foreign books in Tuscany and Italy more widely. See M. Bossi (ed.), *Giovan Pietro Vieusseux: pensare l'Italia guardando all'Europa: atti del Convegno di studi, Firenze 27-29 giungo 2011* (Florence, 2013). *L'Antologia* was a scientific and literary journal – and major mouthpiece of liberal opinion in Tuscany in the early nineteenth century – set up by Vieusseux and Gino Capponi which ran from 1821 to 1833. For which see U. Carpi, *Letteratura e Società nella Toscana del Risorgimento: gli intelletuali dell'Antologia* (Bari, 1974), chs. 2-3; R. P. Coppini, *Il Granducato di Toscana dagli ''anni francesi'' all'Unità* (Turin, 1993), pp. 223-46, 251-57.
[13] Michel, *Guerrazzi*, pp. 83-5.

suppression of the journal.[14] As well as heavy-handed, these actions were also highly symbolic. Only two years earlier, Leopold had attempted to halt Austrian interference in Tuscany by refusing Metternich's offer of military intervention. Now, Leopold appeared to have done a *volte-face* in his attitude towards Vienna, capitulating to the orders of his imperial House and acting to stifle the freedom of expression of his Tuscan subjects. These actions severely blemished the peaceable and tolerant political atmosphere which Leopold and his father had attempted to maintain in Tuscany since the Restoration.

It was into this environment of growing political and social tension that Young Italy inserted itself in the early 1830s. From here, Young Italy was able to exercise considerable influence over popular politics and culture, reinforcing and giving shape to existing political ideas and sentiments, including the popular resentment and distrust of the grand ducal police force, while at the same time inspiring labouring groups to think about and engage with new ideas and political concepts. The Florentine *congrega* of supporters of Young Italy was to leave an exceptionally deep imprint on the patterns of popular protest and currents of political ideas. Despite the relative paucity of comprehensive reports in the grand ducal police records documenting the activities of Young Italy in Florence in the 1830s,[15] it has now been convincingly shown – by studies which have analysed those few archival traces which the Florentine branch did leave behind – that there existed in Florence in these years a large secret network of supporters and followers of Mazzini, engaged in a range of conspiratorial activities from the dissemination of democratic literature to plans to stockpile weapons in preparation for a coup against the government.[16]

While many of the activities of the Florentine Mazzinians, such as stockpiling weapons, were highly secretive, there were also those who took a much more outspoken approach, striving to stir

[14] Ibid, pp. 85-91; Coppini, *Granducato*, pp. 255-56.
[15] This has prompted some historians to doubt the existence of Young Italy in Florence altogether. See I. Grassi, 'Il primo periodo della ''Giovine Italia'' nel Granducato di Toscana (1831-1834)', *Rivista Storica del Risorgimento*, 2 (1897), p. 926.
[16] E. Benedetto, 'La ''Congrega fiorentina'' della ''Giovine Italia'' e la politica granducale negli anni 1832-1833. Il movimento politico nel 1832-33', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 97:1 (1939), pp. 41-110.

up public agitation and direct it against the government. One of the most vociferous of the Florentine group was the young lawyer Luigi Beyer. Beyer was involved in Mazzinian circles stretching as far as Perugia.[17] His principal preoccupation, however, was with the grand ducal police force. Beyer believed that the grand duchy's police was stifling Young Italy's attempts to implement its plans in Tuscany, and throughout June and July 1832 Beyer was reported as attempting to incite resentment towards the police among the young student population of Florence. He used the Caffè Elvetico, located in Via Por Santa Maria near the Mercato Nuovo, as a base for these operations. In early July 1832, Beyer is reported as having told his young followers at the coffee house that 'the successful achievement of any undertaking by the sect in this land appears to be impossible because of the great embarrassment which the police cause for it, and so the time has come to eliminate it by means of a massacre of the agents of the said police force.' A few nights later, on 10th July, Beyer, along with a certain Ferdinando Gatteschi, attempted to lure police into an ambush by instructing a large gang of young men, dressed in white straw hats and brandishing sticks, to congregate in a raucous mob in the Mercato Nuovo. The attempt failed and conflict was avoided because the police authorities had received information about the plan and had instructed the patrols on duty that night to avoid the area.[18]

The arrest of numerous prominent democrats in Florence and Prato in late July provoked Beyer to up his campaign against the police.[19] On the night of 23rd, under the guise of the participating *cocchiate* festivities, a popular night-time festival in which musicians and singers paraded around the capital, Beyer led a group of around 300 young men from the Caffè Elvetico on a bellicose nocturnal

[17] Beyer is reported as having undertaken a trip, along with Dr Serafino Lami and Dr Moro Ubaldini, to Perugia, between May and June 1832, where he met up with other members of the 'sect' and allegedly discussed tactics for fomenting popular revolt. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 19, aff. 108, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, 27th July 1832.

[18] 'vedeva impossibile la prospera riescita di ogni impresa di setta in questo paese per causa del grande imbarazzo che le arrecava la Polizia, e che però era tempo di levar di mezzo con un massacro gli agenti della medesima'. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 19, aff. 108, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, 27th July 1832.

[19] The documents relating to the arrest of these men (Pietro Ruschi, Carlo Roster, Nicola Angiolini, Evangelista and Girolamo Martini), along with the papers confiscated from them, are in A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 16, aff. 69. See also Benedetto, 'Congrega fiorentina', pp. 48-50.

march around central Florence. This enormous crowd of pugnacious young men paraded twice in front of the private residence of the chief of police (*Palazzo della Presidenza del Buongoverno*) where they raised menacing shouts and whistles and chanted the word 'die'. The following morning, police patrolling the capital found 16 handwritten placards carrying the message 'Death to the Chief of Police and his satellites.' Two days later, still under the cover of the boisterous musical festivities of the *cocchiata*, Beyer led another large group of young men on a parade which took them under the Uffizi Gallery, along Lungarno and onto Piazza Santa Croce. Along the way, the participants were heard singing the Marseillaise in Italian. The first verse of this was noted by police agents and transcribed in the notes written by the chief of police himself:

'He who has died for the patria
Has lived a worthy life
Let's take up arms
Let's rush to the battlefield
Ready to fight.'[20]

The chants and songs incanted by Beyer's mob reveal the mixture of ideas which men like Beyer were seeking to promote. The scathing hatred of the police went hand in hand with a nationalising rhetoric which evoked the Italian Patria and emphasised the duty of Italians to sacrifice themselves in the fight to redeem the nation's rights. Hatred of the police and a love of the Patria were thus conceived of as two sides of the same coin, as the grand ducal police force was considered by patriots like Beyer to be the principal enemy of Young Italy's designs to resurrect the Italian nation.

The chief of police reacted to these nocturnal disturbances by initiating investigations into the main participants and in the days that followed large numbers of young men were arrested for having taken part in the disorders. The majority of the men arrested were students and young, liberal-minded lawyers like Beyer. Of the men charged for having played an active role in organising

[20] 'Chi per la patria muore/ Vissuto è assai!/ Prendiamo le armi/ Andiamo al campo/ Pronti a pungar.'Descriptions of both of these nocturnal stirrings, along with a transcription of the song, are in A.S.F., Segreteria di Gabinetto, Appendice, f. 16 'Andamento politico, 1831-1832', inserto 2b, 'Nota del Pres. Del B. Gov.' dated 27th July 1832. See also A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 19, aff. 108, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, 27th July 1832; Benedetto, 'Congrega fiorentina', p. 50.

and leading the raucous crowd around the city, nine of them – including Beyer himself – are described in the court records as practicing lawyers (*praticante*) and seven are described as 'students'. Four more individuals on the lists of men prosecuted carry the title *dottore*. There was also one sculptor and one surgeon present, and the son of an owner of a large printing company, Caro Batelli. A small number of musicians were also arrested for their complicity in the events of 25th July. The only individual on the list who does not fit the broad categories of the educated liberal middle classes and students was a certain Luigi Giovannini, who is described as a grocer.[21] Following the arrests on 26th July, disorders in the Capital died down and the chief of police noted a return to tranquillity in the capital by early August.[22] The grievances directed towards the police, and in particular towards Chief of Police Torello Ciantelli, were however acknowledged by the grand duke and his ministers. Ministers Neri Corsini and Vittorio Fossombroni both had misgivings about Ciantelli, especially after he proposed on 9th August that Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (also arrested as part of the crackdown in July) should be punished with three years' exile on the island of Giglio, a sentence which exceeded the maximum penalty which the chief of police could legally impose. Corsini and Fossombroni appealed to the grand duke to dismiss Ciantelli from office and proposed a new law which defined more precisely the limitations of the office of the *Buongoverno*. By the end of August, Ciantelli, under increasing pressure from the grand ducal ministry, had reluctantly agreed to submit his resignation.[23]

The removal of Ciantelli from office, along with the reforms to the powers of the *Buongoverno*, ignited widespread popular festivities and mass expressions of gratitude towards the grand duke, which took place in early September. While these popular demonstrations had a much more positive and celebratory character to those which had taken place in July, in many significant ways these new demonstrations mimicked the tumults orchestrated by Luigi Beyer one month previously. On the

[21] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1833, f. 26, aff. 245.
[22] A.S.F., Segreteria di Gabinetto, Appendice, f. 16 'Andamento politico, 1831-1832', inserto 2b, 'Nota del Pres. Del B. Gov.' dated 1st August 1832.
[23] Zobi, *Storia civile*, vol. IV, pp. 436-39; del Cerro, *Misteri di Polizia*, pp. 73-6; Michel, *Guerrazzi*, pp. 60-2.

evening of 2nd September, large numbers of people congregated outside the grand ducal residence at the Palazzo Pitti – ostensibly as part of the *cocchiata* festivities – where they started to chant 'Long Live Leopold II.' A large group then broke away from the main crowd and proceeded via the Ponte Vecchio on a tour around the city. Their route took them past the principal government buildings, such as the *commissariato di Guerra* and the *Comando della Piazza*, outside of which they repeated their chants in praise of Leopold as well as chants which celebrated the downfall of Ciantelli, such as 'Death to Ciantelli'. Their tour ended in front of Ciantelli's private residence where, just as Beyer's mob had done over a month earlier, they shouted the words 'die'.[24] The overall appearance of the disturbances on the night of 2nd September, along with the sentiments expressed by the crowd, thus resembled very closely those of July. However, the social composition of the roving nocturnal mobs had altered. The stirrings of September witnessed a far larger number of individuals drawn from the working and artisan classes. According to police intelligence, the mass of the crowd which made its way around the city on 2nd September consisted mostly of 'common people' (*persone volgari*). These included three shop-owners, a baker, a watchmaker, a porter, an apprentice barber, and a worker employed at the Batelli printing shop.[25] The crowd which congregated outside of the Palazzo Pitti was also joined by a second large mob, which had made its way slowly from the Cigar factory in Sant'Orsola in the San Lorenzo district via the Piazza del Duomo and the Ponte Vecchio, and which counted amongst its numbers a large quantity of cigar makers, along with two cobblers, a whitewasher, a blacksmith and a woodworker.[26] What the September stirrings reveal, therefore, is a shift in the dynamics of street politics. The students and lawyers of July had been replaced by artisans and workers, but the sentiments being expressed, and the

[24] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 18, aff. 75, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 3rd September 1832. Descriptions of this event are also in Zobi, S*toria civile,* vol. IV, p. 439; Conti, *Firenze vecchia*, vol. II, p. 282.
[25] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 18, aff. 75, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 3rd September 1832. The popular character of the September disturbances has also been pointed out in della Peruta, *Mazzini e i revoluzionari*, p. 132.
[26] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1831-1832, f. 18, aff. 75, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 4th September 1832.

techniques used to express them, remained largely the same. Beyer's July protests thus helped to cement and intensify popular dislike of the police regime among the working populations of Florence while at the same time offering a model for the performance of political sentiments on the streets, a model which the September demonstrators duly adopted. Beyer's actions therefore helped to shape both popular political ideas and the idiom of street demonstrations.

As well as impacting indirectly on the patterns of popular street politics, the Tuscan Mazzinians also sought to forge links with the working classes through more direct means. The Tuscan democrats sought to reach out to the urban and rural labouring classes, to educate people in the benefits of economic reform and win over the Tuscan masses to the cause of Young Italy, through a targeted, popularly-oriented propaganda campaign. This popular literature sought to appeal to the urban working classes by balancing the ideas of Mazzini with an acknowledgement of the need for economic reform. One such popular print, entitled 'Il primo giorno dell'anno 1833 al popolo italiano la gioventù', which was found on the 1st January 1833 in almost all of the cities and suburbs of Tuscany – including under the table in the Church of Fiesole where parishioners received the Eucharist – made a direct appeal to the people of Tuscany, urging its readers that the so-called 'liberals' were seeking to protect the interest of the popular classes.[27] The print begins by using the common Risorgimento metaphor of brotherhood to inspire solidarity among the Tuscan people, while simultaneously pledging that Young Italy is dedicated to improving the quality of the lives of the people:

> 'In our current times, my people, all men must make up one single family. When the year begins parents embrace and bless their children, the husband his wife, the brother his fellow brother. On this day it seems that the heart of man beats only for love, and in this 'la Gioventu italiana' speaks to you, oh people, a word of brotherhood; and moved by the piety of your many misfortunes, we swear in the presence of God to make your life less painful for you.'

The pamphlet then blames the rulers and government of Tuscany for the people's misery, and establishes a powerful dichotomy between the poor and their rich oppressors:

[27] Michel, *Guerrazzi*, p. 69. A full transcription of this print is in ibid, pp. 177-79.

> ‘But what, oh people, have our enemies ever done to lift your misery? Beg and you will be mocked: complain and they will throw you in jail: knock on the door to ask for bread and they will throw a stone in your face. For them riches and enjoyment, for you toils and tears; for them offices and honours, for you servitude!’

Finally, the pamphlet ends by claiming that the democrats are championing the interests of the people:

> ‘The men, which our enemies are trying to make you abhor with the name LIBERALS are those who would like to decrease the duty taxes, to suppress privileges; to establish and promote factories where you would find your daily bread, to create schools where your children would freely learn precepts of Christian morality, and education according to their status; they would also like to educate your daughters who, becoming mothers, would lay foundations to the regeneration of men’.[28]

The pamphlet of January 1833 mixed the tropes and imagery of nationalist discourses with a series of complaints which were grounded in the social and economic conditions of Tuscany. This propagandistic print therefore represented an effort by the Tuscan democrats to capture the loyalty of the mass of the Tuscan people by making a direct appeal to what were believed to be real social and economic grievances.

The Tuscan democrats also sought to broaden the appeal of their printed propaganda, and make the republican content of their ideology more comprehensible, by evoking the glory of the former Florentine Republic and contrasting it to the state of decay into which the grand ducal government had allegedly fallen. A pamphlet from June 1832 described the Florentine Republic as a time when ‘the common man, the citizen and the noble formed in Florence a free, virtuous and happy people, [and when] the government was not arbitrary, suspicious or rapacious, [and] did not serve the foreigner.’ In stark contrast to this, stood the government of Leopold II which, in the words of the pamphlet, ‘exploits us, rules us according to the wiles of Austria, constricts all generous thoughts, protects the hypocrites who then empties its coffers, allows the abuses of so many taxes, impositions and burdens’.[29] The Florentine Republic is here being used to evoke an imagined former

[28] Ibid, pp. 177-78. For full transcription of this print, see appendix 1, doc. 1.
[29] ‘l’uomo del volgo, il cittadino ed il nobile formavano in Firenze un popolo libero, virtuoso e felice, il governo non era arbitrario, sospettoso e rapace, non servo allo straniero.’ ‘Questo governo ci smunge, ci domina

greatness in order to highlight the failings and repression of Leopold's government. However, it is also likely that the authors of this pamphlet were attempting to use the longer, historic tradition of the Florentine Republic to cast in more familiar or recognisable terms the Mazzinian notion of an Italian republic. While it would be very difficult to assess whether such a rhetorical strategy would have appealed to the poorer tiers of Tuscan society, and even more difficult to assess the meaning accorded to the Florentine Republic in popular memory amongst the working classes, what this pamphlet does reveal is the dexterity with which the Tuscan democrats could fuse Mazzinian discourses with a range of other political ideas and traditions in order to maximise the appeal of their ideas.

The Florentine *congrega* of democrats was exceptionally proactive in using a concerted propaganda campaign to disseminate its own ideas along with the unitarian, republican principles of Mazzini. One of the most audacious attempts to spread such propagandistic literature took place on the night of 28th March 1833, in the aftermath of the government's suppression of *L'Antologia*, the respected political-literary journal and major mouthpiece of liberal opinion in Florence in the early nineteenth century. This undertaking, which was the brainchild of the Mazzinian banker Laudadio Mondolfi, used the grocery store owned by a certain Giuseppe Magnelli as the base from which to circulate a series of printed pamphlets entitled 'Bulletino del 28 marzo 1833', which condemned the grand ducal government for its repressive measures and attempts to stifle free speech. Magnelli had been a former colleague of Mondolfi in the straw-hat industry, working as the deputy manager of the factory owned by the Mondolfi brothers in Via Malarancio, before the factory shut down in the early 1830s.[30] The shop which was used as the centre of operations for the distribution on the night of 28th had been set up only a few months prior to the government's suppression of *L'Antologia*.

secondo le voglie dell'Austria, comprime ogni generoso pensiero, protegge gl'ippocriti che poi gli vuotan le casse, lascia intatti gli abusi di tante gabelle, imposizioni ed aggravi.' Quoted in della Peruta, *Mazzini e i revoluzionari*, pp. 130-31.

[30] Magnelli himself revealed these facts in his interrogation by police on 24th April 1833. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1833, f. 14, aff. 48, 'Firenze. Commissariato del Quartiere S. M. Novella. Processo contro Luigi Alinnela, Filippo Bozzi, Giuseppe Magnelli, Salvatore Cecchi ed altri per atti ostili diretti all sovversione dell'ordine pubblico'. Statement given by Giuseppe Magnelli, dated 24th April 1833, pp. 129-30.

Established as a front to disguise clandestine political activities, the Magnelli shop functioned throughout 1833 as a meeting point for liberal sympathisers and supporters of Young Italy from both inside and outside of Tuscany.[31] On 28th March, two days after the suppression of *L'Antologia*, Mondolfi deposited large quantities of the pamphlet in Magnelli's shop. At 11 pm on the same evening, Magnelli and a group of young liberals, all of whom regular attendees at the meetings hosted in Magnelli's shop, distributed the pamphlets around the city, affixing them to important government buildings and prominent public locations.[32]

The pamphlets, which were removed by police across the city on the morning of 29th March, made some vague complaints about Tuscany suffering under the rule of Austria, accusing Grand Duke Leopold of obeying the orders of another Habsburg Prince, the Duke of Modena, whose newspaper had made the complaints which triggered the suppression of *L'Antologia*. However, it is the handwritten adjuncts, scribbled clumsily at the bottom of some of the pamphlets, which are perhaps even more revealing of the dissemination of both Mazzini's ideas and the grievances which were specific to the Florentine democrats. Some of the words written on the prints could quite easily have been taken straight out of Mazzini's own lexicon: 'Long Live the Republic' was found scribbled on the pamphlet affixed to the Chiesa San Marco, and 'Long Live Equality and Italian Freedom' was written on a print attached to a column of the Uffizi Gallery.[33] The pamphlets and the improvised notes attached to them thus carried the language of Young Italy – especially the words 'Republic' and 'Freedom' – into the public space and the physical urban landscape of central Florence.

[31] These facts were revealed to the police by Francesco Carocci, a bookbinder who lived in the same neighbourhood as the Magnelli shop. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1833, f. 14, aff. 48, 'Firenze. Commissariato del Quartiere S. M. Novella. Processo'. Statement given by Carocci, dated 11th April 1833, pp. 48-9, 50-3.
[32] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1833, f. 14, aff. 48, report of the Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 10th April 1833. For the distribution, and for the Magnelli group more generally, see also Benedetto, 'Congrega fiorentino', pp. 67-70.
[33] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1833, f. 14, aff. 48, 'Carte relative all'arresto e perquisizione fatta in Livorno a Giuseppe Mercantelli, e relative all'affissione del Bullettino di 28 marzo 1833, pervenute dalla Presidenza del B. governo'. This folder contains a large number of these prints which were removed and confiscated by police on the morning of the 29th. The prints contain the hand-written adjuncts along with a note added by police agents detailing where the prints were found.

However, many of the handwritten notes on the pamphlets speak more of the group's own ideas – most notably their hatred of the Tuscan government's repressive measures and loathing towards its police regime – than of the group's adherence to Mazzini's principles. Many of the handwritten annotations to the pamphlets employed a nationalising rhetoric of Italy and the rights of Italy but the word which was used most frequently to describe the grand duke was 'tyrant': 'Death to the tyrants, Italy to arms'; 'If you are Italians, extinguish the tyrants and redeem your rights'; 'Oh extinguish tyranny'.[34] 'Tyrant' was a common word in the political vocabulary of the Florentine liberal opposition, even before the growth of Young Italy in the grand duchy. 'Tyrant' was the word which the Piedmontese Felice Ansaldi used to describe the grand duke in a series of subversive *cartelli* which he wrote in February 1831 to complain about Leopold's failure to grant a Tuscan constitution. Ansaldi intended to distribute these *cartelli* around Florence early in 1831 but a surprise search conducted by the police on his home in San Casciano abruptly terminated the plan.[35] The Mazzinians centred on the Magnelli shop in 1833, therefore, took inspiration from both the language and ideas of Mazzini, but they also drew upon the established discourse of political opposition which was current in Florence in the 1830s. The Magnelli group were thus receptive to both the emerging nationalising rhetoric of Young Italy and the localised grievances harboured by critics of the grand ducal regime. The locations chosen by the Magnelli group also reveal much about this particular group's mindset. A pamphlet bearing the message 'You oppressed Italians languish and tyrants triumph!' was found pasted on the walls of the *Presidenza del Buongoverno*. The Magnelli group therefore clearly identified the grand ducal police as the chief practitioners of the tyranny they were seeking to condemn. The pamphlets of 28th March, therefore, served a dual purpose. They helped to spread the language and concepts of Mazzini and Young Italy in the public and physical space of the city, but they also helped to disseminate the group's own ideas and convictions.

[34] Ibid. 'Morte ai Tiranni, Italia all'armi', 'Se siete Italiani spengete i Tiranni e revendicate i vostri diritti', 'Oh, spengete il Tiranno'.
[35] Michel, *Guerrazzi*, pp. 24-5.

Young Italy was not restricted to the larger cities, but in fact managed to acquire considerable popular support among the local populations of some of the smaller towns. The Montevarchi branch of Young Italy – which was headed by local leaders Filippo del Nobolo, Francesco Bernardi and Luigi Debolini and which continued to engage in conspiratorial activity right up until its suppression by the police authorities of Arezzo in April 1835 – provides an interesting case in point.[36] Evidence statements given to the police by numerous witnesses and former members of the association, following the crack-down in 1835, reveal that Young Italy managed to embed itself deeply into the local population of Montevarchi, attracting both the middle- and intellectual classes as well as a number of artisans and workers from the town. One such witness was Ottavio Feroci, a shoemaker from Montevarchi, who in his interview with police on 7th May 1835 professed openly his allegiance to the Montevarchese branch of Young Italy: 'I have belonged to Young Italy since the year 1832, and it is very likely that I was among the last to subscribe.'[37] He also claimed emphatically that everybody in Montevarchi, 'right down to the cats', was a member of the association.[38] According to another former member, Pietro Paolo Chiassai, Young Italy counted among its adherents in Montevarchi 'shoemakers, carpenters, hatters, hemp-workers, tailors and gentlemen'.[39] Chiassai himself, a hemp-worker, revealed that he had become affiliated to the Montevarchi branch of Young Italy through a bricklayer, who introduced him to other members of the society and to the head, Filippo Del Nobolo. Chiassai was then given direct instructions by the leaders – Del Nobolo and Bernardi – to remain in his place and informed that he would be called upon when he was needed by

[36] The Montevarchi branch of Young Italy, and the popular support it acquired among the inhabitants of the town, has been acknowledged by historians but it has not been investigated in depth. See della Peruta, *Mazzini e i revoluzionari*, p. 241.

[37] 'Io appartengo alla Giovine Italia fino dell'anno 1832, e può dirsi che fui quasi degli ultimi ad entrarvi.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico contro Dott. Filippo del Nobolo, Francesco Bernardi ed addebili politici. Ultimato con decreto di 5 ottobre 1835', statement given by Ottavio Feroci, 7th May 1835, p. 101.

[38] 'In quel Paese, cioè in Montevarchi, vorrei sapere chi non è liberale, e chi non appartiene alla Giovine Italia! Tutti fino I gatti', ibid; also quoted in della Peruta, *Mazzini e i rivoluzionari*, p. 241.

[39] 'fra i quali camerati ce ne sono di tutte le sorte, cioè calzolai, legnaioli, cappellai, canapini, sarti, e signori,', A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Pietro Paolo Chiassai, 23rd May, 1835, p. 122.

the Association.[40] The Montevarchi branch of Young Italy thus forged direct, palpable and personal links with the artisans and working populations of the town.

Several interrelated factors facilitated the implantation of Young Italy into the local community of Montevarchi. Firstly, the Montevarchese democrats employed tactics similar to those of the French *démoc-socs* after 1849, by asserting control over the most important sites of popular sociability in the town.[41] According to numerous witnesses, the coffee house owned by Pietro Sgherri became a primary meeting point in which the Mazzinians of the town conversed and discussed their ideas. The owner himself also became a member of Young Italy and, most importantly, Young Italy paid for coffee for its members who drank in that coffee house. In the words of Ottavio Feroci, 'returning to the topic of the coffee house owned by Pietro Sgherri, or Sganza, I can tell you that in that coffee house we of the Society never pay for drinks and the owner says to us 'it's paid', even if we are in a group. The Union pays, that is to say the leaders of the League pay with their own money.'[42] Membership in the Montevarchi branch of Young Italy also appears to have been organised on a very informal basis, with few of the rituals and formalities which would have seemed opaque and uninviting to many potential adherents. Both Feroci and Chiassai claim in their statements to the police that they joined Young Italy without ever having been asked to undertake an initiation ceremony or swear an oath of loyalty.[43] The Montevarchi branch of Young Italy thus enticed its members with coffee while at the same time jettisoning many of the mystifying and confusing entrance rituals. In this way, Young Italy made itself appear both more attractive and more accessible to the working-, and probably also lesser-educated, elements of Montevarchese society.

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[40] Ibid, p. 122, 123.

[41] Margadant, *French Peasants in Revolt*, pp. 153-61; Merriman, *Agony of the Republic*, pp. 57-8. Agulhon, *Republic in the Village*, pp. 208-17.

[42] 'Ritornando sul proposito del Caffè di Pietro Sgherri, o Sganza, Le dirò di più che in detto Caffè noi della Società non si pagano mai le bevande e il Caffetiere ci dice 'è pagato' ancorche si sia in branco. Paga l'Unione cioè pagano i Primati della Lega coi denari propri.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Ottavio Feroci, 7th May, 1835, p. 106.

[43] 'Non prestai giuramento, ne vi fui richiesto,' ibid, p. 102; 'Dico di essere della Società anch'io perchè tutti i liberali del Paese, che saranno cinque o seicento, mi tengono per tale ma non ho fatto alcun giuramento,' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Pietro Paolo Chiassai, 23rd May, 1835, p. 121.

Equally important in explaining Young Italy's success in the town was the favourable attitude of local notables, which helped to shape local opinion and served to encourage the town's population to join Young Italy. In his statement to the police, Ottavio Feroci mentioned that it was through his personal relationship to Nobolo that he was introduced to Young Italy. Feroci recalled how he used to play ball games with Del Nobolo as a youth and claimed that it was through Nobolo's suggestion that he joined Young Italy.[44] In addition to prominent local lawyers such as Nobolo, the town mayor (or *Podestà*) in Montevarchi was also sympathetic to Young Italy and to the ideas of Mazzini. According to the statement given by a local tailor, Anacleto Dani, the *Podestà* regularly fraternised with Nobolo and the leaders of the Montevarchi association, and even invited many of the known leaders of Young Italy to dine with him. Dani also asserted that it was public knowledge that *Podestà* 'thinks like them': 'In Montevarchi they [the Mazzinians] do what they want because we have a *Podestà* who does not look after us, and it is public knowledge that he thinks like the abovementioned, and also because he associates with Del Nobolo and with Bernardi. I have seen them several times together and I know that these two have been invited to lunches organised by the *Podestà*.'[45] The favourable attitude of the mayor and local notables no doubt convinced many members of the community of the value of taking part in Young Italy's activities. For Pietro Chiassai, the participation of the local potentates provided sufficient enticement and appealed to his own personal ambition to impress the influential members of the community: 'I sometimes took part out of ambition, because there were many lords (*signori*) present.'[46] In a town such as Montevarchi, it clearly paid to be seen doing what the notables were doing.

[44] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Ottavio Feroci, 7th May, 1835, p. 101.
[45] 'In Montevarchi fanno quel che vogliano perchè abbiamo un Podestà che non ci bada, ed è opinione pubblica che la pensi come i sudetti, anche perchè pratica col Del Nobolo e col Bernardi. Io gli ho veduti più volte assieme e so che questi ultimi sono stati inclusivi a dei pranzi dati dal sudetto Podestà.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Anacleto Dani, 19th May, p. 119.
[46] 'mi ci sono accompagnato qualche volta per ambizione essendosi dei Signori e perchè è la moda del Paese.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Pietro Paolo Chiassai, 23rd May, 1835, p. 121.

The leaders of the Montevarchi branch of Young Italy also managed to win over the local community – and introduce the community to Mazzini's ideas – by organising elaborate communal banquets and lunches (*pranzi*) to which large numbers of Montevarchese, including members of the artisanate and working classes, were invited. Both Feroci and Chiassai claimed to have received invitations to some of these banquets. When interviewed, Feroci told police that he had attended numerous banquets, which accommodated between 30-40 people, at the house of a tenant of Del Nobolo, situated just outside of Montevarchi. He also counted many prominent Montevarchi democrats among the regular attendees of these banquets, including Bernardi, Debolini and Del Nobolo himself.[47] Not only did these banquets offer the local community the opportunity to socialise with fellow members of Young Italy and get to know the leaders, these occasions also served to introduce the artisan and working classes to Mazzinian ideas and the language of Italian nationalism. According to Feroci, while all the guests were seated at the table, toasts were made to the health of 'gran Filippo del Nobolo' and to 'resurgent Italy'.[48] The concept of 'Italy' and of the rebirth of the Italian nation was therefore foremost on the lips of the guests at the lunch. When lunch was over, the leaders led the guests in the singing of patriotic hymns and songs. The singing and merry-making then usually spilled out of the house and onto the streets, at which point it was common practice for the guests to march in military formation back into Montevarchi (the host's house normally being situated outside of the town), singing all the while.[49]

The songs which the leaders of the Montevarchi association encouraged their followers to sing also had an unmistakeable Mazzinian flavour. One such song, which according to Feroci was sung after a lunch hosted by Del Nobolo in his own home, invoked a brotherhood of Italians bonded by a common pledge: 'We are brothers, we are bonded by a pact/Woe betide he who breaks it.'[50]

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[47] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Ottavio Feroci, 7th May 1835, p. 104.
[48] 'che si era seduti a mensa non mancavano i brindisi alla salute del Gran Filippo del Nobolo, dell'avvocato Pini, come anche all'Italia rinascente con degli evvivas.' ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] 'Siam Fratelli, siam stretti ad'un patto/Maledetto colui che l'infrange' ibid.

Another song, which Chiassai claimed to have heard chanted on the streets of Montevarchi, conjured the image of an oppressed, enchained Italy and implored the Italian people to rush to liberate the Patria from its state of bondage:

> 'Come oh people to my pains/ Come to break my chains/ Come, come weapon in hand/ in hordes come from the hills and plains/ Love of the Patria and liberty/ The Sky will bless this labour.'[51]

Songs were thus used as a vehicle through which the people of Montevarchi became socialised in the language and imagery of Italy's patriotic struggle for independence.[52] It was by encouraging the people of Montevarchi to attend the patriotic banquets, and especially by popularising patriotic songs and hymns, that the local leaders of Young Italy in Montevarchi were able to bring Mazzini's discourse on nationhood and national independence to the local community of Montevarchi.

There is also evidence that the language of Mazzinianism was starting to become internalised and reproduced by the inhabitants of Montevarchi. This included even those who were not affiliated and who made a conscious effort to avoid the activities of Young Italy and the Montevarchi democrats. Even the tailor Anacleto Dani, who in his statement to the police spoke derisively of the Mazzinians as idealists 'who dream only of revolution', appeared to have imbibed something of Young Italy's vocabulary when he asserted that their goal was 'to make Italy free and independent.'[53] Ottavio Feroci, an active member of Young Italy in Montevarchi, absorbed even more of the language of Mazzini when he explained to police that his responsibilities as a member involved 'proselytising and instructing the younger generations, educating the ill-informed in the rights of man, which are not to let oneself be governed by a despotic sovereign, but rather by a foundational constitution of the

[51] 'Venite o Popoli alle mie pene/ Venite a frangere le mie catene/ Venite venite armate la mano/ a storme venite dal colle e dal piano/ amor di Patria e Libertà/ Il Ciel quest'opera benedirà.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Pietro Paolo Chiassai, 23rd May, 1835, p. 124.
[52] The role of song as a politicising instrument which socialised lower-class groups in new political ideas and discourses has been observed by historians of many different national contexts. See, for instance, P. Darriulat, *La Muse du people. Chansons politiques et sociales en France, 1815-1871* (Rennes, 2010), esp. pp. 279-91.
[53] 'per rendere indipendente e libera l'Italia', A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Anacleto Dani, 19th May, p. 119.

Kingdom, upon the re-union of the whole of Italy in a single Kingdom.'[54] While some of the nuances of Mazzini's ideology are arguably lost in this rendering, Feroci's statement represents a sound comprehension of the basic tenets of Mazzini's ideas. Clearly, artisans in Montevarchi, including those who rejected Young Italy, were thinking about and engaging with the ideas being disseminated through Young Italy.

Economic Crisis, Popular Protest and The Origins of Popular Republicanism

From 1834, Young Italy's days in Tuscany, and the Italian states more generally, were numbered. The discovery of Mazzini's plans to orchestrate an uprising in Savoy in 1834 resulted in a severe crackdown on Young Italy across the whole of the Italian peninsula, leading to the complete suppression of the association in Tuscany by the beginning of 1835.[55] From this point on, Mazzinianism was to become a marginal movement in Tuscany,[56] so much so that, by the 1840s, most of the Tuscan democrats who had been involved in Young Italy in the early 1830s had largely abandoned their advocacy for popular insurrection, choosing instead to pursue reformist programmes and using the emerging clandestine press to pressure the government into conceding reforms.[57]

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[54] 'da quell momento in poi mi aveva e teneva come uomo da impugnare l'armi all'occorenza, e da instruire la gioventù e fare dei proseliti, facendo conoscere ai mal-accorti i dirirtti del'uomo, che sarebbero quelli di non lasciargli governare da un Sovrano dispotico, ma bensi da uno statuto fondamentale del Regno, previa la riunione dell'Italia tutta in un Regno solo.' A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1835, f. 9, aff. 4, 'Arezzo: Atti economico', statement given by Ottavio Feroci, 7th May 1835, p. 102.

[55] A. Scirocco, *L'Italia del Risorgimento, 1800-1860* (Bologna, 1990), p. 187. For the failed Savoy invasion, see Hales, *Mazzini and the secret societies*, pp. 111-35.

[56] Although Mazzini did renew his attempts to incite popular movements in Tuscany in 1839, following his re-establishment of Young Italy in London in the same year, this abortive revival was largely confined to the student population of Pisa. For which, see E. Michel, *Maestri e scolari dell'Università di Pisa nel Risorgimento nazionale, 1815-1870* (Florence, 1949), pp. 131-32.

[57] For the Tuscan 'clandestine press', see G. Luseroni, *La stampa clandestina in Toscana (1846-7) I bullettini* (Florence, 1988), pp. 12-26; F. Della Peruta, 'Il Giornalismo dal 1847 all'unità', in A. G. Garrone and F. Della Peruta (eds.), *La stampa italiana del Risorgimento* (Laterza, 1979), pp. 254-57.
Even those Florentine democrats who were still in contact with Mazzini – men such as Carlo Fenzi, Antonio Mordini and Leopoldo Cempini – jettisoned mass insurrection in favour of a campaign for political reform mounted through the illegal press. For this group, see Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 61-2; G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. III, *La Rivoluzione nazionale* (Milan, 1960), p. 41.

However, while Mazzini's tactics had largely fallen out of favour with the Tuscan intellectuals, the ideas propagated by Mazzini and Young Italy left a much more lasting impression on popular culture. While it would certainly be incorrect to argue that the Florentine petty bourgeois, artisan and working classes in the 1830s acquired an intimate understanding of every nuanced element of Mazzini's complex and idiosyncratic ideology, some of Mazzini's discourses, most notably the language of republicanism, did manage to plant roots in urban popular imagination, leaving behind a political vocabulary which could be drawn upon and used as a discursive political weapon during times of social crisis. That crisis was to come in the form of the grain shortage and manufacturing slump of 1846-47. Historians are well aware of many of the consequences of this economic crisis. The combination of the rise in food prices and the contraction in the urban manufacturing sectors ignited a host of popular tumults and protests, ranging from bread riots across provincial towns in rural Tuscany, to riots in the main cities, including complaints about the rising costs of food and rents and quasi-Luddite attacks on new industrial machinery.[58] However, inserted alongside these economic disputes and traditional forms of popular politics, there also appeared the flashes of an early popular republicanism, gesturing to the beginnings of a change in the urban political consciousness and in the nature of Florentine street politics. The emerging republican idiom in the vocabulary of street demonstrations provides the first evidence that different labouring and working groups in mid-nineteenth-century Florence were starting to engage with new ways of articulating their protests and criticising their government.

It is important not to overstate this argument. Much of the disorders which took place in Florence, along with most of Tuscany's urban centres, over this period retained a highly 'traditional' character.

[58] Bread riots were mostly a rural phenomenon and were particularly prevalent around Pistoia and the Valdinievole region. See E. Francia, 'Il pane e la politica. Moti annonari e opinione pubblica in Toscana alla vigilia del 1848', *Passato e Presente*, 17, 46 (1999), pp. 129-55. For urban popular protest in this period, including complaints about food prices and attacks on new machinery, see above, pp. 23-4. For popular disorders more generally in Italy over 1847-8, see S. Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo'' nella rivoluzione del 1848-49 in Italia', *Studi Storici,* 14:3 (1973), pp. 599-604; F. Catalano, 'Socialismo e comunismo in Italia dal 1846 al 1849', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 38, fasc. III-IV (1951), p. 312; J. A. Davis, *Conflict and Control. Law and Order in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Basingstoke, 1988), pp. 100-3.

This is true of how rioters acted but also of how they expressed themselves. One of the most prevalent popular ideologies which can be observed in the Florentine disorders of 1847 was the idea that the government, or more specifically the grand duke, was responsible for the rise in food prices and for allowing the people to suffer. This idea was neither new nor unique to 1847, but in fact constituted an established motif in popular political protest which lay at the heart of many earlier instances of urban unrest. The Florentine riots of June 1790, to take one of the most obvious examples, had been similarly triggered by rising food prices and, similarly still, witnessed large crowds of artisans and workers blaming the grand duke and his chief advisors for having engineered the economic crisis.[59] In this way, 'famine plot' themes were just as much a signature of nineteenth-century Florentine popular protest as they were of urban revolts in *ancien régime* France.[60] In 1847, the Florentine working and artisan populations drew once more upon this established ideology of popular protest, and started blaming their sovereign for the mounting economic distress. This popular disenchantment with the government is reflected in the explosion of anti-Leopold graffiti which appeared on the streets of Florence from February 1847. Although literacy levels amongst the Florentine working and artisan classes were very low in the mid-nineteenth century,[61] graffiti offered a medium of political expression which was relatively accessible to almost every socio-economic class, as it required only a very rudimentary familiarity with the written word and the technology of writing. However, the very anonymity of graffiti makes it a difficult source to pin down and attribute to any one social group or individual. In spite of these difficulties, it is possible to infer something about the social profiles of political graffitists from cases of people who got caught. To quote just one example, on 11th March, a 27-year-old shoemaker, Francesco Ducci, was discovered by police to have written the words 'shit to Leopold' in large, poorly formed characters on a wall in Via

[59] G. Turi, *Viva Maria: La reazione alle riforme leopoldine (1790-1799)* (Florence, 1969), pp. 10-12, 22-3.
[60] See, for instance, S. L. Kaplan, 'The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 72:2 (1982), pp. 1-79.
[61] See above, pp. 37-43.

Sapienza.[62] There is, therefore, certainly some grounds on which to argue that graffiti was a form of expression favoured by the artisans and workers of Florence.

The anti-Leopold graffiti first started making an appearance in February 1847. In the early hours of 19th February, the words 'Death to Leopold' were found and summarily erased by police agents in the Piazza Nuova of Santa Maria Novella. Two days later, on 21st February, another 'Death to Leopold' specimen was erased from a wall in Via San Gallo, and on the morning of 22nd police agents removed from the wall of the nearby Church of San Marco a drawing of a penis in the centre of which was written the grand duke's name.[63] This was to be the beginning of a spate of anti-Leopoldine graffiti which affected certain specific geographic regions of Florence. On the night of 25th/26th February 1847, the words 'Death to Leopold' were found in four different locations, the majority of which concentrated broadly in the north-east of the city, in and around the two main thoroughfares leading south from the San Gallo Gate.[64] On the following night, the words 'Death to Leopold' were found in two more locations, one in Via San Gallo and the other in Via del Sole, located to the south-east of the city.[65] After a brief lull at the beginning of March, there was then a second bout of anti-Leopold graffiti, all of which concentrated in east of the city in the Santa Croce district, an area known for, amongst other things, its large number of tanners and leather workers.[66] In the early hours of 13th March, 'Death to Leopold II' was found scribbled on a wall in Via delle Pinzochere; the following night, the same words were discovered written in Via delle Torricelle.[67] Three more 'Death to Leopold' specimens were then reported by police in the early hours of 15th.[68]

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[62] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 18, aff. 65, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 12th March 1847.
[63] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, reports dated 19th and 22nd February 1847.
[64] The words 'Death to the Germans, Long Live Italy, Death to Leopold II' were found in two locations along the Via Maglio, and a third was found on the wall of the Giardino di Bonifazio on the Via san Gallo; the words 'Death to Leopold II, Death to the Germans' were found in two places along Via di Mezzo, and 'Death to Leopold II' was found in Via del Mandorlo. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 14, aff. 17, n. 42, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 26th Feb. 1847.
[65] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 27th Feb. 1847.
[66] F. Cesati, *La grande guida delle strade di Firenze. Storia, aneddoti, arte, segreti e curiosità della città più affascinante del mondo attraverso 2400 vie, piazza e canti* (Rome, 2003), p. 181.
[67] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, reports dated 13th and 14th March 1847.
[68] The graffiti were found on the walls of the Pia Casa di Lavoro in Via dei Malcontenti; on the corner of Via dei Pepi and the Piazza Santa Croce, and in front of the Church of S. Giuseppe. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 15th March 1847.

Six nights later, on the night of 21st March, another three examples of this anti-Leopold graffiti were found in three different places, two of which located in the Santa Croce district.[69] The preponderance of such anti-Leopold graffiti in the Santa Croce district – a district with large numbers of workers employed in the tanning and leather crafts, and so a high concentration of people who would have been severely affected by both the rising costs of food and the corresponding decline in demand for manufactured goods – gestures further to the popular authorship of this graffiti, and hints at high levels of popular disaffection with the grand ducal government.

At the same time as this graffiti was making an appearance, there also appeared other kinds of marginal and ephemeral street writings which made more explicit accusations against Leopold for causing the people's suffering. On 22nd March, police agents found a small slip of paper near the Church of San Felice in Via de' Giucciardini which bore the message 'Death to this infamous sovereign, who makes the poor suffer hunger. Come now revenge against this villain' (*quest'infame*).[70] This was one of the first recorded examples of such writing which articulated that Leopold II was responsible for the rising prices of food and declining living standards. This sense of blame is also expressed through the play on words which can be observed in this written fragment. The word *infame* – which in English means 'infamous' or 'villainous', and which appears twice in this piece to describe Leopold – emphasises the iniquitous character of Leopold II. However, the fact that this adjective is orthographically very similar to the Italian word for hunger (*fame*) serves to attach a second connotation to the accusation, one which emphasises Leopold's complicity in causing (or failing to prevent) the suffering of the people. Leopold is not only a villain, but a villain who causes people to starve. This was not the only time that the word *infame* would make an appearance in marginal street writings. On the same evening, police also recovered several other scraps of paper, all of which in the vicinity of the Church of San Felice, bearing the message 'Death to this infamous

[69] These graffiti were found near the entrance to the Pia Casa di Lavoro; in Piazzetta delle Pallottole, and along Lungarno della Zecca Vecchia. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 22nd March 1847.
[70] 'Morte a quest'infame Sovrano, che fa soffrire la fame ai poveri! Orsù vendetta contro quest'infame'. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 22nd March 1847.

sovereign.'[71] *Infame* also started to appear in graffiti in the Santa Croce region. On the same evening as the various scraps of paper were found around San Felice, the words 'Death to infamous Leopoldo II' were discovered in two streets in the Santa Croce district.[72] The urban underclasses also had other ways of expressing the idea that Leopold was responsible for causing the people's suffering in the winter of 1847. On 18th February, over a month before the first discovery of the word *infame* in popular street writing, the words *Leopoldo ladro* (Leopold is a thief) were found on a wall in Via della Sapienza.[73] Towards the end of March, graffiti was found in two locations in central Florence bearing the simple word *fame* (hunger).[74] The popular graffiti and other marginal street writings which appeared in Florence in February and March 1847 thus served a very specific purpose: they expressed a popular sense of disaffection with the government which was rooted in economic discomfort, however they also articulated a discourse of blame which saw the government and the grand duke as personally responsible for the material hardship.

Alongside the many instances of anti-Leopoldine graffiti were equally ubiquitous graffiti directed against 'the Germans'. On the night of 25th February, the words 'Death to the Germans' were discovered in numerous places around the Santa Maria Novella district, and the phrase 'Death to the Germans, Long Live Italy, Death to Leopold II' was found in three locations in the north of the city: two in Via del Maglio and another in Via san Gallo.[75] A further six were then found the following night, in locations which spanned the historic centre of Florence.[76] There are multiple ways in which this anti-German – or anti-Austrian – graffiti can be interpreted. On the one hand, these examples reveal an idea in Florentine popular imagination which sees the Court of Vienna as complicit in

[71] 'Morte a quest'infame sovrano'. Ibid.
[72] These streets were Via dei Pelacani and Via dei Lavatoi. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 22nd March 1847.
[73] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 18th February 1847.
[74] Both were found along the Corso dei Tintori. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 26th March 1847.
[75] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 14, aff. 17, n. 42, report of Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 26th Feb. 1847.
[76] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 15, aff. 18, report dated 27th February 1847.

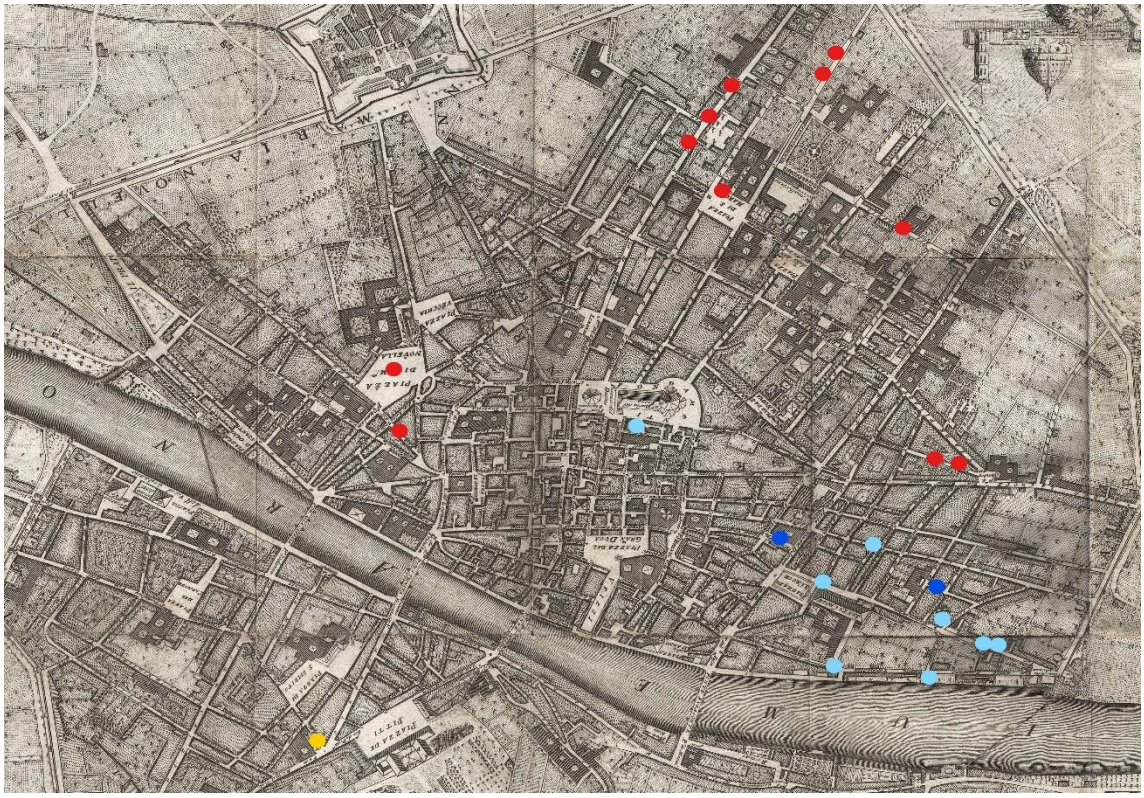


Figure 1: An engraved map of Florence created in 1847 by the Florentine bookseller Giuseppe Molini. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Old_maps_of_Florence#/media/File:1847_Molini_Pocket_Map_of_Florence_(Frienze),_Italy_-_Geographicus_-_Firenze-molini-1847.jpg

Red dots represent instances of 'Death to Leopold' graffiti found in February 1847; pale blue dots represent 'Death to Leopold' graffiti found in March (mostly concentrated in Santa Croce); dark blue dots represent two instances of 'Death to infamous Leopold' graffiti; the yellow dot marks the location of the written fragment located near the Church of San Felice.

bringing about the deterioration in living standards. Indeed, the idea that economic and social hardship was the result of the actions of Austrian agents sent to sow discord in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was a common theme in the clandestine ephemeral literature being disseminated through Tuscany in early 1847.[77] However, it is also equally likely that this graffiti reveals a deep-rooted consciousness amongst Florentines of the foreign character of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, as well as a willingness on the part of Florentines to use this characteristic, during times of hardship, as a rhetorical device with which to castigate the regime. Despite all of Leopold's earlier efforts to rule Tuscany as an Italian prince, this graffiti shows that the grand duke's dynastic link to the House of Habsburg could never be truly forgotten, but in fact resurfaced as a cause of popular complaint during periods of crisis.

[77] Luseroni, *Stampa clandestina*, pp. 48-9, 125-29.

Amidst the rising popular discontentment and the blame apportioned by the people to their sovereign and the Austrians, the beginnings of a republican idiom can also be seen emerging in popular political culture in these months. On the night of 19th February 1847, police removed three poorly-printed placards, affixed in numerous public places across the city, which carried the message 'Long live the Republic, death to Leopold the Second and all of the nobility, and to those who do not take up arms. Long live the Republic!'. Two were found on the columns under the Uffizi Gallery, and a third was found on the corner of a street near the Piazza Pitti. In the early hours of the following morning, a fourth placard, carrying the same message, was removed by the police from the base of the Column in Piazza Santa Trinità.[78]

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Figure 2: Republican cartello retrieved by grand ducal police authorities in Florence in February 1847. A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 14, aff. 17, n. 42

This Republican *cartello* is most certainly an unusual specimen. Unlike most of the marginal street writings discussed so far, this placard is not handwritten. Rather, the uniformity of the characters

[78] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 14, aff. 17, n. 42, letter from the Carabinieri to the President of the Buongoverno, dated 20th February 1847; report written by the Commissario of Santa Maria Novella, dated 20th February 1847; report of the Inspector of Police of Florence, dated 20th February 1847.

suggests that this piece had been composed using typefaces or possibly even stencils, with the intention of imitating an official government proclamation. However, the irregularity of the arrangement of the characters, combined with the use of an obvious underline to keep the letters straight, indicate that this print had not been produced by casting the type in a frame or mould, but had perhaps been printed by arranging the type on the page by hand. Though printed, this placard constituted a much more amateur creation when compared to the uniformly-printed pamphlets which rolled off illegal printed presses hidden away in attics and lofts across Tuscan cities. This print is therefore not likely to be the creation of the democratic clandestine press in Tuscany. The relatively small number of copies of this republican print – compared to the runs of hundreds produced by the clandestine press – along with the crude nature of the sentiments expressed and the spelling mistakes (*Repubblica* with only one 'b')[79] point towards a more popular provenance, rather than any kind of intellectual or literary origin. Florence in the 1840s boasted a robust printing industry, with numerous large printing houses, employing large numbers of men in various stages of the printing process, dotted around the city. It is certainly possible, therefore, that these four republican placards represent the brainchild of disgruntled printers, typesetters or apprentices, who had access to typefaces but who did not want to incriminate themselves by using the printing machinery to produce their type-printed sentiments of malice.

While the popular origin of this print is certainly very probable, it is unlikely that the appearance of such republican language in popular marginal writings in the first months of 1847 testifies to any mass yearning for the replacement of grand ducal regime with a republic. Rather, what such examples reveal is how the vocabulary of republicanism, for many years dormant but present in the background of popular ideas, could be called upon and mobilised as a means of expressing discontentment with the government. The strategic deployment of the word 'republic' as a language

[79] Interestingly, the irregular use of double consonants is a common characteristic in the writings of those who were unfamiliar with the process of self-expression through writing, such as Italian soldiers in the First World War writing home from the front. See M. Lyons, *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c. 1860-1920* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 153.

of popular protest thus served to reinforce and sharpen the discourse of blame which was being communicated through graffiti and other marginal writings. Popular exhortations in favour of a republic, imported from the lexicon of Young Italy in the 1830s, thus became a discursive stick with which popular groups could beat the government, rather than an expression of a sincere desire to establish a republican form of government in Tuscany.

Republicanism and The Petty Traders: A Crystallising Discourse

While the word 'republic' was used in 1847 as a convenient shorthand for expressing dissatisfaction with the government, there also existed those who embraced republican ideas more wholeheartedly. Two such individuals, the 48-year old Jewish ambulant haberdasher, Vitale Procaccia, along with the shop owner and tobacco seller, Alessandro Ciucchi, had by mid-1848 acquired reputations locally as outspoken republicans, who regularly voiced their opinions publicly on the streets of Florence.[80] That both of these men were drawn from the Florentine class of petty traders is not surprising. The economic and manufacturing crisis of 1847 impacted particularly heavily on the 'petty commercial classes', triggering a slump in demand for traded goods which affected the businesses and livelihoods of large numbers of small-scale traders.[81] Republicanism therefore offered petty traders a useful discursive weapon just as much as it did artisans and printers. The republicanism of Procaccia and Ciucchi came to the attention of police authorities in the summer of 1848, at a time when the Tuscan government was contending with a new social and political crisis and looking with heightened suspicion upon its republican and democratic critics. Both men were arrested in August-September 1848, as part of a broader government clamp down on all individuals and organisations which publicly espoused ideas deemed to be subversive or inflammatory. The reports and statements which the police were able to gather over August and

[80] The open republicanism of these two men has not escaped the attention of historians of Florence. See Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, p. 159. Little, however, has been written about these two individuals in any great detail.
[81] Soldani, 'Contadini, operai e ''Popolo''', pp. 579-80.

September 1848 about the activities and habits of these two men provide fascinating evidence about the capacity of republicanism to penetrate and find committed supporters amongst Florence's petty bourgeois and trading populations.

The summer of 1848 presented a new series of challenges for the government of Leopold II. While prices had started to decrease from mid-1847,[82] economic conditions remained unfavourable for the urban working populations and popular disorders continued to beset the government until well into 1848.[83] In the context of continuing economic hardship and social unrest, Leopold attempted to forge an alliance with his democratic opponents by conceding a series of reforms, starting with the liberalisation of the press in May 1847 and culminating in the granting of a constitution in February 1848.[84] This alliance was, however, to prove short-lived. In the wake of the Piedmontese defeat in the War of Independence in Lombardy, the recently-elected Chamber of Deputies, along with the more radical Florentine democrats, criticised the moderate-liberal ministry of Cosimo Ridolfi for failing to dedicate sufficient resources to the war against Austria. Faced with mounting criticism, on 31st July, Ridolfi and his ministry duly resigned, a decision which led to a ministerial crisis as the grand duke struggled to find a replacement that would satisfy both the democratic opposition and the Chamber of Deputies. The problem of the ministerial vacuum was then compounded by a popular uprising in Livorno, which was sparked in late August by the arrest of a popular preacher, Padre Gavazzi, and which went on to envelope the whole of the city by the beginning of September.[85] Meanwhile, in the capital, the more radical strand of the Florentine democrats were making increasingly pro-active attempts to shape Florentine public opinion and turn the people of the capital against the government, by organising a series of public lectures centred on a network of

[82] A. Zobi, *Manuale storico degli ordinamento economici vigenti in Toscana: opera premiata dalla R. Accademia de'georgofili nel 1847 con un'appendice fino al 1856* (1858, Italy), p. 436;
[83] G. Andriani, *Socialismo e comunismo in Toscana tra il 1846 e il 1849* (Milan, 1921), p. 38; Catalano, 'Socialismo e comunismo', p. 312.
[84] For a fuller account of Leopold's reforms over 1847-48, see above, pp. 14-5.
[85] For these events, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, pp. 287-301; F. Bertini, *Risorgimento e paese reale. Riforme e rivoluzione a Livorno e in Toscana (1830-1849)* (Florence, 2003), pp. 507-27.

important popular political clubs, the *Circoli del Popolo*.[86] In an attempt to regain control of the political situation in the grand duchy, on 30th August 1848 police authorities in Florence initiated a crackdown on key members of the radical democratic left, who were accused of trying to incite popular disorders in the capital to accompany those in Livorno, as well as attempting to disseminate subversive ideas among the popular classes.[87]

Vitale Procaccia and Alessandro Ciucchi were both caught up in this clampdown on the Florentine radical democrats. Procaccia was arrested on 30th August, the same night as many of the prominent democrats, accused of attempting to disturb public peace and spread incendiary ideas, while Ciucchi was remanded 3 days later, on 2nd September, for suspected involvement in attempts to subvert public order.[88] Over the next month, police undertook thorough investigations into the activities of the arrested men. All of the witnesses examined by police over the course of September 1848 were unanimous in their assessments of Procaccia and Ciucchi. On 4th September 1848, police interviewed the 20-year-old Jewish shop worker, Angelo Castiglioni, who was an acquaintance of Procaccia. Castiglioni told police that Procaccia harboured sentiments which were averse to the government and 'tending towards republicanism', and that Procaccia expressed his ideas publicly, especially in the Jewish district and among the 'low people.'[89] Castiglioni also claimed that Procaccia openly professed his support for the revolt in Livorno, attesting that the latter had once said 'The brave Livornesi have done well, but here in Florence they don't have the guts. If they did they would have

[86] Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 156-58; for more on the role of the Florentine political clubs and their relationship to the urban masses, see below, pp. 116-17.
[87] The majority of the men arrested – Enrico Montazio, Francesco Costantino Marmocchi, Francesco Gherardi Dragomanni, Luigi Barbanera – were leaders of the Circolo del Popolo. For their arrest and involvement in the Circolo del Popolo, see A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico contro Enrico Montazio ed altri per eccitazioni sediziose', Extraordinary report of the Prosecuting Sergeant of Santa Croce, 31st August 1848; Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 151-8.
[88] A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico contro Enrico Montazio ed altri', report of Prefect of Florence, 2nd September 1848.
[89] 'Posso dirle che questo Procaccia, non direttamente a me, perchè sa che io non la penso come lui, ma per altro pubblicamente per il Ghetto, e in modo che ho sentito ancor io, ha fatto conoscere, e dimostrato avere massime ed opinioni contrarie all'attual governo toscano, e tendenti alla Repubblica.'; 'ben l'ho visto e sentito discorrere pubblicamente e divulgare le sue opinioni nel ghetto; ma questa la faceva fra quella bassa gente'. A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico', statement given by Angelo Castiglioni on 4th September 1848, pp. 27-8.

done like in Livorno.'[90] Castiglioni's claims were corroborated by the shop-keeper Sabato Ambrone, who claimed in his statement to police that he knew Procaccia well. According to Ambrone, Procaccia was 'a scoundrel in every sense of the word', who 'openly professed republican maxims and slanderous words against the government and in particular against our good prince, saying that he would like to see him ousted.' Ambrone added that Procaccia was far from coy about divulging his political opinions in public and would indulge in his verbal diatribes whenever someone went to buy something from him.[91]

Alessandro Ciucchi, who went by the nickname Degli Innocenti, was a seller of tobacco and wine with a shop located in the central Via Calzaioli, a property which he purchased after moving his business from a former location on the corner of the Ponte alla Carraia. Like Procaccia, Ciucchi was vociferous in expressing his republican sentiments and criticisms of the government, and acquired a reputation as a strident republican. According to the statement given by one witness, the 39-year-old blacksmith Giuseppe Fiorini, Ciucchi attempted to organise a republican counter-demonstration back in April 1848, on the evening when copies of the newspaper *Il Popolano* were ritually burned in Piazza del Granduca, in protest against a series of articles which had offended certain respectable Florentine citizens.[92] Fiorini told police that Ciucchi had come to his shop on the evening when the newspaper was being burned and instructed Fiorini to gather as many people as he could and go to the Ferruccio Coffee House, where Fiorini and his friends would be able to help themselves to as many refreshments as they like, provided that they all leave the coffee house shouting 'Long Live the

[90] 'Ed anzi quando avvenne il primo moto a Livorno, io lo sentii dire pubblicamente ''Bravi Livornesi essi hanno fatto bene. Qua in Firenze non hanno fegato, e se le avessero farebbero come a Livorno.'', Ibid, pp. 27-8.
[91] 'Questo Vitale Procaccia è un birbone in tutta l'estenzione del termine'; 'Esso professa apertamente a dei fomente massime repubblicane, e parole male senza riguardo dell'attual Governo, e specialmente del nostro buon Principe, ed è giunto per fino a dire che graderebbe vederne troncar la stessa. Queste cose, e queste idee procura di divulgarle, e di farsi con partito, e ogni qual volta esso alcuno va da esso a comprare un braccio di roba entra subito in questi discorsi.' A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico', statement given by Sabato Ambrone on 4th September 1848, p. 31.
[92] The demonstration against *Il Popolano* took place on 29th April 1848. The citizens which the articles offended were Leopoldo Cempini and Giacomo Mutti. See L. Passerini, *Il Quarantotto in Toscana: diario inedito del conte Luigi Passerini de' Rilli*, ed. F. Martini (Florence, 1918), pp. 30-1.

Republic'.[93] Other witnesses had equally colourful tales to tell of Ciucchi's antics. According to Giovacchino Galletti, a barber who rented a shop which adjoined Ciucchi's former property at Ponte alla Carraia, Ciucchi could often be heard singing and chanting *evvivas* to the republic, and shouting 'down with the princes' while in his shop.[94] Ferdinando Vannucci, a goldsmith who was a regular customer at Gallett's barbershop, also claimed to have heard Ciucchi and others proclaiming *evvivas* to the republic and death to the grand duke. Vannucci's assessment of Ciucchi was very similar to many of the others: 'I can tell you frankly, as public opinion will also attest, that he is an enemy of the government and of the prince and an out-and-out republican.'[95]

Ciucchi and Procaccia's use of the discourse of republicanism was therefore very different from its use as a generic language of popular political protest. Ciucchi and Procaccia had embraced republicanism as a political ideology, and engaged in lengthy political discourses and diatribes while actively seeking to disseminate their republican doctrine by haranguing customers or, in the case of Ciucchi, attempting to organise a republican demonstration. Procaccia and Ciucchi, however, represented the extremes of popular republicanism in Tuscany in 1848. Their opinions did not correspond to those held by the wider Florentine working and artisan population, and their zealotry often provoked public disapproval. The words used by many of the witnesses to describe Procaccia and Ciucchi (*birbante*, *repubblicano spacaato*) provide ample evidence of the attitude of disapprobation harboured by many towards these two individuals. In fact, Ciucchi's public exhortations of republicanism – and especially his attempt to organise a republican counter-protest

[93] 'una sera mentre ero a bottega, e mi par quella sera che in Piazza del GranDuca bruciarono il Popolano, mi venne a chiamare e mi disse: 'tu devi radunarsi e condursi una quantità di compagni, venti trenta quanti ne puoi radunare, e dovete andare al Caffè Ferruccio in questa sera, li prenderete quello che più vi fa piacere, e dopo uscirete gridando ''Evviva la Repubblica''', A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico', statement given by Giuseppe Fiorini, 5th September 1848, p. 35.

[94] 'l'ho sentito qualche volta dalla mia bottega cantarellare e dire viva la Repubblica, abbasso questi principuni e cose simili', A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statement given by Giovacchino Galletti, 21st September 1848.

[95] 'Io poi e posso dirle francamente come anche l'attesta la voce pubblica che esso è nemico del Governo e del principe, e repubblicano spaccato.'; 'e siccome la bottega del parrucchiere Galletti dove mi servo corrisponde con la retrostanza della bottega dove stava prima il Ciucchi a Ponte alla Carraia per mezza di due finestrine, io ho sentito questo Ciucchi con i Vannucci Adinari, ed altri fare bevendo evviva alla Repubblica e di morte ai Sovrano, e simili cosi.' A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statement given by Ferdinando Vannucci, 21st September 1848.

in April 1848 – incurred a considerable public backlash. According to two witnesses, Leonardo Giannini and Lorenzo Paoletti, after Ciucchi had attempted to persuade people to head to the Caffè Ferruccio to toast the idea of a republic, a large group of people reacted to his incendiary behaviour by converging on his shop at Ponte alla Carraia shouting abusive slogans such as 'Down with the republican.' The next day, graffiti were found bearing the words 'Death to Ciucchi the republican.' Such was the intensity of the public backlash against Ciucchi's republicanism that he was forced to permanently close his shop at Ponte alla Carraia and set up a new one in Via Calzaioli.[96]

Ciucchi and Procaccia were thus noteworthy exceptions who demonstrated the potential of republicanism to capture the minds of the petty-bourgeois and popular classes in Florence. For the majority, however, the idea of ousting the grand duke and embracing a republican government was far from palatable. Despite the selective and efficacious use of the word 'republic' as a language of political protest in 1847, for the Florentine masses in 1848, the idea of a republic was still a little too much to stomach, especially when staunch republicans like Procaccia and Ciucchi forced people to confront the implications of the republican doctrine: the removal of the Lorraine dynasty and the creation of a whole new system of government. Florentines were therefore willing to use the word 'republic' in a generic sense to express dissatisfaction with the government or a loss of trust, especially in times of deep social crisis such as in winter of 1846-47, but in general they were not willing to embrace republicanism as a political ideology or as alternative system of government, and those that were remained extreme exceptions.

Yet, while the majority did not approve of the actions of Ciucchi and Procaccia, and while most seemed unready to embrace republicanism as an alternative means of government, what the police records from the Ciucchi and Procaccia cases also reveal is the familiarity of the term 'republic' to the mass of the artisans of Florence, and the extent to which the word had entered common parlance in the capital. Most of the witnesses interviewed over September 1848 displayed an

[96] A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statements given by Leonardo Giannini, 17th September 1848, and Lorenzo Paoletti, 21st September 1848.

understanding of, or at least a comfort using, the words 'republic' and 'republican', and only one witness – the blacksmith Giuseppe Fiorini, who told police about Ciucchi's attempted republican counter-protest in April – admitted that he did not know what 'republic' meant.[97] The terms 'republic' and 'republican' had clearly established themselves in popular vocabulary in Florence by mid-1848. Yet, while these words may have been commonly used in public discourse, the meanings that were attributed to the word 'republican' by the witnesses differ somewhat from the strict intellectual definition of the term. Most of the witnesses who described Ciucchi and Procaccia as republicans did so because they viewed them as people who spoke critically of the government and the sovereign, and so many of these witnesses defined the term 'republican' quite simply as an enemy of the government. Multiple statements given to the police over the course of these investigations betray this popular understanding of 'republican.' According to Giovacchino Galletti, 'Ciucchi is considered by public opinion to be a republican and an enemy of the government.'[98] Similarly, for Antonio Balzani, a 23-year-old porter interviewed on 21st September, 'this man [Ciucchi] is truly an enemy of the government and a republican because he has expressed publicly and indecently against the sovereign.'[99] Similar understandings of the term 'republic' can also be found in descriptions given to police of other individuals arrested in August. The 45-year-old carpenter, Giovanni Romoli, described Luigi Barbanera, one of the most prominent democrats and leaders of the *circoli popolari*, as 'no-good, republican by principle, and by consequence, opposed to our government.'[100] In a similar vein, the shoemaker Luigi Giudotti said of the popular democrat and newspaper editor Enrico Montazio: 'And so this Montazio, as far as I can make out from his writings

[97] A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico', statement given by Giuseppe Fiorini, 5th September 1848.
[98] 'Peraltro nel pubblico questo Ciucchi passa per un repubblicano, e nemico del Governo', A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statement given by Giovacchino Galletti, 21st September 1848.
[99] 'mi son potuto accertare che quest'uomo è realmente nemico del Governo e repubblicano perchè si è espresso pubblicamente e indecentemente contro il Sovrano', A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statement given by Antonio Balzani, 21st September 1848.
[100] 'tutti lo tengono per un poco di bono, repubblicano di principi, e per conseguenza avverso al nostro Governo.' A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atto economico', statement given by Giovanni Romoli, 8th September 1848, p. 41.

in *Il Popolano*, and as far as I can tell from public opinion, is an enemy of the government and one of those who is trying to incite disorders and demonstrations in favour of a republic.'[101] Giudotti's statement is doubly interesting in that it reveals not only a slightly more nuanced comprehension of the term 'republican' – as not simply a label interchangeable with 'enemy of the government', but rather a new kind of political system which must be established through popular movements – but also an intimacy with political journalism and a knowledge of important political actors on the part of a Florentine artisan. Yet, for the majority of the witnesses interviewed about the actions of Ciucchi and Procaccia, the term 'republican' referred simply to an enemy of the government.

The language employed by many of the artisans and workers in these statements therefore gesture to a simplified, popular construction of the definition of 'republican' among the Florentine artisan and working classes, as a category which designates an enemy of the government, rather than to a widespread intimate understanding of the political concept of republicanism and its many nuances and connotations. While it is true that people did also possess some basic understanding of what republicanism as an ideology would entail – as evidenced by the reactions to Ciucchi's abortive republican counter-demonstration – the word 'republican' had entered popular parlance by the late 1840s and acquired a meaning which was largely of popular origin, forged out of popular attempts to understand and make sense out of a complex political concept.

The popular uses of the word 'republic' and 'republican' in Florence in the 1840s were thus diverse and contradictory. While there is some evidence that the Florentine masses were beginning to understand some of the implications of republicanism as an ideology, and while a handful even embraced this ideology passionately, the popularly-constructed meanings attributed to the term 'republic' remained varied. Exhortations to a republic could be used as a generic political slogan against the government. This slogan, however, made promiscuous use of the term 'republic' and for

[101] 'E questo Montazio poi per quanto mi apparisse dai suoi scritti nel Popolano, e quanto sento dire alla voce pubblica, è nemico del Governo, e una di quelli v'impegnava di fare nascere tumulti e dimostrazioni a favore della Repubblica.' A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, statement given by Luigi Giudotti, 21st September 1848.

the most part expressed popular dissatisfaction towards Tuscany's rulers and sovereign, rather than a sincere desire to see the establishment of a republic. The word 'republican' also acquired a meaning as a popular insult, designating an enemy of the government or someone who talks disparagingly of the sovereign. The intellectual concept implanted into popular culture by Young Italy in the early 1830s had by the 1840s been subjected to numerous popular discursive constructions.

All of the evidence discussed here reveals the beginnings of important changes in popular political consciousness and in the language of popular culture. These changes were set in motion in the 1830s when Young Italy exerted its influence on popular urban political culture. By the late 1840s, Florentine artisans, workers and petty traders were beginning to engage with, think about and make use of new political concepts and language. However, it is important not to see this process of politicisation as a simple downwards transmission of ideas, from the middle-class intellectual world of Italian patriots, into the vacuous realm of popular culture. The urban popular masses did not just accept and embrace new political language and concepts, but in fact put them to new, distinctive and wholly inventive uses. Thus, the term 'republic' became assimilated into the language of popular political protest and used as a tool with which to strengthen the popular discourse of blame communicated through graffiti during times of crisis. In a similar way, 'republican' became a popular insult, almost interchangeable with 'enemy of the government', used to brand those who spoke derisively about the government. Urban popular culture therefore possessed a robustness which enabled it to absorb new political ideas and shape entirely new uses for them. However, while pre-existing popular culture most certainly influenced the ways new concepts and language were received by popular groups, the very fact that urban working and petty bourgeois groups in Florence were engaging and experimenting with such new concepts clearly demonstrates the beginnings of notable shifts in popular political consciousness.

Chapter 2: Popular Mobilisation and the Politicisation of Urban Populations in Tuscany, 1847-1849

The early exposure of the Florentine masses to new political ideas and concepts, which started in the 1830s under the influence of Young Italy, and which resulted in some sporadic attempts by Florentines to convert the idiom of republicanism into a language of popular political protest in the mid-1840s, was to intensify over the period between 1847 and 1849. During this critical juncture, urban artisan and working populations would experience a sustained exposure to a range of new, crystallising political discourses – patriotic, nationalising, republican – which would in turn contribute to a heightening of political awareness among the male, working populations of Tuscany's cities.

To claim that 1848 marked a watershed in popular political consciousness would be to tread a well-worn path. Historians of Tuscany in the Risorgimento are well aware of the range of opportunities for political engagement which developed for the popular masses, following the emergence of a culture of political festivals and celebrations in the grand duchy from 1846.[1] However, alongside the parades, the *Te Deums* and the ceremonial exchanges of civic banners, the period from 1847 to 1849 in Tuscany was also characterised by an increasing popular mobilisation, which affected large sections of the urban male population and which accelerated the rate at which urban labouring groups were drafted into cultures of political knowledge.

Civic mobilisation was not entirely new to Tuscans in 1847. The Urban Guard of 1831, instituted by Leopold II as a means of avoiding Austrian military intervention in Tuscany, had enrolled many urban-dwelling male Tuscans in the task of policing the grand duchy. While this guard no doubt served as an important precursor to the martial activities of 1847-49, possibly even offering an early

[1] A. Petrizzo, 'Spazi dell'immaginario: Festa e discorso nazionale in Toscana tra 1847 e 1848', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), *Storia d'Italia*, Annali, 22, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 2007), pp. 509-39; C. Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals in Germany and Italy', in D. Dowe *et al.* (eds.), *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 799-829.

introduction to patriotic ideas, this guard was exceptionally short-lived and existed for only four months before its dissolution in June 1831.[2] The military mobilisations of 1847-49, by contrast, as well as taking place over a longer period of time, were much broader and became far more sweeping and extensive in reach. The mobilisations of the late 1840s also coincided with the expanding culture of civic festivals and as such took place within a shifting constellation of new discourses, with emerging ideas and concepts underpinning and justifying the actions of those who took up arms over this 3-year period. The first phase in this gradual process of popular mobilisation, between 1847 and 1849, was brought about as an unforeseen consequence of the Tuscan Civic Guard of September 1847, an institution which was created primarily as a means of ensuring law and order, but which led to the enrolment and armament of broad swathes of the urban petty-bourgeois, artisan and working populations. The mobilisation of Tuscan men then broadened and intensified from March 1848 with the First Italian War of Independence. This conflict marshalled both the Civic Guard, many of whose recruits volunteered themselves for service in Lombardy, but also large numbers of Tuscan volunteers drawn from outside the ranks of the Civic Guard, thus introducing a broad cross-section of the urban populace to a patriotic struggle beyond the confines of Tuscany and elevating the political awareness of many thousands of male Tuscans. The crescendo of popular armament and mobilisation in Tuscany then came under the Provisional Government of February-April 1849, when virtually the whole of the male urban populations of Tuscany were called upon to take up arms for the defence of the Tuscan patria, which was deemed to be in danger from external and internal threats. At the same time as Tuscan men were being rallied to defend the integrity of the patria, and fight for the freedom of their Lombard brothers, an important democratic club, the *Circolo del Popolo*, took on a significant role in democratising republican ideas. These were ideas which, from February 1849 till the fall of the Provisional Government, were beginning to dominate political discourse and define the polity which the populace-at-arms were seeking to defend.

[2] For this guard, see V. Ilari, *Storia del servizio militare in Italia*, vol. I, *Dall''ordinanza fiorentina' di Machiavelli alla costituzione dell'esercito italiano* (Rome, 1989), pp. 305-6.

It may be tempting to dismiss the Tuscan Civic Guard, and the mobilisations of 1847-49 more generally, as a factor of little importance in the politicisation of urban working populations. Indeed, one would perhaps be forgiven for assuming that participation in a citizens' guard would merely instil in recruits a conservative, pro-Establishment attitude. Civic militias created across Europe throughout the nineteenth century have largely been equated with the forces of order, established for the most part to uphold public order and protect private property.[3] This was true of many of the guards set up in Italy over the juncture of 1848. The Civic Guard of the Papal States, for one, was founded in July 1847 by Pope Pius IX largely as a guarantor of middle-class property interests, while the Sicilian National Guard, established in January 1848 at the outset of the Palermo uprising, was created with the intention of curtailing rural disorder and limiting the power of the private armed bands which had lent strength to the January revolution.[4] In some cases, such as in that of the French *Garde Mobile*, established in Paris in the aftermath of the February revolution of 1848 to protect the French Second Republic, it has been convincingly shown that the experience of serving in a citizens' guard can shape the political choices and identities of recruits, making guardsmen into supporters of the state and enemies of political radicalism.[5] Seen from this angle, one may with some justification view the civic militias of nineteenth-century Italy, and Europe more generally, as

[3] This argument has been proposed by some historians of the French National Guard, established in 1789 to curtail the excesses of the Revolution and maintain public order in Paris. See M. Genty, 'Les debuts de la Garde Nationale parisienne (1789-1791)', in S. Bianchi and R. Dupuy (eds.), *La Garde Nationale entre nation et peuple en armes: mythes et réalités, 1789-1871: actes du colloque de l'Université Rennes 2, 24-25 mars 2005* (Rennes, 2006), pp. 151-2.

[4] For the Civic Guard of the Papal States, see F. Conti, 'Le guardie civiche', in *Le riforme del 1847 negli stati italiani. Atti di Convegno di studi, Firenze, 20-21 marzo 1998*, *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 45:2 (1999), pp. 329-31; S. Hughes, *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 169-74. For the National Guard of Sicily, see D. Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily*, vol 3, *Modern Sicily, after 1713* (London, 1968), pp. 419-20; L. Riall, *Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power, 1859-1866* (Oxford, 1998), p. 58.
One of the few exceptions to this observation – that civic militias were created to protect middle-class property interests and uphold order – were the rural civic guards set up throughout the Veneto in March 1848, after Niccolò Tommaseo and Daniel Manin had been released from prison in Venice, which were open to the male populations of rural areas without exception. See P. Ginsborg, 'Peasants and revolutionaries in Venice and the Veneto, 1848,' *Historical Journal*, 27 (1974), pp. 516-17.

[5] M. Traugott, *Armies of the Poor: Determinants of Working-Class Participation in the Parisian Insurrection of June 1848* (Princeton, 1985), esp. pp. 83-133.

state instruments of order which employed their recruits in strictly defensive and conservative activities.

However, observations such as these tell only half the story. By giving men arms, authority and a sense of duty in service of the state, civic guards also introduced their recruits to new, participatory models of political citizenship which assigned to men an important role as protectors of the polity.[6] In a political context in which there existed few opportunities for formal involvement in state affairs, the citizens' guard offered a direct entry into a new civic and patriotic culture. By this token, defensive and repressive activities could easily be recast as important acts of citizenship. The Tuscan Civic Guard, for one, experienced its fair share of repressive activities – such as policing demonstrations and suppressing the *moto delle pigioni*[7] – however, as this chapter will endeavour to demonstrate, the Tuscan state had ways of representing such activities as politically-significant acts of patriotism. In this way, when civic guardsmen put down instances of rebellion, they were not engaging in heavy-handed, mindless repression, they were in fact performing an important patriotic duty by protecting their patria from harm. Civic militias also had other ways of assimilating their recruits into cultures of participatory citizenship. As historians of the French *Garde Nationale* have aptly demonstrated, participation in a guard helped to broaden political horizons and expectations, offering recruits a 'political apprenticeship' in new practices, ideas and democratic procedures, through activities such as electing one's officers.[8] Thus, while the Tuscan Civic Guard may well have been used by the state as a defensive instrument in the battle against disorder, the act of serving in the guard also helped to politicise recruits, fostering in the guardsmen an elevated awareness of new political principles and processes.

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[6] S. Soldani, 'Il popolo dei mestieri alla conquista di una patria', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *Gli Italiani in guerra: conflitti, identità, memorie dal Risorgimento ai nostri giorni*, vol. 1, *Fare l'Italia: unità e disunità nel Risorgimento* (Turin, 2008), p. 78.
[7] A. Gori, *Gli albóri del socialismo* (Florence, 1909), p. 397.
[8] M. Larrère, 'Les élections des officiers de la Garde parisienne sous la monarchie de Juillet: la politisation des classes moyennes en question', in Bianchi and Dupuy (eds.), *La Garde Nationale entre nation et peuple en armes*, pp. 463-74.

The cumulative effect of this whole process of mobilisation – from the establishment of the Civic Guard in September 1847 to the creation of a populace-at-arms under the Provisional Government in 1849 – was to expose large sections of the urban working and petty-bourgeois populations to new democratic ideas and patriotic-national discourses, while at the same time reacquainting Tuscans with a potent republican idiom. The political ideas which many of these urban, working men learned about and absorbed over the juncture of 1848 would then shape the popular political sentiments and activities which would crystallise in the first years of the second Restoration in Tuscany.

The Tuscan Civic Guard

Like most of the civic militias established in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Civic Guard created in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in September 1847 was not intended as a means of effecting mass mobilisation, but was in fact set up at the request of middle-class property owners as means of upholding order and protecting private property from mounting social unrest, especially in rural regions. However, Tuscany's Civic Guard was also a hotly debated political issue, functioning as an important rally cry for Tuscan liberals seeking to reform the grand duke's regime, in the months leading up to 1848. As the economic crisis of the mid-1840s intensified, with food prices reaching their highest levels over the winter of 1847, attacks on bakers and grain merchants – who were accused of selling their grain at unfairly high prices – became frequent occurrences throughout rural Tuscany.[9] As social unrest in the grand ducal countryside worsened, provincial property owners started to use the clandestine press to raise demands for a 'National Guard' in order to protect themselves and their property from the rising tide of social disorder. While the first demands for a Civic Guard in Tuscany thus grew out of middle-class anxieties about social order, from mid-1847, the notion of a Civic Guard then started to acquire a decidedly more political significance. As

[9] Such disturbances were especially commonplace in the heavily-cultivated Valdinievole, where sharecroppers working small plots of land relied on market produce to meet their subsistence needs. See E. Francia, 'Il pane e la politica. Moti annonari e opinione pubblica in Toscana alla vigilia del 1848', *Passato e Presente*, 17, 46 (1999), pp. 134-41.

democratic opposition to the government of Leopold II mounted, the grand duke's liberal opponents seized on the idea of a Civic Guard as a reformist stick with which to beat the grand ducal government. The Tuscan liberals had already won an important constitutional victory in May 1847, when the grand duke agreed to lift censorship of the press. In the months that followed, the Tuscan liberals, taking advantage of the newly-relaxed censorship laws, and using the newly-formed Roman Civic Guard as their model, began to press for a civic militia as a necessary reform to the grand ducal regime, as a means of bringing about greater participation of the urban elite in Tuscan civic life and shifting the balance of political power more in the direction of local municipal authorities.[10]

For the liberal middle-classes and the political opposition, therefore, the Civic Guard served two complementary functions, acting as both a guarantor of social order and a mechanism for integrating the urban bourgeoisie into local political life. By the summer of 1847, the liberals' campaign for the Civic Guard, mounted primarily through the popular press, reached fever pitch, and in September the grand ducal ministry capitulated.[11] On 4th September 1847, the grand duke issued a *motuproprio* which formally inaugurated the Civic Guard in Tuscany. The language employed in this *motuproprio* effectively cemented the role of the Tuscan Civic Guard as an instrument for maintaining social order, describing the guard as a 'State institution', and a 'guarantor of social order and of public and private safety.'[12] The official language of the grand ducal announcement therefore helped to solidify the definition of the civic guard as a conservative institution designed to uphold order and public peace, thus bringing the institution firmly in line with the expectations of the liberal bourgeoisie.

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[10] E. Francia, 'Tra ordine pubblico e rivoluzione nazionale: il dibattito sulla Guardia Civica in Toscana (1847-1849)', in M. Meriggi and P. Schiera (eds.), *Dalla citta alla Nazione. Borghesie ottocentesche in Italia e in Germania* (Bologna, 1992), pp. 89-112; Conti, 'Le guardie civiche', pp. 335-37; G. Luseroni, *La stampa clandestina in Toscana (1846-7) I bullettini* (Florence, 1988), pp. 45-50.

[11] For the liberals' press campaign for the Civic Guard in the summer of 1847, see Luseroni, *La stampa clandestina*, pp. 89-90.

[12] 'Animati sempre dal più costante attaccamento al ben essere generale della Toscana, e persuasi della utilità e convenienza di creare una Guardia Civica che concorra a mantenere la pubblica quieta, e sicurezza…… È istituita nel Gran-Ducato la Guardia Civica, la quale dichiariamo dover essere riguardata come Istituzione dello Stato'. *Bandi e ordini da osservarsi nel Granducato di Toscana pubblicati dal 1 gennaio a tutto dicembre 1847. Raccolti per ordine successivo di tempi col sommario dei medesimi disposti per ordine alfabetico di materie e di tribunali.* Codice. 54 (Florence, 1847), doc. XCI.

Yet, while principally the brain-child of the urban liberal bourgeoisie, and while largely couched in a discourse of law and order, the Tuscan civic guard, when it was brought into existence, did not function simply as the armed wing of the propertied bourgeoisie. Although it is true that the poorest echelons of the urban working classes – such as day labourers, wage-earners and domestic servants – along with the extensive population of rural sharecroppers, were excluded from active service,[13] not least because many of these categories of worker were mobile and were thus viewed as a threat to social order, the Tuscan Civic Guard in reality armed and mobilised large sections of the urban working populations, including many artisans and craftsmen below the level of property-owner. This was made possible in part by the wording of the regulations. The rules regulating enrolment to the Guard – published first on 15th September and then revised and promulgated once more on 4th October – may have been very precise in identifying those social and occupational groups which were excluded (or 'exempt', to use the official language) from active service, however they were much less precise in defining specifically which Tuscans were expected to serve, with only very vague property qualifications determining entitlement. The Tuscan ordinance of 15th September stipulated that service in the Civic Guard was obligatory for all male Tuscans, save for those groups specifically excluded. Only non-Tuscans residing in the grand duchy were expected to meet residency and property qualifications: non-Tuscans had to have been living in the grand duchy for at least 5 years continuously, or possess private property or a 'commercial or industrial establishment.'[14] Thus, while

[13] These groups were, however, permitted to form part of the reserve. Ibid, doc. C, article 6: 'Sono dispensati dal Servizio attivo della Guardia, ma formano parte della riserva, la quale non sarà chiamata che nella circostanze straordinarie e per espresso Sovrano Comando, i Braccianti, i Giornalieri, i domestici salariati, ed i Coloni.' The justification which the ordinance gave for this exclusion was that service in the Civic Guard would deprive workers of the daily wage on which they depended and would take sharecroppers away from their lands: 'imperocchè a quelli riuscirebbe troppo gravoso il Servizio, privandoli della giornaliera mercede della quale vivono, ed i questi verrebbe impedito con pubblico danno l'esercizio dell'Agricoltura e della Pastorizia.' Article 6 of this regulation is then repeated verbatim as article 7 in the regulations of 4th October, for which see ibid doc. CXII.

[14] Ibid, doc. C, article 3: 'La Guardia Civica si compone di tutti i Toscani, salve le esenzioni e eccezioni che appresso, ed anco degli Esteri dimoranti da dieci anni permanentemente in Toscana, ossivero che ad una dimora permanente di anni cinque almeno nel Granducato, congiungano l'altro estremo di avervi proprietà fundiaria o stabilimento Commerciale o Industriale, qualunque sia la Religione, e il Culto che professino, perchè gli uni e gli altri siano in età non minore di diciotto anni compiti, nè maggiore di Anni sessanta parimente compiti.' Article 8 stipulates that service in the Civic Guard is obligatory: 'Il Servizio della Guardia

the regulations may have formally excluded the lowest strata of urban working society, not to mention almost all of Tuscan rural society, the imprecise nature of the regulations, along with the absence of a firm property qualification, meant that the ranks of the Tuscan Civic Guard were open to a far broader social spectrum than just wealthy property-owners, merchants and the educated middle classes. Rather, the Tuscan Civic Guard was open to the expansive and sprawling petty bourgeoisie of small shop-owners and traders, as well as to the extensive network of artisans, craftsmen and journeymen.

Unfortunately, since surviving records documenting enrolment and recruitment to the Florentine battalions of the Civic Guard are limited and incomplete, any attempt to assess the overall social or occupational composition of the Florentine Civic Guard would be fraught with difficulty. The only surviving comprehensive roster of initial recruits, compiled by the President of the Enrolment Committee in December 1847, is for the *Quartiere* of Santa Maria Novella.[15] This document records the names and addresses of all the male residents of Santa Maria Novella chosen by the Enrolment Committee to serve on the Civic Guard but unfortunately provides no information about occupation or employment status. However, by cross-referencing names on this list with other official documents such as police and prefects' reports – reports which provide biographical information such as occupation and marital status – it is possible to build a limited picture of a handful of the men recorded on the first roster of recruits from Santa Maria Novella.

One of the names recorded on the list of recruits from Santa Maria Novella is Filippo Rinaldi. Rinaldi's name also appears on a report submitted to the enrolment committee by the police authorities of Santa Maria Novella, as part of a series of reports written by the police about men who were eligible for the Civic Guard but who had also committed past crimes. According to this report, Rinaldi, who had a history of brawling, was a barber who was married with children. Another

Civica è dichiarato obbligatorio e personale…' Article 3 of this regulation is then repeated almost verbatim as article 4 in regulations of 4th October 1847, for which see ibid, doc. CXII.

[15] There are two published lists of recruits, contained in Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1282: Quartiere S. Maria Novella. Deputazione per l'arruolamento della Guardia Civica.

man whose name appears on the Santa Maria Novella list, Giuseppe Bolognesi, is referred to in a separate police report as a carpenter. A third man, Luigi Nencioni, was described by police officials as a poulterer.[16]

There are other documents created by the Civic Guard which can be useful in this endeavour. In March 1848, when large numbers of civic guardsmen volunteered to accompany the Tuscan military to go and fight Austria in Lombardy, various companies of the Florentine Civic Guard created lists of men who voluntarily departed. A certain Giovani Tramagnini appears on the list of recruits from the third battalion who left for Lombardy on 23rd March, 1848.[17] According to a police report submitted to the prefect in March 1853, written after Tramagnini was subjected to a home search, Tramagnini and his son Giuseppe are described as ambulant hawkers of meat.[18] Shop-owners and petty merchants also appear on the Civic Guard's lists of mobilised recruits. On an undated list of guardsmen recorded as having departed with the mobile column, the name of a book-seller, Filippo Cammelli, appears. Cammelli was later to acquire considerable notoriety in the 1850s as a subversive subject, being described in one police report as a 'repeat offender in political matters.'[19]

The Civic Guard also armed and mobilised workers who fitted neither the category of artisan nor petty trader, including more 'proletarianized' kinds of workers and those who, unlike artisans or traders, possessed neither their own property nor their means of production. In some cases, the Civic Guard even offered these kinds of workers the opportunity for social and professional advancement. The printer Luigi Ricci, who was employed as a typograph at the Printing House in the Loggia del Grano, served in the Civic Guard in 1848 before being nominated to the position of

[16] The police reports concerning these three individuals are all contained in Ibid.
[17] Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1283: Affari Diversi, 'Guardia Civica attiva di Firenze, 3 battaglione, 6 compagnia. Stato nominativo dei militi della sudetta compagnia che sono partiti il 22, ed il 23 marzo 1848 che fanno parte alla Colonna mobile volontaria. 24 Marzo 1848'.
[18] A.S.F., Pref., Arc. Seg., 1852-54, b. 63, aff. 194, report sent by the Delegate of Santo Spirito to the Prefect of Florence, dated 6th March 1853. Tramagnini and his son are described in this report as 'strascini'.
[19] Cammelli's name appears on a list of mobilised recruits in Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1283: Affari Diversi, inserto 'senza data', 'Guardia Civica di Firenze, 4 Compagnia, 3 Battaglione, Stato e grado degli individui di detta compagnia che son partiti con la Colonna mobile'. He is described as a bookseller, and as a 'repeat offender in political matters', in a surveillance report written in 1854. For which, see A.S.F., Pref., Arc. Seg., 1859, b. 10, aff. 212 n. 25, report of the Head of Public Surveillance, dated 6th November 1854.

Serjeant Major by his fellow guardsmen, and then appointed as Captain of the Battalion under the Provisional Government of 1849.[20] Florence's population of leather tanners also got to experience life as mobilised guardsmen. Though initially excluded from the Guard, the Florentine tanners were called in December 1847 to form part of the Santa Croce battalion of the Civic Guard, leading to a significant expansion of the number of working-class recruits for the Santa Croce district.[21]

The Tuscan Civic Guard, therefore, did not constitute the exclusive preserve of the propertied bourgeoisie and wealthy middle classes. Rather, the Civic Guard of Tuscany boasted a conspicuous number of small shop-owners, craftsmen and even street vendors amongst its ranks.[22] Many of these men also participated in the First Italian War of Independence, and some would even become active in public discourses about the grand ducal regime and government after the revolutionary juncture of 1848.

From its very inception, the Civic Guard was also imbued with a potent sense of patriotic purpose. In much of the patriotic rhetoric of 1847, the Civic Guard and its recruits were represented as important guardians of the land and of the safety of the Tuscan people. In a pamphlet penned by the Livornese Serafino Cianchi, which praised Leopold for the creation of the Civic Guard, the opportunity for Tuscans to bear arms was described as a 'sacrament of fraternity, the aegis of the oppressed, the lightning bolt of the oppressor, the defence of our land'.[23] The Civic Guard was also intimately linked to the construction of a new masculine identity, teaching Tuscan men the martial

[20] Ricci's name appears on the same list of mobilised recruits as Filippo Cammelli. Ricci is, however, described as a Serjeant Major. See Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1283: Affari Diversi, inserto 'senza data', 'Guardia Civica di Firenze, 4 Compagnia, 3 Battaglione, Stato e grado degli individui di detta compagnia che son partiti con la Colonna mobile'. According to a statement given by Ricci to the police in November 1851, after he had been arrested for suspected involvement in the secret National Committee, Ricci had actually been nominated to the position of Lieutenant by his compatriots, but the government did not sanction his nomination, so he was elected instead to the position of Serjeant Major. See A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 9, aff. 212, n. 1, interrogation of Luigi Ricci, Delegazione del Quartiere Santo Spirito, dated 21st Nov. 1851.

[21] *Bandi e ordini*, 1847, doc. CLXXXIV.

[22] This characteristic of the Tuscan Civic Guard can also be observed in other Italian Civic Guards from the time. Artisans in fact made up the largest proportion (32.2%) of the members of the Civic Guard of Piacenza, established in 1848 following Piacenza's independence from Parma, and for which a more comprehensive body of records exists. See L. Minetti, 'La Guardia Nazionale di Piacenza nel 1848', *Studi Piacentini. Rivista dell'Istituto storico della resistenza di Piacenza*, 7 (1990), pp. 41-61.

[23] 'sia esso per noi un sacramento di fratellanza, un egida per l'oppresso, il fulmine per l'oppressore, la difesa della nostra terra.' B.S.M.C., fogli volanti, 1847, MPB 1/3, FF.VV.6/120.

values necessary to defend both their land and their women's chastity from potential outside threats.[24] A didactic article published by *Amici del Popolo* – a group of moderate liberals based in Pistoia – written with the intention of educating people in the purpose of the newly-created Civic Guard, told readers that 'if some threat comes from outside, if some 'outsider' resents that we are doing well here, and wants to do us harm, your sons will make it known that they know how to defend their homes, their property, the honour of their women.'[25] Civic guardsmen were thus given a mission, a sense of civic duty and the opportunity to reinvent themselves as armed protectors of the land.

The formation of the first battalions of the Civic Guard started in late November 1847, when all able-bodied men who fit the eligibility criteria were called to present themselves at designated buildings around the city, so that the deputations charged with organising the Guard could begin the selection process.[26] The activities of the enlisted guardsmen consisted largely of policing duties. These included assisting the regular police force in patrolling the streets, setting up night watch and monitoring public meeting places. To cite just one example, the Civic Guard of Montepulciano accompanied the *carabinieri* in patrolling the local fair.[27]

While day-to-day activities in the Civic Guard were rather banal, involvement in the Civic Guard had the effect of raising the political awareness of guardsmen by exposing its recruits to new political practices and procedures. Like both the French National Guard and the Papal Civic Guard, the nomination of officers in the Tuscan Civic Guard was an elective process in which all active members shared some involvement. The ordinance of 4th October stipulated that every guardsman

[24] This construction of masculinity – which invoked Italian men as armed warriors defending the honour of Italy, and of Italian women, through battle with foreign invaders – is a common trope in Risorgimento discourses, see L. Riall, 'Men at War: Masculinity and Military Ideals in the Risorgimento', in L. Riall and S. Patriarca (eds.), *Risorgimento Revisited: nationalism and culture in nineteenth-century Italy* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 152-67.

[25] 'e se il male venisse di fuori, se a qualche forestiero rincrescesse che qua stiamo bene, e volesse farci star male, i vostri figiuoli faranno vedere, che sanno difendere la propria casa, la roba e l'onore delle loro donne.' B.S.M.C., fogli volanti, 1847, MPB 1/3, FF.VV.6/138.

[26] *Bandi e ordini*, 1847, docs. CLIII, CLVIII, CLXI and CLXII.

[27] M. Merlo and L. Tosin, 'Le armi della Guardia Civica del Granducato a Montepulciano', in A. Biancucci *et al.* (eds.), *Montepulciano nel Risorgimento. I personaggi e gli avvenimenti: 1795-1870* (Montepulciano, 2011), p. 195.

within a given company would gather and vote for three candidates for each officer position. A high-ranking officer, normally the first-in-command of the company, then selected the most suitable candidate for the rank from each proposed group of three. For the ranks of second-in-command, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant, the right to choose the post-holder from the group of three candidates was reserved for the grand duke, and the highest-ranking position, first-in-command, was appointed directly by the grand duke himself.[28]

The voting process of the Civic Guard was, therefore, an indirect system, but it was a system of voting nonetheless. Recruits were introduced to these practices almost immediately upon enlistment. The first elections – of the second-in-command of the company – were scheduled to take place on 9th December 1847, just over two weeks after the first men were called to present themselves to be organised into battalions.[29] However, the expectation that guardsmen take part in regular elections of their commanding officers was perceived by recruits as somewhat of an imposition. Throughout the Guard's existence, recruits consistently failed to turn up to the elections, and whole companies had to be regularly recalled to repeat elections because they had not produced sufficient numbers of voters to enable a legal vote to take place. Following the first round of elections which occurred over 9th, 10th and 11th December 1847 – at which recruits were asked to assemble and elect three candidates for the position of second-in-command of their company – a circular was sent out to the *Gonfaloniere* of Florence announcing that insufficient numbers of guardsmen from various companies had attended the vote, so the elections would have to be conducted again.[30] On 14th December, 10 companies from across the 4 Florentine battalions were requested to reassemble on 16th and 17th December in order to repeat the election. Finally, on 23rd

[28] *Bandi e ordini,* 1847, doc. CXII, articles 33-34. A very similar indirect system of electing officers was also in place for the Papal Civic Guard, see Conti, 'Le guardie civiche', p. 332. Such indirect voting systems were not unique to the Italian guards. In the French National Guard after 1830, colonels and lieutenant colonels were appointed by the King from a list of 10 candidates put together by an electoral assembly consisting of officers and 6 'delegates', who were elected for the purpose by the guards. See M. Larrère*, L'urne et le fusil. La garde nationale parisienne de 1830 à 1848* (Paris, 2016), pp. 110-14.
[29] *Bandi e ordini,* 1847, doc. CLXXIII.
[30] Ibid, doc. CLXXXVII.

December, the elections were completed and a list of successful candidates for the position of second-in-command was published.[31]

Over Christmas 1847, the problem of attendance at elections became even worse. The elections to the position of lieutenant, which took place over 27th and 28th December 1847, were so poorly attended that 24 of the 26 companies of the Florentine battalions had to be recalled to repeat their elections on 2nd and 3rd January.[32] While voter turnout would never again reach the low point to which it descended over Christmas of 1847, poor attendance at elections continued to be a persistent problem, with at least one company failing to turn out enough voters at the majority of elections throughout 1848. Through March 1848, guardsmen were asked to assemble to elect the sergeant major and sergeant fourier, as well as the 8 regular sergeants and 16 corporals of their company. Throughout these elections, numerous companies failed to produce the required number of voters, and were instructed to assemble once more to repeat their elections.[33] The same thing then happened in October 1848, when numerous companies had to be recalled to repeat a series of elections for various officer positions which had become vacant throughout the year.[34] Apathy and poor voter turnout was an endemic problem in the Tuscan Civic Guard.

The underlying cause of this resistance to participation in the electoral procedures was economic. Many of the guardsmen felt that the need to constantly meet up to conduct elections forced them to spend burdensome amounts of time away from their trades or professions, which was damaging to their livelihoods. A notification published on 26th December 1847 by the *Gonfaloniere* of Florence, which decreed that guardsmen could deposit their voting cards in the two hours preceding the commencement of the electoral meeting, rather than attending the entire meeting, provides a summary to this effect. The notification pointed out that the decision to alter the procedure had

[31] Ibid, docs. CXCI and CCI.
[32] Ibid, doc. CCXIV.
[33] The documents instructing the various companies to re-assemble and repeat the elections of these ranks throughout March 1848 are in *Bandi e ordini*, 1848, codice 55 (parte 1), docs. LXXXV, XC, XCIV, C, CIV and CXI.
[34] *Proclami, decreti, notificazioni e circolari da osservarsi nel Granducato di Toscana pubblicati del primo luglio a tutto dicembre 1848*, codice 55 (parte 2), docs. CCLXXXVII, CCXCII, CCXCVI, CCXCIX and CCC.

been made after having 'taking into consideration the damage to the occupations of many members of the Civic Guard caused by the obligation to attend, for not a short space of time, at the gatherings to elect the candidates to the different ranks of the Guard.'[35]

Yet, despite the evidence of very real resistance to the practice of voting, the number of companies producing insufficient numbers of electors were, for the most part over the course of the Civic Guard's existence, in the minority. A handful of examples serve to illustrate this. At the elections for the position of sub-lieutenant, organised for 23rd and 25th January 1848, the number of companies which did not turn out enough voters was significantly fewer than the number of companies which did: none of the 6 companies from the first battalion had to be reconvened to repeat the election, and only 4 companies from across the remaining 3 battalions were instructed to carry out their elections again.[36] This equates to a total of 22 companies which managed to produce a sufficient number of voters and so avoid being recalled, versus 4 companies which did not turn out the adequate number. Similarly, for the elections conducted on 10th March 1848 for the position of the sergeant fourier, only one company was ordered to repeat the election, and no companies whatsoever were recalled after the elections of the regular sergeants which took place two days later, on the 12th.[37] While this does not rule out the significance of the reluctant attitude of some of the guardsmen to participation in the vote, what this evidence does reveal is that large numbers of guardsmen *did* become sufficiently socialised in the new electoral practices introduced by the Civic Guard.

[35] 'Il Gonfaloniere di Firenze, inerentemente alla Sovrana Risoluzione di questo stesso giorno, che, valutando il danno che possono risentire molti componenti la Guardia Civica nelle loro occupazioni dall'obbligo di assistere per non breve spazio di tempo alla Adunanze elettive dei Candidati ai diversi gradi della Guardia medesima, permette il deposito delle Schede di tali Candidati nelle due ore immediatemente precedenti qualla annunziata con la Notificazione de' 23 stante, rende pubblicamente noto:' *Bandi e ordini*, 1847, doc. CCVI.
[36] These companies were the first company of the second battalion, the fourth company of the third battalion and the fifth and sixth companies of the fourth battalion. See *Bandi e ordini*, 1848, codice 55 (parte 1), docs. XXVII, XXXII and XXXIII.
[37] The company recalled to repeat the election of the sergeant fourier was the sixth company of the fourth battalion. See ibid, doc. XC.

Of course, the relative brevity of the Tuscan Civic Guard's existence – between September 1847 and May 1849 – meant that the extent of this politicisation was limited. The Tuscan Civic Guard did not witness the emergence of campaign tactics or electioneering strategies on the part of its candidates, nor did the body of the guardsmen become an electoral arena in which opposition parties sought to canvass support for national political programmes, such as we see in the French National Guard in the late 1830s and 1840s.[38] In this way, it would be incorrect to speak of the Tuscan Civic Guard as offering an initiation into a fully-fledged parliamentary democracy. Nonetheless, the Civic Guard of Tuscany constituted one of the first agents in a broader process of mobilisation which helped to expand the political horizons and expectations of urban working and petty-bourgeois classes in Tuscany. The Civic Guard brought men of very modest social standing – artisans, shopkeepers, street-sellers – into a world of martial and civic responsibility. At the same time, recruits were exposed to patriotic discourses about the defence of the land; instilled with a potent sense of patriotic mission as the armed protectors of Tuscany, and initiated into the modern democratic practice of electing one's superiors. The Civic Guard thus facilitated a heightening of political awareness in the main urban centres of mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany.

The First Italian War of Independence:

On 21st March 1848, news arrived in Florence of an insurrection which had broken out in Milan. The revolt had started three days earlier, when a crowd headed by the Milanese lawyer Enrico Cernuschi converged on the Governor's Palace demanding the dissolution of the existing police force, prompting an Austrian military backlash which resulted in 5 days of intense street fighting. On 23rd March, the Piedmontese King Charles Albert agreed to intervene on the side of the Milanese rebels,

[38] Larrère, 'Les élections des officiers', pp. 470-73.

thus inaugurating the First Italian War of Independence against Austrian rule in Lombardy and the Veneto.[39]

The war in Lombardy led to an even broader military mobilisation in Tuscany. As soon as news of the Milanese uprising arrived in Tuscany, the grand duke, facing popular pressure from students in the capital, agreed to send volunteers, along with a contingent of regular troops, to the grand duchy's northern-most borders.[40] The grand duke's call for volunteers was particularly well received amongst the Civic Guard. However, the mobilisation of volunteers in March 1848 was not limited to serving guardsmen, but in fact permitted men from all social and occupational backgrounds to serve alongside the Tuscan regular troops, including those, such as manual labourers, who had been excluded from active service in the Civic Guard. The night of the 21st was then spent frantically enrolling volunteers and organising them into battalions, as young Florentine men – both guardsmen and non-guardsmen alike – presented themselves at the *Fortezza da Basso*, ready to offer their services.[41] On the morning of the 22nd, two battalions of volunteers, accompanied by four regiments of the line and three companies of artillery, left Florence via Prato and Pistoia for San Marcello. On the same day, large numbers of volunteers, along with the *battaglione universitario* – a voluntary battalion which had been put together from the students and professors of the University of Pisa – left Pisa for Pietrasanta.[42] One of the most remarkable characteristics of these voluntary battalions was the social diversity of the men who made up their ranks. Giuseppe Montanelli, Professor of Law at Pisa University and Captain of one of the regiments of the University Battalion, recalled 'how marvellous [it was] to see those improvised legions, in which the doctor, the lawyer, the artisan, the noble, the priest, rich and poor, master and servant, marched together in the cult of Italy.'[43] The fact

[39] For the Milanese uprising and the war in Lombardy, see G. F. H. & J. Berkeley, *Italy in the Making*, vol. III, *January 1st 1848 to November 16th 1848* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 78-127, 195-332.
[40] G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. III, *La Rivoluzione nazionale* (Milan, 1960), p. 206.
[41] N. Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane e le occupazioni stranieri in Toscana, 1537-1860* (Castello, 1916), vol. II, p. 711.
[42] Ibid, pp. 712-14.
[43] 'Ed oh meravigliose a vedere quelle legioni improvvisate, nelle quali il medico, l'avvocato, l'artigiano, il nobile, il ricco, l'indigente, il prete, il padrone e il servitore, marciavano mescolati in culto d'Italia!' G. Montanelli, *Memorie sull'Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana dal 1814 al 1850* (Turin, 1855), vol. II, p. 279.

that the volunteers were drawn from such a variety of different social and economic backgrounds, ranging from doctor to artisan, testifies to the broad appeal of the call for volunteers among the urban populations of Tuscany, as well as the ability of the call to penetrate and inspire the lower tiers of urban working society. The War of Independence therefore mobilised an enormous array of different individuals, taking them away from their homes, over the border and ultimately to the fields of Lombardy.

While the first tasks of the volunteers were largely defensive, concerned with occupying and maintaining order in the regions of Modena bordering Tuscany,[44] it was not long before the volunteers became involved in a much more patriotic struggle. In early April, the grand duke, confronted with mounting popular pressure in Florence in favour of war against Austria, instructed the troops occupying the Modenese regions to advance through Modena towards Reggio. Finally, on 5th April, the grand duke declared publicly that the Tuscan forces he had despatched in late March were now making their way to Lombardy to assist the Lombard rebels:

> 'Tuscan soldiers! The sacred cause of Italian independence will be decided today in the fields of Lombardy….. Sons of Italy, heirs of our ancestors' military glory, we Tuscans must not languish in shameful idleness in such solemn moments. Fly together with the valiant citizens who have willingly rushed under our flag to the aid of their Lombard brothers!'[45]

While this proclamation stopped short at declaring outright war against Austria, it did make use of an emotive nationalising language, referring to the Lombard rebels as the Tuscans' Italian brothers and proclaiming unequivocally that the purpose of the Tuscan troops was to assist the Lombards in their struggle for independence. From this moment onwards, therefore, there emerged in Tuscany an aggressive, militarised rhetoric which invoked the plight of Italy while simultaneously representing Austria as the enemy of Italian freedom.

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[44] The Florentine troops, commanded by Belluomini, were ordered to occupy Castelnuovo in Garfagnana, while the Pisa contingent stationed at Pietrasanta were entrusted with the occupation of Massa and Carrara; Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. II, pp. 714-17.

[45] 'Toscani soldati! La santa causa dell'indipendenza d'Italia si decide oggi sui campi della Lombardia… Figli d'Italia, eredi della gloria militare degli avi, non debbono i Toscani rimanere in un ozio vergognoso in momenti così solenni. Volate adunque uniti ai prodi cittadini che volontari accorsero sotte le nostre bandiere al soccorso dei fratelli Lombardi.' For this proclamation, see Montanelli, *Memorie*, vol. II, pp. 291-92.

By late April, the contingents of Tuscan volunteers and Civic Guardsmen had reached Lombardy and had established camp at Curtatone.[46] Situated in between Goito and the Lago Mantova, this strategically important theatre of military operations was defended solely by a small contingent of 5,400 men, which was mostly made up of Tuscan and Neapolitan volunteers occupying the villages of Montanara and Curtatone. This was to be the volunteers' first experience of combat during the War of Independence, and for many it would have been their first ever experience of war. Conflict began swiftly when on 13th May the Austrian forces occupying Mantova attacked the Tuscan trenches. While this strike was repelled with relative ease, the Austrians followed up this attack with an aggressive assault on the two fortified villages on 29th May, beginning with a frontal attack on Curtatone accompanied by a follow-up strike on Montanara. While the Tuscan volunteers had received almost no military training prior to their excursion, the men fortifying these two villages fought valiantly against a far superior military force. According to Montanelli, at Montanara two companies of the Florentine Civic Guard alone managed to successfully resist the Austrian offensive.[47] By around 2pm, the defensive line at Montanara was beginning to get overwhelmed. Nonetheless, the volunteers continued to put up a resolute fight and it was only after 4 pm, after 6 hours of intense fighting, that the Tuscan commander De Laugier decided to order a retreat.[48]

The War of Independence was, therefore, a veritable baptism of fire for the large numbers of Tuscan men who volunteered to fight in Lombardy. Yet, despite the important role played by volunteers in this conflict, the volunteers' experiences of the war, and the impact of these experiences on the minds of volunteers, remains a neglected field of research. The disorganised nature of the voluntary movements of 1848 – the frantic and sporadic manner in which volunteers in Tuscany were enrolled and sent off, along with the absence of a central coordinating body

[46] Ibid, p. 332; Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, p. 27.
[47] Montanelli, *Memorie*, vol. II, p. 339.
[48] For details of the battles of Curtatone and Montanara, and of the importance of Tuscan volunteers and Civic Guardsmen, see ibid, pp. 332-41; Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, pp. 83-148; P. Pieri, *Storia militare del Risorgimento. Guerre e insurrezioni* (Turin, 1962), pp. 220-21; M. Scardigli, *Le Grandi Battaglie del Risorgimento* (Milan, 2011), pp. 119-20.

overseeing and organising the activities of the various voluntary regiments which sprung up all over Italy in the spring of 1848 – means that there exist very few comprehensive records documenting the names, occupations or even the precise numbers of volunteers involved in the War of Independence of 1848.[49] The absence of such sources makes it very difficult to explore the phenomenon of volunteerism in 1848. Furthermore, few of the volunteers involved in the First Italian War of Independence wrote about their experiences, and those that did tended to be drawn from the ranks of the students or university-educated intelligentsia,[50] thus making it difficult to capture the lived experiences of 'ordinary', rank-and-file volunteers.

Where volunteers remained silent, official sources, like police and court records, can often provide interesting insights into the impact of the War of Independence on political consciousness. Many of those prosecuted for political misdemeanours in Florence in the 1850s had served as volunteers in Lombardy, and so official records of this nature frequently offer an indirect channel through which the sentiments of volunteers can be glimpsed at. A tailor, a certain Pironi, who fought as a volunteer in Lombardy before then fighting alongside Garibaldi in defence of the Roman Republic, and who was arrested in 1851 for involvement in a Secret Society, is an interesting case in point. Pironi was put on trial at the *Corte Regia* in Florence and his trial, along with much of the evidence against him, featured in the Florentine *Gazzetta dei Tribunali*, a newspaper which was set up in the 1850s to report on major criminal judgements and proceedings in the Florentine courts.[51] As part of the investigation into Pironi's activities in 1851, a cache of personal letters and printed ephemera, some with an unmistakeable Mazzinian bent, were confiscated and produced in court. Some of these papers had been written by Pironi himself and one letter, dated 23rd March 1849, Novara, provided a

[49] A. M. Isastia, 'La guerra dei volontari. Ruolo politico e dimensione militare', in Isnenghi (ed.), *Gli Italiani in guerra*, vol. I, *Fare l'Italia*, pp. 172-73.
[50] Montanelli's *Memorie* is a case in point. See also G. Nerucci, *Ricordi storici del Battaglione universiterio toscano alla Guerra dell'indipendenza italiana del 1848* (Prato, 1891).
[51] Pironi's case in the *Gazzetta dei Tribunali* is in turn summarised in G. Rondoni, 'La Gazzetta dei Tribunali di Firenze e la reazione in Toscana dal 1851 al 1853', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 5 (1918), pp. 132-34. All of the information relating to Pironi, including all of the quotes from his personal writings, used in this research originate in this source. Pironi's political activities in 1851 will be discussed in ch. 3, pp. 145-46.

particularly emotive account of the struggles against Austria in Lombardy, Venice and Rome. While the authorship of this particular letter is not made clear,[52] it is certainly very likely that Pironi, having experienced first-hand the events being narrated in this letter, and as the author of many of the other confiscated papers, penned this meditative account himself. In this letter, the author reproduces much of the rhetoric of 1848, describing Italians as having fought together for the 'greatness of the Patria', before lamenting the 'misfortune' of defeat and looking for the next opportunity to fight. The letter then goes on to praise the battles then being fought in Rome and the Veneto, invoking an image of a united Italy born out of the concerted, unified actions of Italians from all over the peninsula, working together in pursuit of a common goal:

'Rome and Venice did not have in the ranks of their defenders only Romans and Venetians, but Italians from every province, and the proclamation of the principles of Rome and Venice is the only means of collecting together all of the sons of this divided land.'[53]

Many of the tropes which recur throughout the letter confiscated from Pironi – especially the image of a community of Italians fighting side by side for a common goal – are strikingly similar to those which abounded in the pro-war discourses of 1848. If Pironi had indeed penned this letter, as he had many of the others, then this written specimen provides compelling evidence that Pironi, having fought in Lombardy and Rome, had absorbed much of the nationalising language and rhetoric before then using this language to give structure to his own personal narrative and memories of the war. That Pironi could have authored these evocative words does indeed appear credible, as patriotic language also appears in some of the other letters written by him and produced in court.[54]

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[52] Rondoni himself, who summarises these proceedings against Pironi, and who acknowledges Pironi's authorship for many of the other confiscated letters, expresses disbelief that a 'humble tailor' could possible produce such patriotic words. However, he is unable to suggest any alternative authors. Rondoni, 'La Gazzetta dei Tribunali', p. 134

[53] 'Ma gl'Italiani che combatterono colla sincerità dei voti e colla persona per la grandezza della patria, piangano nella comune sventura, e nel pensiero di essa ricerchino forze a nuova pugna più forte, a pugna che vuol vincere e vince' The letter then continues: '…..rileva che Roma e Venezia non ebbero nelle file dei loro difensori soli Romani e soli Veneti, ma Italiani di tutte le provincie, e che la proclamazione dei principii di Roma e Venezia è l'unico mezzo atto a raccogliere tutti i figli di questa terra divisa.' Quoted in Rondoni, 'La Gazzetta dei Tribunali', pp. 133-34.

[54] A letter in which Pironi recounts his arrest after his return to Tuscany from Rome contains the words: 'Oh giorni felici di libertà perduta! Ora siamo in peggiore condizione degli schiavi!'. Ibid, p. 133.

The War against Austria therefore had a profound effect on the minds of those who participated in it. The war exposed many thousands of mobilised Tuscan men, drawn from a diverse array of social and economic backgrounds, to a new, bellicose and decidedly anti-Austrian rhetoric of national struggle and national independence. Unlike the discourses which had surrounded the Civic Guard in 1847, the new discourse which centred on the conflict in Lombardy spoke explicitly about Italy and about the independence of Italy, while simultaneously establishing Austria as the enemy of Italy in its struggle for liberty. The men who volunteered to fight in Lombardy were, therefore, amongst the first to have their heads filled, en masse, with a discourse which evoked 'Italy' as an entity beyond Tuscany, an entity for whose liberty men were being called on to fight. Finally, the war also subjected volunteers to Austrian artillery and mortars, the effects of which, perhaps more so than the rhetoric, were pivotal in nurturing the idea that Austria was the enemy.

The Provisional Government and The Crescendo of Popular Mobilisation

The period of the Provisional Government, from February to early April 1849, witnessed an even greater shift towards popular mobilisation in the main urban centres of Tuscany. While the aims and objectives of this new mobilisation – focused on the defence of the land – were largely the same as those which had underpinned the formation and activation of the Civic Guard, the scale of this drive towards popular armament, not to mention its overriding sense of urgency, was considerably greater than any of those which had preceded it. The call to arms of 1849 also witnessed the designation of new enemies, imagined principally as agents seeking to undermine the patria from within, while those who were called upon to defend the Tuscan patria were assigned a new, reinvigorated sense of patriotic duty and importance.

The immediate cause of this unprecedented drive towards mass urban armament was the grand duke's decision to flee from Tuscany, on 8th February 1849. In the preceding months, Leopold had become increasingly concerned about the direction of politics in the grand duchy. Since October

1848, Leopold's democratic ministry – led by the Tuscan democrats Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, Giuseppe Montanelli and Giuseppe Mazzoni – had been labouring to bring Montanelli's proposal, for an elected Italian National Constituent Assembly, to fruition. On 23rd January 1849, the democratic ministry came one step closer to their goal when the Tuscan Chamber of Deputies agreed to sanction the election of 37 Tuscan deputies, through universal manhood suffrage, to a future National Assembly. Leopold, however, had no sympathy for these designs, and he had even less sympathy for the mounting state of ferment in the capital in favour of the National Assembly. Fearing that he was losing control of his government, on 30th January, Leopold left the capital for the calmer environment of Siena, before removing himself completely from the grand duchy on 8th February. In order to fill the power vacuum left behind by the grand duke, the Chamber of Deputies, under pressure from the Florentine democrats, appointed a Provisional Government based on the grand duke's former ministry, to be presided over by Guerrazzi, Montanelli and Mazzoni.[55] Despite these desperate attempts to ensure the stability of the Tuscan polity, these measures largely failed to prevent the proliferation of internal disorders. Rumours of the grand duke's flight from Tuscany, which circulated rapidly around the grand duchy, sparked popular disturbances all over the Tuscan countryside, as rural-dwelling *contadini*, fearing that the grand duke's absence may herald a return of the dreaded republic, rose up in displays of affection for Leopold II, and in outcry against the Provisional Government. Thus, at a time when rural populations all over the Habsburg Italian lands were rising in support of the new provisional and revolutionary governments which were coming to power in Venice and Milan,[56] in Tuscany the democratic government found itself confronted with the stirrings of a large-scale rural counter-revolutionary insurrection, one which gravely threatened the stability of an already precarious regime.

[55] For these events, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, pp. 385-86; A. M. Banti, *Il Risorgimento Italiano* (Rome, 2005), pp. 85-6. See also above, pp. 15-6.
[56] F. della Peruta, 'I contadini nella rivoluzione lombarda del 1848', in della Peruta, *Democrazia e socialismo nel Risorgimento: saggi e ricerche* (Rome, 1965), pp. 59-108; Ginsborg, 'Peasants and revolutionaries', pp. 503-50; idem, *Daniel Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848-49* (Cambridge, 1979), esp. pp. 104-12.

Faced with a proliferation of popular legitimist risings, the Provisional Government mobilised the urban male populations in what was to be the most sweeping drive towards popular urban armament undertaken by the Tuscan government over the juncture of 1847-49. This was a mobilisation which not only empowered the Civic Guard, but which also sought to forge a citizenry-at-arms out of the mass of the male urban populations. This mass mobilisation was also given a new ideological justification, centred chiefly on the suppression of enemies from within. The men of urban Tuscany were thus invoked as protectors of the patria, but the enemies against whom they were fighting were fellow Tuscans: rural protesters who were represented by the Provisional Government as backward enemies of the land.

The Civic Guard was the first to be mobilised. On 8th February, the very day on which news of the grand duke's departure started to circulate around Florence, the Florentine Civic Guard rallied and occupied strategic defensive positions in the city, accompanied by the soldiers of the regular Tuscan army. [57] The Civic Guard was thus given an immediate importance in ensuring the security of the realm under the new government, an importance which was reflected in the renaming of the Civic Guard as the National Guard on 13th February 1849.[58] Of equal and immediate importance in these peace-keeping measures was a new corps, the Municipal Guard, which had been inaugurated only 3 months prior to the grand duke's flight. Established provisionally in November 1848 by Guerrazzi, then Interior Minister, as an auxiliary police force charged with assisting the *carabinieri* in upholding law and order, the Municipal Guard was not a citizens' militia like the Civic Guard, but was instead a salaried, professional division of the military organised in the main cities (Florence, Livorno, Pisa, Lucca, Siena and Arezzo), and in which all unmarried Tuscan men who possessed the faculties of reading and writing could apply to join.[59] The Municipal Guard was, therefore, an exclusive, specialist arm of the grand ducal police machinery, which demanded a much higher level of

[57] *Il Popolano*, 9th Feb. 1849.
[58] *Atti del Governo provvisorio toscano dall'8 fabbraio al 12 aprile 1849* (Florence, 1849), doc. XXIV.
[59] *Proclami, decreti, 1848*. Codice 55 (parte 2), doc. CCCXXI; *Proclami, Decreti, Notificazioni e Circolari da osservarsi nel Granducato di Toscana pubblicati dal primo gennaio al di 8 febbraio e dal 12 aprile a tutto giugno 1849*. Codice 56, doc. VI.

education from its applicants. Yet, despite these differences, the Municipal Guard was rallied alongside the Civic Guard in the defence of the Tuscan homeland. Both the Municipal and Civic-cum-National Guards therefore reached the height of their importance – and acquired a new patriotic mission – in the protection of the Tuscan realm under the Provisional Government.

What this patriotic mission was to consist of soon became abundantly clear to the guards. As early as 9th February, Municipal and Civic Guardsmen were sent to put down a rising of rural malcontents from Monticelli, a village outside of Florence, who were advancing towards the Porta San Frediano armed with torches and raising cries of 'Long Live Leopold II'. Despite some resistance, the guards were able to restore order and 40 of the protesters were imprisoned.[60] The Provisional Government's reliance on the National and Municipal Guards as de facto police forces was only to increase throughout the months of February and March 1849, especially following the desertion of large numbers of soldiers from the regular army, who remained loyal to Leopold and who refused to swear allegiance to the Provisional Government. On the night of 21st February, the National and Municipal Guards were mobilised once more, this time to subdue bands of rural insurgents which, motivated by the rumour that Leopold was about to return, had started to converge on the gates of the city to celebratory cries of 'Long live Leopold II'. At Porta San Gallo, the band of rural protesters fled when the National Guard opened the gates to confront them. At the Porta Romana, however, the rebels had managed to breach the city walls and the contingent of guardsmen sent to suppress them were able to make 60 arrests.[61]

The rhetoric which was applied by the Provisional Government to these activities served to instil in both the National and Municipal Guards a lofty sense of patriotic mission, a mission which involved the suppression of internal enemies. On the morning of 22nd February, following the Guards' successful suppression of the peasant rising, the government published a proclamation which

[60] L. Passerini, *Il Quarantotto in Toscana: diario inedito del conte Luigi Passerini de' Rilli*, ed. F. Martini (Florence, 1918), pp. 247-48.
[61] Ibid, pp. 277-79; *Il Popolano*, 23rd Feb. 1849; A. Foà, 'La politica interna del governo provvisorio Toscano (8 febbraio-13 aprile 1849)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 77:2 (1919), pp. 248-49.

offered thanks to the Guards for their service. In this proclamation, the rural protesters were figured as backward reactionaries, held as the antithesis of the liberty of the Tuscan patria, and as enemies of the realm: 'The beginnings of a reactionary movement began on the surrounding hills yesterday evening. But in your eyes, oh people of Florence, another flame was shining, the sacred flame of liberty.' The proclamation then went on to praise the various Guards which had been involved in suppressing the revolt. The National and Municipal Guards featured alongside various other armed militias as protectors of the land which, 'no matter what the danger, will be ready to respond to the call of the patria.'[62] Both guards were therefore enthused with an important patriotic purpose and represented as ballasts protecting the Tuscan patria from the internal threat of rural counterrevolution.

However, the National and Municipal Guards were not alone in this endeavour, and the mass of the Florentine male population shared a part in this new patriotic mission. Within only a few days of the grand duke's departure, the Provisional Government opened up registers for enrolment, calling upon the male populations of Florence to pledge to take up arms in the defence of the patria.[63] The first of these registers was opened on Sunday 11th February 1849, following news of reactionary demonstrations taking place in Empoli.[64] These enrolments were then followed by further drives for recruitment which took place only a few days later, on the 16th.[65] These popular calls to arms were exceptionally broad, addressing the entire adult male population of Florence with virtually no discrimination on the basis of social or economic standing. The proclamation of 11th February, for

[62] *Atti del Governo provvisorio*, doc. LIX. For a full transcription of this proclamation, see appendix 1, doc. 2.
[63] It is certainly likely that some Florentine women also responded to these appeals. The government proclamations calling upon Florentines to take up arms, which are discussed in this paragraph, did not discriminate explicitly on the basis of gender. However, the fact that these proclamations specifically addressed 'citizens' (*Cittadini*) effectively confined the call to arms to the adult male population of the city. In nineteenth-century Italian concepts of citizenship, women, along with minors and non-naturalized foreigners, did not enjoy full citizenship rights and as such these categories would not have been the prime target of a mobilisation aimed at 'citizens'. For Italian conceptions of 'citizenship' and definition of exclusions, see C. Bersanti, 'Cittadinanze ed esclusioni', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Il Risorgimento*, pp. 607-34.
Thus, while some women may have volunteered to bear arms for the patria, the primary targets and participants of this call to arms are treated in the following paragraphs as men.
[64] Passerini, *Il Quarantotto*, p. 251; *Il Popolano*, 12th February, 1849.
[65] *L'Alba*, 17th Feb. 1849; *Il Popolano*, 17th Feb. 1849.

example, invited 'all [male] citizens who want to lend their arms and their labour to the conservation of order and public security', and instructed them to go to the Palazzo Vecchio to sign their names.[66] All the Florentines who took up arms in February 1849 were also endowed with the same sense of patriotic purpose as the mobilised National and Municipal Guardsmen, and exposed to a rhetoric which invoked armed volunteers as the salvation of the patria. A proclamation published on 15th February, for instance, informed Florentines that the enrolment registers were still open for those who wished to 'offer their arms and blood to the support of our independence and liberty', urging citizens to 'rush many and numerous to the defence of the patria in its extreme need.'[67] An address published on the following day was even more emphatic, underlining the central role of the citizens-at-arms in defending the patria while at the same time making it clear to the volunteers that the enemies disrupting the peace of the realm came from within: 'Our beautiful land will become undone if so many with Italian hearts do not rise up to save it. Bands of ruffians, with the pretext of Leopold's departure, and some without pretext at all, are resorting to sacking and pillaging. The government has repressed these evil wretches, and they will be punished.'[68]

The Provisional Government was, therefore, fundamental in disseminating the ideology of popular armament and in coordinating the mobilisation of the male populations of Tuscany. However, of even greater importance in this period in driving this mass armament, as well as in spreading the idea of a citizenry-at-arms, was the democratic institution known as the *Circolo del Popolo*. Established in July 1848 as a popular club designed to educate the working classes in prominent political issues through public debate,[69] the *Circolo del Popolo* was dedicated to forging links with the

[66] 'Fa pubblicamente noto che quei Cittadini i quali sieno desiderosi di prestare il loro braccio e la loro opera alla conservazione dell'ordine e della pubblica sicurezza nelle gravi attuali emergenze potranno recarsi in Palazzo Vecchio, ove ha sede l'Uffizio del Ministro, per notare il loro Nome, Cognome e domicilio in un Registro, che và all'uopo ad essere aperto'. *Atti del Governo provvisorio*, doc. XIII.
[67] Ibid, doc. XXXIV. For a full transcription of this text, see appendix 1, doc. 3.
[68] 'La nostra bella contrada si disfa se quanti hanno cuore italiano non sorgono animosi a salvarla. Bande di facinorosi col pretesto della fuga di Leopoldo II, ed anche senza pretesto irrompono al saccheggio e allo incendio. Il Governo ha represso gli scellerati, e saranno puniti.' Ibid, doc. XXXIX.
[69] For the origins of the Circolo, see C. Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini nella rivoluzione del '48-49* (Florence, 1963), pp. 148-51; C. Lovett, *The Democratic Movement in Italy, 1830-1876* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 126-27.

urban masses. The development of a network of local *circoli*, in Florence at parish level over the summer of 1848, greatly assisted in this goal. Unlike the central Florentine *Circolo del Popolo*, whose discussions were restricted to paying members, many of the parochial branches of the *circoli*, such as the *Circolo* of Sant'Ambrogio, opened discussions to any member of the audience, thus allowing all spectators, rather than just paying members, to ask questions and take an active part in debates.[70] The local *circoli popolari*, with their open and egalitarian culture, were thus in a position to drive a broad popular participation and inspire an active interest in political affairs. The meetings which took place at the *Circolo* of Sant'Ambrogio in late August 1848, about the revolt taking place in Livorno at the time, were so popular and well-attended that the venue, the Alfieri Theatre, was full to capacity, so much so that one of the invited guests, the curate of Sant'Ambrogio, could not get a seat and had to find space by the stage.[71] The audiences at these discussions were also very socially varied, encompassing educated middle-class proprietors and professionals, but also members of the Florentine artisan and working classes. This included a 42-year old stonecutter, Niccola Giovannoni, along with a 41-year-old baker, Fortunato Baroni.[72] When the latter was interviewed by police about his involvement in the *Circolo*, following the club's temporary suppression at the end of August 1848, he was able to provide an accurate summary of the speech and content of discussion.[73] Florentine artisans were clearly present and attentive at the *Circolo*'s local meetings.

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[70] Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 150-51, 153-55. The announcement that non-members could henceforth participate in the meetings organised by the *Circolo* of Sant'Ambrogio appeared in *Il Popolano*, 8th August, 1848.

[71] After the *Circolo del Popolo* had been suppressed in late August 1848, for fears that its leaders were attempting to disseminate republican ideas and incite the people to disturb public order, the curate of Sant'Ambrogio, Don Francesco Imperatori, was interviewed by police about his knowledge of the *Circolo*. In this statement, he informed police that the Alfieri Theatre was packed full of spectators listening to Enrico Montazio's speech about the revolt in Livorno. See A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atti economici contro Enrico Montazio ed altri', statement given by Don Francesco Imperatori, dated 9th September 1848, p. 42.

[72] Both of these men were interviewed, along with Don Francesco Imperatori, on 9th September 1848 about their involvement in the Circolo of Sant'Ambrogio. See A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atti economici contro Enrico Montazio ed altri', statements by Fortunato Baroni and Niccola Giovannoni, 9th September 1848.

[73] Baroni recounted how the speaker, Enrico Montazio, had praised the people of Livorno for having taken up arms in rebellion, but without excessive violence or threatening private property. See A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov.,

This ability to capture the minds of labouring peoples and influence Florentine public opinion was an important legacy which the *Circolo* was able to use in 1849 to impress upon Florentine audiences the importance of popular armament and the people's duty to defend the land. From the very day of the grand duke's departure, the *Circolo* was indefatigable in propagating the idea that the Tuscan patria was in danger – primarily as a result of the internal threat of rural disorder – and that only a responsible citizenry-at-arms, enthused with a love of the patria and a desire to defend it, could protect the patria from harm. On 8th February, the very day the news of the grand duke's departure had reached Florence, the *Circolo del Popolo* issued a proclamation inviting the people of Florence to assemble at the *Piazza della Signoria* at 11 am. Various orators then spoke to a large crowd about how the grand duke had cruelly abandoned his people and fled from Tuscany. They then talked about the grave danger in which the patria had now found itself, and about the need to ensure its protection at any cost.[74] On the following day, the *Circolo del Popolo* met at the Teatro Nuovo and discussed the necessity of general armament of the population. At this meeting, there was a consensus in favour of popular armament and it was concluded that for a revolution to be strong the citizens must be armed, 'in order to support with sublime example the new regime.'[75]

In the following weeks, the *Circolo del Popolo* became even more proactive in attempting to encourage the young male population of Tuscany to take up arms to defend Tuscany from the threat of reactionary peasant risings. On 16th February, the day on which the Provisional Government had organised voluntary enrolments to take place, the *Circolo* took up a public session under the *Loggia di Lanzi*, in the present-day *Piazza della Signoria*, in order to encourage Florentines to sign up to the government's enrolment registers. Numerous orators were present who employed an emotionally-charged rhetorical register, seeking to instil in the assembled spectators the 'enthusiasm necessary

1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atti economici contro Enrico Montazio ed altri', statement given by Fortunato Baroni, 9th September 1848, p. 45. The details provided by Baroni tally very closely with the summary of Montazio's speech given by Don Francesco Imperatori, as well as with statements provided by numerous other witnesses who were present at the meeting. See, for instance, A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 36, aff. 876, 'atti economici contro Enrico Montazio ed altri', statement given by Alessandro Fambelli, dated 5th Sept. 1848.

[74] *L'Alba*, 9th Feb. 1849; *Il Popolano*, 9th Feb. 1849.

[75] *Il Popolano*, 10th Feb. 1849.

for the sacrifice which the patria required of them'. Tables were then thrown up in the piazza to receive the enrolment subscriptions.[76] According to the pro-government newspapers covering these events, this emotive language of patriotic self-sacrifice was very well received by the young population of Florence, who immediately took it upon themselves to sign up for arms. *L'Alba* claimed that on 16th the enrolment registers were filled with over 500 signatures within only a few hours,[77] while *Il Popolano* described 'the beautiful spectacle of seeing the young people rushing forth in hoards to enrol themselves on the six or seven sheets which had been suddenly opened to volunteers.'[78] Although other less sympathetic observers – such as Conte Luigi Passerini, who was hostile to the whole notion of arming what he deemed to be the 'dregs' of Florentine urban society – have argued that the *Circolo's* attempts to encourage popular armament enjoyed only very limited success, even Passerini admits that around 200 Florentines agreed to take up arms on Saturday 16th February,[79] a figure which is no doubt the product of deliberate under-estimation. The *Circolo's* plea to take up arms, therefore, clearly made some headway into the male populations of Florence.

The Provisional Government and the *Circolo del Popolo*, therefore, helped to drive one of the broadest, most wide-ranging popular mobilisations attempted in mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany, a mobilisation which rallied the urban male population in its near entirety while simultaneously investing in volunteers the haughty purpose of defending the patria from the designated enemies from within. The popular armament and mobilisation which occurred over this period was not only exceptionally broad, it also had distinct ideological underpinnings. The mobilisations of February-March 1849 coincided with important shifts in political discourse taking place in Tuscany in the aftermath of the grand duke's departure. With the establishment of a Provisional Government in Tuscany, along with the proclamation of a republic in Rome in the same month, a trenchant republicanism began to dominate political discussions in Tuscany, with various political protagonists

[76] *L'Alba*, 17th Feb. 1849.
[77] Ibid.
[78] 'è stato bello e sublime spettacolo il vedere accorrere in folla la gioventù a farsi scrivere sulle sei o sette note che all'improvviso sono state aperte ai volontari'. *Il Popolano*, 17th Feb. 1849.
[79] Passerini, *Il quarantotto*, p. 263.

both inside and outside the government attempting to redefine the Tuscan polity as a republic, and to bring Tuscany into closer alignment with the newly-proclaimed Roman Republic. The men who took up arms in this period, therefore, came to be conceptualised not only as defenders of the Tuscan patria, but as defenders of the republic, or of a polity which was being increasingly defined – in some intellectual and political circles at least – as a republic.

The Provisional Government never formally declared Tuscany a republic. While Giuseppe Montanelli, one of the founding members of the Provisional Government, wanted the immediate proclamation of Tuscany as republic, his ambitions were repeatedly blocked by the increasingly moderate Guerrazzi, who believed that the proclamation of a republic would provoke opposition both internally and internationally, thus increasing the likelihood of Austrian military intervention in Tuscany. The proclamation of a republic was not the only topic on which Guerrazzi sought to procrastinate. Another hot political topic in the Provisional Government in February-March 1849 was the proposal for a union with the newly-formed Roman Republic. Montanelli wanted this to be achieved as a matter of course but Guerrazzi successfully managed to postpone a definitive decision, by passing a decree which gave ultimate authority on the matter to the Tuscan Provisional Assembly, which was not scheduled to convene until mid-March. When, on the 27th March, executive power was entrusted by the Tuscan Provisional Assembly to Guerrazzi, amidst fears of a potential Austrian attack following Charles Albert's defeat at Novara four days earlier, all discussions about the proclamation of a republic in Tuscany and a union with Rome were suspended indefinitely.[80]

It was the *Circolo del Popolo* which boasted greatest importance in disseminating the imagery and symbolism of republicanism, and in wrapping the ideology of popular armament in republican trappings.[81] On 13th February, the *Circolo del Popolo* attempted to erect a liberty tree in *Piazza del Popolo*, before being dissuaded, supposedly by Guerrazzi himself.[82] On the 15th, the *Circolo* then

[80] Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, pp. 386, 419-20; R. P. Coppini, *Il Granducato di Toscana dagli ''anni francesi'' all'Unità* (Turin, 1993), pp. 394-95.
[81] A good summary of Il Circolo's activities in these months is in Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, pp. 201-206.
[82] *Il Popolano*, 14th Feb. 1849.

organised a pilgrimage to the house of Giuseppe Mazzini, who was staying briefly in the city, in order to honour him for his steadfast belief in the republican and unitarian principles of Italy's destiny.[83] This event proved to be very popular: according to Luigi Passerini, 'very many were the people who attended, and thus the demonstration for Mazzini was imposing.'[84] Three days later, on 18th February, the *Circolo* attempted to marry together the discourses of republicanism and popular armament in what was perhaps its grandest spectacle yet by organising an enormous banquet under the Uffizi Gallery, with enough food for 800 people, in honour of all of the volunteers who had signed up in the voluntary enrolment registers. After this banquet, the people then moved to *Piazza del Popolo*, where the *Circolo's* orators addressed the crowds and a republic and union with Rome were (unofficially) proclaimed. In the evening, a liberty tree was finally planted in *Piazza del Popolo*.[85] The appearance of republican imagery in the street demonstrations and the physical landscape of the city then reached its apogee on 27th February when, to the sound of bells and the drums of the National Guard, liberty trees were raised in almost every piazza in the city, decorated with flowers and tricolour banners and crowned with red Phrygian caps.[86]

Thus, while the Provisional Government may never have proclaimed a republic officially in Tuscany, through the efforts of the *Circolo del Popolo*, by March 1849 Republican imagery had come to dominate the visual and auditory landscape of Florence. This significant shift in political culture constituted quite a remarkable achievement. The *Circolo del Popolo* had effectively transformed republicanism from an underground ideology, disseminated furtively through the clandestine press by Mazzini and his Tuscan apostles in the early 1830s, into a fully-fledged, highly symbolic and heavily ritualised political discourse, which pervaded the urban geography of Florence and went some way towards redefining the Tuscan polity. This process had a profound effect on the minds of Florentines, especially those who had taken up arms over this period to defend Tuscany. The

[83] *Il Popolano*, 16th Feb. 1849.
[84] 'Molte sono state le persone intervenute, ed anco la dimostrazione fatta a Mazzini è stata imponente.' Passerini, *Il quarantotto*, p. 261.
[85] *Il Popolano*, 20th Feb. 1849. Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini*, p. 206.
[86] *L'Alba*, 28th Feb. 1849; Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals in Germany and Italy', p. 817.

Circolo's steadfast attempts to graft republican imagery onto the calls for popular armament conveyed a very potent message: that which the people were being called on to protect was a republic, or at least in the process of being redefined as a republic. The widespread dissemination of republican imagery in Florence in these months also served to reinforce the nascent republican idiom which was developing in popular culture, and which had enjoyed its first flowerings as a language of popular political opposition in the crisis years of 1847-48. The *Circolo del Popolo*'s attempts to consecrate Tuscany as a republic thus legitimised republicanism as a popular political vocabulary, helping to strengthen the popular political consciousness which had already started to develop and broaden in 1847, and laying important foundations for the emergence of an aggressive, albeit short-lived, oppositional political culture in the first years of the second grand ducal Restoration.

The Provisional Government thus constituted the apogee of both popular military mobilisation and popular politicisation. An urban populace-at-arms had been created and its actions legitimised by a discourse of defence of the patria and an increasingly pervasive republican vocabulary. Yet, despite these significant changes, it may be tempting to argue that the sweeping military mobilisations, and potent republican discourse, exerted little impact on the minds of those who took up arms to defend the Tuscan patria. It is certainly true that the national guardsmen – those men who had been employed in the protection of the patria for the longest, and those few who had the capacity to exercise a political choice through a ballot box of sorts – certainly exhibited scant republican sympathies in their electoral choices. Following a series of elections conducted in the National Guard under the Provisional Government, on 22nd February 1849, the *Circolo del Popolo* noted with consternation that the guardsmen were electing very few republican candidates to the officer corps, but instead tending to re-elect the same candidates to the same rank, as well as choosing candidates with no discernible political affiliation.[87] While this is no doubt significant, historians should refrain from concluding from this evidence that mobilised guardsmen lacked a

[87] *Il Popolano*, 27th Feb. 1849.

political will. The election of candidates with no political standpoint to the officer corps is in no way surprising and largely tallies with what has been observed of other citizens' guards. In the French *Garde Nationale*, even in 1844, after the French Republican Party had started to infiltrate the Guard's elections, the number of guardsmen elected to officer rank which belonged to the political opposition remained modest: the majority were candidates with no political position.[88] It is also important to remember that guardsmen would have had other interests and considerations when voting for their superiors, besides the overtly political. Since many recruits were drawn from the artisan and petty bourgeois classes, guardsmen may have chosen to elect men who broadly represented their socio-economic class or trade identity.[89] The process of electing one's superiors was, after all, a relatively new phenomenon, and as such the prospect of using elections to express politically-motivated choices may have seemed arcane and unsavoury to many guardsmen, even in 1849.

A more accurate reflection of the Tuscan guards' maturing political awareness, and an indicator of the tenor of popular politics that was to follow in the 1850s, is perhaps provided by an anonymous letter submitted to the police authorities in late April 1849, after the fall of the Provisional Government and shortly before the Grand Duke had been recalled to retake his throne, which spoke of subversive elements in the National Guard. The letter advised that the Guard should be immediately dissolved and reconstituted, in order to rid its ranks of 'thieves and scoundrels', and that the Captains Taddeo Taddei, Luigi Gelli, Antonio Gamberucci and Raffaello Zei should all be dismissed because, in the words of the letter, they are 'all republicans.'[90] While it is well known that information from police informants should be treated with caution as a historical source,[91] and while it is possible that the author of this letter was merely using 'republican' as a label with which to disparage the National Guard and its officers, it is also equally valid to see this letter as gesturing to

[88] Larrère, 'Les élections des officiers', p. 473.
[89] *Ibid*, pp. 469-70.
[90] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 2, aff. 28, letter n. 3.
[91] R. C. Cobb, *The Police and the People. French Popular Protest, 1789-1820* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 4-8.

hidden, private sentiments amongst the officers of the Tuscan National Guard, which were not yet developed enough to make themselves manifest in any elections. Given that Tuscan guardsmen (or, more appropriately, former guardsmen) would soon start to make consistent use of the republican idiom as a discourse of protest against the restored grand ducal regime, in the early 1850s, the latter possibility seems entirely credible. The events of 1847-49 were, therefore, already beginning to leave their marks on the minds of mobilised citizens, even before the return of Leopold II and the restoration of the grand ducal regime.

The period from 1847-1849 was a watershed in popular politicisation. The mobilisation which took place in Tuscany between September 1847 and April 1849 lifted large numbers of urban, working men out of the worlds with which they were familiar and introduced them to new ideas, new responsibilities, new struggles and new concepts. The ideas to which these Tuscan men were exposed throughout this formative period would then go on to shape currents of popular political thought and protest which would surface in the early years of the second grand ducal Restoration. Men who served in the Civic and Municipal Guards were to burst onto the political scene in first years of the 1850s as outspoken critics of the restored grand ducal regime, while others would make proactive use of republican language as a means of contesting the legitimacy of Leopold's government. Former guardsmen therefore emerged from their respective corps after 1849 as more politically-aware and politically-articulate citizens, exhibiting a greater level of understanding around a particular set of political issues, and prepared to use the political knowledge they had acquired over the course of 1847-49 to formulate and express a more critical political voice. However, before such ideas could reach maturity in popular imagination, there needed to be one final trigger which drove a wedge between urban populations and the grand ducal regime, and which pushed large numbers of people deeper into these new, alternative and 'subversive' ideas. This trigger would come with the grand ducal restoration, the Austrian military occupation and the disarmament of the urban populations.

Chapter 3: Viva la Repubblica, Morte al Principe! The Legacy of 1848 and the Shaping of Popular Politics in Florence under the Second Restoration

Historians have traditionally described the 11-year period which followed the second grand ducal Restoration of 1849 as the 'Years of Preparation': that is, the decade in which the increasingly reactionary policies of Leopold II – starting with the suppression of the press and the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies in 1850, and culminating in the repeal of the constitution in 1852 – along with a growing dependence on the Court of Vienna, served to gradually alienate the Tuscan moderate liberals who had recalled the grand duke to power. These changes then heralded a split between the grand duke and the moderates which ultimately pushed the Tuscan liberals into the orbit of Piedmont and Cavour in 1859.[1] While historians have made much of this deterioration in relations between the grand duke and his former liberal allies, little has been written about the role of the people of Tuscany in the political developments of the 1850s. Those few studies which have sought to explore popular sentiments in the 1850s have concluded that the Tuscan masses remained largely unresponsive to the anti-liberal policies of Leopold II, returning to their characteristic state of tranquillity and making little attempt to organise or express any kind of political opposition, as if the mobilisations and demonstrations of 1848 had become but a dim and distant memory.[2]

A closer inspection of the police and court records of Florence from the 1850s, however, reveals a different picture of popular politics, during the early years of the second Restoration at least. The years immediately following the collapse of the Provisional Government and the return of the grand duke were a period in which the Florentine artisan and labouring classes drew upon and gave

[1] A classic statement is G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna*, vol. IV, *Dalla Rivoluzione nazionale all'Unità* (Milan, 1964), pp. 46-7; See also P. Alarti, 'I moderati toscani, il richiamo al granduca e il decennio di preparazione', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 39:4 (1952), pp. 354-63.
[2] S. Camerani, 'Lo spirito pubblico in Toscana dal 1849 al 1859', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 5 (1959), pp. 155-86.

expression to a range of political ideas and sentiments, most notably those which Florentine populations had become educated in over the course of 1847-49. While the events of 1848 had thus given rise to a new political consciousness amongst the artisans and workers of the capital, the early 1850s constituted the beginnings of new epoch in urban popular politics altogether. In these years, those same groups which had experienced the mobilisations of 1847-49 started to make use of the political knowledge they had acquired in order to give vent to a host of popular complaints and grievances, appropriating the political vocabularies which had been used by the Tuscan democrats, such as republicanism, to shape and frame their own political voices. While this political culture may have been brief, developing and reaching fever pitch over the first three years of the second Restoration, its significance and import were wide-ranging. By participating in these new forms of political expression, these outspoken, politicised Florentines were actively engaging with a more modern kind of politics and using it to express their political opinions and contest the legitimacy of the restored regime. These actions both redefined the parameters of what constituted participatory politics in mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany, and signalled the beginnings of a heightened political intelligence and agency on the part of Florentine working and artisan classes.

The aspects of the grand ducal Restoration which provoked the most emotive responses from the Florentine working populations were not always the same as those which concerned the Tuscan liberals. It is certainly true that many of the grand duke's reactionary policies, notably the dissolution of the constitution in 1852, did not incur any significant public backlash or popular outcry.[3] The absence of any discernible response from the people of Florence to this event is, however, not wholly surprising, as the constitution of 1848 had a restricted franchise limited to property-owners and as such offered little benefit to the lives of working people.[4] The policies which elicited the strongest response from the people of Florence were those which impacted most directly on the

[3] Ibid, p. 174.

[4] The electoral law of 3rd March 1848 stated that those eligible to vote in the elections to the Tuscan Chamber of Deputies (Consiglio Generale) needed to earn at least 300 lire of annual taxable income. While this tax qualification was lowered to 150 lire later in the year, the electorate remained socially exclusive. See Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, p. 289.

lives of many Florentines. Chiefly, these policies concerned the abrupt reversal of popular armament, the demobilisation of the urban populace-at-arms and citizens' guards, and the arrival of an occupying Austrian military force in Tuscany, which remained in place until May 1855.

The first demobilisations took place before the grand duke had even been recalled to retake the throne. On 12th April 1849, the Municipal Government of Florence, backed by the National Guard, ousted Guerrazzi from power and established a new government, electing a Provisional Governing Commission consisting of 5 prominent moderate liberals to rule Tuscany and make preparations for the return of the grand duke. In the preceding weeks, Guerrazzi had been struggling to maintain order in the capital and, in a desperate bid to ensure stability, had brought bands of armed Livornesi to Florence to act as his primary police force. This decision proved to be Guerrazzi's undoing as the raucous Livornesi exacerbated disorders, provoking fights and confrontations and alienating the Florentine guardsmen on whom Guerrazzi had hitherto depended.[5] Upon assuming control of the capital, the Municipal Government immediately set about turning the clock back on the previous years' mobilisations. On 14th April, before discussions with the grand duke concerning his return had even started in earnest, the new government dissolved the Municipal Guard, establishing in its place a *Guardia di sicurezza*, in whose service most of the former municipal guardsmen entered. This process, however, did not consist of a simple rebranding of the old corps. Large numbers of former municipal guardsmen who were deemed to be 'averse to the Grand Duke' found themselves dismissed from service and not permitted to take up duties in the new body.[6] As well as abolishing the Municipal Guard, the new government also attempted to gain control over public opinion by shutting down important sites of political discussion and opinion formation; the *Circolo del Popolo*, along with some democratic newspapers, were all suppressed in the days following the *coup d'etat*.[7]

[5] Ibid, pp. 420-21; N. Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane e le occupazioni stranieri in Toscana, 1537-1860* (Castello, 1916), vol. III, pp. 368-75. The moderate-liberal men elected to the Provisional Governing Commission (*Commissione provvisoria di governo*) were Gino Capponi, Bettino Ricasoli, Luigi Serristori, Carlo Torrigiani and Cesare Capoquadri.
[6] Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, p. 377.
[7] Candeloro, S*toria dell'Italia*, vol. III, p. 421.

The purge of Municipal Guard was, however, to be only the beginning of a far more dramatic turn of events. The men of the Provisional Governing Commission desired a return of the grand duke, however they also wanted to retain the constitution of 1848 and avoid Austrian military intervention in Tuscany. In the hope of achieving these aims, on 17th April, the Commission dispatched a deputation to Gaeta to treat with the grand duke and negotiate his immediate return.[8] The Court of Vienna, however, had other ideas and sought to use the Florentine *coup d'etat* of 12th April, along with the disorders which had preceded it, as a pretext for an Austrian invasion of Tuscany, in order to stamp out the embers of revolution in Central Italy and re-establish Habsburg dominion in the grand duchy. Leopold, under pressure from the Austrian representative at Gaeta, Count Esterhazy, delayed his return to the grand ducal throne, which gave the Austrians the excuse they needed to occupy Tuscany.[9] On 5th May, the day after the grand duke's appointed representative, Luigi Serristori, had arrived in Florence from Gaeta to take over the government, an Austrian military force, commanded by Field Marshal D'Aspre, entered Tuscany under the auspices of preventing further disorders in Central Italy. By 24th May, the Austrians had subjugated all of the other major cities in Tuscany and were making their way towards Florence.[10]

To make matters worse, the Austrians also represented the grand duke as complicit in orchestrating the occupation. From Empoli, D'Aspre issued a proclamation to the people of Florence informing them that Leopold had personally invited the Austrians into Tuscany to help him reclaim his throne:

'The bonds of blood which tie your sovereign to the imperial House of my monarch, and the many treaties that impose on the Emperor and my Lord King the duty to protect the integrity of Tuscany, and to defend the rights of your prince, have forced Austria to yield to the desire of His Royal and Imperial Grand Duke to put an end to the state of anarchy under which your beautiful country has for long time suffered… Called now by your Prince, I am coming with my armies and troops to your city, as a friend, as your ally. Unite with us so that we may consolidate the calm, peace and order,

[8] G. Lumbroso, 'L'intervento austriaco in Toscana e l'opera della Commissione Governativa', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 18 (1931), pp. 330, 336-38.
[9] Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. III, pp. 422-23; R. P. Coppini, *Il Granducato di Toscana dagli ''anni francesi'' all'Unità* (Turin, 1993), pp. 398-99.
[10] Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, pp. 398-411; Lumbroso, 'L'intervento austriaco in Toscana', pp. 338-39.

and bring back stably the harmony and the empire of laws, and those days of happiness which were once the envy of Europe.'[11]

This proclamation – which not only stated that Leopold had enlisted Austrian military assistance, but which also emphasised Leopold's close association with the Austrian Habsburg dynasty through blood – conveyed a potent message to the people of Florence: their ruler no longer trusted them in the task of defending the realm and was choosing instead to use a foreign military force over his own citizens as protectors of the land. The Austrian invasion thus undermined the last remnants of affection which Florentines harboured for the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty, and the sense of betrayal among Florentines was apparent as soon as the Austrians reached the capital on 25th May. Immediately after the Austrians entered the city, the National Guard stood down, and all policing and sentry duties were surrendered to the incoming Austrian army.[12] The following day, D'Aspre published an ordinance demanding that all arms be surrendered and announcing that the National Guard was henceforth dissolved.[13] In the space of just over a month, the mobilisations which had taken place over the past three years had officially come to an end and Tuscans now found themselves living under a foreign military occupation. To add insult to injury, the whole ordeal appeared to have been completed at the request of the grand duke.

The Austrian occupation and accompanying demobilisations which took place over these months came as a considerable blow to all of the formerly-armed male populations of Florence, however these measures constituted a particularly bitter pill for the former national and municipal guardsmen who, for the past two months, had been acting as Tuscany's sole police force. The result

[11] 'I vincoli di sangue, che uniscono il Vostro sovrano alla casa imperiale del mio monarca, moltissimi trattati, che a sua maestà l'imperatore e re mio signore impongono il dovere di proteggere l'integrità della Toscana, e di difendere i diritti del Vostro principe, hanno determinato l'Austria a cedere al desiderio di sua altezza imperiale e reale il granduca, di por termine alla stato d'anarchia, sotto il quale già da lungo tempo gemeva il Vostro paese… Chimato ora dal Vostro principe, vengo con le mie armi e truppe nella vostra città, come amico, come Vostro alleato. Unitevi a noi per viemeglio consolidare la quiete, la pace, l'ordine, e ricondurre stabilmente la concordia e l'impero delle leggi, e quei giorni di felicità, onde già un tempo l'Europa v'invidiava.' For this proclamation, see Giorgetti, *Le armi toscane*, vol. III, p. 408.

[12] G. Conti, *Firenze vecchia. Seconda edizione riveduta ed ampliata con 116 illustrazioni,* 2nd edn. (Florence, 1928), vol. II, p. 318.

[13] *Proclami, Decreti, Notificazioni e Circolari da osservarsi nel Granducato di Toscana pubblicati dal primo gennaio al di 8 febbraio e dal 12 aprile a tutto giugno 1849*, Codice 56, doc. CXX.

was the onset of widespread disaffection with the restored grand ducal regime among the ranks of the formerly mobilised citizens and guardsmen. The dissolution of the National Guard deprived many men of their access to an important model of participatory citizenship, but it also stripped many of their claims to masculinity. Since the Civic Guard had been couched in a gendered language of re-virilisation and masculine reinvention,[14] the loss of the Civic Guard amounted to an attack on what had become a fundamental conception of masculinity. On a more basic level, disarmament also deprived guardsmen of their sense of patriotic purpose and their occupations beyond their professions, at a time when unemployment amongst the urban artisan and manufacturing classes was still very high.[15] The Civic Guard had given many artisans a meaningful activity with which to fill their time, at a point in the grand duchy's history when work was scarce and irregular. The disbandment of the citizens' guards in April-May 1849 took these activities away from many Florentine artisans and working men, forcing many of them into a state of idleness which only served to augment their sense of alienation from the state and heighten their susceptibility to ideas and ideologies which proposed an alternative form of government. A report written on 9th July 1849 by the delegate of Santo Spirito to the prefect of Florence pointed out that it was precisely these conditions of idleness which were leading many former guardsmen into flirtations with dangerous political ideas:

'It should be noted in this regard that there being currently in this capital many wanderers, in the grip of the most inert idleness and consequently at the mercy of all kinds of vices, no fewer than 200 such individuals in this district, and in Via Chiara in particular, formerly part of the Guard instituted to support the ex-dictator Guerrazzi, it is inevitable that everywhere, and in the various taverns of all kinds, or in the public streets, they hold talks which are subversive and insulting to the paternal regime of our beloved ruler, and who, as in the past, forced further into it by the vile habit of carousing and drunkenness, give themselves over to expressing republican ideas.'[16]

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[14] See above, p. 100-1.

[15] Despite some attempts at social and economic reform, such as reducing the price of salt and abolishing some customs duties, the Provisional Government had largely failed to remedy the unemployment caused by the food and manufacturing crisis of 1846-47. For which, see A. Foà, 'La politica interna del governo provvisorio Toscano (8 febbraio-13 aprile 1849)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 77:2 (1919), pp. 234-41; M. Miller, 'Communes, Commerce and *Coloni*: Internal Divisions in Tuscany 1830-1860', *The Historical Journal*, 21:4 (1978), p. 857.

[16] 'Per altro mi giova osservare in proposito che trovandosi attualmente girovaghi per questa Capitale, e in preda all'ozio più inerte, e conseguentemente in balia di ogni sorta di vizi, non meno di duegento individui di questo circondario, ed in Via Chiara in particolare, attenuti una volta alla Guardia istituta a tutelare la persona

The presence of the Austrians did little to remedy feelings of popular disaffection and disillusionment. The Austrians were overbearing in the way they handled acts of rebellion and the occupation weighed heavily on the shoulders and pockets of ordinary Tuscans. A new tax, the *imposta di famiglia*, which was administered at the level of the *comunità*, was imposed to finance the Austrian occupation, and Tuscan citizens were expected to provide billets and transportation for the Austrian soldiers.[17] In 1850, Leopold prolonged the state of tension when he agreed to extend the Austrian military occupation until 1855.[18] Resentment at the Austrian military presence, and at the restored government which had invited the Austrian soldiers into Tuscany, was immediate and widespread throughout the grand duchy; reports submitted to the newly-appointed Interior Minister, Leonida Landucci, in the first months of the Restoration spoke frequently of public hostility directed towards both the Austrians and Leopold's government.[19]

In this context of deepening disenchantment and antipathy towards both the Austrians and the grand ducal regime, many Florentine artisans, throughout the early years of the 1850s, especially those with a history of service in the citizens' militias, actively drew upon the political ideas and concepts they had learned about as guardsmen and redeployed them in the new political context in order to express their dissatisfaction with the Restoration government. At the same time, some of the more politically active of Florence's population of artisans and workers also sought to engage with new tactics of political protest, modelling their own activities on the practices and strategies which had been favoured by the Tuscan democratic movement. In this way, while mobilisation in 1847-49 had functioned as a 'political apprenticeship', exposing broad sections of Florence's

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dell'ex dittatore Guerrazzi, non può fare a meno che dovunque, e nell'interno delle taberne di ogni specie, e nelle pubbliche vie, non si tengano dei colloquii sovversivi, e contrari al paterno Regime del nostro benaffetto Regnante, i quali anche per lo addietro, spinti in più dalle turpe abitudine del gorzoviglio e delle ubriachezza, davansi ad esternare idee Repubblicane.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 205, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 9th July 1849.

[17] H. Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790-1870* (London, 1983), p. 90. For descriptions of Austrians' heavy-handed treatment of Florentine citizens, see Conti, *Firenze vecchia*, vol. II, p. 319. For the *Imposta di famigila*, see Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia*, vol. IV, p. 49.

[18] Hearder, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento*, p. 89.

[19] Camerani, 'Lo spirito pubblico in Toscana dal 1849 al 1859', pp. 158-60; Idem., 'Lo spirito pubblico in Toscana nel 1849 dopo la Restaurazione', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 39 (1952), pp. 464-65.

population to new ideas and concepts, demobilisation and occupation, on the other hand, acted as a catalyst, creating the conditions of discontent which induced many disgruntled former guardsmen to reformulate their newly-acquired political vocabularies as a language of political protest. These activities constituted a marked departure from those of 1847, when republicanism first started to make a sporadic appearance, alongside the dominant traditional forms of popular politics, as a means of mobilising a discourse of blame. In the early 1850s, by contrast, artisans in Florence were starting to make more regular use of republicanism as a language of political protest and were thus in the process of converting the idiom of republicanism into a popular ideology of opposition. While this use of political language was admittedly a world away from the more developed political landscapes taking shape in other parts of Europe, such as the culture of partisan and electoral politics emerging in France under the Second Republic,[20] these grass-roots actions, on the part of politicised Florentines, signalled important changes in both popular political culture and the nature of political participation in second-Restoration Florence: disaffected artisans were learning to appropriate the political languages and practices of the democrats to serve their own agendas and express their own political grievances.

However, despite the fierceness with which Florentine artisans and former guardsmen burst onto the political scene in the early 1850s as critics of the restored government, Florence did not remain in a permanent state of revolutionary ferment throughout the 1850s. As the restored regime and the Austrian occupation established a grip on the grand duchy, repression of even the most informal acts of political protest intensified, leading to a clampdown on some of the most public manifestations of this oppositional political culture, such as subversive public singing and chanting. This repression represented the culmination of a gradual process through which freedom of expression was curtailed in Tuscany after 1849, starting with the suppression of the *Circolo del*

[20] See, for instance, M. Agulhon, *The Republic in the Village: The People of the Var from the French Revolution to the Second Republic*, tr. J. Lloyd (Cambridge, 1982), esp. pp. 176-89, 192-201; M. L. Stewart-McDougall, *The Artisan Republic: Revolution, Reaction and Resistance in Lyon, 1848-1851* (Gloucester, 1984), esp. pp. 65-75, 109-15.

Popolo by the Municipal Government in 1849, and continuing with Leopold's reinvigorated press censorship of 1850. After 1852, reports of people chanting republican slogans and singing subversive songs in the police and prefecture records decreased noticeably, suggesting that the restored regime enjoyed a degree of success in muzzling some of the more overt forms of this fledgling oppositional culture, and in exercising control over the public political lives of ordinary Tuscans.[21]

Yet, while it may be true that the radical excesses of this embryonic artisan political culture ultimately succumbed to Austrian military repression, this does not mean that popular political consciousness was completely expunged, nor that feelings of hostility – or popular fascination with new political discourse – disappeared in the second half of the 1850s. The Austrians may have been able to crack down on the most public forms of popular politics, but state authorities found it much more difficult to police the private political lives of Tuscan citizens and to stem people's intellectual curiosity with new political concepts. As well as participating in the new politics of the streets of 1849-51, Florentines living under the second Restoration were also able to take advantage of alternative, and decidedly less public, means of engaging with new political ideas and expressing political opinions. The revolutionary juncture of 1848, in addition to offering a political apprenticeship to large numbers of mobilised artisans, also fed a growing public fascination with political symbolism, giving rise to a nascent consumer market, in Florence and other major Tuscan cities, in which political material culture – especially objects exhibiting Italian national symbolism such as the tricolour – was becoming increasingly fashionable; items to be seen wearing, holding or adorning one's mantlepiece.[22] Florence of the second Restoration thus witnessed similar consumer trends to those observed by historians of material culture in Hanoverian and Victorian England, gesturing to a rising popular demand for 'fashionable' political objects and a persistent public

[21] Similar observations have also been made of the effects of repression on political protest in other nineteenth-century European contexts, such as in the case of the repression of the Left in France after Louis-Napoleon's election as President of the Second Republic in December 1848. See J. Merriman, *The Agony of the Republic. The Repression of the Left in Revolutionary France, 1848-1851* (London, 1978), esp. pp. 83-105.
[22] Numerous police reports from the 1850s provide information about the sale and commercialisation of such political material culture in Florence. See, for instance, A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 37, aff. 133.

interest in the symbolism of Italian nationhood.[23] Material culture therefore gave Florentines in the 1850s an alternative means of participating in politics, one which was not dependent on oral channels of public communication. The purchase and retention of material objects allowed Florentines to exercise their political curiosity, or construct identities in the present around important events in the past, in a more private, individualistic manner, and in a way which was less likely to attract the attention of the grand ducal police force or Austrian soldiers. Private forms of political expression centred on objects and material culture also enabled Florentines to approach and negotiate more novel and nebulous concepts, such as the imagined national community of 'Italy', in a way which did not involve making a public statement on the streets. The 1850s therefore offered Florentines a broad range of opportunities through which to shape their political voices and perform their political identities. This included both public and collective means of expression – such as discussions in coffee houses and the chanting of republican slogans in the streets, which flourished in the early years of the 1850s as feelings of disaffection were at their most intense and as the Restoration regime was still finding its grip – as well as more private, consumer-oriented choices and the cultivation of personal memories.

Public Spaces, *Lèse Majesté* and New Practices in Florentine Popular Politics

In nineteenth-century Italy, public spaces and informal meeting points – such as coffee houses, taverns, tobacco shops, pharmacies, but also streets and piazzas – played an important role in the shaping and formation of popular political opinions, allowing urban populations of artisans and workers to connect to an expanding public sphere and access political knowledge.[24] In an age before

[23] For similar trends in Hanoverian and Victorian England, see K. Navickas, 'The 'Spirit of Loyalty': Material Culture, Space and the Construction of an English Loyalist Memory, 1790-1840', in Allan Blackstock and Frank O'Gorman (eds.), *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World, 1775-1914* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 56-9; E. Bacchin, 'Sell, Eat, Wear and Frame Garibaldi', in Berteke Waaldijk, Izabella Agárdi and Carla Salvaterra (eds.), *Making Sense, Crafting History: Practices of Producing Historical Meaning* (Pisa, 2010), pp. 95-104.
[24] For a similar statement on the role of such public spaces in the context of the Rhineland, in the same period, see J. M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, 2007).

the advent of political parties, election campaigns and formal political organisations, and in a society in which access to political information through the press was restricted both by state censorship and low levels of literacy, public spaces such as coffee houses and taverns helped to promote the spread of news and political information to broad sectors of the urban population.[25] In nineteenth-century Florence, coffee houses and taverns were especially important in disseminating political discourses to popular, working-class audiences, as these institutions were inextricably linked to the Florentine artisan economy and culture. Artisans' shops in mid-nineteenth-century Florence often moonlighted as drinking establishments, serving both coffee and alcohol after working hours. For example, a coffee house situated outside of the Porta San Gallo and owned by a certain Minoccheri, which attracted police attention in the summer of 1857 as a suspected venue for meetings of a subversive political nature, was referred to in police reports as a 'shop used as a coffee house.'[26] Similarly, a workshop owned by Giovanni Mariani in Via del Moro, which was searched by police in November 1851 following fears that the owners were facilitating the exchange of letters between Tuscan democrats, was also known to double as a tavern or taproom.[27] Coffee houses and taverns in Florence were thus largely coterminous, in some cases almost interchangeable, with the artisanal *bottega*. As such, the idea proposed by some historians, that coffee houses and taverns in nineteenth-century Europe were stratified along class lines, with coffee houses acting exclusively as middle-class sites of sociability,[28] is rather misleading in this context. In fact, in Italy more generally in this period, the boundaries separating coffee houses and taverns were often very blurred, with the two institutions offering similar services, fulfilling similar functions and in most cases serving

[25] Historians of nineteenth-century Italy are aware that public spaces such as coffee houses and taverns provided this function. See, for instance, F. Rizzi, *La coccarda e le campane: comunità rurali e Repubblica romana nel Lazio (1848-1849)* (Milan, 1988), pp. 40-52**;** M. Ridolfi, *Il circolo virtuoso. Sociabilità democratica, associazionismo e rappresentanza politica nell'Ottocento* (Florence, 1990), pp. 107-9; M. Toss, 'La canzone sociale in Italia e in Francia tra protesta, nazione e rivoluzione (1830-1870)' (Tesi di dottorato, Università di Bologna, 2012), pp. 205-18.

[26] 'Bottega ad uso di caffè'. A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 10, aff. 212, n. 66, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 13th August 1857.

[27] 'fu veduto essere ad uso di canova o bettola'. A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 9, aff. 212, n. 1, 'Lettere, processi verbali di perquisizioni', report of search conducted on Giovanni Mariani.

[28] See, for instance, M. Agulhon, *Le Cercle dans La France bourgeoise, 1810-1848: Etude d'une mutation de sociabilité* (Paris, 1977), pp. 54-7.

similar clienteles.[29] In mid-nineteenth-century Florence, coffee houses and taverns were therefore both equally important in promoting social aggregation and the spread of political ideas amongst urban populations of workers and artisans.

Throughout the 1850s, coffee houses and taverns in the Tuscan capital functioned as sites of heated political discussion. Police agents reporting on the goings-on in reputedly troublesome coffee houses spoke regularly of clients conversing about political events, often with considerable knowledge and authority. Topics of conversation concerned Tuscan political affairs, but also events taking place in Italy and Europe more generally. To cite one telling example, in December 1851, the book-seller and veteran of the Civic Guard Filippo Cammelli was observed conversing with a group of men, in the Caffè Toscano (formerly Feruccio) in Mercato Nuovo, about Louis-Napoleon's *coup d'etat* of the same month. The group not only discussed Louis-Napoleon's seizure of power, they also exchanged judgements on the stability of the new regime in France, before concluding with a prediction that Louis-Napoleon's regime would not last a month.[30] Later in the decade, as the moderate-liberal opponents to Leopold II were striving to bring Tuscany into a closer relationship with Piedmont, discussions in Florentine coffee houses turned to events taking place in Northern Italy, most notably to Piedmont's diplomatic relations with France and the impending war against Austria. On 12th March 1859, the Head of Public Surveillance in Florence reported that customers at the Caffè Elvetico were talking about the 'sad situation' which Piedmont would find itself in if France were to abandon the war alliance, an act which would amount to villainy.[31] The Florentine publics conversing and debating in coffee houses thus kept themselves well informed of national and international political events.

Tobacco shops also facilitated this dissemination of political information and knowledge amongst the artisan and working classes of Florence. Like coffee houses, tobacco shops were commercial

[29] M. Malatesta, 'Il Caffè e l'Osteria', in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell'Italia unita* (Rome, 2010), pp. 58-9.
[30] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 52, aff. 242, Note of the Head of Public Surveillance dated 19th Dec. 1851.
[31] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 8, aff. 148, Note of the Head of Public Surveillance dated 12th March 1859.

enterprises which catered to a broad cross section of Florentine society, and as such were perfectly positioned to facilitate the exchange of gossip and ideas between different occupational and social groups. Tobacco shops in fact made regular appearances in the reports of Tuscan police and surveillance agents during the second Restoration. In October 1851, the delegate of Santo Spirito wrote to the prefect of Florence with information about informal gatherings taking place in a tobacco shop owned by the brothers Pancani in Piazza Soderini, off Borgo San Frediano. These meetings were attended by a diverse array of individuals drawn from the artisan and working classes – a baker, an engraver, a suitcase maker and an unemployed printer – and consisted of participants collectively reading clandestine political literature, supposedly supplied by a fellow tobacco seller, Giuseppe Magnelli.[32] Magnelli himself was much more than just a supplier of illegal political pamphlets. He too owned a tobacco shop, located in the central Via Calzaioli, which was notorious for political meetings and discussions. In March 1850, police reports claimed that Magnelli was hosting meetings attended by groups of Romagnolesi, all of whom were reputed as hostile to the Restoration.[33] A month later, discussions of a political nature were reportedly still taking place in Magnelli's shop. A letter submitted by an anonymous informant to the prefect's office in April 1850 stated that the gatherings in Magnelli's shop were frequented by a broad range of people, including an upholsterer, an ex-Major of the former Municipal Guard, and a group of employees from the nearby brewery in Santa Croce.[34] As the examples of Magnelli and the Pancani therefore demonstrate, the owners of tobacco shops in Florence in this period constituted particularly proactive agents who promoted the circulation of both political information and political literature.

Pharmacies and apothecaries were also sites of popular sociability, with a long history in Italy as theatres of popular political discourse.[35] Like tobacco shops, pharmacies serviced a broad range of clients, encompassing middle-class property owners but also skilled artisans and craftsmen and, to a

[32] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 51, aff. 186, report sent by the Delegate of Santo Spirito dated 4th Oct. 1851.
[33] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 37, aff. 130.
[34] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 39, aff. 188, letter addressed to the Prefect of Florence.
[35] F. de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 98-106.

somewhat lesser extent, employees of the growing Florentine factory industries. Pharmacies also offered the opportunity to socialise and in some cases even hosted private gatherings after hours. The pharmacy owned by Leondra Valchierotti situated in Borgo Ognissanti, which was observed by the police in July 1858, performed precisely this function, hosting a series of informal meetings, which started when the pharmacy closed to the public at 5 pm and ended usually around 11 pm, and which counted amongst their participants a lawyer, a barber and carpenter who was known for his 'republican tendencies', as well as the tobacco seller Giuseppe Pancani. The delegate who observed these secretive goings-on noted that the activities which took place in this pharmacy resembled meetings which were known to be commonplace in other apothecaries around the capital.[36] Pharmacies too, therefore, ranked alongside the coffee house, the tavern and the tobacco shop as sites of social interaction and information exchange.

In this way, a whole range of public establishments in nineteenth-century Florence functioned as sites of what Filippo de Vivo describes as 'political communication', facilitating the 'circulation of information and ideas concerning political institutions and events.'[37] These spaces also enabled Florence's population of artisans and workers to participate in a broad public discourse, offering a socially-familiar environment in which to debate new ideas and fine-tune political opinions. The coffee house, the tavern and tobacco shop were the places where people developed their 'public' political voices.

In the spring of 1849, as disaffection started to grow in the aftermath of occupation and the disbandment of the citizens' militias, public spaces like coffee houses and taverns, but also streets and piazzas, became the primary sites of a political discourse with a distinctly anti-grand ducal flavour.[38] As early as 27th April 1849, before both the arrival of the Austrians in Florence and the return of the grand duke to Tuscany, the prefecture was beginning to receive reports that members

[36] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1857, b. 3, aff. 63, report of the Delegate of San Giovanni, dated 18th July 1858.
[37] De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice*, pp. 2-3.
[38] Taverns were hotspots of anti-royalist discussions for working populations in other nineteenth-century European contexts. See Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere*, pp. 155-61.

of the National and Municipal Guards were engaging in conversations which were heavily critical of the grand duke and the post-Guerrazzi government, in coffee houses throughout the capital. In a coffee house located outside of the Porta alla Croce, a lieutenant of the National Guard named Betti, along with a certain Gazzuoli, who is described as a Captain in the *Guardia di Sicurezza*, and another man referred to as a retired lieutenant, Morgher, were reported as having participated in 'revolting, slanderous comments against the grand duke and the current government.'[39]

Anti-grand ducal discourses only intensified after Leopold's decision to retake the throne. Demotion of status, and the removal of arms from the former guardsmen, was perhaps greatest bone of contention and source of popular antipathy towards the restored regime, and former guardsmen used coffee houses both to express their contempt towards Leopold and to incite similar feelings amongst their disbanded compatriots. On 27th June, 1849, the Interior Minister wrote to the prefect of Florence and informed him of certain 'meetings' taking place 'in various coffee shops and in different taverns of the capital, of individuals from the *Guardia di Sicurezza Pubblica*, at one time known as the *Guardia Municipale*' who go around declaring that 'they do not fear the so-called *codini* (supporters of Leopold) because, though they [the guardsmen] have been disarmed, many of them still possess at their homes sufficient munitions to be able to defend themselves very well', should the situation necessitate it.[40] While these discourses may never have amounted to a serious attempt towards an armed insurrection or *coup d'etat*, and in all likelihood constituted only hot air, what this evidence does reveal is the contemptuous, pugnacious attitude which many guardsmen

[39] 'rivoltanti maldicenze contro il Principe e l'attuale Governo.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 2, aff. 24, report from the Interior Minister to the Prefect of Florence, dated 27th April 1849. Morgher is described as a retired lieutenant in a separate report, see A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 6, aff. 165, report from Interior Minister to Prefect of Florence, 13th June 1849.

[40] 'Per le opportune indagini sulla condotta dei medesimi, e per le misure che venissero a comparire necessarie, le vengono, Sig. Prefetto, communicate coteste notizie, alle quali vuolsi pure aggiungere l'altra toccante certe riunioni che hanno luogo, per quello si rappresenta, in varie botteghe di caffè e in diverse bettole della Capitale, per parte dei individui già addetti alla Guardia di Sicurezza pubblica una volta detta Municipale, che si asserisce vadano dicendo voler cantare in uno di questi giorni il Vespro Siciliano, e non aver paura dei così detti codini perchè sebbene siano stati disarmati dal Corpo cui appartenevano, posseggono nelle respettive abitazioni tanta munizione e palle da potersi ben difendere.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 206, report from Interior Minister to Prefect of Florence dated 27th June 1849.

harboured towards the restored regime, along with the importance of informal sites of popular sociability in the construction and expression of such attitudes.

Drinking establishments were not the only sites in which former guardsmen exercised their political voices. Particularly vociferous ex-municipal guardsmen, who had been discharged from the Municipal Guard but who did not make it into the new *Guardia di Sicurezza*, often made strident public displays of their disappointment with the restored government. In late June 1849, Paolo Bichi, a former municipal guardsman who was not admitted to the new corps, publicly vaunted his adversarial attitude towards grand ducal regime, and continued to do so even after the government had attempted to silence him by admitting him to the *Guardia di Sicurezza*.[41] Similarly, municipal guardsmen who were transferred into the *Guardia di Sicurezza*, but who remained bitterly disappointed at their demotion of status, became notorious for publicly expressing their dissatisfaction with the restored regime in the streets and piazzas of Florence. In June 1849, seven members of the *Guardia di Sicurezza* were accused of publicly singing songs described as 'seditious'.[42]

The expression of hostility towards the grand duke and his government were not confined solely to former members of the National and Municipal Guards. Rather, anti-grand ducal discourses enjoyed a wide public circulation. Since many of the former guardsmen had been drawn from the artisan and petty-bourgeois classes – and had thus retained a connection via their occupations to the urban working world – the sentiments of bitterness and hostility towards the restored regime generated in the months of April and May 1849 were transmitted to the wider networks of the urban working and trading populations. Furthermore, the fact that disarmament affected not only former guardsmen, but also all of the citizens-at-arms who had been mobilised under the Provisional Government as part of the drive to protect the patria from internal and external enemies, ensured that huge swathes of the male Florentine population shared in the experience of disaffection and

[41] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 205, report of the Interior Minster dated 26th June 1849.
[42] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 6, aff. 166.

disapprobation. The hostile attitude towards the grand duke, and the associated feelings that the government had betrayed the people in favour of a foreign military force, thus enjoyed widespread popular currency among the Florentine popular classes and general public. In mid-June 1849, the Prefect of Florence was made aware of anti-grand ducal conversations taking place in a coffee house described as near to the Badia, involving the retired lieutenant Morgher, along with an engineer, an accountant, a carpenter and a customs official employed at the gates of the city.[43] This group of men made a habit of these activities: police reports from early July 1849 mention the same group meeting up in the usual coffee house, where they allowed themselves to indulge in 'seditious declamations.'[44] The diversity of the individuals involved in these conversations reveals both the breadth and depth of the circulation of anti-grand ducal sentiment and discourses in the urban setting in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration.

It is also possible to infer something of the content of the discussions conducted by these men, from an informant's note, written by a certain Pietro Lunghetti and submitted to the police authorities in mid-July 1849. According to this note, the group of men who met regularly at the coffee house near the Badia 'pronounced the greatest injuries and threats against the Pope, the grand duke and Marshall Radetzky. They venerate Guerrazzi and his ministry. They have discussed and agreed that in order to obtain Italian liberty, it is necessary to kill all of the sovereigns and kill and stab all of the moderates.' The note then goes on to claim that these men had placed hopes in the support of France and Hungary, in order to create the Italian Republic.[45] As is well known, evidence from police informants can be problematic, as informants often exaggerated their information in order to prove their value to police authorities.[46] Indeed, the exceptionally precise

[43] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 6, aff. 165, reports dated 13th and 14th June 1849.
[44] 'sediziose declamazioni' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 229, report from Delegate of Santa Croce, dated 4th July, 1849.
[45] 'pronunziato le maggiori ingiurie e minacce contro del Papa, del Granduca, e del Maresciallo Radeschi; hanno elevato alla divinita il Guerrazzi e il di lui ministero; hanno discusso e convenuto che per ottenere la libertà Italiana, bisognava ammazzare tutti i sovrani, e quindi esterminare e pugnalare tutti i moderati…. e sperano nel soccorso della Francia e dell'Ungheria per quindi costituire la Reppublica Italiana.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 229, 'Nota di compromessi politici, e d'insinuatori di speranze a modi rivoluzionari'.
[46] R. C. Cobb, *The Police and the People. French Popular Protest, 1789-1820* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 4-8.

nature of the accusations in this note, along with the multiplicity of accusations made, certainly makes it possible that the information in this note had been subjected to some creative invention. Still, it is important not to completely discredit the value of this evidence. The information in this note permits some inferences to be made about the political sentiments of a diverse group of Florentine men about which little else is known. The evidence from this note reveals the usual antipathy towards Leopold II, however it also shows a degree of nostalgia towards Guerrazzi and the Tuscan Provisional Government. The note also reveals that the individuals engaged in these discussions possessed an awareness of the wider political context of 1848, with the reference to Pope Pius IX gesturing towards knowledge of the Pope's break with Italian nationalism in the Papal Allocution of April 1848, while the menaces directed at Radetzky suggest a cognisance of the Milanese struggle for independence. Additionally, the information provided in this note implies that this group of men had imbibed the rhetoric of 1848: the vague demand for 'Italian liberty' echoes the language of the patriotic struggle of 1848, while the republican statements – both the desire to see the creation of an Italian republic and the assassination of the sovereigns deemed to be obstructing this republic – provide evidence that these men had absorbed something of the republican idiom which had become such an integral part of public life under the Provisional Government.

Discussions of this nature continued into the 1850s and remained for the most part dependent on informal channels of 'political communication' and sites of popular sociability. Taverns, in particular, constituted an important theatre for the dissemination of anti-grand ducal discourses amongst the artisan and working classes. In August 1850, police reported that a group of 'artisans' were meeting on festive days at the tavern (*osteria*) owned by a certain David in Vigna Nuova. The report made the usual claims that the artisans involved were engaging in conversations which were injurious to the grand duke and the restored government.[47] A few days later, another police report claimed that similar meetings were taking place every evening in a tavern (*bettola*) owned by a certain Gaetano

[47] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 42, aff. 336.

Cei in Via Pietrapiana near the Church of Sant'Ambrogio, where a group of men were overheard making slanderous remarks about the grand duke and the current government. An upholsterer and a scribe were mentioned as being present, both of whom, according to the report, had been members of the Municipal Guard.[48] Informal public spaces thus remained pivotal to the construction and expression of political ideas by artisan populations of Florence.

Florentines did not just resort to established oral channels of communication to express their political voices and exchange political information. In the early years of the 1850s, artisans in Florence were becoming increasingly adept at employing a range of more sophisticated, arguably more modern, tactics, strategies and vocabularies to construct and express their political opinions. The appearance of these new popular political activities provides evidence of the emergence of a new species of artisan political activism, in the early years of the second Restoration, as well as shining a light on the influence of certain important processes of politicisation, dating to 1848 and earlier, in shaping patterns of popular politics.

A few noteworthy examples will suffice to illustrate this. In February 1851, police discovered a plan devised by the butcher, Pietro Tramagnini, along with two accomplices – Giuseppe Frangione, an unemployed tailor, and Fortunato Vangelisti, a tobacconist – to write and distribute numerous handwritten *cartelli* which made slanderous statements about the grand duke and the Pope. The three men intended to distribute these seditious placards in prominent public places around the city, but the attempt was foiled when police intercepted the men on the night of their plan and incarcerated them before they could execute it.[49] The use of the written word by this group of artisans in the dissemination of their political attitudes should not be viewed as overly surprising. Historians of oral and literate culture have long since recognised that even those groups of people living on the absolute margins of literacy, or inhabiting a culture in which the written word carried little cultural importance, have been capable of making use of writing – often in ways that

[48] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 42, aff. 338.
[49] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 48, aff. 27, Note of the Head of Public Surveillance, dated 16th Feb. 1851, and report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 16th Feb. 1851.

strengthen and reinforce oral culture – to give vent to their opinions and voices.[50] The use of writing by labouring groups even has precedent in Florence, with the republican placards of February 1847. Of greater interest, in this example, is the fact that many of the tactics employed by this group bear the marks of deeper processes of politicisation. The plan to distribute *cartelli* and affix them in prominent public locations smacks heavily of the tactics used by the early Mazzinians and democrats in Florence in the 1830s, most notably those of Luigi Beyer in 1832 to express opposition to the grand ducal police force.[51] More interesting still, in executing this plan, Tramagnini and his friends called themselves '*decurioni*', which, according to police, was the name used by the 'demogogic sect',[52] as well as that used by the *Circolo del Popolo* when it was armed in February 1849.[53] In both tactics and in nomenclature, Tramagnini and his accomplices, whether consciously or otherwise, were modelling their political activities on those employed by the institutions of the Tuscan democrats.

The influence which the Tuscan democrats were able to exert on Tramagnini and his friends were, in all probability, much greater than that which they were able to wield over other artisans. Pietro Tramagnini, along with his two brothers Giuseppe and Niccolò, were accomplished gymnastic performers and 'fighting dancers' who, ever since the establishment of their gymnastic company in 1845, regularly rehearsed and put on athletic displays in the public theatres of Florence, most notably the *Teatro Goldoni*, located opposite their shop in Via Chiara.[54] Incidentally, the Goldoni Theatre was also the suspected informal meeting place of the *Circolo Politico*, following its revival in

[50] A. Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), pp. 47-83.
[51] For which, see above, p. 59-60.
[52] All three reports concerning this group's plan mention that the name 'decurioni' was used by the 'setta demagogica'. A.S.F., Pref. Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 48, aff. 27.
[53] C. Ronchi, *I democratici fiorentini nella rivoluzione del '48-49* (Florence, 1963), p. 201; *Il Popolano*, 12th Feb. 1849.
[54] G. Poesio and A. Brierley, 'The Story of the Fighting Dancers', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 8:1 (1990), pp. 28-36. The brothers' fencing activities are also evidenced in the fact that several fencing swords were discovered in their house when police conducted a search of their home in March 1853. See A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1852-54, b. 63, aff. 194, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 6th March 1853.

October 1848 after the appointment of Guerrazzi as Interior Minister by the grand duke.[55] The Tramagnini brothers, in all likelihood, would have fostered personal ties of acquaintance with the Florentine democrats who used the same venue, acquiring a familiarity with their ideas and practices through the proximity of physical space. The Tramagnini were perhaps in a more privileged position than most to absorb the legacy of the democratic movement in Florence.

The impact of the democratic movement, in shaping patterns of popular politics in the 1850s, was, however, much broader than just that generated through personal contact, and evidence from prefecture and court records largely supports this. In 1851, a Florentine manservant (*cameriere*), Napoleone Sacconi, informed the Royal Court of Florence that there existed in Florence a secret society which was endeavouring to stockpile weapons to be used in an uprising against the government. The society was organised into *millenari*, *centurioni* and *decurioni* and, according to Sacconi, had acquired a large following. Sacconi also claimed that a tailor, named Pironi, ranked as one of the *centurioni*, and an owner of a coffee house, Timoleone Benvenuti, was a *decurione*. Sacconi himself belonged to Benvenuti's *decuria*. The presiding judge clearly believed that these men presented a considerable threat to public safety, for each were given punitive prison sentences: Pironi was given 40 months' imprisonment, while Benvenuti was given 28 months' and Sacconi 6 months'.[56] While it is unlikely that this 'society' ever possessed any real insurrectionary potential, or even the capacity to surreptitiously amass weapons and prepare an armed uprising, the organisational structure of this group, along with the words used to describe that structure, provides further evidence that the institutions of the Tuscan democrats had imprinted onto the patterns of popular politics. Even if the group described by Sacconi never truly constituted a 'secret society' proper, the fact that the men involved attempted to model their organisation on those of the democrats, while simultaneously borrowing terminology from the democratic movement, shines a

[55] A.S.F., Pref., Aff. Gov., 1848, b. 56, aff. 1822, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 27th October 1848.
[56] G. Rondoni, 'La Gazzetta dei Tribunali di Firenze e la reazione in Toscana dal 1851 al 1853', *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 5 (1918), pp. 132, 134-35.

revelatory light on the ways in which the politicising forces of the 1830s and 1840s could shape artisan ideology and political mentality, in the early years of the second Restoration at least.

The legacy of the military mobilisations of 1847-49 can also be glimpsed at in many of these popular political activities. Most of the men mentioned by Sacconi had been directly involved in the War of Independence of 1848. Pironi and Sacconi had both fought in Lombardy before then joining Garibaldi's voluntary corps which defended the Roman Republic in 1849. Benvenuti also boasted similar experiences, serving as part of the Second Regiment of the Line in Lombardy in 1848, before then abandoning the military in order to go to Rome to fight as a volunteer.[57] The Tramagnini, too, had a connection to the martial activities of 1848, albeit less a direct one. Another Tramagnini, Giovani, had served in the third battalion of the Civic Guard in 1847, as well as volunteering, in his capacity as a guardsman, to depart with the Tuscan regiment of the line to fight in Lombardy in March 1848.[58]

The artisans discussed here thus constituted harbingers of a new kind of popular political activism. Drawing upon the martial culture of 1848, as well as more modern patterns of political protest popularised by Young Italy and the Tuscan democrats, while at the same time nurturing a bitter disappointment at the Restoration settlement, men like Tramagnini and Pironi stood at the forefront of a new kind of popular politics. This was a popular politics which, while not long-lasting, was made remarkable by its inventiveness. Trend-setting artisans like Tramagnini were learning to make use of a range of different practices, strategies and languages in order to construct their political ideas and coordinate their own organisation.

One of the most effective political vocabularies, drawn from the lexicon of the Florentine democratic movement, which lent itself to popular street politics in the early 1850s was that of

[57] Ibid, p. 132.

[58] The relationship between Giovani Tramagnini and the three brothers is uncertain. The police report which detailed the searches conducted on all of the Tramagnini described Giovani as living with his son (another Giuseppe) in a separate house from the three brothers. Both houses were located on the same street (Via Chiara). See A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1852-54, b. 63, aff. 194, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 6th March 1853. For Giovani Tramagnini's involvement in the Civic Guard, see above, p. 99.

republicanism. Again, while the existence of republican language in forms of public protest was far from permanent, its appearance reveals important shifts in both urban political culture and popular political consciousness. As is perhaps to be expected, it was the former national and municipal guardsmen, the defenders of the republic-in-all-but-name, and those men who had experienced the greatest loss of status and responsibility with the regime changes of April-May 1849, who made the most active use of republican language in these years. The legacy of democratic institutions and organisations, most notably the *Circolo del Popolo*, also exerted a strong influence on the patterns of popular republicanism amongst former guardsmen in the first years of the grand ducal Restoration. This can be seen most clearly in an attempt made by some of the more politically active members of the National and Municipal Guards to set up informal organs of political opposition, modelled on democratic associations such as the *Circolo del Popolo*, in the months immediately following the grand duke's decision to return to Florence. In late June 1849, a report sent from the Interior Minister claimed that a former *Maggiore Aiutante* of the *Guardia di sicurezza*, Costantino Mini, was using the house of a former lieutenant of the Municipal Guard, Luigi Leone, situated in a building in Via Chiara in Santo Spirito, to host what was described as a '*Circolo politico* of various Republicans.' The report went on to explain that Mini was also in the habit of trying to rouse guardsmen who had been dismissed from service, encouraging them to participate in agitation against the restored government.[59] At the same, republican guardsmen also carried their political discussions into sites of working-class recreational culture, chiefly coffee houses and taverns, where their ideas and discourses were able to reach larger audiences. A report sent by Landucci to the prefect of Florence, written only a few days after the discovery of the *Circolo politico* in Via Chiara, spoke of meetings of a republican nature, consisting mostly of 'veterans' and former members of the National Guard, taking place in the Caffè Ferruccio in Via Romana and in the Caffè Nuovo in Borgo San Jacopo, both situated in the Santo Spirito district of the city.[60] From the very outset of the Restoration, therefore,

[59] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 205, report of Interior Minister dated 26th June 1849.
[60] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 205, report of Interior Minister dated 2nd July 1849. Surveillance reports submitted later in the month, however, registered no seditious activities in these locations, suggesting

there is evidence that former guardsmen were using and disseminating republican discourses through both semi-formalised political associations and informal channels of public communication.

Police reports covering the Santo Spirito district continued to register public disturbances of a Republican colouring throughout the early years of the Restoration, with former guardsmen and members of the local artisanate featuring heavily in police surveillance. In February 1850, a group of young men were heard singing a song in the streets of the Santo Spirito district, which had the refrain '*Viva la libertà'*. All of the men identified as having taken part in this raucous nocturnal singing were residents of Santo Spirito, and one of them, Ulisses Boncinelli, had also served in the Civic Guard.[61] The following month, there were further republican stirrings in Santo Spirito. In March 1850, the Prefect of Florence received a report about another bout of disturbances at the Caffè Piccolo Ferruccio, the same coffee house which had been noted in Landucci's report of June 1849 as a hotbed of republican activities. The report of 1850 claimed that a group of young men were meeting regularly in the evenings at the coffee house, where they engaged in conversations of a political nature, talking 'with an elevated voice' about 'recent events' and 'with fanaticism' about the Provisional Government of Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, before expressing hopes that new events will soon undermine Austrian military power in Tuscany. Two of the men mentioned in the report were described as having once belonged to the Municipal Guard.[62] Of these two men, one of them – Federigo Giovannoni – had also served in the Civic Guard, as well as having accompanied the voluntary regiment, in his capacity as Civic Guardsman, to Lombardy in March 1848 to participate in

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that these republican stirrings were ephemeral. See A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1849, b. 8, aff. 205, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 9th July 1849.

[61] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 36, aff. 56. Boncinelli is recorded as having departed to Lombardy in his capacity as Civic Guardsmen on 22nd March, 1848: Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1283: Affari Diversi, 'Guardia Civica attiva di Firenze, 3 battaglione, 6 compagnia. Stato nominativo dei militi della sudetta compagnia che sono partiti il 22, ed il 23 marzo 1848 che fanno parte alla Colonna mobile volontaria. 24 Marzo 1848'.

[62] 'Che di fatto si trattengano in discorsi politici del giorno senza riservo e con voce elevata, e trattano delle passate vicissitudini con fanatismo al Governo Guerrazziano, e con speranze di nuovi avvenimenti alla prossima primavera in odio e contro l'austriaco.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 37, aff. 136, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 13th March 1850.

the war against Austria.[63] At around the same time as receiving this report, the prefect's office also received a letter from an anonymous informant which claimed that, in the same coffee house, an unruly group of men frequently met up in the evenings to drink and make slanderous proclamations against the grand duke and his family, before then exiting into the streets to chant republican slogans and sing republican songs. Among the men mentioned as being present in these raucous events were Giuseppe Frangione, the unemployed tailor who was arrested with Pietro Tramagnini for conspiring to distribute defamatory *cartelli*, along with a baker, a painter and two shoemakers. The letter also accused the group of men of scribbling some anti-Catholic graffiti on the property of a wine-merchant situated directly opposite the coffee house, which was undertaken supposedly to embarrass the merchant who was believed to be a reactionary and a supporter of the grand duke.[64]

Republican language was therefore becoming a conspicuous component of the vocabulary of street politics in the early 1850s. The uses which artisans and demobilised guardsmen made of this republican language, however, reveals even more about popular political imagination in Florence in the early years of the second Restoration. The fact that the artisans and ex-guardsmen in the Piccolo Feruccio coffee house in March 1850 mobilised republican slogans and language at the same time as expressing anti-grand ducal discourses reveals that these men were using the republican vocabulary in service of their own political goals: that of disparaging and condemning the Lorraine dynasty and the restored government. This use of republican language in service of specific political goals and agendas – goals which were themselves conceived of by Florentine artisans, workers and unemployed former guardsmen – signals an important shift in the nature of Florentine popular politics, as disaffected working groups in Florence learned to repurpose democratic political ideologies for their own political ends.

[63] Arch. Stor. Fir., C.F., Guardia Civica, CA 1283: Affari diversi, 'Guardia Civica attiva di Firenze, 3 battaglione, 6 compagnia. Stato nominativo dei militi della sudetta compagnia che sono partiti il 22, ed il 23 marzo 1848 che fanno parte alla Colonna mobile volontaria. 24 Marzo 1848'.
[64] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 37, aff. 136.

The appropriation of republican language and its transformation into a popular ideology expressing a hatred of the grand duke was not an isolated phenomenon, unique to this particular *quartiere* of Florence. In smaller towns across the grand duchy, there is evidence that artisans and workers were using the language of republicanism to articulate their sense of betrayal and disappointment at the Restoration settlement. In March 1850, in in the small town of Galluzzo, the locksmith Pietro Fusi, who was described in a police report of 1854 as 'a previous offender in political matters',[65] was accused by the local gendarmerie of leading a group of young artisans in the singing of republican songs in the early hours around the town.[66] In an even more revealing example, which took place in the small town of Prata in Grossetano in the same month, a group of six young men ventured out and raised a liberty tree in the main piazza of the town, affixing to it a placard which read: 'This is the tree of the liberals. Down with the *codini*, and we give command to the Republicans. When the troops of the infamous German arrive, we will make tallow out of them. We have free arms… Long live Guerrazzi and death to Leopold and the holy pig. This is the tree of liberty; a bitter death to whoever cuts it down.' When taken to trial, this group of men – which included a haberdasher, a bricklayer and four others described as wage labourers (*braccianti*) – were subjected to a caustic character assassination by a local, and deeply legitimist, Captain, who accused the men of being in habit of singing republican songs and attempting to encourage other young men to admire Guerrazzi.[67] In this example, the men involved were not just using republican language to convey their hatred of Leopold and his government, and their loyalty to Guerrazzi, they were also taking ownership of the symbolism of republicanism, the liberty tree, and using it to convey their opinions publicly through the contestation of physical space in the town, in much the same way as

[65] 'soggetti pregiudicati in politica'. A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 10, aff. 212 n.25, Note of the Head of Public Surveillance dated 6th November 1854.
[66] A.S.F., Tribunale collegiale di prima istanza di Firenze 1838-1865, 1850, processi criminali, b. 2717, processo n. 737: 'Atti criminali contro Pietro Fusi e altri per opposizione alla pubblica forza e trasgressione di polizia'
[67] 'Questo è l'albero dei liberali; abbasso i codini, e diamo il comando i repubblicani; quando arriverà la truppa del'infame tedesco si farà provvista del buon sego. Noi siamo liberi di braccio,.. Viva il Guerrazzi, e morte a Leopoldo e a sua porca santità. Questo è l'albero della libertà; morte acerba a chi lo spianterà.' Rondoni, 'Gazzetta dei Tribunali', pp. 130-1.

the *Circolo del Popolo* had done in Florence and other cities in March 1849. Even outside the capital, therefore, labouring groups were making effective and inventive use of republican language and symbolism in order to express their own grievances with the state and, in the latter example at least, make a statement of allegiance to the fallen Provisional Government.

Thus, in the first years of the Restoration, disaffected artisans and former guardsmen were appropriating elite political language and symbolism with ingenuity and creativity and using them to make precise political statements in the public spaces of the grand duchy, both in the capital but also in smaller provincial towns. While it may be tempting to overlook these acts of public political protest undertaken by Florentine artisans in the first years of the second Restoration, especially when one considers the transience of the most overt forms of popular republicanism after 1851, it is important to remember that the significance of these actions lies not in their durability. These important shifts in the tenor of urban popular culture, along with the momentary spike in popular republicanism, provide evidence of a growing political competence among Florentine artisans and workers, along with a rising ability and willingness to make use of a range of new political vocabularies and strategies to construct political voices and express political opinions. The radical burst of 1849-51 in Florentine political culture, while impermanent, reveals the beginnings of the development of a politically-conscious and politically-active citizenry, centred chiefly on the urban artisan populations and disgruntled former guardsmen.

Consuming Italy: Material Culture, Popular Memory and 'The Prestige of Italianism'

The year 1848 did more than just endow Florentine artisans with a new political vocabulary which they could use as a tool in their protests against the state. The revolutionary juncture of 1848 had a far more profound impact on popular mentalities, introducing urban (and, to a lesser extent, rural) populations to new concepts and frameworks, most importantly the concept of Italian nationhood. Yet, despite Tuscans' early introduction to the idea of Italian nationality, many writing in the

aftermath of 1861 have taken it for granted that the idea of nationhood had made relatively few inroads into popular consciousness by the time of National Unification. Amongst those who have been most sceptical have been Italians themselves, or more specifically the first generation of national politicians who staffed the state bureaucracy and who saw in the Italian population a people of deficient national character. Drawing upon the negative stereotypes of Italian national mores propagated throughout the nineteenth-century by European travel writers, which imagined Italians as indolent and effeminate, Italian politicians and statesmen in the years after unification absorbed many of their European counterparts' received ideas about the Italian people, and used them as the basis on which to weave their own discourse on Italian national character, one which largely agreed with the European satirists and which saw Italians as morally corrupt, politically apathetic and for the most part lacking in civic values and national pride. In the minds of Italy's first politicians, therefore, the task that stood before them was not simply one of 'making Italians', to borrow the phrase supposedly quipped by Massimo D'Azeglio, but one of reforming the Italian national character completely, so that Italians may be transformed into a national citizenry. This denigrating discourse gained acceptance by public figures, writers and educators in the second half of the nineteenth century, and acquired such a potent cultural currency that discussions of an 'Italian national character' remained an important political talking point throughout the twentieth century, even up to this day.[68]

The idea that Italians possessed little sense of national identity has also been inadvertently reinforced by many recent generations of historians of Italy. Taking their cue from diffusionist theories of nation-building, popularised by historians like Eugen Weber,[69] these historians of Liberal Italy have largely sought to analyse the processes, the frameworks and the structures which the new Italian state had to lay down in order to assimilate the mass of Italian people into the new national

[68] S. Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic* (Cambridge, 2010); J. Dickie, 'The Notion of Italy', in Z. G. Baranski and R. J. West (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 29-30.
[69] E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France* (Stanford, 1976).

civic political culture of Italy. Many of these historians have focused on the integrative role of processes such as schooling, administrative unification and national military service.[70] Others have taken a more cultural approach, exploring the state's attempts to forge a national memory and narrative on Italy's path to nationhood, through the sponsorship of various public commemorations, national festivals and statues.[71] While all of this scholarship is undoubtedly very rich and insightful, especially in drawing attention to the myriad ways in which the nation was culturally constructed after unification, the overarching emphasis of much of this scholarship on the tactics employed by the state (and other agents) to draw the mass of the people into the national culture has largely created an impression of Italians after 1861 as standing outside of the nation, or lacking in any real understanding of, or interest in, the nation to which they ostensibly belonged.

While it would be naïve to assume that Italians emerged in 1861 as fully-formed national citizens, with a full and complete understanding of national politics, culture and civic society, it would be equally unwise to believe that Italians on the dawn of Unification possessed absolutely no understanding whatsoever of the Italian nation, that entity for which so many had fought in 1848 and then again in 1859. A comprehensive study of 'national identity', even amongst the relatively restricted population of nineteenth-century Florence during the second grand ducal Restoration, would be well beyond the confines of this research. It is possible, however, to infer something provisional about the ways in which Florentines were engaging with the concept of Italy in the years leading up to Unification.

Some historians have argued that the large number of volunteers, who departed in 1859 from Tuscany, as well as from Lombardy-Venetia and the Central Duchies, to enrol in the Piedmontese army in preparation for the impending war against Austria, provides evidence of a germinating

[70] See, for instance, S. Soldani and G. Turi (eds.), *Fare gli italiani: scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea* (Bologna, 1993); P. L. Ballini and G. Pécout (eds.), *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'ottocento: modelli, pratiche, eredità* (Venice, 2007); G. Pécout, 'Politisation et intégration nationale en Italie: les compagnes toscanes des années 1860', *Revue Historique*, 303:1 (2001), pp. 93-107.
[71] See, for instance, U. Levra, *Fare gli Italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento* (Turin, 1992); B. Tobia, *Una Patria per gli italiani: Spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870-1900)* (Rome, 1991); I. Porciani, *La festa della nazione: rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita* (Bologna, 1997).

national consciousness. In Tuscany, these volunteers, much like in other Italian states, were recruited and organised by the regional branch of the National Society, headed by Marchese Ferdinando Bartolommei, which encouraged young men to join the army of Piedmont and even assisted in the acquisition of passports and in the sorting out of travel arrangements.[72] While the response of the male populations of Tuscany to the National Society's appeals were initially rather lukewarm, from mid-March 1859, the number of Tuscan men departing for Piedmont increased dramatically,[73] so much so that by 25th March, the Piedmontese authorities counted 3,890 volunteers who had arrived in Piedmont from Tuscany.[74] For Raymond Grew, the statistics provide evidence of a growing popular national enthusiasm:

> 'For a man to leave his *paese* and his home, risking encounters with unfriendly police to join the army of another state, requires a high degree of fervour. For every one who made the trip, there must have been several left at home who shared at least his enthusiasm. To the unemployed, this trip may have been indistinguishable from the traditional migratory search for work; but what we know of the occupations of the volunteers suggests that in general this was a conscious demonstration of convinced nationalists.'[75]

The phenomenon of volunteerism in 1859 is indeed very fascinating and deserves to be studied in greater detail. However, mass volunteerism does not provide straightforward evidence of a burning national zeal. Men's motives for departing from Tuscany to join the Piedmontese army were probably far more complex than at first appearance and, while further research is most certainly necessary in order to assess volunteer motivations, it seems that economic considerations were a major factor in many men's decisions to leave the grand duchy. A report written by the sub-prefect of Pistoia on 12th March 1859, which alerted the Interior Minister of the acquisition of passports by 7 young men from the town, claimed that all of the men were 'journeymen without a stable

[72] For the National Society's activities in recruiting volunteers in Tuscany, see R. Grew, 'La Società Nazionale Italiana in Toscana', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 2 (1956), pp. 91-4.
[73] S. Camerani, 'Lo spirito pubblico in Toscana nel 1859', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 2 (1956), pp. 107-8; see also prefects' reports documenting departures in A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 8, aff. 146, and b. 13, aff. 291.
[74] R. Grew, *A Sterner Plan for Italian Unity. The Italian National Society in the Risorgimento* (Princeton, 1963), p. 178, n. 35
[75] Ibid, p. 178.

position.'[76] Similarly, a conspicuous number of those reported as having left Tuscany for Piedmont were described in official reports as '*braccianti*', or agricultural wage labourers, with a proportionally smaller number of men registered as practitioners of a specific craft. On 25th March 1859, a report from Florence documented a particularly large exodus of young men which had taken place between 17th and 24th March. Of the 40 individuals reported as having departed for Piedmont, 7 of them (17.5%, by far the largest proportion) were *braccianti*, versus only 1 baker, 1 upholsterer, 1 barber, 2 cabinet makers and 2 tailors.[77] The conspicuous presence of *braccianti* in the ranks of the recruits is most certainly revealing. *Braccanti* represented a growing category of the Tuscan agricultural labour market. As rural manual labourers, hired on an informal and temporary basis to perform a variety of miscellaneous tasks on Tuscany's great sharecropping estates, such as digging ditches or assisting during the harvest, the *braccianti* occupied a precarious economic position, eking out a living in pursuit of casual manual labour and dependent on seasonal work and short-term contracts.[78] Economic insecurity thus probably factored highly in many labourers' decisions to travel to Piedmont. For some, the journey to Piedmont may have even been seen as little different from the seasonal migrations for work, as alluded to by Grew in the quote above. While it may be true that a great many of the men who enrolled in the Piedmontese army did so out of a desire to fight for the independence of Italy against Austria, the large number of manual labourers and workers without secure positions who appeared on the lists of Tuscan departed most certainly complicates this picture, suggesting that many of the recruits may well have been driven by motives of a more material nature, such as the lack of economic opportunities in the grand duchy, rather than by a sincere patriotism or unrelenting desire to protect the Italian nation at all costs. For this reason, the

[76] 'tutti mestieranti, ma senza stabili posizioni.' A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 8, aff. 146, n. 4, report of Sub-Prefect of Pistoia, dated 12th March 1859.
[77] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., b. 13, aff. 291, report dated 25th March 1859. There were also a noticeable number of men employed in the domestic services present on the list of departed (2 manservants and a groom) and several men employed in the transportation industry (2 porters and 2 coachmen).
[78] For the position of the *braccianti* in Tuscan agriculture, see F. M. Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany, 1919-1922* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 31-2.

evidence presented by mass volunteerism must be approached with great care and should not be treated as simple and unproblematic evidence of a growing national consciousness.

Indeed, evidence of such a national awareness amongst the Tuscan population is exceptionally difficult to find in official sources, and one would perhaps be forgiven for thinking that the discourse of Italian nationhood, distilled and brought to Tuscan audiences over the course of 1847-49 primarily through chants, slogans and symbolism, had little emotional impact on Florentine audiences. The prefecture records of the 1850s, which contain many examples of popular republicanism, provide relatively few examples of popular exhortations of nationhood. While dispossessed Florentine artisans may have been prepared to make use of the republican vocabulary as a language of political opposition, they appear to have been much more silent on the topic of Italy and national independence. It is thus perhaps tempting to conclude that the response of Florentine urban audiences to the discourses on Italian nationhood was, to borrow a term from historians of Central-Eastern Europe, one of 'national indifference.'[79] However, to make such a conclusion would be to take far too narrow a view of the range of ways in which the working populations of Florence could participate in politics. Just because there is no record in the prefecture reports of people shouting '*Viva l'Italia*' in the capital's taverns does not mean that people were not thinking about the concept.

The study of material culture may offer a useful framework of analysis. As recent studies of material culture have shown, objects possess cultural meanings and values beyond their mere physicality as 'things', and can be put to use in the performance of a wide range of social and cultural functions, such as the construction of identities or showing allegiance to a group or idea.[80] The uses which Florentines made of certain material objects in the 1850s – especially political material objects such as rosettes, medals and political portraiture – can be of particular value in exploring the ways labouring groups in Florence exercised their identities and political preferences.

[79] T. Zahra, 'Imagined Noncomunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis', *Slavonic Review*, 69:1 (2010), pp. 93-119; P. M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).
[80] I. Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London, 2007), pp. 3-16.

This line of enquiry is especially useful in instances where people did not express their political sentiments through established oral or public channels, such as in the form of singing or discussions in coffee houses. 'Italy', as it was described and evoked in 1848, was a novel, somewhat nebulous and unfamiliar concept to the mass of the Florentine artisans, and as such it is unlikely that it would have inspired immediate emotional identification. Nor would such an amorphous discursive construct lend itself to use as a weapon of political protest in the way that republicanism did.

Material culture offered Florentine audiences an alternative way of engaging with an idea which was still novel or exotic, or on which one had not yet made up one's mind. The acquisition of a material object usually involved a willingness to part with cash, and as such the purchasing of an object presupposes at least some kind of interest, be it intellectual or emotional, in the values embodied in the object on the part of the buyer. However, one could also purchase an object, especially a small inexpensive item, simply out of fascination; the act of buying did not necessarily imply an established political or emotional commitment to the values represented in object. Objects could also be relegated to the private sphere of personal reflection, whereas chants and songs, while more ephemeral than physical objects, belonged for the most part to public channels of communication. The private and individualistic nature of material culture thus offered Florentines a means of interacting with political ideas even as many public forms of expression were being suppressed. By engaging with objects and symbols, therefore, Florentines were indeed participating, albeit in a somewhat less committed way, in a discursive political culture which was seeking to evoke and describe the Italian nation. The ways in which Florentines used these political objects therefore reveals much about popular engagement with the idea of 'Italy', showing that the Florentine consumer public was indeed thinking about the concept of Italian nationhood.

In the 1850s in Florence, there is evidence of an increasing public fascination with *italianità*, along with a growing consumer demand for material objects which exhibited the symbolism of Italy. These changing popular tastes are revealed primarily through police and prefecture records concerning the activities of vendors and salesmen who wanted to capitalise upon this growing public interest. One

of the most easily producible kinds of patriotic objects were small commemorative medals. In March 1850, police became aware of a young man who frequented the Caffè dell'Ebe to sell medals which 'depicted the last events of Italy' and which carried the inscription 'God wants a free Italy'. These medals, which were thought to have been made out of sulphur by an anonymous Pisan, thus carried a strong patriotic message and functioned as a decorative reminder of the events of 1848.[81]

This was not the only example of this commercialisation of *italianità*. Political clothing, and the sale and consumption of small vestiary adornments, was also very popular in Florence in the 1850s. The wearing of political symbolism on one's body – whether in the form of a small rosette or a more substantial costume or uniform – constituted a particularly effective means of participating in political discourses, enabling the expression of a range of political choices.[82] In Tuscany, the symbolic importance of political clothing was not entirely new in the 1850s. The wearing of tricolour rosettes and other decorative clothing had its origins in the short-lived French republican regime of 1799.[83] Political clothing then acquired an elevated importance in Tuscany in 1846-47, in the context of an expanding panoply of civic festivals and popular demonstrations. In part, these changes in political attire were the consequence of new patriotic operas, which increased in popularity across Central Italy in the mid-1840s, and which imposed new aesthetic standards and models of political dress onto the changing street politics, popularising increasingly elaborate costumes, lifted directly from the theatrical stage, which often carried overt political symbolism.[84] On a slightly less rarefied level, the wearing of rosettes also experienced a resurgence in these years, as well as taking on new political connotations and symbolic meanings. From 1846, as political celebrations in favour of Pius

[81] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1850, b. 37, aff. 133.
[82] K. Navickas, 'That Sash will hang you: Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780-1840', *Journal of British Studies*, 49:3 (2010), pp. 540-65; L. Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 1984), p. 53.
[83] In one of the most telling examples, during the *Festa della Libertà* of April 1799, which involved the planting of a liberty tree in the Piazza della Signoria to inaugurate Tuscany into the French Republic, 18 young Tuscan couples were married as part of the ceremony. The grooms all wore tricolour rosettes in their buttonholes, as a symbolic gesture of their allegiance to the new regime. After the ceremony, the couples released doves with tricolour ribbons attached to their legs. Conti, *Firenze vecchia*, vol. I, pp. 35-40.
[84] C. Sorba, 'Il 1848 e la melodrammatizzazione della politica', in A M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), *Storia d'Italia,* Annali 22, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 2007), pp. 492-94.

IX spread across Tuscany, the wearing of the colours of the Papal Pontificate, yellow and white, became an important means of asserting one's allegiance to the principles of liberalism and reformism. Those who failed to do so were often viewed as making a conscious statement against the Pope's reforms. On 4th September 1847 in Pisa, for example, a group of liberal-minded young men harangued a party of peasants because they had entered the city wearing the grand ducal black on their hats. The men confronted the peasants and coerced them into substituting the grand ducal colours for those of the Papal Pontificate.[85] By 1847, political clothing and the donning of the correct political colours had become much more than a matter of appearances; vestiary political symbolism constituted an important part of the political discourse and a means of constructing allegiances and identities.

By the 1850s, political clothing had started to acquire a more commercial value. Giuseppe Magnelli, the tobacco seller who had made a name for himself as a disseminator of political literature and host of political gatherings, was also known to the police as a small-time pedlar of tricolour trinkets. In October 1851, Magnelli was observed selling various small vestiary adornments, such as belts, ropes and chords with tricolour tassels attached, which people could wear around their waists. The comments which the police made about those to whom Magnelli sold these items reveal something of consumer demand for Italian national symbolism in these years. According to the delegate who observed these activities, Magnelli sold his patriotic wares, at a markedly high price, to the 'simple people' who had acquired a taste for the 'prestige of Italianism'.[86] The discourse of Italian nationhood, which had been so prevalent in the symbolic and material culture of 1847-49, had now entered a new commercial culture, manifested as objects of desire and fascination to Florentine consumers. The concept of Italy in mid-nineteenth-century Florence was thus a highly saleable commodity which consumers were willing to pay to get their hands on.

[85] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 18, aff. 60, report of the Director of Criminal Affairs in Pisa, dated 5th September 1847.
[86] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 51, aff. 186, report of the Delegate of Santo Spirito, dated 4th Oct. 1851.

In some rare cases, the wearing of political clothing under the second Restoration also took on more elaborate manifestations, in the form of uniforms and full political attire. In early September 1851, a large group of young men, 'all known for their excesses in politics and already offenders in such matters', were witnessed walking around the streets of Florence in what was described as 'the uniform that all the democrats once had to adopt', complete with green fustian jacket, tricolour belt and tricolour tassels.[87] This example provides evidence of an overt statement of adherence to the ideas and personalities of the Tuscan democratic movement, and reveals the capacity of the vestiary symbolism of the Tuscan democrats to impress itself onto the minds of young Florentines. Interestingly, the delegate who reported on these events also stated that this esoteric dress had not enjoyed widespread use by the democrats, and that the tricolour embellishments had very quickly been abandoned. In this unusual episode, therefore, it is likely that the use of the tricolour adornments, along with the use of the uniform itself, was part of a purposeful self-identification with the idea of Italian nationhood by this group. This example, therefore, reveals much more than a mere consumer fascination with *italianità*, and provides evidence of a more self-conscious political statement made by a group of young men with a more developed sense of political consciousness.

Florentines did not just buy objects to wear, display and keep, they also retained and hoarded objects which they had acquired over the revolutionary juncture of 1848. The activity of hoarding objects reveals not only a fascination with a political idea, distilled and encapsulated in a material symbol, but also a desire to retain a connection to a point in the past. The hoarding of trinkets and memorabilia from 1848, by diverse strata of the Florentine working population, shows that the period 1847-49 occupied a cherished position in many people's memories. The year 1848, and the principles and ideas it had come to represent, thus constituted an important element of popular memory and personal identity. Leopoldo Carocci, a 26-year-old, unmarried butcher provides an interesting case in point. In 1855, Carocci's home was searched by gendarmes acting on information

[87] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1851, b. 51, aff. 182, report of the Delegate of San Giovanni, dated 4th September 1851.

that he was in contact with political dissidents. Carocci had no prior recorded involvement in political protests, nor did he possess a track record of civil disobedience. Rather, over the 7-year period since 1848, Carocci had hoarded a large collection of political miscellanea, all of which related directly to the events of 1848. Some of the items in Carocci's collection were typical of much of the Italian national iconography that was made commercially available over the course of the 1850s. This included two silk tricolour rosettes. A range of other objects, however, had much more fascinating origins. Among the items seized by police were two coins, one minted by the Roman Republic and bearing the words 'God and People', the other minted by the Venetian Republic. Police also confiscated a woodcut depicting the 'last hours of Francesco Ferruccio', the military leader who had fought in defence of the Florentine Republic against the Holy Roman Empire in the War of the League of the Cognac in 1530,[88] along with a print with an epigraph in honour of those who had died in Lombardy on 29th May 1848, and a collection of small portraits representing a range of popular political leaders and historical figures, including Ferruccio, Giuseppe Galletti, president of the Roman Republic of 1849, and even Lajos Kossuth. Police also seized a large number of miscellaneous items which Carocci had kept since the days of the Tuscan Civic Guard, including the cover for a rifle, ten lead bullets, and a brush with iron bristles used to clean the barrel of a rifle. The rifle itself was not amongst the items because Carocci had sent it away to be cleaned in the days preceding the suppression of the National Guard. In his interrogation, Carocci claimed that he had kept these various items in his house since 1847 'almost unthinkingly', and 'without any bad intention.'[89] These remarks reveal that Carocci was not retaining these objects for a subversive purpose. Indeed, they even suggest that he had been completely unaware of the significance that such items carried in the eyes of the grand ducal police authorities. Rather, these objects belonged to the private realm of

[88] Throughout the Risorgimento, the figure of Francesco Ferruccio was seized upon, by both Tuscan and Italian patriots, and transformed into a symbol of national struggle against foreign imperial dominion. See A. Petrizzo, ''The Garibaldi of sixteenth century'. Francesco Ferrucci and the heroes of the Risorgimento', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 18:2 (2013), pp. 145-56.

[89] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 9, aff. 212, n. 5, report of the Gendarme of San Giovanni, and interrogation of Leopoldo Carocci, dated 11th March 1855.

memory. The retention of these objects in fact shows a broad and lingering fascination with the events of 1848, along with a desire to cultivate a personal memory in which these events are accorded considerable importance. Some of the memories inculcated through these objects, most notably the epigraph, mirrored public memories centred on commemorations of the Tuscans who had died at Curtatone and Montanara in 1848. Other objects in Carocci's collection, such as the coins and the portrait of Kossuth, however, were part of a much more individualised construction of memory of 1848, betraying a personal fascination with events that had taken place outside of Tuscany, outside of Italy even, while the miscellanea from the Civic Guard gestures to positive memories of the martial activities of 1847-49. Carocci's hoard therefore constitutes an impressive personal monument to the events, principles and personalities of 1848, revealing an individual, deeply personal memory narrative on the recent past, cultivated and preserved in the private sphere of the home.

Carocci was not the only artisan in Florence to retain items which conferred a sense of connectedness to 1848. Ferdinando Camparbini, a carpenter whose workshop in Via del Moro was searched by the police in 1851, was found to be in possession of a mast that had been painted in tricolour colours, along with a printed tract entitled *Biografia di Federigo Pescantini*, which had been gifted to Camparbini by the author, Francesco Galvani, in the hope that Camparbini would be willing to offer support and protection from political persecution.[90] Similarly, Timoleone Benvenuti, the coffee house owner who had been arrested in 1851 for his involvement in a secret society, also had in his possession a collection of interesting items. When police searched Benvenuti's home in 1854 – an order which was carried out because Benvenuti's name had appeared in a letter written by a known political dissident which had been intercepted by the police – they discovered three printed

[90] In a letter addressed to Camparbini from Galvani, also confiscated by the police along with the mast and the printed tract, Galvani explains that though he has never met Camparbini, he has been assured by a mutual friend that Camparbini is of the 'highest and noblest sentiments' and so appeals to him for support and assistance as he faces prosecution by the grand ducal police for political verses which he had made a career out of writing. For all the documents concerning the search of Camparbini's workshop and home, along with all of the confiscated literature, see A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 9, aff. 212, n. 1.

specimens of patriotic poetry which Benvenuti had retained since their publication in 1847 and 1848. Two of these specimens were small, ephemeral booklets, one published in 1847 and containing various odes to the 'National Guards of Italy'; the other, published in 1848 and entitled 'Wreath of rhymes to Italy', made up of 18 verses dedicated to various components of the liberal-patriotic movement, including the constitution, the liberty of the press, and the glory of departing to Lombardy to fight for one's country. The final print was a single sheet entitled 'Anniversary of 12th September' and contained 18 6-line verses written in occasion of the anniversary of the Florentine celebrations in honour of the Civic Guard, in 1847.[91] All of this printed ephemera, therefore, commemorated different aspects of the years 1848-49. For Benvenuti, a veteran of the War of Independence and volunteer foot-soldier for the Roman Republic, the value of this printed literature resided not only its potentially subversive character, but also in its quality as an ephemeral site of memory, connecting him to the glory days of 1848.

Material culture, defined in the broadest possible terms, therefore performed multiple functions for Florentines during the second Restoration. At a time when the public expression of political opinions was being heavily repressed, objects provided an alternative means of interacting with the outward symbols of new political discourses and ideas, albeit in a consumer-minded manner. Small items like tricolour rosettes and tassels allowed people to engage with these novel concepts, concepts whose symbolism was quickly being transformed into fashionable objects of intrigue and curiosity, in an increasingly commercial society. Equally, hoarded objects kept people bonded to the past, helping them to construct identities and memories around important junctures in recent history. Florentines living under the second Restoration, especially those with a history of service in the citizens' militias, were therefore thinking about and engaging with the new, emerging idea of nationhood, as well as nurturing very positive memories of 1848, even as the Austrians troops and grand ducal police agents were attempting to stamp out all forms of political non-compliance.

[91] A.S.F., Pref., Arch. Seg., 1859, b. 10, aff. 212, n. 25, Gendarme's report of the search and arrest of Timoleone Benvenuti, dated 29th November 1854 and transcript of Benvenuti's interrogation, dated 29th November 1854.

For the urban artisan and working populations of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the second Restoration was ultimately a period of experimentation. During the early years of this decade, labouring groups both in Florence and in smaller provincial towns drew upon new political vocabularies, strategies and ideologies in order to give expression to their own political ideas and grievances. At the same time, and throughout the 1850s, various Florentines were also engaging with wholly new concepts and constructs, primarily through the consumption and retention of material items, either as objects of commercial desire or as sites of memory connecting them to the past. The variety of political activities which people engaged in throughout the second Restoration provides evidence of both a changing political culture, but also of a developing political agency on the part of the grand ducal subjects, as artisans and workers, chiefly in Florence but also in other cities and towns, used their political knowledge in order to exercise a political will.

Chapter 4: The Nation in the Mezzadria: Popular Perceptions and Understandings of the Events of 1859-60 in Rural Tuscany

The period from 27th April 1859 to 12th March 1860 encompasses perhaps some of the most significant events in the history of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. It was during this formative period that the grand ducal regime ceased to exist and that Tuscany became integrated into the emerging Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. Far lesser known, but of equal importance, is the fact that these seismic political developments also helped to bring about a notable change in popular political sentiments and ideas, amongst both urban and rural populations, in the months which led up to National Unification. This significant shift in the ways in which rural- (and urban-) dwelling Tuscans thought was made possible by the rapidly changing political context, but more specifically it was facilitated by a widespread propaganda campaign, sponsored by the post-grand ducal government of Bettino Ricasoli. The propagandistic literature which was disseminated by Ricasoli in the final months of the grand duchy's existence had a distinct didactic purpose, seeking to educate the people of Tuscany in the emerging principles of Italian national unity, but it also specifically targeted rural audiences, employing a linguistic style and vernacular idiom which endeavoured to present political concepts in a language which could be understood by Tuscany's population of sharecroppers. The officially-sanctioned propaganda of 1859-60 thus played an important role in sensitising the mass of the Tuscan population, including those living in the countryside, to national politics and discourses.

The fact that the political events in Tuscany from April 1859 – which brought Tuscany into closer political alignment with Piedmont leading eventually to Tuscany's assimilation into the Kingdom of Italy – were largely spearheaded by the moderate-liberal Tuscan nobility, which had become increasingly sympathetic to the idea of Italian national unity, also assisted this change in patterns of

popular thought.[1] The liberal-minded nobles who took over the government of Tuscany after the grand duke's departure in April 1859 were also, for the most part, landowners with extensive estates in the countryside. These men thus had significant private resources at their disposal in rural Tuscany, along with widespread networks of dependents and clients, giving them considerable informal power which they could wield in the countryside. As well as influence, the familiarity of these landowners with the rural world also gave them an intimate knowledge of the countryside and the challenges that confronted their sharecropping tenants. Many, like Ricasoli himself, also took an active interest in their tenants' welfare, in some cases even taking personal responsibility for the moral and technical education of the sharecroppers on their estates.[2] This proximity to the world of the Tuscan sharecropper put these landowning statesmen in a good position to build up popular affection for new political ideas in rural Tuscany, and help to make rural communities look favourably upon the changing political events. The personal impact of these nobles, along with the systematic, government-sanctioned propaganda campaign, was to have an enormous impact on the ideologies and sentiments of country-dwelling Tuscans in the months both immediately preceding and succeeding the ascension of Tuscany to unified Italy.

To a certain extent, the results of this sea change in popular political sentiments are well known. The plebiscite conducted in March 1860 in Tuscany revealed that over 95% of Tuscan voters wanted their state to become part of the Constitutional Monarchy of Victor Emmanuel.[3] However, the results of this plebiscite have often been called into question, especially with regards to the votes cast by rural-dwelling populations. In many parts of Tuscany, the choices of rural voters were determined by their landlords or local notables who, in many cases, gathered their tenants on the day of the plebiscite and forcibly instructed them, sometimes on pain of reprisals, to vote in

[1] For the role of the moderate-liberal nobility in the Risorgimento in Tuscany more generally, see T. Kroll, *La rivolta del patriziato. Il liberalismo della nobiltà nella Toscana del Risorgimento* trans. L. Melissari (Florence, 2005).
[2] W. K. Hancock, *Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany* (London, 1926), pp. 54-63.
[3] N. D. Vasoli, *Il plebiscito in Toscana nel 1860* (Florence, 1968), p. 129.

accordance with the wishes of the landlord.[4] While this does not necessarily mean that the Tuscan plebiscite was 'artificial', as some historians have suggested,[5] such flagrant local interference in the election casts doubt on the claim of the plebiscite to represent the unanimous will of all Tuscans to form part of a single nation. Historians should therefore exercise caution when using these results as evidence of mass popular support for National Unification. More significantly for the present study, even if we accept that the outcome of the plebiscite was not the result of local electoral manipulation and did indeed reflect the political will of Tuscans, the nature of the results – cards bearing the word 'yes' or 'no' deposited into a ballot box – offers the historian scarce material with which to explore the motivations behind voter choices in the countryside, or with which to probe patterns of popular thought in the months surrounding National Unification. Thus, the results of the plebiscite, while significant in the history of the Risorgimento in Tuscany, constitute a problematic source for exploring the political sentiments and ideas of rural-dwelling peoples.

Popular vernacular songs offer a much more promising body of sources, providing a unique glimpse into the intimate cultural and emotional worlds of societies with very low levels of literacy, such as rural Tuscany in the mid-nineteenth century. For historians of Tuscany working on the years 1859-60, popular oral song texts – especially *rispetti* and *stornelli*, which possessed a capacity to take on a variety of meanings and contents, including overtly political ones[6] – are of particular value as a historical source, offering a rare insight into popular perceptions of the events of National Unification. By the time Tuscany had been integrated into the Kingdom of Italy, the political events of the previous year, not to mention the popularly-oriented propaganda campaign run by Ricasoli, had had such a profound impact on many parts of rural Tuscany that key events and political principles from the years 1859-60 had become major points of reference in many popular folksongs and love ditties, performed in specific geographic areas of the Tuscan countryside. Folk-scholars

[4] Ibid, pp. 90-3.
[5] C. Duggan, *The Force of Destiny. A History of Italy since 1796* (London, 2008), p. 206.
[6] For the traditional cultural functions of *rispetti* and *stornelli*, along with their propensity towards politicisation, see above, pp. 47-9.

venturing into rural Tuscany in the years immediately following Unification discovered that the people they encountered were singing songs about Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon III and the grand duke's flight to Austria. The political events of the years leading up to National Unification had thus left a discernible mark on rural populations and their oral singing cultures, and the collections of folksongs compiled and published by the first generation of post-unification folklorists working in Tuscany provide an important document on the impact of the event of 1859-60 on popular political consciousness in the countryside.

The myth of Rural Tuscany: Elite Cultural Constructions of the Tuscan Countryside

For historians of nineteenth-century Tuscany, the countryside represents a significant historical blind-spot. This is not just a problem of a lack of sources. Rather, this difficulty in historicizing the lives of country-dwellers has been compounded by the representations of the Tuscan countryside fashioned by contemporaries in the years leading up to Unification. From the first decades of the post-Napoleonic Restoration in Tuscany right up to the late 1850s, economists, agriculturalists, folklorists, novelists and intellectuals of all sorts have, inadvertently, created a series of highly misleading representations and myths about the Tuscan countryside and the people who inhabited it. In much the same way as French administrators who, from the First Empire onwards, fashioned a discourse on French peasantries as socially and politically backward and separate from the French nation,[7] and in an equally similar vein as Northern Italian travellers and bureaucrats who, in the first years after Unification, represented Southern Italians as an internal, discursive 'other',[8] Tuscan intellectuals in the early nineteenth-century created their own discourses on rural-dwelling populations. The emerging image of rural Tuscany, which was fashioned by economic reformers and linguistic scholars rather than by administrators and bureaucrats surveying their states, was,

[7] J. R. Lehning, *Peasant and French. Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-10.
[8] J. Schneider (ed.), *Italy's ''Southern Question'': Orientalism in One Country* (Oxford, 1998); N. Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley, 2002).

however, not so much focused on backwardness but rather on an image of placidity, stasis, geographical isolation and political innocence. The people of rural Tuscany were thought of as inhabiting a purer world, untainted by the politicising influences of the cities and the currents of modern urban life.

This highly romanticised representation of rural Tuscany grew out of early-nineteenth-century debates, centred especially on the *Accademia dei Georgofili* and the *Gabinetto Vieusseux*, about the economic viability of the *mezzadria*, the primary unit of agricultural production in Tuscany.[9] The *mezzadria* system, though affording considerable independence and stability to farmers in rural Tuscany, was for the most part inefficient and proved to be difficult to modernise, rationalise and reform. The agricultural system of the *mezzadria* tended to foster a form of agriculture known as 'promiscuous cultivation' (*cultura promiscua*), a kind of polyculture which involved growing multiple crops in the same area of soil. Thus, vines and olive trees became interspersed on the lands of the *podere* with fields of maize and wheat. While this system was favoured by the tenant-farmers, as it ensured that the land could sustain a diversity of different crops which offered a degree of protection in times of bad harvests, this process of mixing numerous crops together produced much lower yields than more specialist crop cultivation. Thus, the *mezzadria* was an agrarian system which was oriented more around the logic of subsistence farming than a capitalistic rationale which sought to produce surplus yields to sell in the market. The fact that agricultural choices were made on the basis of subsistence needs, rather than market demand, meant that the tenant-farmers also tended to favour crops which fed the family most effectively, such as maize and wheat, rather than crops which carried a high market value.[10]

Debate about the profitability and productivity of the *mezzadria* was first sparked in the 1820s and 1830s, when a fall in the prices of foodstuffs following the Napoleonic Wars brought the inefficiency

[9] For a description of the mezzadria sharecropping contract in nineteenth-century Tuscany, see above, pp. 30-1.
[10] C. Pazzagli, *L'Agricoltura toscana nella prima metà dell'800: techniche di produzione e rapporti mezzadrili* (Florence, 1973), pp. 340-3.

of the *mezzadria* system into sharp focus for Tuscan landlords and economists. This in turn prompted a large number of studies into the structural and technical problems of Tuscan agriculture, as well as the publication of didactic and educational literature designed to inform both landlords and peasants on how to make the *mezzadri* more productive.[11] However, despite its inefficiency, contemporaries in Tuscany defended the *mezzadria*, believing that such a system – in which the peasants ostensibly shared a stake in the land jointly with the landlord – reinforced social order in the countryside and discouraged politicisation. Economists and thinkers in Florence believed that the *mezzadria* contract fostered paternalistic relations between landlord and peasant which had a beneficial moral effect on rural populations, instilling in the *mezzadri* tenant farmers a sense of obedience and acceptance of authority, which ultimately promoted quiescence as well as upholding the social order.[12] The *mezzadri* tenants, with their limited investment in the land and their personal bonds to the landlord, appeared to be a much more stable and considerably less threatening element in the countryside than the expanding populations of landless labourers, or *braccianti*, working the plains around Bologna and the Po Valley.[13] The intellectuals and landlords debating in the *Accademia dei Georgofili* also believed that the physical isolation of the *poderi* reinforced this rural quietude. Contemporaries saw individual farms as completely cut off from one another, as well as from the outside world and cultural influences of the cities. Landowner and politician Gino Capponi noted that the isolation of the *mezzadri* was broken only by visits to Church on Sunday and by occasional visits to the market, which peasants 'were not obliged to make often because they buy and sell little. A good farmer goes to the market rarely.'[14] Similarly, the English economist John Bowring observed in his report on the statistics of Tuscany

> 'The universal *isolation* of the peasantry, which is a necessary consequence of the mezzeria system. Where there is no association, there must be much ignorance. Each peasant's family in

[11] Ibid, pp. 398-405; for moral-technical didactic literature aimed at Tuscan peasants, see U. Carpi, *Letteratura e Società nella Toscana del Risorgimento: Gli intellettuali dell''Antologia'* (Bari, 1974), pp. 281-330; P. Clemente, 'I 'Selvaggi' della campagna toscana: note sulla identità mezzadrile nell'ottocento e oltre', in P. Clemente et al. (eds.), *Mezzadri, letterati e padroni* (Palermo, 1980), pp. 46-50.
[12] Pazzagli, *Agricoltura*, pp. 405-12.
[13] Ibid, pp. 420-1.
[14] quoted in ibid, p. 418.

> Tuscany stands as it were alone: this is indeed a great security for the public tranquillity; but it is tranquillity purchased at a fearful price – at the price of a stationary and backward civilisation.'[15]

The sharecroppers of rural Tuscany were thus believed to inhabit a world of almost complete isolation, deprived of opportunities for collective association outside of the household and cut off from the corrupting influences of the cities.

The moralising effect of the paternalistic bonds and the physical isolation of the *mezzadri* convinced many contemporaries that the *mezzadria* system of agricultural organisation functioned as an effective bulwark against politicisation in the countryside. Bettino Ricasoli, writing to his estate manager Ferdinando Batistini in the aftermath of the flight of the grand duke in February 1849, advised that political developments should be kept 'far away from the peasants' and instructed Batistini to 'see that they [the peasants] stay in their *poderi* and in their houses, so they are not corrupted.'[16] Clearly for Ricasoli, it was sufficient to ensure that peasant farmers remained on their isolated *poderi* in order to keep rural populations away from political ideas and events.

The idea that the Tuscan agricultural system of *mezzadria* effectively inoculated rural populations of tenant farmers and sharecroppers from politics has also been embraced by many historians of nineteenth-century Tuscany. Like contemporaries, historians have largely accepted that the isolation and the *poderi*, as well landlord-tenant relations, operated as a mechanism to shore up social order and acted as a buffer against the infiltration and gestation of subversive ideas. It was only with the breakdown of this agricultural system in the 1880s onward – with the introduction of commercial changes and more specialised agricultural practices, and with the consequent deterioration of personal ties of affection between landlord and tenant – that the illusion of paternalism of the *mezzadria* system collapsed, and the antagonistic economic relationship between the lord and peasant became apparent. This in turn opened the way for more organised political action on the part of the Tuscan sharecroppers, leading eventually to mass mobilisation in favour of Italian

[15] J. Bowring, *Report on the Statistics of Tuscany, Lucca, the Pontifical, and the Lombardo-Venetian States: With a Special Reference to Their Commercial Relations* (London, 1837), p. 40.
[16] *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, eds. M. Nobili and S. Camerani, (Bologna, 1939), vol. III, p. 312.

socialism in 1919-20.[17] For Adrian Lyttelton, 'the *mezzadria* system in Central Italy worked like a kind of dam. For a long time it effectively contained and limited peasant discontent and prevented it from finding an outlet. In the end, the dam broke, with dramatic results. Nowhere was the mobilisation of peasantry so abrupt as in Tuscany and Umbria in 1919-1920, and nowhere else was the counter-offensive of the landlords so brutal.'[18]

The image of a placid and apolitical population of Tuscan sharecroppers has therefore enjoyed considerable sticking power, influencing even the assumptions inherent in recent historiographies. An equivalent, and perhaps equally enduring, cultural representation has also been constructed of the mountain communities of Tuscany, not by economists and agriculturalists, but by their literary colleagues working in the same institutions: that is, early Tuscan folklorists and linguists involved in the question of an Italian national language. In nineteenth-century Italy, folklore served an important purpose in the construction of the Italian nation, offering patriots – much as it did in Ireland, Norway and Finland around the same time – a robust, seemingly 'pure' cultural basis on which to establish a common language for the Italian people.[19] The problem, however, was that early Tuscan folklorists, much like their European colleagues, tended to misrepresent the cultures they were studying, focusing only on those elements of rural life which conformed to their received ideas and urban, middle-class prejudices about what the countryside should look like.[20] By the time of National Unification, several generations of Tuscan folklorists had worked assiduously to collect, document and publish popular folk songs in service of the cultural and linguistic unity of the Italian

[17] F. M. Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany, 1919-1922* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 7-69.
[18] A. Lyttelton, 'Landlords, Peasants and the Limits of Liberalism', in J. Davis (ed.), *Gramsci and Italy's Passive Revolution* (London, 1979), p. 118.
[19] Very little has been written about the emergence of folklore as a discipline of study in Italy and its link to the movement for national unification. One notable exception is U. Carpi, 'Classi dominanti e letteratura popolare nella Toscana dell'Ottocento', *Lavoro Critico. Rivista di analisi sociale della letteratura,* 14 (1978), pp. 101-27. For the role of folklore in national revolutions in Ireland, Norway and Finland, see R. M. Dorson, 'The Question of Folklore in a New Nation', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 3:3 (1966), pp. 277-98; W. A. Wilson, *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (London, 1976).
[20] M. R. Marrus, 'Folklore as an Ethnographic Source: A ''Mise au Point'', in J. Beauroy, M. Bertrand and E. T. Gargan (eds.), *The Wolf and the Lamb. Popular Culture in France. From the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century* (Saratoga, 1977), p. 112; see also W. G. Pooley, 'The Singing Postman: The Mobility of Traditional Culture in Nineteenth-Century France', *Cultural and Social History*, 13:1 (2016), pp. 46-52.

nation. However, the collections they compiled projected heavily flawed, misleading representations of rural Tuscany, most notably of the mountain communities of the Apennine regions.

The study of folklore in Tuscany originated in the person of Dalmatian-born linguist Niccolò Tommaseo, whose work on Tuscan popular poetry would have enormous cultural impact on the intellectual elite in Florence and in Italy more generally.[21] Having arrived in Florence in 1827, Tommaseo assimilated into the intellectual and cultural milieu centred on the *Gabinetto Vieusseux*.[22] While involved in the debates taking place among the Florentine intellectual elite about the productivity of Tuscan agriculture, Tommaseo's own personal intellectual interests were less oriented around agrarian reform, and more towards the issue of language and the debates concerning the discovery of a national language for Italy. Drawing upon a longer romanticist tradition of fascination with popular poetry in Italy – dating back to Giovanni Berchet and the vernacular poetry of the early nineteenth-century[23] – Tommaseo was also very interested in 'popular poetry', and in the relationship between popular poetry and the Italian nation. Tommaseo's fascination with popular singing cultures and the importance of demotic cultures to national regeneration was first piqued by Greek literary intellectuals and scholars of Greek folklore, most notable among which was the French-born Claude Fauriel. Fauriel's work emphasised the political importance of preserving folk-cultures in national revolutions, arguing that the study of Greek folklore served to reveal the cultural continuity of present-day Greek peasants with their ancient ancestors, demonstrating that the 'spirit of the ancients' was still very much alive in the oral singing

[21] Contemporaneously with Tommaseo, there emerged a parallel strand of folkloric research centred on literary intellectuals in Livorno, chiefly Silvio Giannini and Pietro Thauor. These folkloric researches developed out of the belief that in order to reform the *mezzadria* system it is necessary to understand the popular culture of the *mezzadri* themselves, and that folkloric forms such as songs could potentially serve an educative purpose in teaching sharecroppers new productive techniques. The songs collected by these intellectuals were published in the Livornesi journal, *Viola del Pensiero*, between 1839 and 1842, however the majority of the song texts were then given to Tommaseo to be included in his magnum opus, *Canti popolari toscani*. See Carpi, 'Classi dominanti', pp. 104-8.

[22] For Tommaseo's involvement in Florentine intellectual life and in the Gabinetto Vieusseux, see R. Ciampini, *Vita di Niccolò Tommaseo* (Florence, 1945), pp. 151-208; Carpi, *Letteratura e Società*, pp. 244-78.

[23] G. Cocchiara, *History of Folklore in Europe*, tr. J. McDaniel, (Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 250-53; G. B. Bronzini, *Valori e forme della poesia popolare italiana nella cultura della prima metà dell'Ottocento* (Matera, 1961), pp. 17-30.

cultures of the Greek rural masses. This was important to Fauriel and Greek literary scholars, as such a cultural link justified the claim that the Greek peasants should be part of the new national polity.[24] It was thus the work of Fauriel which first suggested to Tommaseo the political uses of folklore in national revolutions: folklore could function as a means of demonstrating and establishing continuity with the past when seeking to forge a modern nation.

Tommaseo's ideas about popular poetry were further clarified in 1830 when he encountered Pietro Ercole Visconti's published compilation of popular songs collected from the rural province of Marittima and Campagna in the Papal States.[25] In the preface to this work, Visconti underlined the importance of rural popular song to the Italian nation, stating that popular songs are 'strictly tied to the national character.'[26] In a review of Visconti's work, written for *L'Antologia* in 1830, Tommaseo laid out his own developing ideas about popular poetry and the role it played in the Italian nation. Tommaseo explained to his readers that one of the most striking features of the songs compiled by Visconti was the remarkable number of linguistic and stylistic similarities to Tuscan popular songs. This suggested to Tommaseo evidence of the cultural unity of the Italian people hidden beneath years of political divisions: 'But that which is more curious, because it leads to considerations on the ancient bonds, now little known, of Italian civility, and on the communication of language, of customs, of ideas, that ran from province to province, is the discovery in these songs from Marittima concepts and phrases, often entire verses, such as those which are still sung in Tuscany.'[27] Visconti's work also introduced Tommaseo to the idea of *naturpoesie*,[28] prompting him to view popular song

[24] M. Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (New York, 1986), pp. 26-30. For a fuller account of the life of Fauriel, see C. Rearick, *Beyond the Enlightenment. Historians and Folklore in Nineteenth-Century France* (London, 1974), pp. 62-75.
[25] P. E. Visconti, *Saggio de' canti popolari: della provincia di Marittima e Campagna* (Rome, 1830).
[26] 'I canti popolari strettamente legati alla indole nazionale, alle condizioni de' luoghi, allo stato del costume, al grado di civiltà, meritano l'attenzione del filosofo'. Ibid, p. 7.
[27] 'Ma quello che è più singolare, perchè conduce a qualche generale considerazione sugli antichi vincoli, ormai sconosciuti, dell'italiana civiltà, e sulle comunicazioni di lingua, di costumi, di idee, che corsero tra provincia e provincia, è il rinvenirsi in queste canzoni di Marittima, concetti e frasi, e fin versi interi, tali quali si cantano tuttora in Toscana'. *Saggio de' canti popolari: della provincia di Marittima e Campagna*, review by N. Tommaseo, in *L'Antologia*, 39 (1830), p. 97; A. M. Cirese, *La poesia popolare* (Palermo, 1969), p. 22.
[28] The idea of folklore as a spontaneous and natural form of expression, in which thought and feelings are united, was first suggested by Johann Gottfried Herder. See C. Kamenetsky, 'The German folklore revival in the eighteenth century: Herder's theory of *Naturpoesie*', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 6:4 (1973), pp. 836-48.

not simply as an echoing of high literary poetry, but as a vehicle for the expression of sentiments that were thought to be natural and spontaneous, originating in the hearts of the people: 'It is not the poetry of the courts or of the academies, nor of the schools of humanity or of the classical remembrance, that we are looking for in popular songs; it is the expression, more or less happy, of natural sentiments.'[29] From this, Tommaseo concluded that collections of popular songs, proverbs and traditions would serve as 'precious documents' with which to reconstruct 'the ever precious and often arcane history of the peoples [of Italy]'[30] This history, as Tommaseo conceived it, was not a history told through political struggles and institutions, but one which documented the primitive, 'natural' lives of the people of Italy, as revealed through the people's own popular song.[31] The study of folklore thus offered to Tommaseo a resource through which the history of the nation could be told through its people.

While assimilating these ideas about popular poetry and *naturpoesie*, Tommaseo also picked up ideas from his colleagues engaged in agricultural reform. Like many of the intellectuals debating the moral value of the *mezzadria*, Tommaseo believed that public peace and social cohesion was being undermined in Tuscany by certain corrupting influences being mediated through the cities. Tommaseo considered cities to be hotbeds of corruption and sedition, and pointed the finger squarely at 'foreign elements', which he deemed to be undermining social cohesion and sowing disunity between Italians. Writing in 1835 while in exile in Paris, Tommaseo summarised the corrupting effects of foreigners on Italian urban life as follows:

> 'Order, guardian of all happiness, is in no part less known than in the big cities, where it is discussed the most. Each novelty, and even if it causes misery, is accepted; always new foreigners [arrive], who come to lose their own virtue and spoil that of others, who teach men to view his fellow man as a source of profit, to throw himself on him as if on a prey.'[32]

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[29] 'non è la poesia delle corti e delle accademie, delle scuole di umanità e delle classiche rimembranze, che noi ne' canti popolari cerchiamo; è l'espressione, più o meno felice, di sentimenti naturali'. *Saggio de' canti popolari*, review by N. Tommaseo, p. 103.

[30] 'Conchiudendo diremo, che e canti popolari, e proverbii, e tradizioni, e novelle, e costumi, son tutti, a chi sapesse osservarli, documenti preziosi a riconstruire, laddove il tempo distruttore l'ha spersa, la preziosa sempre e spesso arcana istoria de' popoli'. Ibid, pp. 103-4.

[31] G. B. Bronzini, *I 'Canti popolari toscani' di N. Tommaseo* (Lecce, 1985), pp. 32-3.

[32] 'L'ordine, custode d'ogni felicità, in nessuna parte è men noto che nelle città grandi, ove più si parla. Ogni novità, e sia pur miseria, accetta; sempre nuovi stranieri, che vengono a perdere le virtù proprie e a guastare le

These ideas served to reinforce Tommaseo's belief that the nation's spirit would be found in the culture of country-dwellers, in particular those furthest away from the corrosive, non-Italian cultural influences making themselves felt in the cities. In fact, Tommaseo directed his gaze to regions of Tuscany which were geographically even more remote than the *mezzadri*: the Apennine mountains. Thus, while his colleagues at *L'Antologia* and in the *Accademia dei Georgofili* were debating the *mezzadria* as a source of social stability on the plains and hills, Tommaseo went to the mountains, not to study agricultural structures, but to explore the popular singing and poetic cultures of the people who inhabited them.

Tommaseo's first venture into folkloric research came in October 1832, when he undertook a tour around the mountain communities of Pistoia. What he witnessed of the culture of these communities confirmed many of his ideas and presuppositions about popular poetry and language. Everything about the mountain-dwellers – their speech, mannerisms, rituals, customs –suggested to Tommaseo a purer state of existence. In the diary he wrote for these travels, which was published in *Antologia* under the title 'Gita nel Pistojese', Tommaseo described the mountain-dwelling people as having a completely different, much more refined and poetic, physiognomy to the people of Florence: they were, to Tommaseo, 'more sculpted and more delicate', 'more poetic and more picturesque'.[33] Tommaseo was particularly struck by the popular dialect of the mountains and considered it to be purest, most uncontaminated version of the Italian language, most closely related to old Tuscan. It embodied, for Tommaseo, 'all the vestiges of the old use that illustrate the etymologies, without which, in a time such as ours, one often does not know how to distinguish that which is pure and elegant from that that which is improper, unseemly, strange.'[34]

altrui, che avvezzano l'uomo a stimare il suo simile come un lucro, a gettarglisi addosso come sopra una preda.' N. Tommaseo, *Dell'Italia. Libri cinque* (Paris, 1835), vol. I, p. 92.

[33] 'Nel pistojese si rincontra un tipo di fisonomie differente dal fiorentino; più scolpite insieme e più delicate. Son facce e più poetiche e più pittoresche'. N. Tommaseo, 'Gita nel Pistojese', *Antologia*, 48 (1832), p. 15.

[34] 'tutti vestigi dell'uso antico che illustrano le etimologie, senza le quali, in un tempo qual è il nostro, non si sa tavolta distinguere ciò ch'è puro ed elegante da ciò ch'è improprio, sconvenevole, strano.' Ibid, p. 17.

However, it was the popular oral songs of the mountains which caused Tommaseo greatest amazement. When Tommaseo arrived at small town of Cutigliano, he was fortunate enough to meet a shepherdess named Beatrice who lived in a nearby village called Pian degli Ontani. Beatrice had acquired fame locally as an exceptionally talented popular poet who, though illiterate, was capable of improvising poetry with remarkable ease and dexterity.[35] Tommaseo was astonished to hear this illiterate shepherdess sing words which seemed to have been picked straight from the Tuscan of Renaissance Italy, words which Tommaseo had read in the poetry of old Tuscan writers, such as Dante and Petrarch, but which he believed had fallen almost completely out of use.[36] Of even greater amazement to Tommaseo was the fact that Beatrice was not the only source of these popular songs. Tommaseo tells us that he found a 'rich vein' of popular songs in the town of Cutigliano, more than he could possibly collect together in one single day.[37] The fact that Beatrice, and so many other mountain-dwelling people, could wax lyrical using a language which appeared to have been drawn straight from old Tuscan convinced Tommaseo that the dialect of the Pistoia Mountains constituted the most uncorrupted form of the Italian language, one which had not been exposed to the corrosive influences of the cities and which had thus remained unchanged since the time of Dante. In much the same way that Greek folklore suggested to Fauriel a cultural link to the 'spirit of the ancients', the popular singing culture of the mountains represented to Tommaseo a linguistic and cultural tie to Italy's past.

Captivated by the seemingly pure, unblemished oral and poetic culture of the mountains, Tommaseo decided to use his brief time in Pistoia in 1832 to collect and write down as many popular songs as he could. Yet, as noble as his intentions were in documenting and preserving the popular oral singing culture of the Pistoiese Apennines, Tommaseo's subsequent writings on popular poetry in Pistoia served to fashion a highly problematic and deeply idealised representation of the

[35] Beatrice was the source of interest to a whole generation of female Anglo-American folklorists and travellers in Italy. For brief biographies of her life and activities, see F. Alexander, *Roadside Songs of Tuscany* (Orpington, 1884), pp. 1-4, 264-92; R. H. Busk, *The Folk-songs of Italy* (London, 1887), pp. 39-41.
[36] Tommaseo, 'Gita', p. 26; Ciampini, *Tommaseo*, p. 158.
[37] Tommaseo, 'Gita', p. 26; *Idem. Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci* (Venice, 1841-42), p. 5.

mountain communities. Tommaseo, drawing upon the idea of *naturpoesie* which he first encountered in Visconti's work, saw in the inhabitants of upland Pistoia a people who were much closer to nature, or in whom the original bond between mankind and nature had been preserved.[38] Building on his idea, Tommaseo, in his preface to his *Canti popolari*, argued that the proximity of the mountain populations to nature made the people into natural poets and authors. In the preface, he described Pistoia as 'the most poetic places of the poetical Tuscan land', and asserted that singing is like an 'instinct' or a 'need' to the people of the mountains.[39] By emphasising only the natural, instinctive poetic dexterity of the people, Tommaseo detached the mountain-dwelling populations from the material, economic and social reality of their existence, and represented singing almost as a spiritual response to the hardships of life.[40] In Tommaseo's work, the inhabitants of the mountains are seen not as groups of people inhabiting a complex social and cultural world, but as an idealized object which, in their state close to nature, cannot help but instinctively make poetry.

This fictive category of a natural, singing people, which underpins Tommaseo's work on popular poetry, constitutes perhaps one of the most problematic legacies in Tuscan folk-scholarship in the first half of the nineteenth century. This idea was embraced by succeeding generations of folklorists and soon crystallised into a semi-fictionalised construction of the people of rural Tuscany. Most notable of all the Tuscan folklorists who embraced Tommaseo's legacy was the Pistoiese priest and linguist, Giuseppe Tigri. Born in Pistoia in 1806, Giuseppe Tigri, like Tommaseo, was keenly interested in the popular speech and poetry of rural Pistoia. Tigri was also passionately involved in the debates about an Italian national language and was determined to use his research into Pistoiese popular culture to contribute to the linguistic unification of Italy and the establishment of a uniform, national language for the nascent Italian nation. Believing, like Tommaseo, that the most untainted

[38] Bronzini, *I 'Canti popolari'*, pp. 72-3. From this, Tommaseo reasoned that if artists and poets want to reconcile themselves to nature, they must first reconcile themselves to people, for it is in the people that the original bond between mankind and nature has been preserved: 'quando la letteratura si distacca dal popolo, si separa ad un tempo dalla natura; o non la tratta che come un soggetto d'imitazione meccanica'. Tommaseo, 'Gita', p. 18.
[39] 'de' più poetici luoghi della poetica terra toscana.' Tommaseo, *Canti popolari*, p. 5, 6.
[40] Bronzini, *I 'Canti popolari'*, pp. 70-1.

and uncorrupted form of Tuscan was spoken in the mountain regions of Pistoia,[41] Tigri believed that the Pistioese variant of Tuscan was the most suitable living dialect on which the national Italian language would be based. Thus, throughout the 1850s, Tigri set about putting together a collection of popular folk songs from the Pistoiese Apennines, taken chiefly from pre-existing collections compiled by other folk-scholars, in order to showcase and ultimately elevate Pistoiese to the level of a national language in Italy.[42]

However, Tigri's collection of popular Pistoiese songs was even more problematic than that of Tommaseo, representing the people of the mountains as idyllic, unperturbable and completely cut off from politics and the developments of the outside world. Since Tigri wanted to use his collection to exhibit and propagate the Pistoiese dialect as a basis for linguistic unification, Tigri became obsessed with capturing only what he deemed to be the purest, most traditional songs from the repertoire of Pistoiese popular culture. Tigri therefore constructed his own definition of tradition in folklore and then shaped his strategy for the collection of songs around this highly subjective and predetermined construct. Tigri argued that truly authentic, traditional popular poetry in the Tuscan mountains treated exclusively the theme of love, never political or topical themes.[43] As he laboured to point out to readers in the preface to his *Canti Popolari* of 1856, Tuscan popular poetry did not possess any truly traditional political popular songs.[44] In spite of these protestations, Tigri also mentioned in the preface to his *Canti* that he had noticed what he deemed to be new songs addressing contemporary and political themes – such as conscription and political conflicts – making

[41] 'E per trattare dei luoghi dove meglio dal popolo in Toscana si parla, pare che omai da ciascun si convenga di dover designare le provincie, e in specie le colline ed i monti, del Pistoiese e del Senese: sebbene possa dirsi senza riserbo che, in preferenza degli abitanti delle pianure, quelli tutti degli Appennini e delle valli adiacenti serbarono sempre quasi che intatto il tesoro di nostra lingua, così nel domestico favellare come nelle canzoni.' G. Tigri, *Canti popolari toscani raccolti e annotati da G. Tigri* (Florence, 1856), pp. ix-x.

[42] P. Treves, 'L'abate Giuseppe Tigri e la cultura Toscana del '59', *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 44 (1960), pp. 118-28. The fact that Tigri's collection of popular songs was compiled using song texts from existing collections published by earlier folk-scholars, most notably Tommaseo, is evidenced in a letter he wrote in April 1855 to Giuseppe Arcangeli, with whom Tigri was co-editing the volume: 'I canti Toscani di Tommaseo sono moltissimi, e bisognerebbe farne una scelta. Ci é la scegliere fra quelli della Viola del Pensiero, e della strenna dal 1839, come fra quelli raccolti dalla Tipografia Cino. Infine, ne ho preso di me una buona collezione.' B.N.C.F., F.R.C., Cassetta XXI, inserto 1f, 'Carteggi relativi ai canti popolari', letter no. 1.

[43] Tigri, *Canti popolari*, pp. xiii-xvi

[44] Ibid, pp. xviii-xix.

an appearance in the popular oral cultures of the mountains. However, Tigri dismissed these songs as mere modern innovations. In order to showcase and disseminate 'traditional' Pistoiese culture and language, Tigri chose to collect and publish only those songs which conformed to his constructed notion of 'tradition' and suppressed all songs with political or topical references. In the preface to the first edition of his *Canti popolari*, Tigri informed his readers that 'I have chosen of these songs those that seem to me truly traditional and the oldest, and I have endeavoured to exclude, as much as was possible, the modernized ones.'[45] As far as political songs were concerned, Tigri explained that his collection had no place for them: 'while I wanted to provide a choice of the most original, neither modern nor political [songs] could have a place'.[46]

Tigri's ideologically-informed selection process, and his bias for songs which treat themes of love, fashioned an image of the mountain communities of Pistoia and their singing cultures as centred exclusively on the expression of amorous sentiments and as divorced from politics and modern life. Whereas Tommaseo romanticised the people of the mountains, portraying them as poets in tune with nature, Tigri went one step further, representing the communities of the Pistoiese highlands as inhabiting their own separate, impenetrable, apolitical space.[47]

The joint efforts of nineteenth-century economists, landlords and folklorists have thus created an enduring myth of rural Tuscany in the nineteenth century as static and unchanging, inhabited by a pure, innocent people living in a more natural state of existence, perpetually separate from and unaffected by politics and urban, literate culture. The reality of life in rural Tuscany in the nineteenth century was, however, very different from the ways these intellectuals imagined. While it may be true that the *mezzadria* system served to make Tuscan agriculture more sedentary than many other European rural contexts, it is important to remember that there also existed in the Tuscan

[45] 'Ho scelto di questi canti quelli che mi son parsi veramente tradizionali e più antichi, e mi sono ingegnato di escludere, per quanto mi è stato possibile gli ammodernati.' Ibid, p. xxiv.
[46] 'mentre ho voluto darne una scelta, dei più originali, non potevano avervi luogo nè i moderni nè i politici'. Ibid.
[47] Many historians have made similar judgements about Tigri. See Carpi, 'Classi dominanti', pp. 110-4; Clemente, 'I 'Selvaggi'', pp. 57-8; L. Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci e le Sessanta Novelle Popolari Montalesi* (Pistoia, 2006), pp. 35-6.

countryside established patterns of transhumance and mobility, encompassing the movements of travelling artisans but also the circulation of popular printed literature, which helped to facilitate the transmission of information around the countryside.[48] In fact, from the mid-1840s onwards, the amount of information with a decidedly *political* character circulating through rural Tuscany was much greater than contemporary economists and folklorists realised. It is certainly true that the Tuscan countryside boasted comparatively few channels of cultural communication connecting the rural to the urban world, especially in comparison to regions with rich associational cultures like the French Provence.[49] However, over the juncture of 1846-49, as civic and patriotic festivals proliferated in the main cities of Tuscany, numerous intermediary agents played a vital role in disseminating patriotic and political discourses throughout the Tuscan countryside. Of no little importance in this process were the local parish clergy, many of whom, over the course of 1846-48, were becoming increasingly sympathetic to new, emerging political ideas. Much like the local patriotic clergy in Lombardy and the Veneto, who carried anti-Austrian ideas into rural regions and predisposed rural communities towards revolution,[50] liberal-minded rural priests in Tuscany helped to bring the new political celebrations, complete with the developing political vocabularies of patriotism and national independence, into the village setting, thus facilitating the exposure of rural communities to new ideas and discourses. In traditional religious services, especially in the months following the grand duke's creation of the Civic Guard in September 1847, patriotic clergymen in rural Tuscany mixed political symbolism with religious rituals, encouraging their congregations to thank the grand duke for his reforms, to sing patriotic hymns, and to raise celebratory cries in favour of the Civic Guard and in support of national independence.[51] In the town of Pontessieve, this

[48] For mobility and communication in the Tuscan countryside in the nineteenth century, see above, pp. 33, 40-2.
[49] M. Agulhon, *The Republic in the Village: The People of the Var from the French Revolution to the Second Republic*, tr. J. Lloyd (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 124-50.
[50] F. della Peruta, 'I contadini nella rivoluzione lombarda del 1848', in della Peruta, *Democrazia e socialismo nel Risorgimento: saggi e ricerche* (Rome, 1965), p. 74; P. Ginsborg, 'Peasants and Revolutionaries in Venice and the Veneto, 1848,' *Historical Journal*, 27 (1974), p. 514.
[51] C. Tacke, 'Revolutionary Festivals in Germany and Italy', in Dowe et al. (eds), *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 800-3.

intermingling of the political with the religious reached its pinnacle on 26th September 1847 with a solemn mass in honour of the Civic Guard, performed in the cathedral. Spectators flocked from the surrounding countryside to take part in the celebration, many of whom raised *evvivas* to Leopold II and Pius IX, but also to 'the Italian League', to 'Liberty' and to 'those who will be the first to kill the Germans.'[52] Through the efforts of rural clergymen, local religious festivals throughout 1847-48 became important focal points for an array of political ideas and discourses, serving to introduce rural communities to the changing politics of the time.

Rural communities also picked up on many of the new symbols and slogans and integrated them into their own cultural products. Giuseppe Montanelli, writing about the popular celebrations which took place in Florence on 12th September in honour of the newly-created Civic Guard, described how the parades and processions spilled out of the city and snaked their way into the surrounding villages. According to Montanelli, not only did the rural villagers greet the celebrations with smiles and cheers, village bands responded by playing popular war hymns and 'popular poets improvised octaves to Pius IX, to union and to Italy.'[53] The custodians and performers of popular rural culture were thus responsive to the new political concepts being brought into their villages, proficiently absorbing patriotic language and reproducing it in their own cultural forms. Not even remote mountainous regions were completely immune to the diffusion of political discourses. Even Giuseppe Tigri, as desperate as he was to showcase only what he deemed to be 'traditional' Pistoiese rural culture, acknowledged the wide circulation of war songs and hymns in the mountains in 1859, carried by mobile militias and army battalions en route to Lombardy, as well as making a passing comment on the ease with which mountain-dwellers could insert political language into their courtship songs.[54]

[52] A.S.F., P.B.G., Arch. Seg., 1847, f. 24, aff. 139, Extraordinary report of the agent of police, dated 27th September 1847.
[53] G. Montanelli, *Memorie sull'Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana dal 1814 al 1850* (Turin, 1855), vol. II, p. 31.
[54] Tigri, *Canti popolari*, 2nd edn. (1860), pp. xxx-xxxi.

There was, therefore, more going on in the Tuscan countryside than some contemporaries would have us understand. It is therefore necessary to jettison some of our received ideas about the Tuscan countryside, and to adopt a more critical eye in our assessment of the political ideas and sentiments constructed and expressed by rural populations. For this, it is necessary to penetrate beneath the misleading cultural representations bequeathed to us by economists, folklorists and other elite observers of the countryside, and to seek out 'hidden transcripts', historical documents and texts which speak more directly of the experiences of subaltern groups in the countryside, and which may tell a different story to that offered by intellectuals, elites and public officials.[55] The purpose here is not to suggest that Tuscany was on the brink of a popular peasant revolution in 1859, nor is the intention to suggest that Tuscany was more unstable socially than it actually was. In some ways, Tuscany *was* a comparatively tranquil region during the Risorgimento: Tuscany did not witness anything like the rural mobilisations in favour of revolution such as those which took place in Lombardy and Venetia in 1848, or in Sicily in 1860.[56] The purpose, rather, is to attempt to restore some subjective autonomy and agency to the people of rural Tuscany by exploring what these people were thinking and feeling during the tumultuous years of 1859-60. While it may be true that the economic, social and cultural worlds of Tuscan sharecroppers were heavily structured by the institution of the *mezzadria* and by the extended family unit, these structures did not prevent rural-dwelling Tuscans from coming into contact with the language and discourse of new political ideas. Nor did it prevent rural people from formulating their own ideas about events going on in the towns. Peasants may very well have sung songs of love by the firesides of their *poderi* during the long nights of the winter wake, but they also contemplated and possibly even debated by the fireside too.

Fortunately for historians, the academic study of folklore in Tuscany, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, was on the brink of a major change in professional standards. National Unification

[55] J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (Yale, 1990).
[56] della Peruta, 'I contadini nella rivoluzione lombarda'; Ginsborg, 'Peasants and Revolutionaries in Venice'; D. Mack Smith, 'The Peasants' Revolt in Sicily, 1860', in Mack Smith (ed.), *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento* (London, 1971), pp. 190-224; L. Riall, 'Garibaldi and the South', in J. A. Davis (ed.), *Italy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 132-53.

heightened the need for a national language and literature, while at the same time highlighting the anachronism and archaic nature of Giuseppe Tigri's representation of the Tuscan countryside, which showed the people of the Tuscan mountains as completely devoid of patriotic sentiments and disconnected from the events which had forged the Italian nation. The Tuscan peasants represented through Tigri's collection of songs thus came to be seen as a political embarrassment by the culture brokers of the fledgling Italian nation, especially when Tigri's work was put alongside the *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, collected by Costantino Nigra and published in a series of essays starting in 1854, which revealed a rich tradition of epic war poetry – commemorating the bellicose histories of Piedmont, but also of Provence, Brittany and Spain – in the singing cultures of the people of Northern Italy. The contrasting representations offered by Tigri and Nigra, of one people singing exclusively of love and another with a strong martial tradition, also caused great concern for literary nationalists and the new generation of post-Unification folklorists, for it appeared that these two folkloric collections proffered an image of Italy as divided into two distinct cultural zones, thus undermining the claim that Italy constituted one single, indivisible cultural and political entity.[57] The new generation of folklorists – men like Alessandro D'Ancona, Domenico Comparetti and Angelo De Gubernatis – thus set about trying to use folklore in service of forging national unity. Breaking away from the parochialism of scholars such as Tigri, while at the same time taking advantage of the new methodologies in the study of folklore filtering into Italy from Central and Northern Europe (such as philology which emphasised the study of the origins and diffusion of songs), these new Italian folklorists sought to collect and document the unique regional cultures of Italy, with a view to offering a picture of cultural unity, or of bringing together the voices of Italy in one 'grand orchestra.'[58]

Gherardo Nerucci was entering into the study of folklore at just the right time to take advantage of these changes. Nerucci came to the study of folklore quite late in life. An ardent patriot in his

[57] Carpi, 'Classi dominanti', pp. 118-21.
[58] Ibid, pp. 120-24; Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci*, pp. 64-7; Cocchiara, *History of Folklore in Europe*, pp. 332-47.

youth, at age 20 Nerucci had fought at the battle of Curtatone as part of the University Battalion which he had joined while he was a student at the University of Pisa. After graduating, Nerucci went on to practice law in Rome and Florence for much of the 1850s, before committing himself to various literary activities and writing for numerous Florentine newspapers, towards the close of the 1850s.[59] With National Unification, Nerucci was hoping to establish himself as a teacher of Greek in a school in Florence. Liberal Italy, however, was not that kind to him, and it was not until April 1861 that Nerucci managed to secure a teaching position, not in Florence, but at the *Ginnasio Forteguerri* in Pistoia.[60] At around the same time, Nerucci, feeling disaffected with the new Italian state, chose to take up residence in his family estate at Malcalo, a large country villa with extensive lands situated in rural Montale.[61] This was a part of the Tuscan countryside which, though close to Pistoia, was dominated by *mezzadri*, and populated by sharecroppers living in *poderi*.[62] It was while living in the rural quietude of Montale that Nerucci first began to exhibit an interest in folklore and the study of popular singing cultures. Like many of his contemporaries, as well as the generations of Tuscan folklorists that went before him, Nerucci was interested in endowing the new nation with a national culture and national language. Nerucci believed that the language of any new nation must be based on an existing, spoken language, for it was in the spoken dialects of the people that, according to Nerucci, the spirit of the nation resided.[63] Drawing upon the intellectual legacy of his predecessor and former mentor, Giuseppe Tigri, Nerucci also argued that it was the spoken dialects of Tuscany, more than any other Italian dialect, which constituted the surest basis on which to build a national language, for it is in Tuscany that the 'language of our fathers is still alive among the common people, who learn it, not from books and grammar, but from the milk which is fed from the breasts

[59] For a biography of Nerucci's early life, see F. Rosso, *Notizie biografiche di Gherardo Nerucci* (Fossano, 1902).
[60] L. Santanni, 'Gherardo Nerucci: una monografia', in *Gherardo Nerucci: letterato, folklorista, patriota nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento*, Atti del convegno di studi (Montale, 2006), pp. 18-9.
[61] M. Francini, 'Gli anni di Malcalo. Nerucci dalla cronaca alla memoria', in *Gherardo Nerucci: letterato, folklorista, patriota*, p. 105.
[62] A. Ottanelli, 'Gherardo Nerucci, la Società privata e la Scuola nottura rurale del Montale', in *Gherardo Nerucci: letterato, folklorista, patriota*, p. 124.
[63] Nerucci explains these beliefs in G. Nerucci, *Saggio di uno studio sopra i parlari vernacoli della Toscana: vernacolo montalese (contado) del sotto-dialetto di Pistoia; varie appendici* (Milan, 1865), pp. xi-xiv.

of their mothers and nurses.'[64] However, Nerucci was far more sensitive to the changing political context, and to the influences of the international academic community, than Tigri ever was. An astute literary scholar, even during his state of semi-retirement at Malcalo, Nerucci was familiar with the early works of D'Ancona, along with the works of European folklorists and philologists such as the Oxford-based German Max Müller.[65] Nerucci thus kept abreast of the changing academic standards and political pressures in the study of folklore, and it was these changes which came to influence Nerucci's own, though somewhat more modest, folkloric pursuits.

The villa at Malcalo, with its extensive lands, also put Nerucci in close proximity to the rural populations of Montale, giving him the perfect opportunity to get to know the sharecroppers of the region and learn about their culture. Since Nerucci does not appear to have left any significant diaries documenting his activities over these early years in Montale, it is not easy to reconstruct precisely when he started collecting songs from the rural populations of the region. In February 1862, however, Nerucci published an article in the newspaper *La Nazione*, in which he announced that his folkloric researches were almost complete and that he had at that time amassed a collection of some 268 new *canti popolari toscani*, all composed in the distinctive Montalesi dialect.[66] This was three years before the publication of his major collection of Montalesi popular songs, and study of the Montalesi dialect, *Saggio di uno studio sopra I parlari vernacoli della Toscana*. Nerucci had thus clearly undertaken the majority of his field research and collecting during his first year in Malcalo, in the run up to the publication of his article in *La Nazione*. In the preface to his monumental *Saggio*, Nerucci also assured his readers that all of the songs he published were taken from the mouths of rural-dwelling people from Montale: 'I attest that each voice, each phrase, each song in this book I heard and transcribed immediately with my own hand, asking for explanations of the meanings

[64] 'viva è nel volgo tuttavia la parlatura de' padri, che l'apprende, non per libri e grammatica, ma col latte la sugge dal seno delle madri e delle balie.' Ibid, p. xix; Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci*, pp. 38-9.
[65] Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci*, p. 65.
[66] *La Nazione*, 11th Feb., 1862.

which were obscure to me from the same speakers and singers from the area.'[67] While little of any precision can be said about the biographical details and social profiles of the individuals from whom Nerucci collected songs – since Nerucci did not make note of the identities of his informants in either his published works or his surviving manuscripts – what can be inferred is that the vast majority of the people from whom Nerucci collected songs were probably occupied in some form or manner in the process of agricultural production centred on the *mezzadria*.

Nerucci's collection is an invaluable one for historians, capturing something of the voices of Tuscan sharecroppers living and working on the plains around Montale. This does not mean that Nerucci's collection is devoid of methodological challenges. For one thing, it is inevitable that Nerucci's process of collecting, transcribing and publishing songs would have involved a degree of selectivity and choice; Nerucci could not possibly have written down every song he encountered, and far less of the sum total of popular songs which existed in these years in Montalese oral culture. Furthermore, Nerucci's status as a landlord, and his direct involvement in the hierarchical client-patron relations of the *mezzadria*, may have affected the willingness of the Montalesi to share certain of their songs with him. While sharecroppers may have been happy to perform songs with a patriotic bent for their landlord, especially in first few years following National Unification, they would probably have been much more coy when it came to sharing songs which, for instance, critiqued the *mezzadria* system or articulated a sense of social justice. Despite these drawbacks, Nerucci's work also offers some distinct advantages, chief among which is the fact that Nerucci, in collecting his songs, jettisoned the ideologically-informed selection criteria which had guided his former mentor Giuseppe Tigri. In a conscious attempt to break from the methods championed by Tigri, Nerucci claimed to take Montalese singing culture as he found it, and avoided expunging those songs which he considered distasteful or which did not conform to his own constructed idea of tradition. Nerucci expressed this idea succinctly in a letter he sent to fellow folklorist Domenico

[67] 'Attesto che ogni voce, ogni frase, ogni canto di questo libro io l'ho udito e trascritto di mio proprio pugno e incontanente, dimandando spiegazione de' significati a me oscuri agli stessi parlatori e cantori del luogo.' Nerucci, *Saggio di uno studio*, pp. xxi-xxii.

Comparetti in 1864: 'I want to point out to you that the popular poetry recorded by me has not got an aesthetic purpose; I have not patched it together, like in Tigri's Canti popolari, reducing it to the form of common Tuscan; I intended to record that which was good and that which was bad of the ideas and the language of this region.'[68]

Nerucci's collection was thus something very new in the long tradition of Tuscan studies into popular poetry. While certainly not a direct, unmediated gateway into popular culture in the past, Nerucci's collection does offer a more accurate and perhaps more faithful representation of Montalese vernacular culture than the collections of Tigri and Tommaseo provided of the mountains. The methodological difficulties of using Nerucci's collection for exploring popular sentiments in the past – the fact that the song texts are mediated through a literate member of the urban middle class (turned landowner), the reductive quality of the texts and the loss of meanings conveyed through tone, expression, gesture etc.[69] – are no greater and no more inhibiting than they are for the study of any folkloric collection compiled by a literate, middle-class scholar studying a culture from which s/he is partially separate by virtue of her/his class and education. Problems of this nature are inevitable when using published collections of folklore as a source for the ideas and sentiments of rural labouring groups. With these considerations in mind, Nerucci's work can offer the historian a great deal indeed, providing perhaps one of the most comprehensive compilations of 'hidden transcripts' for the populations of this region of Tuscany, who lived through this important chapter in Italian history.

[68] 'Voglio però notarti che la poesia popolare da me registrata non ha uno scopo estetico; io non l'ho raffazzonata, come ne' Canti popolari del Tigri, riducendola alla forma del Toscano comune; io ho inteso registrare quell che vi era di buono e cattivo nelle idee e nella lingua di questa contrada.' Quoted in Santanni, *Gherardo Nerucci*, p. 66.

[69] For the methodological problems of using published collections of folklore as a historical source for the ideas and emotions of subaltern, largely pre-literate groups, see above, pp. 50-1.

From Sharecropper to Italian: The events of 1859-60 and the Propaganda of Bettino Ricasoli.

The events of 1859-60, which were to have such a profound effect on the minds of Tuscan people, can largely be described as a shift in political opinion which brought Tuscany into closer alignment with the policies of Piedmont and with the debates centred on the issue of Italian nationality. From 1858, moderate liberals in Tuscany – men like Bettino Ricasoli, Cosimo Ridolfi and Vincenzo Salvagnoli – were looking with increasing interest on the political projects of Piedmontese Prime Minster Count Camillo Benso Cavour, and in particular the idea of a military alliance against Austria.[70] Throughout the first few months of 1859, as rumours began to circulate that a war between Piedmont and Austria was imminent, the Tuscan moderates began to make regular contact with Cavour in Turin, while at the same time labouring to convince the grand duke of the value of entering into a military alliance with France and Piedmont against Austria.[71] While Leopold II remained steadfastly opposed to any such arrangement, in late April the political situation changed dramatically when a motley crew of nationalists and republicans not formally affiliated with any of the main political groupings – Giuseppe Dolfi, Ermolao Rubieri, Piero Cironi – seized the political initiative and orchestrated an enormous demonstration in favour of war against Austria, which took place in Florence on 27th April 1859.[72] For the second time in just over a decade, the grand duke fled Tuscany, this time to Vienna. A provisional government was established which in turn wrote to Cavour requesting that Victor Emmanuel II be made temporary dictator of Tuscany for the duration of the war against Austria. Cavour replied stating that the Piedmontese King would act as Protector of Tuscany, with full powers over the Tuscan military, and that these powers would be entrusted to Piedmontese ambassador to Florence, Carlo Boncompagni. The government which Boncompagni set up, while officially subordinate to the authority of Piedmont, effectively re-installed the Tuscan

[70] G. Candeloro, *Storia dell'Italia moderna* (Milan, 1964), vol. IV, p. 341.
[71] D. Mack Smith, 'Cavour and the Tuscan revolution of 1859', in Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento*, pp. 126-30.
[72] D. Mack Smith, 'Radicals and Moderates in Florence, April 1859', in Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento*, pp. 113-25.

moderate-liberal nobles in power, placing them squarely in the driving seat of the revolution which was unfolding in Tuscany.[73]

While the majority of the moderates in Tuscany, from May 1859 onwards, were committed to preserving the autonomy of Tuscany,[74] Ricasoli, almost from his very appointment as Interior Minister by Boncompagni, was committed to the idea of Italian national unity and to figuring out the place of Tuscany in the as yet un-constituted Italian nation.[75] Ricasoli even became more sympathetic to the idea of the 'fusion' of Tuscany with Piedmont, which he envisioned as a necessary stage in the process of Tuscany's integration into the emerging Italian nation. The victory of the French and Piedmontese troops at Magenta on 4th June 1859, followed by news of Napoleon III's proclamation in Milan, on 8th June, which addressed the 'people of Italy', forced the hand of Ricasoli and the moderates. Fearing that such events may excite further demonstrations on the part of the democrats, the government resolved to summon the *Consulta di Stato*, which would gather on 16th June to decide on the proclamation of national sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel II.[76] This was a significant step for the Ricasoli government, for it represented the first tentative recognition of the principle of Italian national unity by Tuscan politicians. Ricasoli, however, was determined to push the issue further. Not content with this cautious statement on Italian nationality, Ricasoli, enlisting the help of the democrat and popular leader Giuseppe Dolfi, also circulated the proclamation to the municipal councils of Tuscany, instructing his prefects to encourage support amongst the councillors and solicit signatures in favour of the address.[77]

The peace of Villanfranca cut short all of these overtures to national unity. The peace accords, which dictated that the old dynasties of the Central Italian states should retake their thrones, left a bitter taste in the mouths of Tuscan liberals of all colouring. By this point, very few in the

[73] Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 200, 205-8.
[74] Kroll, *Rivolta del patriziato*, pp. 408-10.
[75] Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 218-21.
[76] R. della Torre, *La evoluzione del sentiment nazionale in Toscana dal 27 aprile 1859 al 15 marzo 1860* (Milan, 1915), pp. 142-43; Mack Smith, 'Cavour and the Tuscan revolution', pp. 145-47; Kroll, *Rivolta del patriziato*, p. 412.
[77] Della Torre, *La evoluzione*, pp. 154-7; Hancock, *Ricasoli*, 222-23.

government wanted a return of Leopold. His second departure from Tuscany was construed as betrayal and there was concern that his return would incite popular outrage and a resurgence of democratic demonstrations.[78] Moderate liberals who had clung to the principle of Tuscan autonomy, and who were now determined to oppose the implementation of the terms of Villafranca and put a stop to the return of Leopold, largely abandoned their former autonomism and joined Ricasoli in pushing for union with Piedmont. To bring his project to fruition, Ricasoli proposed the election of a Tuscan assembly of deputies, which would decide on the future of Tuscany. For the elections, which took place over 4th and 5th August and which were conducted on a restricted franchise based on the law of 1848, Ricasoli pulled out all the stops to ensure he got the outcome he wanted. Prefects throughout Tuscany were charged with curtailing the influence of reactionaries and legitimists, as well as with 'illuminating' voters in the government's pro-union position.[79] The result was a resounding success for the government and Ricasoli: the election of an assembly which was largely noble in social composition and overwhelmingly moderate-liberal in ideology.[80] On 16th August, the deputies voted for the permanent deposition of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. Three days later, on 20th August, the assembly voted in favour of the union of Tuscany to Piedmont under the Constitutional Monarchy of Victor Emmanuel II.

Significantly, the political changes which took place over the course of these months were not accompanied by any great displays of legitimism in the countryside. In contrast the grand duke's departure in February 1849, which triggered widespread peasant risings in support of the grand duke and in opposition to the Provisional Government,[81] in April 1859 the grand duke's flight did not elicit any discernible popular rural protest against the new government.[82] In fact, the people of rural Tuscany greeted almost all of the seismic political changes of 1859-60 with coolness and equanimity,

[78] Kroll, *Rivolta del patriziato*, pp. 414-15.
[79] Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 237-39.
[80] Kroll, *Rivolta del patriziato*, p. 416.
[81] For these events, see above, ch. 2, p. 114.
[82] M. Meriggi, 'Gli antichi stati crollano', in A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), *Storia d'Italia. Annali*, 22, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 2007), pp. 551-52.

even expressing their assent to developments. To cite one noteworthy example, the small rural town of Firenzuola, situated in the Apennine region north of Florence in the borderlands between Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna, pledged its allegiance to the provisional government within 11 days of hearing the news of the grand duke's departure. The town magistracy and *gonfaloniere* then raised funds from the town population for the war against Austria before finally assenting, albeit after a month-long period of deliberation, to the address circulated by Ricasoli in favour of Victor Emmanuel.[83] While the procrastinations and dilatoriness in this case study are most certainly significant, alluding to the initial uncertainty with which rural and village communities greeted these significant events, what this example shows most clearly is that mentalities and attitudes in even isolated towns of provincial Tuscany were already beginning to shift. The same categories of people who, only ten years previously, had demonstrated forcefully that they were not prepared to give up their Godly-appointed sovereign, appeared in 1859 to greet the loss of the grand duke and the prospect of monumental political change with relative calm.

An important factor which helped to ensure the positive reception of these political developments in the countryside was the propaganda campaign run by the post-grand ducal government of Boncompagni, which aimed to inform Tuscans en masse about political events and shape public opinion to support of the government's increasingly pro-Piedmont, nationalist policies. Almost as soon as the grand duke left Florence, satirical and anti-Leopold literature started to circulate around the capital. Opportunistic pamphleteers, taking advantage of the political situation, peddled ephemeral prints which lampooned Leopold and accused him of being complicit in all of the excesses of the Austrian regime in Tuscany over the past decade.[84] Bettino Ricasoli, almost from the very beginning of his tenure as Interior Minister, recognised the political value of this kind satirical ephemera and actively encouraged the dissemination of revolutionary, anti-Leopold literature. In order to achieve this goal, Ricasoli and his moderate allies sought to conquer the administrative

[83] A. Savelli, 'Il moto nazionale del 1859-1860 in un commune di montagna della provincial di Firenze', *Il Risorgimento Italiano. Rivista storica*, I (1908), pp.484-88.
[84] Hancock, *Ricasoli*, pp. 199-200.

machinery of the Tuscan state by appointing prefects and *gonfalonieri* who were sympathetic to moderate liberalism, drawing upon the extensive personal power networks and ties of patronage which men like Ricasoli enjoyed as landowners.[85] Ricasoli then put his network of prefects to work disseminating the government's propaganda, instructing his officials to distribute anti-Leopold literature all over Tuscany, including even the remotest corners of the state, and paying local authorities to circulate it in their towns and villages.[86] After Villafranca, Ricasoli's propaganda campaign intensified and took on a much more fusionist, pro-Piedmont colouring. As more and more of Ricasoli's colleagues abandoned autonomism in the aftermath of Villafranca and threw their lot in with Ricasoli's plans for closer alignment with Piedmont, fusionist literature exploded. In response, Ricasoli redoubled his efforts to disseminate far and wide literature which drove home the government's annexationist position and which disparaged the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. This literature proved to be vital in shaping public opinion in the lead up to the elections to the Tuscan assembly, held on 4th and 5th August, and in influencing the decision of the deputies to depose the grand duke and pronounce in favour of union with Piedmont.[87]

The apogee of Ricasoli's popularly-oriented propaganda campaign, and the phase which targeted most explicitly rural audiences, came in the lead up to the plebiscite in March 1860. The suggestion made early in 1860 by Cavour and Napoleon III, that the issue of Tuscan annexation should be decided through a plebiscite conducted through universal manhood suffrage, forced Ricasoli to confront the prospect that the whole of the Tuscan population, including formerly disenfranchised sharecroppers, would soon be called on to determine the fate of Tuscany. In this unprecedented political context, Ricasoli was acutely aware of the challenge that stood before him: if he was to achieve annexation, he needed to reach out to all Tuscan men aged over 21, including the sharecroppers working the great Tuscan estates, and shape them into citizens and voters who supported the government's drive towards national politics. It was in March 1860, therefore, that

[85] Kroll, *Rivolta del patriziato*, pp. 396-407.
[86] Hancock, *Ricasoli*, p. 214.
[87] Ibid, pp. 236-9.

the propaganda campaign acquired its greatest importance. Ricasoli's pro-Piedmont political literature needed to circulate wider and penetrate deeper than it had ever done. However, Ricasoli also needed to make certain that his annexationist messages would be received and taken to heart by rural Tuscans living in their dispersed *poderi*. In February-March 1860, Ricasoli pulled out all the stops to overcome the challenges of the countryside and convert sharecroppers into Italians.[88] Not only did he instruct his prefects and local officials to circulate pro-annexationist literature, which told Tuscans to participate in the plebiscite and vote in favour of annexation, he also made use of influential local notables and landowners, who were ordered to employ their agents and estate managers in the task of disseminating ephemeral literature in the countryside and convincing rural voters of the necessity of Tuscany's union with Piedmont.[89] The use of estate managers proved to be especially useful in this endeavour. As the lynchpin between the landlord and the tenants, the estate managers, or *fattori*, were perhaps in the best position to understand the world of the Tuscan sharecropper. Landlords could therefore use estate managers to communicate the messages of printed propaganda to their tenants, much as they had been used to communicate written instructions or notifications.[90] Agents in the countryside also made effective use of public and communal readings to get annexationist messages across to rural audiences. In one telling example, Francesco Finocchietti, the prefect of Siena, wrote to Ricasoli informing him of a plan, concocted by prominent Sienese citizens, to read out, in various important public meeting points in the countryside, a 'programme' designed to 'illuminate and direct public opinion' on the issue of annexation.[91] In an even more explicit attempt to reach Tuscans and educate them in how the government expected them to vote, Ricasoli's ministry also sanctioned the dissemination of thousands of pre-printed ballot cards bearing the message 'Union to the Constitutional Monarchy of

[88] Ibid, pp. 287-89.
[89] *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, vol. XII, pp. 209-10, 228-29; Vasoli, *Plebiscito*, pp. 76-9.
[90] See above, p. 41.
[91] 'un programma relativa ad illuminare e dirigere l'opinione pubblica'. *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, vol. XII, p. 236.

Victor Emmanuel'.[92] These cards circulated widely around the countryside, and in the weeks leading up to the plebiscite were seen adorning the hats of both urban- and rural-dwelling Tuscans.[93] In March 1860, Ricasoli was thus employing as many tactics and intermediary agents as possible to ensure that his political messages penetrated the minds of rural voters.

The language used in the pamphlets disseminated by the Ricasoli regime also played an important role in making annexationist literature accessible to rural reading audiences. In a manner similar to the French *démoc-soc* pamphleteers of 1849,[94] the propagandists who penned the popularly-oriented literature of 1859-60 adopted linguistic styles and structures which would have been very familiar to rural sharecroppers and villagers, including making use of an idiom of popular religion. One such print, published anonymously and entitled *Non più austriaci in Toscana. Parole di un sacerdote*,[95] adopted the proselytising language of the Bible and took the form of a parish priest preaching to his parishioners, in order to instruct readers not to support a return of the grand duke. This pamphlet begins by reminding readers of their God-given duty as Christians to love each other and not to sow discord amongst their fellow Christians. Then, addressing the readers directly, the pamphlet states that anyone who attempts to act in favour of a return of the grand duke would make themselves an enemy of Christian harmony, by trying to impose the grand duke on a majority who do not want him back. In one of its most evocative and direct passages, the text states 'now, hear us well, this enemy who unjustly assaults those who do not cause trouble would be you, if you try to coerce with force other Tuscans to retake the grand ducal family.'[96] Not only would this constitute an offence to fellow Christians, it would also be an offence to God: 'You would thus commit a hideous sin against Christian charity and against the fraternal love that must hold together all of the inhabitants of a state in a single will, and you would bring down the wrath and punishment

[92] E. Rubieri, *Storia intima della Toscana dal 1 gennaio 1859 al 30 aprile 1860* (Prato, 1861), p. 316; Della Torre, *La evoluzione*, p. 503.
[93] *Carteggi di Bettino Ricasoli*, vol. XII, pp. 239-40.
[94] E. Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 152-68.
[95] *Non più austriaci in Toscana. Parole di un sacerdote* (Florence, 1859).
[96] 'Ora, guardateci bene, questo nemico che assalta ingiustamente chi non gli da noia sareste voi, se tentaste di costringere colla forza gli altri toscani a riprendere la famiglia del Granduca.' Ibid, pp. 11-2.

of God.'[97] The author of this pamphlet, therefore, sought to inspire in its rural readers the same emotions of dread which parishioners would have been used to experiencing at religious sermons, and attempted to use this emotional response from its readers as a tool through which to inculcate political obedience.

While some pamphlets appropriated religious language, others employed genres of oral song popular in the countryside to communicate their messages. The use of traditional genres of popular vernacular song to convey political messages in printed literature was a technique championed by many political leaders in nineteenth-century Europe, and one which helped to repackage complex political ideas in a communicative medium which rural people could understand.[98] In 1859, the pamphlet entitled *Testamento dell'I. e R. Casa Lorena* employed precisely this tactic, containing five verses written in the style of the *rispetto* which condemned an attempt made by the grand duke to use the army to bombard Florence on the day of his departure.[99] Florentine pamphleteers thus exhibited great dexterity in drawing upon the idiom of rural popular parlance, in order to make printed political literature as accessible as possible to broad audiences of the rural reading public. Although evidence of independent reading amongst Tuscan sharecroppers is relatively scarce, the reports submitted to Ricasoli by his various prefects largely support that rural dwellers, in some parts of Tuscany at least, were making an effort to engage with printed annexationist propaganda at their own initiative. On 10th March 1860, the day before the plebiscite, the prefect of Pisa wrote in his report that 'in the countryside, things are progressing in ways nobody could have hoped. They read with avidity the prints, they comment on them, and they complain only of not having been illuminated earlier.'[100] By the eve of National Unification, therefore, Ricasoli was clearly having noticeable success in conveying his political messages to the rural populations of Tuscany.

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[97] 'Voi dunque fareste un orrendo peccato contro la carità cristiana, contro l'amor fraterno che deve tenere uniti tutti gli abitanti d'uno stato in un solo volere, vi tirereste addosso l'ira e il gastigo di Dio'. Ibid, p. 13.
[98] See, for instance, I. Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 76-88.
[99] Information about this pamphlet, and transcriptions of some of the verses, are contained in Della Torre, *Evoluzione*, pp. 76-7.
[100] 'Nelle Campagne si muovono in modo che non poteva neppure sperarsi. Leggono con avidità i stampati, li commentano, e solo si lagnano di non essere stati prima d'ora illuminati'. Quoted in Vasoli, *Il plebiscito*, p. 79.

The propaganda of the Ricasoli regime expressed a broad range of ideas. One of the most common themes to emerge from the ephemeral political literature of 1859-60 was a complete anathematisation of Leopold and the association of the grand duke with the Austrian House of Habsburg through both bloodline and sentiment. In a pamphlet entitled *La Toscana abbandonata da Leopoldo II ha trovato un padrone migliore* (Tuscany, abandoned by Leopold II, has found a better lord) written by the priest Romualdo Volpi in the days following the conclusion of Villafranca, Leopold's choice to flee to Austria after the revolution of 27th April, rather than to a country that was neutral in the War of Independence like Spain or Portugal, is seen as evidence of Leopold's 'purely Austrian spirit'. What's more, the decision to go to Vienna, for Volpi, shows Leopold's complete rejection of the cause for which Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III were fighting, and betrays his desire to remain on the Tuscan throne only if 'propped up by German bayonets'.[101] Later in the pamphlet, the author reinforces the association of Leopold with the House of Habsburg by pointing out that, due to the 'traditions of his House' and 'his paternal teachings', we find in Leopold an 'Austrian sentiment and sympathies for that court.'[102] The purpose of this pamphlet is to propose not simply that Leopold is un-Italian, but also that he could never truly be Italian or represent Italian interests because he belongs, through bloodline and upbringing, to a different dynastic house. Worse still, this is not just any dynastic house but the very power which is represented as the oppressor of the Italian people. Similar ideas are also presented in the pamphlet entitled *Leopoldo II e la Toscana. Parole di un sacerdote al popolo* (Leopold II and Tuscany. Words of a priest to the people). In this text, the author argues that Leopold, by fleeing to the court of Italy's enemy, was in fact declaring *himself* to be the enemy of the Tuscan and Italian people: 'He who runs from us to

[101] 'La dimora scelta dal principe ci da un'altra prova del suo spirito puramente austriaco.' 'egli non voleva rimanere sul trono di Toscana se nol vedeva puntellato colle sole bajonette tedesche e non poteva sedervi come tedesco.' R. Volpi, *La Toscana abbandonata da Leopoldo II ha trovato un padrone migliore del prete Romualdo Volpi* (Lucca, 1859), p. 10. A transcription of the relevant parts of this pamphlet, in original Italian, is included in appendix 1, doc. 4.

[102] 'Nella condizione della sua posizione, nelle tradizioni della sua casa, negli insegnamenti paterni, nell'ambizione domestica trovò Leopoldo II nascendo lo spirito austriaco e le simpatie per quella corte.' Ibid, p. 26.

avoid combatting our enemy and who seeks refuge in the house of our enemy with this act only declares himself our enemy.'[103] However, for this pamphleteer, Leopold's act of betrayal in fact predated his flight to Vienna. The author of this pamphlet informs readers that Leopold's refusal to intervene in the War of Independence against Austria was itself an act of treachery. The author reasons that Leopold, a ruler of a population of Italians, was duty-bound to assist populations of fellow Italians in their struggle against foreign dominion.[104] Leopold is thus a traitor to the Italian people not only because of his blood ties to Austria, but because he made a choice not to help the Italian nation in its hour of need.

Another important theme, and one which is closely linked to the character assassination of Leopold II, is the idea that Leopold should not be allowed to retake the Tuscan throne and that all attempts made by him to re-establish control of Tuscany should be resisted. For the author of *Non piu austriaci in Toscana*, who instilled in his readers a religious duty not to support the return of the Grand Duke, Leopold II can never be invited back to Tuscany because though his actions – most notably his plan to bombard Florence – he had proven himself to be 'lacking in religion' and to have a 'bad and truly perfidious heart.'[105] Similarly, Romualdo Volpi, in *Toscana abbandonata*, argues that Leopold, having sided with Italy's enemy against Victor Emmanuel and the 'Italian tendencies', cannot now possibly be permitted to re-assume control of Tuscany, especially at a time when Italians were sacrificing their lives for the redemption of the Italian nation:

> 'Will the cultured people of Florence be now intent on taking different sides and exposing themselves to the danger of further fights and the shedding of fraternal blood by recalling a German family in the very same moments that on the shores of Lombard rivers the blood of Italians and French is being poured unceasingly for the health of Italy?'[106]

[103] 'chi fugge da noi per non combattere il nostro nemico e si rifugia in casa dello stesso, solamente con quest'atto si dichiara nostro nemico.' *Leopoldo II e la Toscana: parole di un sacerdote al popolo*, 2nd edn. (Florence, 1859), p. 38.
[104] Ibid, pp. 33-4.
[105] 'E di questa mancanza di Religione, e di avere un cuore cattivo e veramente perfido ne hanno dato prova anche dopo coll'andare tutti in braccio al nostro nemico.' *Non più austriaci*, pp. 15-6.
[106] Volpi, *La Toscana abbandonata*, p. 11. For full Italian transcription, see appendix 1, doc. 4.

A somewhat more matter-of-fact approach was taken in one of the songs printed in the pamphlet *Testamento*, which stated simply that any attempt to reclaim Tuscany will be met with armed resistance:

> 'Father, your example will not be forgotten.
> When you want to return to your house,
> We will send you the welcome you deserve
> From Forte San Giovanni and Forte Belvedere
> We will give you the proof of our love
> As the Lord does with the good
> We will send you proof of our affection
> In the strikes of grapeshot and muskets.'[107]

Alongside the caustic character assassinations of Leopold II, another prominent theme to emerge from the pamphlets of 1859-60 is the idea that Tuscany's destiny is to ally with the emerging kingdom of *alta Italia*, but that in order to do this Tuscany must first fuse with Piedmont. In much of the ephemeral literature promoted by the Ricasoli regime, especially following Villafranca and in the lead up to the plebiscite, union with Piedmont is imagined as a necessary stage in Tuscany's ascension to the Italian nation, and thus fusion with the Kingdom of Piedmont is represented as beneficial to both to the principle of national independence, but also to the interests and freedom of Tuscany. For Romualdo Volpi, union with Piedmont will ensure Tuscany's integration into an independent Italian nation, while separation from Piedmont would leave Tuscany isolated and susceptible to Austrian expansionist aggression:

> 'Uniting with Piedmont and we attain national independence, segregating ourselves from Piedmont and we fall, sooner or later, into foreign servitude. The people of Tuscany, who have always demonstrated a serious, unanimous and resolute will to attain steadily and at any price the independence of the nation, protests in the face of all of Europe against whoever wants to prevent them from uniting with the Kingdom of alta Italia.'[108]

[107] 'Babbo, l'esempio non andrà perduto./ Quando vorrai tornar nel tuo podere,/ Ti manderemo il debito salute/ Dal forte San Giovanni e a Belvedere…/ La prova ti darem del nostro amore/ Come coi buoni adopera il Signore./ La prova ti darem del nostro affetto/ A colpi di mitraglia e di mochetto.' Quoted in Della Torre, *evoluzione*, p. 77.
[108] Volpi, *La Toscana abbandonata*, pp. 19-20.

Volpi goes on to argue that Tuscany stood only to gain by throwing its lot in with Italy and unifying with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. For one thing, the strength of a unified kingdom of *alta Italia* alone would suffice to ensure the future prosperity and independence of the land, creating a kingdom of '12-13 million free Italians governed by a single sovereign, with one single law, animated by a single intention: the conservation of their national independence from any foreign influence.'[109] Here, like in many pamphlets of the time, the freedom of the people of Italy and the independence of the Italian nation are represented as the outcomes of strength achieved through unity: unity of Tuscany with the emerging Italic kingdom made up of Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Tuscany and the Central Italian Duchies.

The idea that Tuscany would be made stronger through annexation to Piedmont – and through unity with the new Kingdom of Italy – is a theme which became more pronounced in political literature in the weeks immediately preceding the plebiscite of March 1860. In the run up to the plebiscite, as Ricasoli sought to use printed propaganda to instruct voters to decide in favour of union with Piedmont, rather than in favour of a separate Tuscan Kingdom, the idea of strength through unity became an increasingly important motif. In a language which echoed very closely that of *La Toscana abbandonata*, the priest Prior Luca, in his pamphlet entitled *I due voti ossia annessi o sconnessi* (*The Two Votes, Annexation and Disconnection*), published in the first days of March 1860, reminded voters of the material benefits of national unity:

> 'We Tuscans, Modenesi, Romagnolesi, Parmigiani, weak and small as we have been till now, will find ourselves part of a great state of 12 million, all with one single heart and soul, which, even if things stay just as they are, will put us on a par, while perhaps not with England, France and Russia, with the first of the second powers of Europe.'[110]

Moral and numerical strength were not the only advantages which Tuscany would acquire through union with Piedmont. Prior Luca also told his readers that, with annexation, Tuscans would benefit

[109] Ibid, pp. 21-2.
[110] Prior Luca, *I due voti ossia annessi o sconnessi. Discorso breve* (Florence, 1860), p. 14. For the Italian transcription of the relevant parts of this pamphlet, see appendix 1, doc. 5.

from good laws and a constitution which guaranteed the liberties of all Italians.[111] While pamphleteers like Luca and Volpi expounded the constitutional and material benefits to be gleaned from annexation, other propagandists took a more inventive approach to impressing on rural voters, especially in the weeks before the plebiscite, the importance of strength through unity. A pamphlet entitled *Ai contadini della Val di Chiana*, which specifically addressed the inhabitants of the Val di Chiana in March 1860, employed a metaphor based on the familiar setting of the market, to emphasise to rural audiences the commercial and economic advantages of being part of a larger state:

> 'When you sell your foodstuffs, you go to the busiest market, and when you sell your animals, you go to the largest fairs, because there is more trade and you do better business. Foiano and Cortona are rich towns precisely because they do good business. In the same way, states that are larger and more commercial, will gradually become rich.'[112]

Much of the literature which targeted the sharecroppers of Tuscany also emphasised that union with Piedmont would bring more immediate economic benefits, such as reductions in taxes and greater prosperity in Tuscan industry through the application of Piedmontese protective tariffs.[113] The fusionist literature of 1859-60, therefore, used a range of tactics and metaphors both to evoke the emerging Italian nation and emphasise the advantages of national unity. Union with Italy, achieved through annexation to Piedmont, would make both Tuscany and the fledgling Italian nation stronger and more prosperous, thus ensuring the security of all Italians and their independence from foreign dominion.

As well as constructing the new kingdom of Italy, the post-Villafranca political prints also established for this kingdom its national heroes and liberators. The cultural construction of the nation's heroes was an important ideological component of Risorgimento discourses,[114] and as such

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[111] Ibid.
[112] 'Quando si vendono i generi si va al Mercato più popolato, e quando si vendono le bestie si va alle fiere più grosse, perchè vi è più commercio, e si fanno migliori affari. Foiano e Cortona sono paesi ricchi precisamente perchè ci si fanno molti affari. Così gli Stati più che son grandi e commerciali, e più a poco a poco divengono ricchi.' Quoted in Vasoli, *Il plebiscito*, p. 61, n.1.
[113] Ibid, pp. 58-60.
[114] See, for instance, L. Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (London, 2007).

pamphleteers and propagandists working from the summer of 1859 to March 1860 wasted little time in seizing on the figures of Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III and representing them as national saviours. An anonymous pamphlet entitled *La Toscana nella nazionalità italiana* – which argued that only territorial unity, rather than unity achieved through a confederation, could guarantee the independence of Italy –concluded by instructing its readers to express their vote for the unification of Italy and to proclaim Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy. The pamphlet then ends with *evvivas* to Italy, France, Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel.[115] On the eve of the Tuscan plebiscite, Ricasoli's pamphleteers intensified their efforts to dress Victor Emmanuel as Italy's liberator. Pior Luca, in his *I due voti*, described the Piedmontese King as 'the first soldier of Italian Independence' who, having retained both the Italian tricolour and the constitutional government of Charles Albert, 'risked his throne to defend the cause of Italy'.[116] Alongside the cultural construction of Victor Emmanuel as the just and rightful King of unified Italy, many of the post-Villafranca pamphlets also represent Napoleon III and the French more generally as benefactors to the Italian nation. In Volpi's *Toscana abbandonata*, there is an explicit glorification of the French and their contribution to Italy's struggle for independence. Volpi states that France had given a 'promise to Italy to liberate it from German dominion', before going on to inform readers that 'their noble blood together with ours has already been spilled in such great quantities', a reminder of the great sacrifice undertaken by the French for the freedom of the Italian nation.[117]

With somewhat greater reluctance, the Ricasoli ministry also sought to make a hero out of Giuseppe Garibaldi. Ricasoli was, however, far too cautious to sanction the cultural construction of Garibaldi as a national liberator through printed propaganda, especially since, in the aftermath of Villafranca, Garibaldi had become increasingly critical of Cavour and the moderate programme of

[115] Della Torre, *evoluzione*, p. 165.
[116] 'il primo soldato dell'indipendenza italiana' 'aveva arrischiato la sua corona per difendere la causa dell'Italia'. Prior Luca, *I due voti*, p. 13.
[117] Volpi, *La Toscana abbandonata*, pp. 32-3.

territorial unity.[118] Rather, the Ricasoli regime sought to capitalise on the public image of the charismatic General in order to achieve their own moderate-national goals. Ricasoli instructed his prefects, in the first weeks of March 1860, to organise a series of communal collections for Garibaldi's Subscription for a Million Rifles. These collections, which took place in hundreds of Tuscan towns and villages in early March 1860, were, however, not intended as a means of glorifying the actions of Garibaldi, but rather as a pretext for staging a state-wide programme of popular festivals which celebrated the moderates' vision of national unity. Rural communities all over Tuscany were invited to offer donations to Garibaldi's fund, but they did so in a highly controlled and ritualistic manner, arriving at the towns in orderly processions, often accompanied by officials bearing portraits of Victor Emmanuel. In many instances, participants were told to carry their pre-printed pro-union ballot cards with them, before being reminded, at the collection, of how the government expected them to vote in the impending plebiscite.[119] Thus, while Garibaldi may well have appeared in the Tuscan government's pantheon of national heroes, Ricasoli did not represent Garibaldi in the same terms as his pamphleteers depicted Victor Emmanuel, as the father of the Italian nation, and his image was used more as a means of educating rural voters in the moderate national political programme, than as an exemplar of a national leader.

Popular Singing Culture and the Construction of Vernacular Political Knowledge in Rural Montale

The ideas conveyed through the ephemeral prints circulated by the Ricasoli regime found positive and enthusiastic reception amongst the sharecropping populations of rural Montale. A large number of the popular oral songs collected by Gherardo Nerucci from the mouths of the people in Montale express political ideas which resemble very closely those articulated through state-sanctioned

[118] For Garibaldi's activities in the latter half of 1859, and his increasingly hostile attitude towards the Piedmontese 'moderates', see Riall, *Garibaldi*, pp. 175-80.
[119] Vasoli, *Il plebiscito*, pp. 79-83.

propaganda. The striking concurrence of themes, ideas, motifs, even individual metaphors, offers a strong indication that the ideas expressed and disseminated throughout Tuscany through the medium of ephemeral print largely resonated with the sharecropping communities which inhabited the plains of Montale. The people of rural Montale then picked up on the ideas presented in this political literature, along with the language used to articulate them, and integrated them into their own cultural artefacts and expressive media. In this way, the ideas, along with some of the narrative and linguistic features, embedded in the political literature functioned as a structuring device in the construction of popular understandings of political events, much in the same way that metaphors in popular literature shaped self-representations of nineteenth-century working-class reading publics.[120]

However, the use of official political discourses in the construction of vernacular political knowledge should not be viewed as evidence of a simple passive reception of political ideas by popular audiences, nor should it be seen as a straightforward diffusion of political ideologies from an urban intelligentsia to uneducated peasants.[121] The people of Montale drew upon the ideas and language made available to them through ephemeral print, but they also made up their own minds about which ideas appealed to them and which they would express through song. Furthermore, while political literature may have offered certain frames for the shaping of popular meanings, the people of Montale also drew heavily upon their own cultural material as the building blocks and framing devices on which to construct political voices. In the *mezzadria*-dominated region of Montale, popular singing culture was sovereign. Vernacular culture offered the Montalesi sharecroppers structures for the shaping and expression of political knowledge which were far more coherent and intelligible than political discourses, and in which the majority of Montalesi would have been socialised from an early age. Cultural artefacts such as *rispetti* and *stornelli*, which youngsters learned from their parents and through the extended family network, were very familiar terrain – so

[120] See, for instance, J. Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London, 2002), pp. 111-15.
[121] For a critique of this approach, see P. McPhee, 'Historians, Germs and Culture-Brokers: The Circulation of Ideas in the Nineteenth-Century Countryside', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23:1 (1986), pp. 115-29.

much so that adolescents would have been sufficiently versed in their norms and codes to perform them at the winter wakes – and offered a go-to genre for the expression of a range of opinions. Nowhere, therefore, is the primacy of popular culture in the construction of political voices better demonstrated than in the use of *stornelli* as the chosen genre to express ideas about 1859 in rural Montale. Of the 97 songs in Nerucci's collection which make explicit reference to the political events of 1859-60, 77 are *stornelli.*[122] The vast majority of these *stornelli*, while treating markedly political themes, have also retained the traditional stylistic features of the *stornello* genre, with almost all of them beginning with an invocation of a flower which serves as a rhyme-setting device.[123] Two of these *stornelli* have even retained their courtship function, blending the political and the amorous, allowing performers to complement a loved one while offering light commentary on past events.[124] The political voices expressed by the Montalesi through their popular oral songs, therefore, were rigidly structured by the conventions of the genre. What all of this serves to demonstrate is the formative power of popular vernacular culture in the shaping of popular political opinions, however it also gestures to the agency of the Montalesi themselves. The people of Montale did not just repeat, in a parrot-like or unthinking fashion, the words which they read or heard read aloud in printed propaganda. On the contrary, they engaged with these words, assimilated them and drew upon their own culture to give their own voices to them.

An analysis of Nerucci's published collection reveals noticeable thematic similarities between the song texts and the propaganda of the Ricasoli regime. There are multiple songs which demonise Leopold II and claim that Tuscany had suffered at his hands:

> 'Apple flower.
> And who has disgracefully reduced Tuscany?
> Little Leopold deserves to be punished.'[125]

[122] Nerucci, *Saggio*, pp. 204-225.
[123] For a discussion of this feature of the *stornello* genre, see above, p. 48.
[124] See nos. 226 and 227 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 215.
[125] No. 173 in ibid, p. 206. Transcriptions of all of the song texts quoted in this chapter are included, in original Montalese, in appendix 2.

Of the anti-Leopold songs, a large number of them also associate Leopold with the House of Habsburg and express a desire to be rid of 'German' oppression:

'In the Palazzo Pitti there is a branch
We don't want the German race here anymore
Nor the reactionaries that put him at the head.'[126]

Some of these songs even place Leopold on the side of the Austrians fighting against Italy in the War of Independence, thus echoing the pamphlets which sought to construct Leopold as an enemy of the Italians, and an active belligerent in the war against Italian liberty:

'Orange flower.
Against Italy you crossed the Mincio river
And with the Germans you did eat.'[127]

Alongside these, there is an equally large number of songs which reference Leopold's flight to Vienna and which express, much like many of the pamphlets from 1859, a determination that Leopold should not be permitted to return. One such song jibes:

'Little cane flower
Leopold has run off to Vienna
You will have me to deal with if you come back here.'[128]

Many express quite explicitly that Leopold will never again return to the Palazzo Pitti and so will never again govern the people of Tuscany:

'Lemon flower
To the Palazzo Pitti you shall never return
Oh Leopold, you are a traitor.'[129]

[126] No. 181 in ibid, p. 208.
[127] No. 184 in ibid.
[128] No. 174 in ibid, p. 207.
[129] No. 182 in ibid, p. 208.

In many of these songs, therefore, singers and performers have clearly digested and reproduced many of the ideas presented through state-sponsored propaganda. Vernacular political knowledge in rural Montale was, therefore, deeply shaped by the themes and ideas communicated through printed propaganda. However, popular songs of this nature did a lot more than just express singers' political views. Oral songs about Leopold served an important emotional function for the community, allowing for the collective venting of feelings of betrayal and abandonment engendered by Leopold's second desertion of his people. What this shows is that the ideas presented in political pamphlets about Leopold and his betrayal of Tuscany did not just help the Montalesi to structure their political voices, they also assisted in the construction and expression of communal emotions through song.

At the level of language, too, several of the song texts in Nerucci's collection bear important similarities to Ricasoli's printed ephemera, suggesting that the people of Montale also drew upon the metaphors and images in state-sponsored propaganda, as well as upon the themes, in order to structure their own representations of political events. One striking adjective, 'old geriatric' (*vecchio rimbambito*), which is used to deride Leopold in song no. 160 in Nerucci's published volume,[130] appears to have been taken almost straight out of Prior Luca's pamphlet, *I due voti*, where it is used as a description, not of Leopold II, but of the British politician and former minister to Florence, Constantine Phipps, Marquis of Normanby, whom Luca accuses in his pamphlet of vilifying the Tuscan revolutionaries of April 1859.[131] While it is unlikely that any of Luca's rural readers would have heard of Lord Normanby, the snappy phrase 'old geriatric' offered rural audiences a ready-made insult which they could apply to other political leaders. The appearance of this memorable adjective phrase in a song collected by Nerucci suggests that a Montalese singer had poached this linguistic snippet from printed political literature and then re-elaborated it in oral song to convey a hostile attitude towards Leopold II. A similar example of such appropriation is also provided in song

[130] Ibid, p. 204.
[131] Luca, *I due voti*, p. 5.

no. 189, which complains of foreigners acting as 'masters' of Tuscany (*E gghi stranieri a facci da padroni*).[132] Interestingly, this same metaphor is also used in in the opening passages of *Leopoldo II e la Toscana. Parole di un sacerdote al popolo*, which describes Italy as a house given by God to the Italian people, but which has been invaded by Austrians who wish to make themselves into the 'masters' of Italy.[133] In both of these examples, the language and imagery of printed propaganda was being effectively re-used in Montalese singing culture as framing devices for the expression of popular political sentiments. Examples such as these serve to demonstrate that the Tuscan government's ephemeral political literature – both the themes expressed and the language through which they were articulated – had clearly had an impact in structuring popular understandings of political events in the countryside.

As well as songs which debase Leopold and the House of Habsburg, there are also a large number in Nerucci's collection which reproduce the nationalizing discourses of the Ricasoli propaganda. Many celebrate Victor Emmanuel and represent him as a national saviour adored by Tuscany:

> 'Emanuel!
> And Tuscany loves you,
> And the foreigner will be sent away.'[134]

A conspicuous number of these songs also pick up on and re-use common tropes and motifs taken from pro-Piedmont propaganda. An especially common trope, used in numerous Tuscan pamphlets from 1859-60, is the description of Victor Emmanuel as a 'gentleman King'. Prior Luca, for one, in his attempt to persuade rural voters in favour union with Piedmont, informs the readers of his *I due voti* that 'there in Piedmont we find a gentleman prince, who had inherited from his great father the need to defend Italian Independence', and who had retained the constitution of 1848 at a time when most Italian monarchs were abrogating them. Luca then returns to this motif a few pages later in the pamphlet: 'Lastly, we swear to put ourselves under the constitutional sceptre of this

[132] Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 209.
[133] *Leopoldo II e la Toscana*, pp. 5-9.
[134] No. 211 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 213.

gentleman king.'[135] The author of *Non più austriaci* also emphasises the importance of 'gentlemanliness' in Italian rulers, pointing out that Italians want to be ruled by a 'legitimate prince' but that this prince must also be a 'gentleman', 'because without gentlemanliness, there can be no legitimacy.'[136] The 'Gentleman King' was thus an important idea in pamphlet literature which was used by many propagandists to underline the legitimacy of Victor Emmanuel as the rightful King of Italy. The use of the word 'gentleman' to describe Victor Emmanuel also crops up in various songs in Nerucci's collection, often juxtaposed to negative characteristics attributed to Leopold:

> 'Little wolf flower
> King Victor is a gentleman
> And Leopold is a murderer.'[137]

As well as drawing upon the adjective 'gentleman', a handful of songs also express a desire to stand united under Victor Emmanuel, suggesting that the strong discourse of unity prevalent in much of the printed material from 1859 had made successful inroads into popular consciousness, to become reproduced in Montalese oral singing culture. One such song went:

> 'And we want it!
> Victor Emmanuel is a gentleman
> And we will all stand united under him.'[138]

Another chimed:

> 'We are united!
> Together we are finally gathered
> To make a single vote all united.'[139]

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[135] 'ecco che là nel Piemonte si trovava un principe galantuomo (e questo titolo, che anche i nemici non gli possono ricusare, basterebbe) che aveva ereditato dal suo gran Padre la difesa della indipendenze italiana.' 'ultimamente congiurammo di metterci sotto lo scettro costituzionale del re Galantuomo'. Luca, *I due voti*, pp. 13, 16.
[136] 'anzi vogliamo un Principe legittimo cioè un galatuomo, perchè senza galantuomismo non ci può essere legittimità'. *Non più austriaci*, p. 22.
[137] No. 213 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 213.
[138] No. 219 in ibid, p. 214.
[139] No. 221 in ibid.

There are also songs in the collection which congratulate the French and some which celebrate Napoleon III specifically:

'Tinsel flower
Long live Napoleon and his horse!
At Solferino he massacred the Austrians.'[140]

The songs about Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III not only reveal that popular culture in rural Montale had imbibed the nationalising, pro-French discourses of the government's propaganda, they also provide an interesting glimpse into the capacity of rural-dwelling peoples to use their own cultural artefacts to establish their own myths around important political actors. Indeed, the appearance of Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III in popular song certainly suggests that the Montalesi had embraced the national heroes which had been constructed and represented through print. However, in certain significant cases, the creators of these songs made their own decisions about which characteristics to focus on, such as Napoleon's horse in the above text. Very often the characteristics which singers chose to emphasise were super-human, almost mythical, in nature. In one such song in the Nerucci collection, the military might of Napoleon III is highlighted by emphasising his power over nature, and his ability to literally make the trees shake:

'Napoleon with his armies
Makes the trees and the leaves tremble
With the force of canons and grapeshot.'[141]

While this may appear like a literal description, detailing the destructive force of artillery on the landscape, the representation of great leaders making nature tremble was in fact a common metaphor in popular singing cultures, both in Tuscany and in other parts of Italy.[142] Another *stornello*, also collected by Nerucci from Montale, describes Garibaldi in a similar manner:

[140] No. 208 in ibid, p. 212.
[141] No. 212 in ibid, p. 213.
[142] Garibaldi, for instance, is represented as making the leaves tremble in Sicilian oral song, collected in the years following national unification. See S. Salomone-Marino, 'Garibaldi e le tradizioni popolari', *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, 1 (1882), p. 461.

'Apple flower,
King Victor at Palestro
And Garibaldi who makes the ground tremble.'[143]

The idea that formidable leaders made the ground shake therefore functioned as a stock image which was recycled, in a manner akin to that described by Albert Lord of Yugoslavian epic,[144] and reused to construct new verses about new heroes. In fact, many lines in the songs collected by Nerucci functioned in this way. The line 'by the force of cannons and grapeshot', which appears in song no. 212 describing Napoleon III's power over nature, also appears in a slightly altered form in another political *stornello* in Nerucci's collection, one which expresses the singer's will to go to Florence to meet Victor Emmanuel, 'by the force of coins and grapeshot.'[145] Another line, 'You better march', which is used to express contempt towards Leopold in a short *ritornelli* in Nerucci's volume,[146] appears to have even deeper roots in popular culture, featuring in a song published in Giuseppe Tigri's 1856 collection which describes a young man's journey to serve as a conscript in Napoleon I's armies.[147] The construction of heroes (and villains) in popular song was, therefore, shaped as much by the pre-existing conventions and linguistic structures of popular oral culture as it was by the models of national heroes projected through printed propaganda.

The appearance of Garibaldi in the oral songs of Montale also reveals something of the agency of the Montalesi in the vernacular construction of heroes. While Garibaldi and his Subscription for a Million Rifles featured as part of Ricasoli's nationalizing rituals in the weeks leading up to the Tuscan plebiscite, in printed propaganda at least, the role of Garibaldi in the events of 1859-60 was almost completely eclipsed by the importance of Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. Yet, despite this, Garibaldi appears as the protagonist in multiple songs in Nerucci's collection. The sharecropping populations of Montale thus chose to glorify Garibaldi in song even though Ricasoli had attempted

[143] No. 228 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 215.
[144] A. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).
[145] No. 232 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 216.
[146] No. 239 in ibid, p. 217.
[147] No. 308 in Tigri, C*anti popolari*, p. 350.

to downplay his importance. Some of these songs even attribute characteristics and achievements to Garibaldi which are completely fictional, thus showing the capacity of popular oral culture to invent heroes of its own. The most notable example of this phenomenon is song no. 209 from Nerucci's collection which represents Garibaldi taking the cities of Milan and Solferino,[148] even though Garibaldi was not directly involved these campaigns.[149]

Thus, taken as a whole, while there is indeed evidence in these song texts to suggest that the Montalesi modelled their heroes on those presented to them through printed propaganda, the appearance of other important figures – along with the use of established images mined from the repository of popular culture which endowed mythical characteristics onto these figures – reveals that the Montalesi could construct their own heroes and decide on which characteristics to emphasise. The recycling of stock images, lines and linguistic expressions in the construction of new verses also underlines once more the power of the people's culture in shaping vernacular representations of the important events of 1859-60. The Montalesi had their own sense of who the heroes of 1859 were, along with their own language with which to evoke these heroes.

The language employed in the songs published in Nerucci's collection also reveals much about the formative role of Montalese oral culture. While there are indeed many examples of images and narrative devices which have clearly been appropriated from political propaganda and used to frame popular understandings of events, a closer analysis of the texts in Nerucci's volume reveals that the linguistic and stylistic features of these songs conform far more closely to the conventions of the *stornello* genre, than they do to the structuring features of printed political literature. For one, many of the songs collected by Nerucci describe Leopold as a 'traitor' (*traditore*) or as having betrayed the Tuscan people.[150] 'Traitor' was also a much-used word in many of the accusations levelled against

[148] No. 209 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, p. 212.
[149] Through May and June 1859, Garibaldi and his *Cacciatori delle Alpi* had been sent by the Piedmontese army away from the chief theatres of war to undertake a campaign against the Austrians in the Alps. For the activities of the *Cacciatori delle Alpi* in these months, see P. Pieri, *Storia militare del Risorgimento* (Turin, 1962), pp. 621-23; G. M. Tevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (London, 1909), pp. 82-109.
[150] Nos. 160, 163 and 182 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, pp. 204-5, 208.

Leopold in printed propaganda.[151] However, 'traitor' was also a common word employed in 'traditional' love *stornelli* as a means of disparaging an unfaithful lover, or spurning the advances of a suitor with a reputation for infidelity. Two of the *stornelli* from the first section of Nerucci's volume – that which contains songs about the 'private lives' of the Montalesi – use the word 'traitor', or the idea of being betrayed, one to reject a suitor with a dubious reputation, the other to express emotional pain at having experienced betrayal by a lover.[152] By using the adjective 'traitor' to describe Leopold, the singers of Montale were thus mobilising a word which possessed existing connotations in local singing culture, but which had also probably been reinforced, and perhaps even given new meanings, by the political uses to which the word 'traitor' had been put in printed pamphlets. All of this serves to underline both the formative power of popular culture in shaping contemporary representations of political events, but also the adaptability of popular culture and its capacity to absorb and make use of new connotations and new meanings applied to words.

Much of the language in these songs also possesses a rawness and a vulgarity, with a strong emphasis on physical violence inflicted on Leopold and the 'Germans', which contrasts markedly with the measured language of the political pamphlets. This characteristic of the songs also derives largely from the linguistic conventions of Montalese singing culture, as well as from the *stornello* genre in general. 'Traditional' love songs which articulated a desire to terminate a relationship or reject the declarations of a suitor often employed a cruel, highly offensive language. One such song from Nerucci's collection, which would have been performed by a man to a woman, holds no punches:

> 'You [addressing a woman] are ugly and small and badly made,
> And of your other shortcomings I don't want to speak
> Your mouth and your nose look like a chamber pot'[153]

[151] See, for instance, *Leopoldo II e la Toscana*, p. 34.
[152] Nos. 22 and 50 in Nerucci, *Saggio*, pp. 166, 172.
[153] No. 88 in ibid, p. 179.

Women too were given the opportunity to offend, with many women's *stornelli* operating as an institutionalised cultural vehicle through which to repel unwanted advances and insult their suitors. It is even possible that some songs afforded women a safe cultural space in which to poke fun at a man's less than satisfactory appendage:

'Flowering grain,
You [addressing a man] are uglier than sin
You look like a shrivelled cucumber'[154]

Of particular relevance in both of the abovementioned song texts is the use of the word 'ugly' or 'foul' (brutto/brutta) to describe the subject of the song. The same word crops up repeatedly in several of the songs in Nerucci's collection to describe Leopold and the Austrians. One of these songs, which refers to Leopold as a 'foul German', also reveals an awareness on the part of the singer of the attempt allegedly made by Leopold to bombard Florence on the night of 27th April:

'Foul German,
You wanted to bombard us
On the 27th April
You better march!'[155]

Another, which also addresses Leopold as a 'foul German', declares menacingly that Leopold will die on his feet, referring to the battlefield:

'Foul German
Things will never go well for you
You were born on straw
And you will die on your feet.'[156]

Brutto was therefore a highly adaptable word which, used traditionally as a comedic insult in courtship rituals, could be re-elaborated in new contexts and in the construction of completely new songs. The same can also be said of other images used as hyperbolic insults in courtship. Another

[154] No. 89 in ibid.
[155] No. 239 in ibid, p. 217.
[156] No. 240 in ibid, p. 218.

insult in Montalese singing culture involved representing a rejected suitor as cadaverous or death-like, for which a coffin imagery was often employed:

> 'Most horrible brunette,
> You appear to have been born in the coffin
> Or perhaps even in the grave.'[157]

Indeed, the representation of Leopold lying in a coffin is used in one of the political *stornelli* from Nerucci's publication:

> 'Apple flower.
> There is fear in the Palazzo Pitti;
> And there is little Leopold in the coffin.'[158]

Here, an image which is normally used to spurn an admirer is being re-elaborated to spurn Leopold, emphasising that, as a result of his abandonment of his people, he is as good as dead to the people of Tuscany.

Thus, when analysed in terms of language and stylistic patterns, especially in relation to the conventions of the *stornello* genre, the song texts studied here reveal a lot about both the people and the culture that created them. The singers who created these songs drew upon the themes, narratives and language presented to them in political pamphlets, however they also drew heavily upon the linguistic and stylistic conventions of their own culture. Thus, while it is certainly true that printed propaganda influenced the contents of the Montalesi songs, it is also equally true that the pre-existing features of popular culture shaped the content along with the form, structure, linguistic tenor and patterning of political songs. Political voices in Montale were thus a product of both received elite political discourses and the people's own culture. This paradigm of rural politicisation, far from suggesting a model of downwards diffusion of ideas into the empty vessels of rural people, looks much more like an exchange between elite ideology and popular culture.

[157] No. 84 in ibid, p. 179.
[158] No. 165 in ibid, p. 205.

Popular vernacular culture in Montale in mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany was thus robust and determinative, largely shaping the form and content of the political voices constructed by rural-dwelling Montalesi in the months following Unification. However, it was also adaptable and elastic, so much so that it was able to absorb new political vocabularies and put them at the people's disposal as a tool in the expression of political opinions. This ultimately allowed the Montalesi people to engage with new political ideas and concepts, and embrace new political language, while at the same time giving them access to a time-honoured, long-established vehicle of cultural expression, in the form of the *stornello*, as a means of constructing and expressing political sentiments. What this means is that, while the content and form of popular political expression in the countryside may have been heavily shaped by the patterns of traditional culture, this did not preclude the development and emergence of a politically-conscious citizenry in the countryside. The robustness, elasticity and dynamism of popular singing culture was sufficient to ensure that people could engage with new ideas, while falling back on tried-and-tested media of cultural expression to construct and convey their political voices.

Conclusion: The Risorgimento in Tuscany and Popular Political Participation

The Risorgimento was an important period in the development of popular politics in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. While it may be true that Tuscany in these years did not witness anything like the more developed political activities which we see taking shape in other parts of Europe at the time, such as the party formations and mass electoral politics of the French Second Republic,[1] what we do see in Tuscany in the decades leading up to National Unification are the origins of a more modern political public, as broad sectors of the Tuscan labouring classes developed a heightened consciousness of democratic and national politics, along with a higher level of political intelligence and confidence in using new ideas, concepts and discourses.

From the early 1830s, and in particular in the aftermath of 1848, the labouring, artisan and petty trading classes in the Tuscan capital, along with those in other cities and towns, were exhibiting a growing dexterity and competency in their ability to draw upon, appropriate and make use of a broad range of political vocabularies, practices and strategies, which had been championed by the democratic movement. These groups then put their newly-acquired political understandings to use in new and innovative ways, fashioning an aggressive popular republicanism as a language of political opposition, and exploiting informal channels of public communication to express their attitudes towards the Restoration state. While artisan republicanism may have existed only briefly, these changes in popular culture in the first years of the second Restoration denote the beginnings of a new political agency on the part of the Florentine labouring classes, along with the emergence of many artisans and former guardsmen as more articulate political subjects. At the same time,

[1] M. Agulhon, *The Republic in the Village: The People of the Var from the French Revolution to the Second Republic*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, 1982), esp. pp. 176-89, 192-201; M. L. Stewart-McDougall, *The Artisan Republic: Revolution, Reaction and Resistance in Lyon, 1848-1851* (Gloucester, 1984), esp. pp. 65-75, 109-15; E. Berenson, *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830-1852* (Princeton, 1984).

Tuscans in the cities also took advantage of an expanding commercial market in political symbolism, purchasing and collecting objects in order to exercise their intellectual curiosity in developing political concepts and cultivate private memories around the events of 1848. Similarly, in the countryside, in the months leading up to National Unification, sharecropping Tuscans were engaging closely with the political ideas and language being presented to them in printed propaganda, integrating these ideas into their songs in order to construct and articulate their own understandings of the major political changes of 1859-60. In both the cities and the countryside, Tuscans were learning to assimilate and exploit a range of political ideas, discourses and practices in service of their own purposes. These political behaviours signalled the beginnings of the emergence of a politically-engaged citizenry, centred chiefly on the artisans and workers of Florence, but also in the process of developing amongst the sharecropping populations of Montale on the eve of National Unification.

The evidence presented here thus largely substantiates the idea that the Risorgimento possessed some features of a 'mass movement.' However, this was a very specific kind of movement. In Banti and Ginsborg's formulation, the 'mass movement' is defined as a discursive one: it involved large numbers of Italians interacting with a new language and symbolism which sought to evoke the national entity of Italy.[2] This current research project has taken as its starting point the discursive character of popular political participation, however the evidence presented here reveals that the 'mass movement' of the Risorgimento in Tuscany consisted of much more than a process of broad exposure to a new political discourse. The events which took place in Tuscany from 1830 to 1860 constituted a mass movement in opinion formation and in the ways popular groups constructed, expressed and performed their political voices. In the cities and in the countryside, separate but complimentary processes of mobilisation, politicisation and sensitisation exposed broad sectors of the population to new political knowledge. Throughout this process, diverse strata of the urban and

[2] A. M. Banti and P. Ginsborg (eds.), 'Per una nuova storia del Risorgimento', in Banti and Ginsborg (eds.), *Storia d'Italia*, Annali, 22, *Il Risorgimento* (Turin, 2007), pp. xxiii-xli.

rural labouring classes actively engaged with this political knowledge, using it to give vent to their own opinions and grievances, in the first years of the 1850s and early 1860s respectively. These groups also articulated their ideas by drawing upon familiar, tried-and-tested channels of cultural communication and collective expression, such as chanting on the streets, conversing in coffee houses, or performing courtship songs on the great sharecropping estates. In this way, opinion formation in mid-nineteenth-century Florence and Tuscany, while centred on a growing familiarisation with emerging political concepts and vocabularies, was also dependent on the broad cultural infrastructure which Tuscans knew and understood, much as it was in other parts of Europe, such as in the Rhineland in the first half of the nineteenth century.[3] The Risorgimento in Tuscany was therefore a mass movement in the sense that broad categories of Tuscans were developing a heightened awareness of new political discourses, while at the same time learning to use those discourses in multifaceted and innovative ways, in order to express their own ideas within established cultural channels.

This mass movement also encompassed different groups of Tuscans at different times; it was not a singular, uniform process involving all categories of people simultaneously. The first to be drawn into the 'mass movement' were the urban working and petty-trading populations. This included, for the most part, artisans, skilled craftsmen and shop owners, but also other categories of workers, such as printers and shop hands. It was these groups of Tuscans who were drafted into the new cultures of political knowledge, and exposed to emerging ideologies and concepts, with the mobilisations of 1847-49, and it was also these groups – especially those who had served as guardsmen – who made the most active and inventive use of democratic political language and practices in the early 1850s. Artisans and petty traders were foremost amongst those who, over the course of 1849-51, articulated the language republicanism to critique the Restoration government, as well as counting strongly amongst the Tuscan consumers who hoarded and engaged with political material culture. Skilled craftsmen and small-scale businessmen were therefore amongst the first to develop and

[3] J. M. Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, 2007).

exercise this new form of political agency. The involvement of rural populations in this participatory culture of political expression came later in the century, largely in response to Ricasoli's state-wide propaganda campaign, which specifically targeted rural sharecroppers and which sought to convert rural-dwelling Tuscans into citizens and voters with a consciousness of national politics. While arguably late to the political stage, Tuscan sharecroppers, in the region of Montale at least, were quick to absorb new political ideas and assimilate the nationalising discourses of Ricasoli's propaganda into their vibrant oral singing cultures. By the time of National Unification, both Florentine artisans and Montalesi peasants had proven themselves capable of drawing upon patriotic political lexicons for their own purposes.

It is possible to extrapolate some more generalised conclusions from this. The evidence presented here suggests a dual process of politicisation which acted first on the urban artisan populations, before then reaching rural communities. Popular politicisation in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany thus followed a rough urban-rural split, determined both by the respective, though interrelated, processes of politicisation, but also by the prevailing cultural conditions and collective attitudes amongst each population. In the countryside, politicisation was 'delayed' both because a campaign oriented specifically towards rural Tuscany did not start until 1859, but also because a relative paucity of communication networks (compared to the towns and other rural regions of Europe), combined with a set of collective memories hostile to the notion of a republic, mitigated against a widespread positive reception and assimilation of patriotic politics. This does not mean that rural people were inoculated from politics, as some contemporaries believed; it means that rural Tuscans accessed political information and learned to use new political knowledge at a slower pace, in the lead up to 1859 at least. Urban artisans, traders and workers were thus the first to enter the new, participatory political culture of Tuscany, followed by rural sharecroppers.

However, it is also important not to push these findings too far. While the evidence discussed here does indeed support the idea of a dual process of politicisation, affecting urban and rural Tuscany at different rates, and while it may be possible to talk about a 'time lag' in the drafting of

sharecroppers into the broad culture of political participation, it is important to remember that these findings have been drawn from research into limited populations. A broader study, encompassing different cities, towns and geographic regions, may well reveal different processes at work and different timescales to those outlined above. Some populations of Tuscans may have started to participate in this political culture much later in the century, perhaps in the years following National Unification, and some geographic groups may never have been absorbed into this participatory culture whatsoever. Furthermore, while there may be some scope for applying the findings about popular political culture in Montale to other sharecropping regions, since Montale was a *mezzadria*-dominated region which resembled closely much of the grand ducal countryside in terms of agricultural and social organisation, it is also equally likely that other sharecropping communities would have reacted very differently to the events of 1859-60 and to Ricasoli's propaganda. While this research does support some broad conclusions about differences in urban and rural politicisation, it is important to remember that the bulk of these findings relate to specific categories of Florentines and Montalesi, and that other geographic case studies may reveal different processes and degrees of participation.

There are also other important differences in levels of participation which, for reasons of time restraints and source availability, have not been studied in depth by this current research. In Florence, the sources consulted for this research suggest that the political culture which took shape in the early 1850s was, for the most part, a masculine one. This was largely because the processes which gave rise to it – the mobilisations of 1847-49 – were themselves heavily gender-biased. Yet, none of this should be seen as having precluded women's participation. For one thing, the channels of public communication which sustained the political culture of mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany were not necessarily gender exclusionary. Many taverns and coffee houses in nineteenth-century Italy were open to female clients and some even developed reputations as sites of courtship;

coffeeshops and taverns in this period were not the exclusive realm of working-class men.[4] It is likely, therefore, that working women did participate in political discussions, and that their absence from police records betrays gender-based prejudices on the part of police intelligence and informants, rather than a total exclusion of women from popular politics. Further research may, therefore, reveal a greater participation on the part of the capital's working women in this emerging culture of public political expression. It is also highly likely that realms of individual and private political expression, which diversified and broadened as a consequence of the developing market in commercialised political objects, gave women in Florence and elsewhere new opportunities to engage with politics in the comfort of their own home. A whole world of female political participation may have existed in second-Restoration Florence, but which lies beyond the reach of the sources consulted for this research. Interestingly, there arguably existed greater opportunities for women to participate in political discourses in the countryside, or in the region of Montale at least. While political culture in Florence may have been gender-biased, in rural Tuscany, popular political expression was dependent on an oral culture in which both men and women could participate. This characteristic of oral singing culture in mid-nineteenth-century Tuscany served to open up the world of political opinions to rural-dwelling women. While it is certainly true that different genres of oral culture – legends, ballads, epic-lyric narrative poetry – may have had different gender moralities attached to them, the *rispetti* and *stornelli* gave both men and women a voice. As discussed, the Tuscan courtship songs also offered models for the performance of a wide range of emotions. Consequently, these songs permitted a considerable degree of emotional autonomy to both male and female Tuscans in the process of navigating the marriage market. The existence of this cultural medium which empowered rural women to express themselves through song thus provided female sharecroppers with a potential vehicle for political expression. Since *stornelli* could become politicised, it seems there was little stopping female singers from inserting

[4] M. Malatesta, 'Il Caffè e l'Osteria', in Mario Isnenghi (ed.), *I luoghi della memoria. Strutture ed eventi dell'Italia unita* (Rome, 2010), p. 58.

references to, say, Victor Emmanuel in a song intended to compliment a lover, or perhaps a reference to Leopold II in a *stornello* intended to reject or poke fun at an undesirable suitor.[5] Thus, opportunities for the construction and expression of political opinions open to women may have been more numerous in the countryside, by virtue of the established oral cultures in rural Tuscany, which gave both men and women a voice.

Timescales and levels of participation in the 'mass movement' of the Risorgimento in Tuscany therefore varied between different groups of people. Similarly, the ways in which people participated in Risorgimento politics, and the uses which different people made of political discourses, also differed markedly from group to group. This can be demonstrated clearly by comparing the ways in which Florentine artisans and Montalesi sharecroppers put their newly-acquired political knowledge to use. In Florence in the early 1850s, craftsmen and former guardsmen appropriated democratic language to express their dissatisfaction with the restored government of Leopold II and their disappointment at demobilisation and military occupation. While this political behaviour no doubt served an emotive, almost cathartic, purpose, both for the individual but also for the collective, helping to release and vent feelings of frustration and emasculation, these expressive acts also had broader political implications. By articulating such oppositional opinions, artisans in Florence, in the years between 1849 and 1851, were publicly contesting the legitimacy of Leopold II's rule and challenging the grand duke's attempts to exercise control over access to the polity. In this way, and in a manner very similar to the politicised Rhinelanders studied by James M. Brophy, who during the Vormärz period utilised public spaces for strikingly similar political ends, the artisans and workers of Florence 'initiated a threatening dialogue, albeit indirect, with legitimate power' and contributed, in a small or symbolic way, to a shift in political power away from the

[5] The familial supervision of such songs at the winter wake may have acted as a brake on some of the more excessive political insults, especially in women's songs. When singing in the fields or on the threshing floor, however, censorship on courtship songs would have been minimal. This in turn would have allowed women greater liberty to sing more (politically) audacious lines. For an analysis of the various contexts for the performance of *rispetti* and *stornelli*, and the varying degrees of familial supervision, see A. Falassi, *Folklore by the Fireside: Text and Context of the Tuscan Veglia* (London, 1980), pp. 106-12.

executive towards the grand ducal subjects.[6] At a time when Leopold was attempting to limit participatory citizenship and restrict access to political information, the politicised artisans, workers and shopkeepers of the capital were staking a claim at the polity which was rapidly being closed off to them. While it may be true that this oppositional political culture ultimately succumbed to the repression of the restored regime, the symbolic importance of these artisans' actions in the early 1850s was considerable: they amounted to a defence of a new participatory model of citizenship and a contestation of sovereign political power.

In the countryside, popular vernacular song had slightly more nuanced uses. Like the popular republicanism of the Florentine artisans, many of the songs collected from Montale were used to contest Leopold's legitimacy as a ruler of Tuscany. Picking up on important tropes in Ricasoli's pro-union propaganda, many songs focused on Leopold's bloodline and his association with the House of Habsburg, while others expressed openly that Leopold should not be allowed to return to rule the grand duchy. In this way, it is possible to see numerous Montalesi singers articulating very similar views to those expressed by Florentine artisans. However, popular oral song functioned as more than just a vehicle of complaint. Many of the song texts published by Gherardo Nerucci also articulated a positive attitude towards the events of 1859 and represented its leaders in favourable terms. The Montalesi therefore used their songs, in the first years following National Unification at least, both to challenge Leopold's claims to rule but also to convey a sense of satisfaction and approval at the events of 1859-60. Whereas the short-lived urban popular republicanism of 1849-51 was highly adversarial, used to express collective grievances but also defend the popular participatory culture which Leopold was trying to expunge, in Montale, during Nerucci's primary period of field research, popular singing culture was not being used to engage in a confrontational dialogue with the state. The purpose of oral popular songs such as those collected by Nerucci was to serve the needs of the community, or to aid individuals in the expression of their views within or

[6] J. M. Brophy makes this argument about the political uses of public spaces by 'ordinary Rhinelanders' in the first half of the nineteenth century. See Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere*, pp. 169-70.

towards the community. As tools in couple-formation, *rispetti* and *stornelli*, specifically, were used by young lovers to articulate their romantic choices and justify their decisions to both the extended family and the wider community: neighbouring households or other sharecropping families working the same estate. Songs such as these did not directly address the state and so politicised songs were not designed to set up an adversarial relationship with sovereign power. Rather, politicised courtship songs acted as vehicles for the expression of personal political views to the community, or to facilitate an exchange of private political opinions between an intimate group, like a couple or family. While communally-oriented, vernacular song nonetheless allowed the rural labouring classes to participate in a discursive political culture, enabling sharecroppers to comment on and debate political events and ideas, and started an important initial phase in the transformation of rural Tuscans into a more modern political public, one that was attuned to political changes and conversant in political issues. Thus, while the uses of politicised love songs and republican chants differed markedly, both played an important role in assimilating the urban and rural labouring classes into a broad culture of political participation.

It is unlikely that this new political culture denotes a kind of Tuscan exceptionalism, or a distinctly Tuscan experience of the Risorgimento. Many of the broad processes of change which conditioned popular political participation in Tuscany – the development of an inclusive street politics characterised by mass political festivals and popular political clubs, along with a process of civic mobilisation through the creation of citizens' militias – were also taking place in other parts of Italy over 1846-49, especially in Central Italy and the Papal States.[7] As in Tuscany under the Provisional Government, many parts of the Papal territories also experienced the entrenchment of a pervasive republican symbolism and rhetoric, following the proclamation of a republic in Rome in February 1849.[8] Many people living in Central Italy were, therefore, becoming versed in the same political

[7] For political developments and changes in street politics in the Papal States in this period, see H. Header, 'The Making of the Roman Republic, 1848-1849', *History*, 60 (1975), pp. 169-84; L. Nasto, 'Le feste civili a Roma 1846-1848', *Rassenga storica del Risorgimento*, 3 (1992), pp. 315-38.
[8] F. Rizzi, *La coccarda e le campane: comunità rurali e Repubblica romana nel Lazio (1848-1849)* (Milan, 1988).

vocabularies as Tuscan artisans over the juncture of 1848. Of greater relevance still, recent studies into popular sociability in nineteenth-century Italy have alluded to cultures of political participation which resemble very closely those developing in Tuscany. The work of Michele Toss, into the uses of 'social song' in Milan and the Trentino, for instance, has revealed a vibrant, inclusive culture of political and patriotic song – linked to informal channels of communication and sites of popular sociability, such as streets, piazzas and taverns – which took shape over the same period. These songs enjoyed a wide circulation and constituted one of the primary means through which artisans and working populations in these regions both encountered political discourse and participated in politics.[9] Thus, Tuscans were not the only Italians taking part in broad, discursive cultures of political expression, nor were they the only Italians exploiting established channels of public communication to construct political voices. The conclusions presented by the current research for Tuscany are therefore more likely to be indicative of popular culture more generally in Risorgimento Italy, rather than evidence of a uniquely Tuscan experience.

The primacy of pre-existing popular cultures in the formation of political opinions amongst artisans, workers and sharecroppers in Tuscany also gestures to an important characteristic of politicisation in the nineteenth century, both in Italy but also in Europe more generally. Popular politicisation was not *exclusively* a top-down process. While the importance of certain processes of downwards transmissions of politics cannot be denied in the context of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany – republican ideas were brought to urban audiences first by Mazzini and then by the Provisional Government, while national politics was communicated to rural Tuscans largely through state-run propaganda – these developments constituted only one part of a broader process of opinion formation. In Florence, the pre-existing ideas, grievances and attitudes of artisan and working populations shaped the way republican language was both received and used. Some of these grievances were the result of quite recent experiences, such as mobilisation followed by abrupt

[9] M. Toss, 'La canzone sociale in Italia e in Francia tra protesta, nazione e rivoluzione (1830-1870)', (Tesi di dottorato, Università di Bologna, 2012), esp. pp. 161-243.

demobilisation and military occupation; others were centred on more long-term economic complaints or grew out of a long-standing tendency to blame the government for economic hardship. In both cases, republicanism amongst the workers, artisans and shopkeepers of the capital responded to popular, or working-class, agendas and concerns. Similarly, in the countryside, while printed propaganda exerted a strong influence on vernacular representations of politics, the formative role played by the established linguistic, stylistic and compositional conventions of oral popular culture in shaping politicised songs reveals that the people of Montale were very much devising their own understandings of political events, drawing upon their own familiar language and genres of cultural expression to construct and articular their views.[10] Politicisation was, thus, not a straightforward top-down process, through which elite politics became accepted uncritically by the popular masses who possessed no cultural property of their own.[11] Rather, politicisation was more like an exchange. As part of this exchange, popular groups engaged with new political concepts, but they also brought their own ideas, traditions, experiences and cultural values to bear on the ways such new ideas were received and put to use. Popular culture thus impacted as much on the process of politicisation and opinion formation as did new, incoming political ideas, information and knowledge.

With a view to better understanding the contribution of popular cultures to processes of politicisation in Tuscany, there are multiple ways in which the current research could be developed and expanded upon. As well as broadening the geographical scope of the study, to explore other cities and regions, another fruitful avenue of research would be to explore the construction and expression of political voices in Florence (and other cities) in the years following National Unification. While the most overt forms of artisan republicanism and oppositional politics in Florence in the early

[10] For similar findings in the oral singing cultures of Sicily in the decades after national unification, see B. Kehoe, 'The Italian Risorgimento and Sicilian Popular Balladry: The Problem of 'Deep Images' and Popular Reception', *European History Quarterly*, 46:2 (2016), pp. 238-61.
[11] One of the first serious criticisms of this paradigm of politicisation is in P. McPhee, 'Historians, Germs and Culture-Brokers: The Circulation of Ideas in the Nineteenth-Century Countryside', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23:1 (1986), pp. 115-29.

1850s proved to be impermanent, further research would be useful to investigate the legacy of these earlier republican stirrings in shaping popular attitudes both in 1859-60 and in the first decades of National Unity. Does the brief existence of a vibrant, republican-coloured oppositional culture in the early years of the second Restoration go some way towards explaining the widespread popular acceptance in Florence in 1859-60 of national politics, along with the termination of the grand ducal regime and the alignment of Tuscany first with Piedmont and then with Italy?[12] Did political activities and behaviours from 1849-51 survive in popular memory among artisans in the Tuscan capital, and was republicanism re-elaborated in the years after 1860 to express new grievances in the new, national political context? To what extent can we see republican language developing into an established, 'go-to' vocabulary of popular political protest, deployed as a generalised language of opposition? These are all questions which only further research will be able to answer.

As well as projecting forward, research into the relationship between popular culture and politicisation may also benefit from delving further into the grand duchy's past. Already, the current research project has alluded to certain long-standing continuities in patterns of popular political behaviour. Coffee bars, taverns and tobacconists, for instance, constituted established spaces for opinion formation which continued to play an important role throughout the nineteenth-century. As well as continuities in public spaces, however, there were also certain continuities in public actions and publicly-expressed ideas. The 'famine plot' idea, which flared up in response to the economic crisis of 1846-47, can also be seen in the food riots under Peter Leopold in 1790.[13] Further research into these striking similarities, and into the durability of the 'famine plot' ideology in popular culture throughout the nineteenth-century in Florence and Tuscany, may provide evidence of certain long-term, deep-seated continuities in patterns of street politics and in the ways Tuscans 'performed'

[12] The reports about public spirit, sent by prefects from all over the Grand Duchy in April 1859, record widespread support for the war against Austria and a favourable public attitude towards closer relations with Piedmont. See S. Camerani, 'Lo spirito pubblico in Toscana nel 1859', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 2 (1956), pp. 110-5.

[13] G. Turi, *Viva Maria. La reazione alle riforme leopoldine (1790-1799)* (Florence, 1969), pp. 10-2.

political protest. Such research may lend further weight to the argument which sees politicisation as an exchange between elite political ideologies and existing popular cultures, showing the continued importance of certain long-standing traditions of revolt in shaping popular political actions throughout the Risorgimento period. A *longue durée* approach such as this, which projects both forward and backward in time, will permit a better judgement on the degree of continuity in popular political behaviour throughout the Risorgimento, and on the extent to which popular culture changed as a result of contact with patriotic politics.

When exploring popular politicisation in the countryside, further research could be conducted by consulting a larger range of folkloric texts, representing different regions, but also by analysing songs collected at different times. While the song texts studied for this research reveal positive memories of the events of 1859-60, which aligned quite closely to official representations disseminated through pro-national propaganda, research into a wider range of texts may reveal evidence of an alternative, subaltern politics or a different set of political concerns altogether. While the Montalesi were singing about Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III in the early 1860s, songs collected from a different sharecropping community may reveal a completely different agenda, one which may make no reference to the events of 1859-60 at all. Similarly, research into song texts collected from the Tuscan countryside later in the century, such as in the late 1860s and '70s, may reveal even greater differences. Some historians have even pointed out that popular songs, performed in certain mountainous regions on the Modenese border in the years following National Unification, often articulated a sense of disillusionment, especially in response to deteriorations in economic conditions.[14] Songs collected later in the century may therefore show that the optimism of 1859, evidenced in Nerucci's collection, soon dissolved in the face of mounting economic discomfort, to be replaced by a more negative attitude towards the national state. Yet, while a broader range of song texts will invariably allow a more balanced overview of the opinions and sentiments expressed by

[14] For a brief discussion of song texts which articulated a sense of disappointment in the context of Unified Italy, see R. Sarti, *Long Live the Strong: A History of Rural Society in the Apennine Mountains* (Amherst, 1985), p. 97.

people in the countryside, research of this nature, which makes use of oral literature and folkloric texts, is always limited by the availability of transcribed oral texts. Further research into popular political culture in the Tuscan countryside is, to some extent, determined by the decisions made by nineteenth-century folklorists concerning which oral cultures were worth documenting.

While there is certainly scope for developing the current research further, the findings presented here provide good evidence of the broad and varied ways in which different groups of labouring Tuscans, both workers and artisans in Florence but also sharecroppers in the countryside, made use of political knowledge and constructed political voices and identities. By actively engaging with political information and using it in service of their own interests and agendas, these 'ordinary Tuscans' were both participating in, but also helping to carve out and define, a new culture of popular political participation and a more modern political public. At the same time, these Tuscans were in the initial phases of transforming themselves into politically-conscious citizens capable of exercising a political will. In this way, the Risorgimento in Tuscany can most certainly be seen as a 'mass movement.'

Appendix 1: A Selection of Printed Political Ephemera and Government Proclamations, 1833-1860

1: *Il primo giorno dell'anno 1833 – al popolo italiano la gioventù*:
'Nei tempi che corrono, Popolo mio, gli uomini tutti devono comporre una sola famiglia. Quando l'anno incomincia i genitori abbracciano, e bendicono i figliuoli, i mariti le spose, i fratelli i fratelli. In questo giorno sembra che il cuore dell'uomo palpiti soltanto di amore, e in questo la Gioventù Italiana ti parla o Popolo una parola di fratellenza; e mossa a pietà delle tue trope sventure giura alla presenza di Dio renderti meno dolorosa la vita.

'Ma parla, Popolo, cosa mai fanno I nostri nemici per sollevare la tua miseria? Supplica e sarai deriso: lagnati, e ti getteranno in carere: percuoti alle porte di costoro per chieder pane, e ti lanceranno in volto una pietra. Per essi le ricchezze, e i piaceri, per te le fatiche, e le lagrime; per essi gl'impieghi, e gli onori, per te la servitù!

'Confortati! La Gioventù sorge animosa per difendere la tua causa. I tiranni tentano seminare la Discordia fra di noi; non ci riusciranno perchè noi stringe una fratellanza, che non si rompe; una fratellanza di comune sventura.

'… Gli uomini, che i nostri oppressori tentano farti aborrire col nome di LIBERALI sono i quali vorrebbero le gabelle diminuire, i privilege sopprimere; fondare, e promuovere fabbriche ove tu trovassi il tuo pane quotidiano, instituire scuole ove i yuoi figli gratuitamente imparassero i precetti della morale Cristiana, e la istruzione secondo il proprio stato; vorrebbero ancora educate le tue figlie per modo, che divenendo madri dessero fondamento alla rigenerazione degli uomini..'
(E. Michel, *F. D. Guerrazzi e le cospirazioni politiche in Toscana dall'anno 1830 all'anno 1835* (Rome, 1904), pp. 177-9)

2: *Popolo di Firenze!* (*Firenze, 22 Febbraio 1849*)
'I segnali d'un movimento retrogrado apparivano ieri sera sulle colline circostanti. Ma agli occhi tuoi, o Popolo di Firenze, splendeva un'altra fiamma, quella santissima della Libertà…
Lode a te! Lode a tutti coloro che in questa solenne occasione si mostrarono devoti alla Patria! E bene veramente meritarono della Patria la Guardia Municipale, la Milizia d'Artiglieria, l'Emigrazione armata Lombarda, la Legione Polacca, e tutta la Guardia Nazionale di cui faveca parte la riserva. Ogni elogio sarebbe poco a significare i sentimenti che il Governo professa verso i generosi Militi della Guardia Fiorentina per la prova solenne di elevazione che col loro numeroso e pronto concorso progevano alla Causa dell'ordine, e della Libertà. Esso sa che in qualunque pericolo gli troveranno egualmente pronti a rispondere alla chiamata della Patria.'
(*Atti del Governo provvisorio toscano dall'8 fabbraio al 12 aprile 1849* (Florence, 1849), doc. LIX)

3: *Avviso (Firenze, 15 Febbraio 1849)*
'Il Gonfaloniere di Firenze ricorda ai suoi Concittadini che fino al 21 corrente rimangono aperti nel Palazzo Comunale posto sulla Piazza di S. Biagio i Ruoli nei quali devono inscriversi i Volontari che offrono il braccio ed il sangue a tutela della nostra Indipendenza e Libertà; e nel rinnuovare quest'Invito, crederebbe far onta ai generosi spiriti dei Fiorentini se altre parole aggiungesse per eccitarli ad accorrere pronti e numerosi a difesa della Patria in questi estremi bisogni.'
(*Atti del Governo provvisorio toscano dall'8 fabbraio al 12 aprile 1849* (Florence, 1849), doc. XXXIV)

4: Romualdo Volpi, *La Toscana abbandonata da Leopoldo II ha trovato un padrone migliore del prete Romualdo Volpi* (Florence, 1859)

'……Ma Leopoldo II volle far conoscere che egli non aveva veruna fiducia nè in Vittorio Emanuele, nè in Luigi Napoleone, e che abborriva la causa che essi propugnano e che egli non voleva rimanere sul trono di Toscana se nol vedeva puntellato colle sole bajonette tedesche e non poteva sedervi come tedesco.'

'…. Sarà il colto popolo di Fiorenza intento adesso a parteggiare e ad esporsi al pericolo di rompere in lotta e di versare il sangue fraterno per richiamare una famiglia tedesca nel momento stesso che sulle rive de' fiumi lombardi si versa senza risparmio il sangue italiano e il sangue francese per la salute d'Italia discacciandone gli oppressori Tedeschi?'

'…Unirsi al Piemonte e conseguire l'indipendenza nazionale, segregarsi dal Piemonte e ricadere presto o tardi nel servaggio straniero suona la medesima cosa. Il popolo toscano, che ha sempre dimostrato una volontà seria, unanime e risoluta, di conseguire stabilmente ad ogni prezzo l'indipendenza della nazione, protesta altamente in faccia a tutta l'Europa contro chiunque volesse impedirgli di riunirsi al regno d'alta Italia.'

'Sarebbero dodici in tredici milioni d'Italiani liberi governati da un solo sovrano, aventi una sola legge, animati da un solo intento, la conservazione cioè della propria nazionale indipendenza da ogni influenza straniera.'

'La Francia ha dato la sua promessa all'Italia di liberarla dalla dominazione tedesca, e la sua promessa è stata accolta con entusiasmo in tutta Europa, il suo nobil sangue unitamente con al nostro è già stato versato in gran copia.'

5: Prior Luca, *I due voti ossia annessi o sconnessi. Discorso breve* (Florence, 1860)

'….e noi Toscani, Modenesi, Romagnoli e Parmigiani, di deboli e piccoli che siamo stati fin qui, ci troviamo a formare un grande stato di dodici milioni (per ora) tutti un cuore ed un'anima sola, da metterci alla pari, anche stando così le cose, non dirò con Inghilterra, colla Franca e colla Russia, ma colle prime fra le secondarie potenze dell'Europe.'

Appendix 2: A Selection of Oral Popular Songs, in Original Montalese, Collected by Gherardo Nerucci from the Sharecropping Communities of Montale

All song texts reproduced here have been taken from G. Nerucci, *Saggio di uno studio sopra i parlari vernacoli della Toscana: vernacolo montalese (contado) del sotto-dialetto di Pistoia; varie appendici* (Milan, 1865). All songs are in order of their appearance in the main text of the thesis.

1: (Nerucci, n. 173, p. 206):

'Fior della mela.
E chi ridusse male la Toscana?
Leopordin' si merita la pena.'

2: (n. 181, p. 208):

'In der Palazzo Pitti c'è 'na frasca
Nun ci 'ogghiamo più razza tedesca,
Ed a' codini gghi s' ha fa' la testa.'

3: (n. 184, p. 208):

'Fior d'arancio
Contro l'Italia passassi 'l Mincio
E cór Tedesco lo mangiassi 'l rancio.'

4: (n. 174, p. 207):

'Fiorin di canna.
E Leopordo 'gghi è scappato a Vienna…
Tu mi ha' a buggianca se piu ci torna.'

5: (n. 182, p. 208):

'Fior di limone
In der Palazzo Pitti 'un ci ha tornare;
O Leopordo, tu sie' traditore.'

6: (n. 211, p. 213):

'Emanuelle!
E la Toscana ti vuol bene,
E lo straniero l'ha da rimandare.'

7: (n. 213, p. 213):

‘Fior di lupino.
I Re Vittorio ‘gghi en’ un galantomo,
E Leopordo ‘gghi en’ un assassino.’

8: (n. 219, p. 214):

‘E lo ‘ogghiamo.
Vittorio Manuell’ è un galantomo
E uniti sott’a lui tutti staremo.’

9: (n. 221, p. 214):

‘E siem’ uniti!
Ci siemo finarmente ritroati
A far’ un solo voto e tutti uniti.’

10: (n. 208, p. 212):

‘Fior di orpello.
Viva Napoleone e i’ su’ caallo!
A Solferino lo fec’ i’ fragello.’

11: (n. 212, p. 213):

‘Napoleone colle su’ battagghie
Facea tremare gghi arberi e le fogghie
A forza di cannoni e di metragghie.’

12: (n. 228, p. 215):

‘Fiore di mela,
I’ re Vittorio colla su’ montura
E Garibardi fan’ trema’ la tèra.’

13: (n. 88, p. 179):

‘Tu sie’ brutta e piccina e fatta male,
E gghi antri mancamenti ‘un li vo’ dire;
La bocca e l’ naso pare un’orinale.’

14: (n. 89, p. 179):

‘Spigo fiorito
Tu sie’ più brutto che nun è il peccato,
Tu pari un treciôlo rinfratito.’

15: (n. 239, p. 217):

‘Brutto Tedesco,
Volevi bombarda’!
‘N del ventisette aprile
Ti cónvenne marcia.’

16: (n. 240, p. 218):

‘Brutto Tedesco
Nun t’andera’ ma’ be’
Nascessi ‘n sulla pagghia
E morira’ ‘n su pie.’

17: (n. 84, p. 179):

‘Bruttaccia mora!
Tu mi pari nescita dalla bara
Oppuramente dalla seportura!’

18: (n. 165, p. 205):

‘Fior della mela.
In der Palazzo Pitti ci è paura;
E ci è Leopordino ‘n della bara.’

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