



Francesco Zavatti: *Appealing Locally for Transnational Humanitarian Aid. Italian Bishops and the Great Irish Famine*

Zeitschrift *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* Band 99 (2019)

Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Rom

DOI 10.1515/qfiab-2019-0014

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Francesco Zavatti

Appealing Locally for Transnational Humanitarian Aid

Italian Bishops and the Great Irish Famine

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Zusammenfassung: Im März 1847 erließ Papst Pius IX die Enzyklika „Praedecessores Nostros“, die die katholische Geistlichkeit weltweit aufrief, zur Linderung der großen irischen Hungersnot drei Tage der Gebete und Kollekten abzuhalten. Die Bischöfe, die diese Botschaft in den italienischen Staaten weiterführten, verfassten ihrerseits Appelle zur lokalen Durchführung des Triduums. Sie animierten die Gläubigen, dem Beispiel des Papstes zu folgen, dessen persönliche Spende für Irland zum Jahresbeginn weites Echo in der zeitgenössischen Presse gefunden hatte. Anhand eines Korpus aus fünfundzwanzig bischöflichen Appellen kartiert der vorliegende Beitrag die Implementierung eines globalen Aufrufs zur humanitären und geistlichen Hilfe in Italien. Der Aufsatz verortet die Enzyklika und die bischöflichen Appelle in der politischen und kulturellen Geschichte des vorrevolutionären Italien und verdeutlicht den Einfluss der Zensur. Eine Analyse der narrativen Elemente, der metadiskursiven Ressourcen, der Schlüsselwörter und der biblischen Verweise zeigt die spezifische moralische Ökonomie auf, mit der die Bischöfe zur Spendenfreudigkeit anhielten.

Acknowledgments: Source material from the Dublin Diocesan Archives, part of the material from the Propaganda Fide Archives, and some bibliographical references have been provided to the author by Prof. Norbert Götz. This research has been enabled by the one-year Research Grant „L'economia morale della società civile globale“, co-supervised by Prof. Norbert Götz and Prof. Alberto Basciani and based at the Department of Political Science, Roma Tre University. The grant has been co-financed by the Department of Political Science, Roma Tre University (n. prot. 1059 – Rep. 96, 12 December 2017) and by the project „The Moral Economy of Global Civil Society: A History of Voluntary Food Aid“, financed by the Swedish National Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet – grant number 2012-00614), directed by Prof. Norbert Götz at Södertörn University. I am grateful to Prof. Norbert Götz and Prof. Andrew Newby for their comments to an earlier draft of this article.

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Riassunto: Nel marzo 1847, Papa Pio IX emanò l'Enciclica „Praedecessores Nostros“, un appello rivolto ai prelati di tutto il mondo affinché organizzassero tre giorni di preghiere e di raccolta di offerte a favore dell'Irlanda colpita dalla carestia. Negli stati italiani, le parole del Papa furono comunicate ai fedeli dai vescovi, che emandarono appelli locali. L'invito era di seguire l'esempio del Papa, il cui contributo personale, risalente ai mesi precedenti, aveva avuto vasta eco sui quotidiani della penisola. Con l'ausilio di un corpus di venticinque appelli scritti dai vescovi sull'impulso dell'Enciclica, l'articolo analizza la riproduzione di un appello umanitario globale negli stati italiani. L'articolo contestualizza la distribuzione della „Praedecessores Nostros“ e degli appelli dei vescovi nella storia politica e culturale nei territori italiani e mappa l'impatto della censura su questa iniziativa caritatevole. In secondo luogo, un'analisi testuale mostra gli elementi narrativi, le risorse metadiscorsive, le parole chiave e i riferimenti biblici e patristici che costituivano la specifica economia morale attraverso la quale i vescovi invitavano a donare a livello locale.

1. In mid-April 1847, 30 000 copies of the Papal Encyclical „Praedecessores Nostros“ were shipped from Rome to „all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops to implore Divine assistance for the Kingdom of Ireland“.¹ Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti (Pope Pius IX) requested that Catholic churches around the world organize three days of prayers (*tridua*) and alms collections for Ireland, which was scourged by a devastating famine. Each bishop and archbishop was supposed to announce the Encyclical in the territories under his jurisdiction, activate the local clergy in organizing *tridua* in their parishes, collect the alms, and send them as soon as possible to the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) in Rome, which would then forward them to Ireland.²

As historical research on humanitarian aid has shown, focusing on the appeals highlights the moral economy suggested by the fundraisers in order to elicit charitable funds and it provides insight on how humanitarian initiatives are implemented against societal and political obstacles.³ The appeals by which the bishops announced

¹ Anonymous, Interno, in: Foglio di Modena, 6 May 1847, p. 356. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

² Every package included a printed letter by Cardinal Pietro Ostini. Copies of the letter are preserved in Potenza, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Potenza-Muro Lucano-Marsiconuovo, Fondo nr. 1, Atti della diocesi di Potenza fino al 1899, Serie XII, b. 5, doc. 146 bis; Brindisi, Archivio Storico della Curia di Brindisi, b. Sc 14, fasc. 4, Circolari varie, and in Chieti, Archivio Arcivescovile di Chieti-Vasto (= AACHIETI), Fondo Curia (= Curia), b. 581, fol. 7783r; Giosuè Maria Saggese, *Invito Pastorale*. The documents have been provided by Don Giuseppe Pronesti, Katiuscia Di Rocco, and Prof. Lucia Palazzi.

³ Norbert Götz, „Moral Economy“. Its conceptual history and analytical prospects, in: *Journal of Global Ethics* 1,2 (2015), pp. 147–162. Julia Lindström, *The Moral Economy of Aid. Discourse Analysis of Swedish Fundraising for the Somalia Famine 2011–12*, in: Södertörn University Working Paper 5 (2016), pp. 28–33.

the Encyclical, conserved in various archdiocesan and diocesan archives throughout Italy, shed light on the moral economy by which the Catholic Church, as the fundraiser, asked the Italian people to open their wallets in favour of the suffering Irish.

The following pages seek to explain how the global message of humanitarianism of the Encyclical was adapted to local Italian contexts in 1847, a year that preceded and prepared epochal changes for Italian society and for the Catholic Church. First, the fundraising is analysed in light of humanitarian appeals. Second, the article explores the plurality of communicative strategies by which an urgent international aid campaign was applied locally. The Catholic bishops' homiletics are contextualised within the socio-political and economic settings of mid-nineteenth-century Italian states. Drawing on research on the homiletics for Ireland during the Great Famine,⁴ the article shows how appealing to the faithful meant adapting the pope's message to prevailing local conditions. It also reveals the limitations that fundraisers experienced in organizing and implementing transnational relief in the mid-nineteenth century.

The „Praedecessores Nostros“ is not an appeal for religious matters, but bears the civil society spirit of mid-nineteenth-century Catholicism, because it communicates a sense of urgency and asks for action to relieve peoples' sufferings.⁵ Documentation illuminating the drafting of the Encyclical is absent from the Vatican archives.⁶ Therefore, it is not possible to analyse how the global message was tailored. However, its conciseness and directness leave few doubts about the actual aim of the appeal. It addresses the Catholic clergy, directly, with abundant use of metadiscursive resources,

4 Grace Neville, „Il y a des larmes dans leur chiffres“. French Famine Relief for Ireland, 1847–84, in: *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* 19,2 (2014), pp. 67–89.

5 The „Praedecessores Nostros“ and the pope's donation are recalled in Maurizio Marocco, *Storia di Papa Pio IX*, Vol. 1, Torino 1856, pp. 296–300, in: Giuseppe Pelczar, *Pio IX e il suo pontificato sullo sfondo delle vicende della Chiesa nel secolo XIX*, Vol. I, Torino 1909, p. 515, and in George Fitz-Harding Berkeley, *Italy in the Making. June 1846 to 1 January 1848*, Cambridge 1936, pp. 161–164. Instead, Giacomo Martina, *Pio IX (1846–1850)*, Roma 1974, and Roger Aubert, *Il Pontificato di Pio IX (1846–1878)*, Torino 1976 do not mention the Encyclical and the following activities. The Encyclical is referred to in relation to the Great Irish Famine by Patrick O'Sullivan (Ed.), *The Meaning of the Famine*, London 1997, p. 150 and Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland. The Kindness of Strangers*, London 2013, p. 130. The „Praedecessores Nostros“ is mentioned by James P. Flint, *Great Britain and the Holy See. The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846–1852*, Washington, DC, 2003, pp. 28–32 in connection to the reissuing of the British-Papal diplomatic relations.

6 In search of draft letters of the Encyclical, I have consulted with no results various sources in the Vatican City, Vatican Secret Archives (= ASV): ASV, Segr. di Stato, anno 1848, rubric 241, fasc. 2; ASV, Dataria, Epistulae Latinae, positions et minutes, 38; ASV, Nunziatura Vienna, 328, and in the ASV inventories of Arch. part. Pio IX, Sovrani e particolari, Fondo part. Pio IX and of Fondo Spada. Similarly, no draft is present in the archives of the State Secretary, Section Relations with the States, Historical Archive, Fund of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Inghilterra, 1844–1848, pos. 41–54 and in the Archive for the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, Archivium Sanctii Officii Romani, Res Doctrinales, Dubia, Materia Diversae, Materiae Diversae 1847.

keywords, and biblical and patristic references, calling for engagement and action.⁷ The Encyclical recounts the calamities afflicting Ireland and that, across the millennia, the Church had cared not only for the spiritual needs of Christian nations, but also for the relief of those afflicted by calamities. Pope Pius IX recalled in it the fundraising held in January 1847, when three days of prayers in Italian, French, and English were organized in Rome with the aim of collecting money for the destitute Irish.⁸ The pope donated to the Irish cause 1000 *scudi romani* directed to the Propaganda Fide, which collected the offerings. In the Encyclical, he stressed that the calamities of Ireland were continuing and worsening. Pius IX exhorted the prelates to „paternal solicitude“ towards those unfortunates who searched for refuge among those who were „moved by the love of Christ“. The Encyclical enumerates the faith and devotion of the Irish and remembers the Irish missionaries propagating the Catholic religion around the globe. Finally, it gives instructions on how to fundraise for Ireland, conceding seven years indulgence to those who would join the prayers and plenary indulgence to those who would attend the three days of prayers. Most importantly, the preachers should have „exhort[ed] the people ... to give alms for the relief of the Irish nation“.⁹

2. The pope’s initiative was only one of many humanitarian efforts organized since 1846 by an emerging global civil society in support of Ireland. The neglect of Ireland by the British government had been criticized by major newspapers around the globe, provoking reactions of indignation and support for a population whose condition was worsening every day. Since famine was causing disease and the deaths of thousands, the urgency of the cause mobilized private citizens and organisations to charitable aims in many parts of the globe.¹⁰ It was therefore in a moment of emergency that the essence of civil society, defined by Alexis de Tocqueville as „the art of association“, began to materialize on a global level.¹¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, many writers on political and moral economy started to consider positively the effects of charitable institutions such as schools and hospitals: cooperation for the common good was perceived to be beneficial for the whole community.¹² In early 1847, de Tocqueville was among the two hundred illustrious signatories of a letter by

7 Hans Malmström, Engaging the Congregation. The Place of Metadiscursive in Contemporary Preaching, in: *Applied Linguistics* 37,4 (2016), pp. 561–582 (digital edition).

8 Marocco, *Storia* (see note 5), p. 296.

9 Pius IX, *Praedecessores nostros*, in: Claudia Carlen (Ed.), *The Papal Encyclicals*, vol. 1: 1740–1878, Raleigh 1990, pp. 285 f.

10 Kinealy, *Charity* (see note 5), p. 3.

11 Norbert Götz, Reframing NGOs. The Identity of an International Relations Non-Starter, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 14,2 (2008), pp. 231–258; here p. 251.

12 Götz, „Moral Economy“ (see note 3), p. 151.

the Institut de France asking the pope to start „a crusade of charity“ to help the populations of Ireland and Lebanon who had been hit by famine.¹³

The Catholic Church engaged in rescuing Ireland, but not Lebanon. Two factors might have been crucial in choosing Ireland as the recipient of aid. First, since early January 1847, in Rome, several influential English, Irish, and Scottish individuals, of both Protestant and Catholic faith, lobbied for involving the pope in an appeal for aid in favour of Ireland.¹⁴ Second, politics and strategical considerations might have influenced the decision. The Encyclical might have contributed to consolidate the strong position that the Catholic Church had in the Irish society¹⁵ and to diminish the impact of the Protestants' expansion. In early March, Queen Victoria and prime minister Lord John Russell, worried about the stability of the British rule in Ireland, informed the Papal diplomacy with discretion that if the pope, with a letter, would have reminded the Irish of the virtues of obedience to the constituted authorities, they might be more favourably inclined towards the reissuing of the British relations with the Papal States.¹⁶

Contextualising the Catholic aid to Ireland in 1847 requires also looking at the activism of the Catholic elites of civil society in times of increasing globalization and concomitant secularization. Confronted by new political ideas, the poorly educated local Catholic priests could not do much against secularising tendencies.¹⁷ Instead, the Catholic elite provided an unprecedented voluntarist engagement in support of the Church and the Papacy.¹⁸ Inspired by pre-modern religious sensibilities, few educated clergy and laymen accepted the challenges of modernity and globalization. They started a vast and heterogeneous movement that enriched Catholic faith by a series of durable initiatives like new lay associations, new congregations, and confessional publications aimed at injecting Catholic values into the contemporary world.¹⁹ These initiatives met the sympathies of the Papacy, which was embarking on

13 ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1848, rubr. 241, fasc. 2, fol. 25–29: Letter to the pope from the St. Regis College, 6 January 1847. Possibly, according to Donald A. Kerr, *A Nation of Beggars? Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846–1852*, Oxford 1994, p. 55, some of the sums raised by the French bishops for Ireland were destined instead for Lebanon.

14 Kinealy, *Charity* (see note 5), pp. 126–128.

15 Christopher Clark/Wolfram Kaiser, Introduction, in: Clark/Kaiser (Eds.), *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 7f. See also Christopher Clark, *The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars*, in: Clark/Kaiser, *Culture Wars*, pp. 11–46, here p. 20.

16 Flint, *Great Britain* (see note 5), pp. 27f.

17 Aubert, *Il Pontificato* (see note 5), pp. 123f.

18 Clark, *The New Catholicism* (see note 15), pp. 11–14.

19 Fulvio De Giorgi, *Cattolici ed Educazione tra Restaurazione e Risorgimento. Ordini religiosi, antigesuitismo e pedagogia nei processi di modernizzazione*, Milano 1999, pp. 78–90. Id., *L'immagine dei religiosi nella storiografia italiana contemporanea*, in: *Annali di scienze religiose* 7 (2002), pp. 323–339. Clark, *The New Catholicism* (see note 15), pp. 11–13.

the apostolic expansion of foreign missions.²⁰ This rebirth of Catholicism meant also a renewal of active solidarity. This process, along with globalization, led to the extension of practices of charity established in domestic contexts to distant unfortunate Catholic brethren.²¹

Tasked with advertising the „Praedecessores Nostros“ in their dioceses, the bishops had to implement this global Catholic solidarity initiative locally, making its appeal accessible and engaging, in order to elicit funds from their audiences. Social scientists and marketing scholars have pointed out that targeted fundraising for specific audiences does provide major returns.²² The better appeals are customised to small, determined groups (down to individual requests), the greater the congregation's willingness to give.²³ Moreover, charity fundraising is more successful when the appeals explicitly suggest the motivation for giving.²⁴ Therefore, communicative strategies are vital for attracting donors.²⁵

It is evident from newspaper articles that some rudimentary tailoring and communication strategies with regard to Irish relief were present among the clergy of the Italian regimes of the mid-nineteenth century. The endorsement by celebrities was already by then an important element for attracting attention to humanitarian fundraising. As demonstrated by historians, celebrity is a useful concept for analysing popular culture in history.²⁶ Specifically, the mid-nineteenth century has been considered the historical period in which the cult of celebrity took its first steps, first with Queen Victoria and later on with Giuseppe Garibaldi, both of whom received wide media coverage.²⁷ Pope Pius IX was among these celebrities. Shortly after his election

20 Josef Metzler, *La Santa Sede e le missioni*, in: id., *Dalle missioni alle chiese locali (1846–1965)*, Torino 1990, pp. 25–67.

21 Katharina Stornig, *Between Christian Solidarity and Human Solidarity, Humanity and the Mobilisation of Aid for Distant Children in Catholic Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*, in: Fabian Klose/Mirjam Thulin (Eds.), *Humanity. A History of European Concepts in Practice from the Sixteenth Century to the Present*, Göttingen 2016, pp. 249–266.

22 Griet Alice Verhaert/Dirk Van den Poel, *Improving Campaign Success Rate by Tailoring Donation Requests along the Donor Lifecycle*, in: *Journal of Interactive Marketing* 25,1 (2011), pp. 51–63.

23 Kee Yeun Lee/Fred M. Feinberg, *Modeling Scale Attraction Effects. An Application to Charitable Donations and Optimal Laddering*, in: Michigan Ross School of Business Working Paper 1202 (2013) (URL: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2336053>; 1. 8. 2018).

24 Lucy L. Henke/Gwen Fontenot, *Why Give Charity? How Motivations for Giving Predict Types of Causes Supported*, in: *Allied Academics International Conference* 14,1 (2009), p. 16. Robin J. B. Ritche/Sanjeev Swami/Charles B. Weinberg, *A Brand New World for Nonprofits*, in: *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 4,1 (1999), pp. 26–42.

25 Sally Hibbert, *Charity Communications. Shaping Donors Perceptions and Giving*, in: Tobias Jung/Susan D. Phillips/Jenny Harrow (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy*, London 2015, chapter 6.

26 Simon Morgan, *Celebrity*, in: *Cultural and Social History* 8,1 (2011), pp. 95–114.

27 Lucy Riail, *Garibaldi. The First Celebrity*, in: *History Today* 57,8 (2007). John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria. First Media Monarch*, Oxford 2003.

in 1846, Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti captured the popular enthusiasm. The poorest strata of the populations of Italy, distressed by the social and economic crises of 1845–1846, held the expectation that Pius IX would create „a church of the poor“.²⁸ His activism in favour of poor and distressed people had started decades before his election. He had been, for example, director of two charitable institutes in Rome, the Tata Giovanni Hospice and the Saint Michael Hospice.²⁹ The 1846–1847 audience saw the newly elected pope continuing his benevolence: after the flood of Rome in December 1846, he personally gave 2 000 *scudi romani* (£ 434) for relief and ordered a collection that yielded another 5 000 *scudi romani* (£ 1 086).³⁰

At the same time, he involuntarily injected religious fervour into the Italian national cause.³¹ In 1846, after Mastai-Ferretti issued an amnesty for political prisoners, the excited political climate popularized the motto „Viva Pio IX!“ („Long Live Pius IX!“) to advocate the unification of Italy. In the first half of 1847, the softening of the censorship of the press in the Papal States and the establishing of a state council (*Consulta*) reinforced the progressive image of the pope.³² The Italian liberals and nationalists spread the idea that Pius IX was a heroic figure who would lead to the unification and independence of Italy and liberation from the Austrian yoke, while the ultramontanists considered him the leader they were waiting for to overcome Gallianism.³³ For all these reasons, in those months, his name resonated in public rallies and his initiatives were reported in liberal newspapers and pamphlets.

The Roman cardinals exploited the celebrity status of the pope, for example, putting him on stage surrounded by yellow and white smoke at the celebration for the New Year on Capitol Hill,³⁴ but also publishing chronologies of his daily activities.³⁵ This gave the pope wide media coverage generally reserved for other types of celebrities such as politicians, intellectuals, and nobles, contributing to branding him as a contemporary icon between prince of an Italian state and universal pastor.³⁶

28 Derek Beales/Eugenio F. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy*, London-New York 2002, pp. 85 f.

29 Aubert, *Il Pontificato* (see note 5), p. 29.

30 Michele Carcani, *Il Tevere e le sue inondazioni dall'origine di Roma fino ai giorni nostri*, Roma 1875, p. 59.

31 Luigi Salvatorelli, *The Risorgimento. Thought and Action*, New York 1970, pp. 112–114; Martina, *Pio IX* (see note 5), pp. 102–109; Christopher Duggan, *La forza del destino. Storia d'Italia dal 1796 a oggi*, Bari 2015, p. 166.

32 Alberto Mario Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano*, Bari 2010, pp. 82, 84 f.

33 Carán O'Carroll, *Pius IX. Pastor and Prince*, in: James Corkery/Thomas Worcester (Eds.), *The Papacy since 1500. From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 125–142.

34 Erasmo Fabbri-Scarpellini, *Intorno alla cantata eseguita sul Campidoglio la sera del primo gennaio 1847 ad onore del clementissimo pontefice Pio Nono*, Roma 1847, p. 13.

35 Nicola Borrelli, *I più celebri giorni del primo anno del pontificato di Pio IX*, Roma 1847.

36 O'Carroll, *Pius IX* (see note 33), pp. 125–142.

Among the initiatives he took, his activism in support of the starving Irish convinced local celebrities to engage in the humanitarian effort by organizing relief committees for Ireland. However, the press treated celebrity involvement and the scourges of Ireland as separate topics. When describing the organization of lay fundraising events such as balls and *soirées*, they dedicated most of their words to list the names and noble titles of the organizers. However, the involvement of most of the noble families in Rome,³⁷ as well as celebrities such as Count Anatoly Demidoff and Lord George Veneables-Vernon in Florence,³⁸ was important for convincing other nobles and the wealthy class to emulate the pope's gesture of donating.

The triduum organized in January in Rome also had a considerable media echo within the Church. In mid-February, Cosimo Corsi, Bishop of Jesi in the Papal States, adopted the triduum as a model for raising funds in favour of Ireland. On his own initiative, he issued an edict that prescribed for his diocese three days of prayers and alms-giving in support of the suffering Irish, with means similar to those used in Rome. Corsi's initiative showed that the triduum was reproducible. The edict he issued impressed Paul Cullen, Rector of the Pontifical Irish College in Rome, who inserted it in „The Tablet“, the Catholic newspaper of England, in order to create „un grandissimo effetto“ on the audience.³⁹

With the launching of the „Praedecessores Nostros“ in March 1847, the Catholic Church made the triduum a universal model. From the point of view of fundraising, the Holy See and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church worldwide entered into a franchising relationship⁴⁰ by which the Roman headquarter conveyed its messages and initiatives to the local branches. The Church could in fact control the franchised message; assist the local branches with endorsement, instructions, logistics; and also receive the alms and deliver them to Ireland. Business management studies have shown that humanitarian organizations often behave as complex, open, adaptive systems in which the organizational structure and the desired processes actively interact with the environmental demands, making a network with goal-directed behaviour.⁴¹ Overcoming local obstacles in delivering public appeals, drafting them legally, and modifying them to attract potential donors were responsibilities left to the heads of the local leadership, the bishops.

³⁷ Anonymous, Ball for the Relief of the Scotch and Irish, in: Roman Advertiser, 20 February 1847, p. 1.

³⁸ Lord Vernon [George Veneables-Vernon], Invito ai sudditi di Gran Bretagna dimoranti in Toscana, in: Gazzetta di Firenze, 4 February 1847, p. 4.

³⁹ Rome, Pontifical Irish College (= PIC), CUL/NC/4/1847/14 (1), Cullen to Corsi, 16 February 1847. For Corsi's pastoral in English, see Anonymous, Colonial and Foreign Intelligence, in: Tablet, 13 March 1847, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Sharon M. Oster, Nonprofit Organization as Franchise Operations, in: Nonprofit Management & Leadership 2,3 (1992), pp. 223–238.

⁴¹ Taylor B. Seybolt, Harmonizing the Humanitarian Aid Network. Adaptive Change in a Complex System, in: International Studies Quarterly 53,4 (2009), pp. 1027–1050.

3. Within the one hundred historical archdiocesan and diocesan archives and libraries consulted, twenty-five letters written by bishops as a consequence of the „*Prædecessores Nostros*“ were identified. Eleven were issued in the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia (Alba,⁴² Albenga,⁴³ Alessandria,⁴⁴ Asti,⁴⁵ Cuneo,⁴⁶ Ivrea,⁴⁷ Luni-Sarzana-Bugnato,⁴⁸ Mondovì,⁴⁹ Susa,⁵⁰ Turin,⁵¹ Vigevano⁵²), seven in the Papal States (Bologna,⁵³

42 Alba, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDALBA), Archivio della Curia, b. 2206, „Lettere (semplici) e pastorali del vescovo mons. C. M. Fea (1836–1852)“: Michele Fea, Notificanza di Mosignor Vescovo d’Alba che prescrive pubbliche preghiere e raccomanda una limosina pel popolo d’Irlanda, Alba 1847. Provided by Chiara Cavallero.

43 Albenga, Archivio Diocesano (= ADALBENGA), Salone Principale (= SP), scaffale (= sc.) 11, palchetto (= pal.) I, scatola (= sc.) dal 33 al 54, nr. 52, Parrocchia di San Giacomo Maggiore (= SGM) (Acquetico, 1593–1952): Circolare 6 – Raffaele Biale Vescovo di Albenga, Al Venerabile Clero e diletissimo Popolo della sua Diocesi spirito di orazione e di misericordia, Limosina per l’Irlanda, 28 maggio 1847. Provided by Alma Oleari.

44 Alessandria, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ADALESSANDRIA), Serie Vescovi (= Vescovi), Sottoserie Corrispondenza (= Corrisp.), Faldone (= fal.) 22, fasc. 1, 1833–1854 – Mons. Pasio, Lettere, Circolari ai Parrochi, Lettere Pastorali, Corrispondenza, Circolare ai signori parrochi, Alessandria, 10 Maggio 1847. Provided by Valentina Filemio.

45 Asti, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDASTI), Curia Vescovile (= CV), Pastorali e Circolari (= PC), 1841–1852, nr. 56: Filippo Artico, Lettera Pastorale, Asti 1847. Provided by Debora Ferro.

46 Cuneo, Parrocchia di Santa Maria della Pieve (= PSMPC), Raccolta delle Lettere Pastorali (= Pastorali), Clemente Manzini, Lettera Pastorale nr. 44, Cuneo, 8 maggio 1847, fol. 146r–151v. Provided by don Gian Michele Gazzola.

47 Ivrea, Archivio Diocesano (= ADIVREA), Luigi Moreno, Lettera pastorale per le calamità che colpiscono l’Irlanda, Ivrea, 15 maggio 1847.

48 Luni, Biblioteca Nicolò V (= BNV), Archivi Lunensi (= AL), AVL Circolari Pastorali 1854–1924: Francesco Agnini, Lettera Pastorale, Luni 1847. Provided by Maria Vittoria Petacco.

49 Giovanni Tommaso Ghilardi, Lettera Pastorale del vescovo di Mondovì a favore degli irlandesi, Mondovì 1847.

50 Susa, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ADSUSA), Giovanni Antonio Odone, Ai venerabili fratelli e figli diletteissimi, Susa 1847. Provided by Andrea Zonato.

51 Luigi Fransoni, Pastorale di S. E. l’Arciv. di Torino a favore de’ poveri Irlandesi, in: *L’amico cattolico* 14 (1847), pp. 151–154. Its printed original is conserved in the Library of Theological Studies, University of Turin. Provided by Paola Roz.

52 Vigevano, Archivio Storico Diocesano, „Forzani lettere“, 1844–1855, cc. 77, num. orig., cc. 5, vol., mm 310 × 230, pergamena, non ancora inventariato: Pio Vincenzo Forzani, Al venerabile clero e diletteissimo popolo della Città e Diocesi, Vigevano 1847. Provided by Emilia Mangiarotti.

53 Bologna, Archivio Arcivescovile (= AABOLOGNA), Carlo Opizzoni, Notificazione, Bologna 1847. Provided by Simone Marchesini.

Cesena,⁵⁴ Città di Castello,⁵⁵ Fano,⁵⁶ Ferrara,⁵⁷ Orvieto,⁵⁸ Rieti⁵⁹), two in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice (Concordia,⁶⁰ Feltre-Belluno⁶¹), two in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (Naples,⁶² Chieti⁶³), two in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (Arezzo,⁶⁴ Pisa⁶⁵), and one in the Duchy of Lucca.⁶⁶ In other cases, episcopal letters have been reported entirely⁶⁷ or partially⁶⁸ in the local newspapers. Letters addressed to the Propaganda Fide testify

54 Cesena, Archivio diocesano di Cesena-Sarsina (= ADCESENA), Innocenzo Castracane degli Antelminelli, Notificazione, Cesena 1847. Provided by Chiara Peretti.

55 Città di Castello, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDCASTELLO), Giovanni Muzi, Notificazione, Città di Castello 1847. Provided by Cristina Barni.

56 Fano, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDFANO), Archivio Curia (= CV), Bandi, Editti, Notificazioni (= BEN), b. 1773–1855: Luigi Carsidoni, Notificazione, Fano 1847. Text of the hand-written notification with corrections transcribed and provided by Giuseppina Boiani Tombari.

57 AABOLOGNA, Ignazio Giovanni Cadolini, Notificazione, Ferrara 1847. Provided by Simone Marchesini.

58 Orvieto, Archivio Vescovile di Orvieto (= AVORVIETO), Bandi e editti del vescovo Giuseppe Maria Vespignani (= Vespignani), Lettere Pastorali, Decreti, Notificazioni ecc. (= Lettere) 43: Giuseppe Vespignani, Invito Sacro, Orvieto 1847.

59 Rieti, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDRIETI), Archivio Vescovile della Diocesi di Rieti (= AVDR), Editti e Notificazioni (= EN) 3, fasc. Curoli, 1847: Filippo Curoli, Lettera pastorale 26 Aprile 1847, Rieti 1847. Provided by Alfredo Pasquetti.

60 Pordenone, Archivio Storico Diocesano di Concordia-Pordenone (= ASDCONCORDIA): Francesco Rizzolati, Al Venerabile Clero, Portogruaro 1847. Provided by Paola Sist.

61 Canale d'Agordo, Archivio Arcipretale (= AACA), fondo Parrocchia (= P), serie Corrispondenza con la Curia e le altre autorità ecclesiastiche (= CORRISPONDENZA), b. 117 (1841–1850), anno 1847, prot. 242/1847: Antonio Gava, Al Venerabile Clero e Dilettissimo Popolo, Belluno 1847. Provided by Loris Serafini.

62 Naples, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDNAPOLI), fondo Arcivescovi, Sisto Riario Sforza, fasc. 3, nr. 191: Sisto Riario Sforza, A tutt'i fedeli della sua Diocesi, 26 May 1847.

63 AACHIETI, Curia, b. 581, fol. 7783r: Saggese, Invito pastorale.

64 Attilio Fiascaini, Lettera pastorale ad eccitamento caritatevole verso gl'irlandesi, in: id., Discorsi Sacri, Vol. III, Firenze 1861, pp. 365–368.

65 Pisa, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDPISA), filza „Atti straordinari“ (decreti, istruzioni, notificazioni, circolari arcivescovili), nr. 92 (1846–1847), fasc. nr. 152 e 156: Giovan Battista Perretti, Notificazione a stampa e una lettera circolare relativa, Pisa 1847. The Circular letter to the priests was issued on the 27 May, while the pastoral was published on the 9 June.

66 Lucca, Archivio Storico Diocesano (= ASDLUCCA), Archivio Arcivescovile (= AA), Atti e decreti vescovili (= ADV), Paolo Bertolozzi, Notificazione del 31 maggio 1857.

67 See, i. e., Franson, Pastorale (see note 51).

68 In Modena, Dukedom of Modena, the pastoral by Bishop Luigi Reggianini, issued on 15 May 1847, is now lost but it was paraphrased in Anonymous, Interno, in: Foglio di Modena, 31 May 1847, p. 384. The same goes for the letter by Filippo Cattani, Bishop of Reggio Emilia, mentioned in Anonymous, no title, in: Foglio di Modena, 9 September 1847, nr. 646 and for the letter by Gaetano Baluffi, Archbishop of Imola, issued on 10 May but paraphrased in Anonymous, Elemosina per l'Irlanda nella città e diocesi d'Imola, in: L'Educatore, 17 July 1847, p. 231. In Genoa, Kingdom of Piedmont, Cardinal Placido Maria Tadini issued the pastoral on 6 May, as reported in Anonymous, Notizie Politiche, in: Gazzetta di Parma, 12 May 1847, pp. 149 f.

to further pastoral letters, which have been lost, as in the case of Cardinal Filippo De Angelis, Bishop of Fermo, Papal States: De Angelis wrote to the Secretary of Propaganda Fide that „since the beginning of May [he] tried to excite the mercy of ... [his] parishioners with a specific Pastoral“.⁶⁹ The lost circular letter issued by Luigi Nazari, Bishop of Casale Monferrato, in the Kingdom of Piedmont is similarly documented.⁷⁰ In about two-thirds of the cases, there is insufficient evidence to determine whether the bishops' letters were issued or not.⁷¹

In the diocese of Lucca, Duchy of Lucca, theologian Paolo Bertolozzi, general capital vicar, was the only non-bishop to issue an appeal, since the office was vacant in 1847. In other cases of vacant offices, the pastoral letter was not issued, for instance in San Marco Argentano, Kingdom of Two Sicilies.⁷² In many cities of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice, the Encyclical did not receive attention because of the absence of the bishop: in Cremona, the Encyclical was received by Bishop Carlo Bartolomeo Romilli, but shortly afterwards he was transferred to Milan; Antonio Dragoni, who administered the vacant office, did not bring the issue forward,⁷³ as was also the case

69 Vatican City, Propaganda Fide Historical Archives (= APF), Scritture riferite nei congressi (= SC), Irlanda, anno 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1032r–v.

70 APF, SC, Irlanda, anno 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1036r.

71 I. e., The Benevento Historical Archdiocesan Archives and the Fidenza Diocesan Archives were destroyed during the Second World War (e-mail communications respectively from Benevento Historical Archdiocesan Archives, 18 April 2018 and by Cristiano Dotti, 26 April 2018). The Camerino Archdiocesan Archives have not been accessible since the earthquake of 2016 (Luca Barbini, 18 April 2018). The Aosta Episcopal Archive is at present not accessible. The document could not be found in the unordered nineteenth-century section of the Lecce Diocesan Archive (Mons. Oronzo De Simone and Giacomo Cominotti, 18 April 2018). In the Historical Diocesan Archive of Bergamo (Father Gianluca Marchetti and Esposito Matteo, 18 April 2018), in the San Miniato Historical Diocesan Archives (Benedetta Spina, 19 April 2018), and in the Florence Diocesan Archives (Father Gilberto Aranci, 18 April 2018), the 1847 episcopal documentation is in order, but no letter is preserved. No letter related to the fundraising for Ireland is preserved in the Diocesan/Archdiocesan archives of Aosta (Carmelo Pellicone, 19 April 2018), Avezzano (the Diocesan Archive of Avezzano, 9 May 2018), Castellaneta (Father Domenico Giacobelli, 2 May 2018), Cosenza (Vincenzo Antonio Tucci, 18 April 2018), Conversano (don Angelo Fanelli, 20 April 2018), Fabriano and Matelica (Father Alberto Castellani, 20 April 2018), Forlì (Father Paolo Giuliani, 23 April 2018), Gallipoli (Father Giuliano Santantonio, 23 April 2018), Gubbio (Anna Radicchi, 23 May 2018), Lanciano (Anselmo Martino, 27 April 2018), Macerata (Father Grigorij Linnik and Ivano Palmucci, 23 April 2018), Matera (Annunziata Bozza, 20 April 2018), Melfi (Angela Pennella, 20 April 2018), Novara (Father Paolo Milani, 9 May 2018), Otranto (Father Donato Ruggeri, 17 May 2018), Padua (19 April 2018), Palestrina (Cinzia di Fazio, 26 April 2018), Perugia (Isabella Farinelli, 18 April 2018), Pesaro (Filippo Alessandrini, 23 April 2018), Pescia (Father Francesco Gaddini and Mariasole Maselli, 11 May 2018), Pozzuoli (Fabio Cutolo, 8 May 2018), Ravenna (Nina Maria Liverani, 28 April 2018), Savona (Massimiliana Bugli, 19 April 2018), Siena (Daniela Liberatori, 29 May 2018), Tivoli (Alain Vidal, 7 May 2018), and Ugento (Salvatore Palese, 24 April 2018).

72 Communication by Carmela Petrassi, 19 April 2018.

73 Communication by Father Paolo Fusar Imperatore, 20 April 2018.

for Giovanni Corti, Bishop of Mantova, who took office on 29 June 1847.⁷⁴ In Crema, Bishop Pietro Maria Ferré was present but inactive, since he had already been officially moved to another diocese.⁷⁵

The twenty-five texts that survive in the archives show great variety: the majority of them are „pastoral letters“ („lettera pastorale“, or „invito pastorale“ – Alba, Albenga, Arezzo, Asti, Chieti, Cuneo, Ivrea, Luni, Mondovì, Naples, Pisa, Rieti, Susa, Turin, and Vigevano). In these texts, the bishops addressed the parishioners using extensive biblical and patristic citations. Some of the pastoral letters contain attached „notifications“ (Pisa and Susa) and „circular letters“ (Alessandria and Vigevano), that is, short letters to the parish priests with instructions on why and how to organize the tridua. In one case, the printed pastoral letter included the speech given by the bishop announcing the Encyclical and a separate sheet with instructions for the tridua (Asti). The other documents are called „notifications“ („notificazione“ – Bologna, Cesena, Città di Castello, Feltre, Ferrara, Lucca, Pisa, and Susa) and „sacred invitations“ („invito sacro“⁷⁶ – Orvieto). At times, the distinction between these documents is arbitrary, their content rather than their label being the only way to distinguish them. For example, part of the pastoral letters (Luni, Naples, Rieti) and notifications (Bologna, Ferrara, Orvieto) were printed on a single page in order to be posted on the doors of the churches, as expressly stated in the pastoral letter of Cardinal Sisto Riario Sforza, Archbishop of Naples.⁷⁷

4. The modalities by which the Encyclical was advertised and the different dates by which the bishops issued their letters reflect, on one hand, the limitations imposed by the censorship of various governments on printed media and, on the other, the administrative time that each state took for processing a document issued by a foreign monarch. In several cases, a quick response from the local clergy was prevented, slowing down the fundraising. After the Restoration of 1814, censorship had become a key instrument of governance and censorship laws were issued all across the peninsula in the 1820s. The „Praedecessores Nostros“ and the pastoral letters for Ireland were published and advertised between the dawn of the Restoration's time strict censorship in some states and the first relaxation, promoted by Pius IX in March 1847.⁷⁸

In the Papal States, no censorship would have affected the initiative. The available pastorals were issued between the end of April and May (26 April – Rieti,⁷⁹ 28 April –

⁷⁴ Communication by Licia Mari, 24 April 2018.

⁷⁵ Communication by Father Giuseppe Pagliari, 30 April 2018.

⁷⁶ AVORVIETO, Vespignani, Lettere, 43, Vespignani, Invito.

⁷⁷ ASDNAPOLI, fondo Arcivescovi, Sisto Riario Sforza, fasc. 3, nr. 191, Riario Sforza, A tutt'i fedeli.

⁷⁸ John A. Davis, Italy, in: Robert Justin Goldstein (Ed.), *The War for the Public Mind. Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, London 2000, pp. 81–124, here pp. 87 f., 100 f.

⁷⁹ ASDRIETI, AVDR, EN 3, fasc. Curoli, 1847: Curoli, Lettera pastorale 26 Aprile 1847.

Città di Castello,⁸⁰ 4 May – Cesena,⁸¹ 5 May – Ferrara,⁸² 24 May – Bologna).⁸³ In the neighbouring Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the new censorship law issued on 6 May 1847 did not provide for an easy distribution of the Encyclical and of the pastoral letters. Since 1814, the State Secretary was the only institution to permit publishing of the bishops' pastoral letters, something confirmed by the new law.⁸⁴ Perhaps, the Encyclical and the pastorals for Ireland were considered a challenge by the censoring system. The „Gazzetta di Firenze“ had been writing about January's triduum and reported about the charitable fundraising held in February by Lord Vernon. However, it did not report on the Encyclical and the bishops' letters for Ireland. The establishing of censorship territorial offices with the law of May 1847⁸⁵ seems to have caused different outcomes for the pastoral letters in Tuscany. In June, the authorities of Sovana and Pitigliano forbid the advertising of the alms collection, allowing it „only inside the churches“.⁸⁶ However, in other cases such as Pisa, the bishops notified their parishioners by the second half of May.⁸⁷

In some states with strict censorship laws, no censorship was implemented on the Encyclical and on the bishops' letters. In the Duchy of Lucca, the censorship institutions were composed of lay and churchmen who were not part of the conflict during the Restoration.⁸⁸ It may be that the conflict with Tuscany, which aimed to extend its jurisdictional laws on the churches of Lucca, made it so that the Encyclical was announced only with Bertolozzi's „notificazione“.⁸⁹ The text states that a prior communication, dated March 1847, had not yet been published by the majority of the priests, „perhaps for legitimate impediment“, suggesting thus some sort of ongoing conflict. Bertolozzi now asked for the advertisement of both the old notification and the one for Ireland.⁹⁰ Similarly, in the Duchy of Modena and Reggio Emilia, where

80 ASDCASTELLO, Muzi, Notificazione.

81 ADCESENA, Castracane, Notificazione.

82 AABOLOGNA, Cadolini, Notificazione.

83 AABOLOGNA, Opizzoni, Notificazione.

84 Domenico Maria Bruni, *Con regolata indifferenza, con attenzione costante. Potere politico e parola stampata nel Granducato di Toscana (1814–1847)*, Milano 2015, pp. 88, 95.

85 Id., *La censura della stampa nel Granducato di Toscana (1814–1859)*, in: id. (Ed.), *Potere e circolazione delle idee: stampa, accademie e censura nel Risorgimento italiano*, Milano 2007, pp. 330–356, here p. 342.

86 Pitigliano, Archivio Diocesano, Lettere, Ordini, Circolari e Notificazioni. Circolari e disposizioni vescovili, 1/V: Lettera dalla Segreteria del Regio Diritto al Vescovo Francesco Maria Barzellotti, 2 giugno 1847. Provided by Barbara Adamanti.

87 ASDPISA, „Atti straordinari“, fasc. 152, nr. 92, Perretti, Notificazione a stampa.

88 Giorgio Tori, *La censura nel Ducato di Lucca (1817–1847)*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 302–329.

89 ASDLUCCA, Notificazione.

90 Ibid. See also Mirena Bernardini Stanghellini, Bertolozzi, Giovanni Paolo, in: DBI, vol. 9, Roma 1967 (URL: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-paolo-bertolozzi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-paolo-bertolozzi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); 12. 12. 2018).

the local censorship commissions were composed of lay and clergy,⁹¹ no censorship was implemented and, apparently, issuing the Encyclical and the pastoral letter did not raise any issue. In the capital of Modena, a long paraphrase of the Encyclical was published at the beginning of May in the newspaper „Foglio di Modena“⁹² and Bishop Luigi Reggianini published it shortly thereafter.

In the Austrian-dominated Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice, by contrast, the government continued even in the 1840s to implement harsh censorship on religious publications. Besides censoring atheist and libertine ideas, the censors aimed also at establishing the idea of the state's power over the Church by banning the texts that exalted the role of the Papacy and of the Catholic religion. However, the Department of Censorship for the Venetian Provinces allowed the printing of many religious texts, since religion was anyhow the ideological backbone of the Empire.⁹³ For example, the „Foglio di Verona“⁹⁴ and the „Gazzetta di Mantova“⁹⁵ reprinted in February a description originally published in the government-run „Gazzetta Privilegiata di Venezia“ of the triduum held in Rome in January, but the three newspapers did not report on the „Praedecessores Nostros“ as they did for the previous and following Encyclicals. Evidently, the censors sensed a danger that Pius IX's call on behalf of an oppressed nation would remind readers of the Austrian domination in northern Italy. In fact, the „Gazzetta di Mantova“ reported other international charity news in connection with the Irish famine,⁹⁶ but not the Encyclical. The censorship of Lombardy-Venice also affected the publishing of the bishops' letters and the subsequent collections of alms, which took place with no advertisement. As it appears from the epistolary correspondence between Sebastiano Soldati, Bishop of Treviso, and the Venetian government, the authorities considered it „improper“ to advertise alms collections for the Irish cause because of the „forthcoming terrible famine in the Austrian provinces“ and allowed the publishing of only pastoral letters that did not mention the organizing of alms collection.⁹⁷ The censorship slowed the fundraising considerably. Soldati requested the publishing permit for his pastoral in May, but received it only in August. Similar restrictions delayed the letter by Antonio Gava, Bishop of Feltre and

⁹¹ Giordano Bertuzzi, *La censura nel Ducato di Modena*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 260–272.

⁹² Anonymous, *Notizie estere*, in: *Foglio di Modena*, 6 May 1847, p. 356.

⁹³ Giampietro Berti, *Censura e cultura nel Veneto austriaco*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 237–247, here pp. 240 f.

⁹⁴ *Gazzetta Privilegiata di Venezia*, Stato Pontificio, in: *Foglio di Verona*, 13 February 1847, p. 74.

⁹⁵ Anonymous, Stato Pontificio, in: *Gazzetta di Mantova*, 20 February 1847, p. 31.

⁹⁶ Anonymous, Costantinopoli, in: *Gazzetta di Mantova*, 24 April 1847, p. 65.

⁹⁷ Treviso, Archivio Diocesano (= ADTREVISO), fondo Governo Diocesi (= GD), b. 31, fasc. 2, Incarto delle memorie di una questua straordinaria a favore degli infelici abitanti dell'Irlanda, fol. 1r–17v; fol. 6r–v: Letter from the Venetian Government to Soldati. Provided by Mons. Stefano Chioatto and Giuseppe Pagotto. The pastoral letter issued by Soldati is lost.

Belluno, to 5 October,⁹⁸ and the letter by Carlo Fontanin, Bishop of Concordia, to 5 November.⁹⁹ In comparison to other Austrian dominions, the censorship was stricter in Lombardy-Venice. In the Kingdom of Dalmatia, the Italian-language „Gazzetta di Zara“ had reported in four lines the issuing of the Encyclical from the French newspapers already in May.¹⁰⁰ Also in the filo-Austrian Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, the readers of the „Gazzetta di Parma“ were informed about the Encyclical only indirectly in May, once the pastoral letter by Archbishop Tadini was advertised.¹⁰¹

By contrast, there is evidence that in the Kingdom of Piedmont and in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies the delay between receiving the Encyclical (mid-April), its actual announcement, and the publishing of the pastoral letters was due to administrative procedures. The Two Sicilies were actively supporting the Catholic religion in their fight against liberal ideas.¹⁰² Nonetheless, diplomatic conventions required the Encyclical to be approved by the state authorities. The Apostolic Nuncio, Reverend Antonio Garibaldi, sent the Encyclical to the minister of ecclesiastical affairs, Giuseppe Lanza, on 27 April, in order to obtain approval for publishing. Lanza discussed the convenience of the initiative on 14 May in the state council, which approved it. Immediately thereafter, he sent a note to all the high prelates, allowing the „quick and precise execution“ of the pope’s wishes.¹⁰³ So it was, with the Bishop of Chieti issuing the letter on 15 May, while in the capital, Naples, it was printed on 26 May.

In the Kingdom of Piedmont, the Encyclical was not advertised in the press. The state-run „Gazzetta Piemontese“, under the strict surveillance of the conservative and ultra-Catholic foreign minister Count Clemente Solaro della Margarita, reported the content of the „Praedecessores Nostros“ only at the beginning of May, in a four-line article on page three.¹⁰⁴ It is unlikely that this two-week delay was due to a form of censorship, since the Apostolic Nuncio Antonio Benedetto Antonucci and Solaro della Margarita maintained good relations.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the „Gazzetta“ strenuously defended the values of religion and monarchy¹⁰⁶ and it had been giving wide publicity to the Irish famine in the previous months. Therefore, also in this case, the two-week delay must have been due to the processing of diplomatic matters. The minimized

98 AACAs, P, CORRISPONDENZA, b. 117, prot. 242/1847: Gava, Al Venerabile Clero.

99 ASDCONCORDIA, Rizzolati, Al Venerabile Clero.

100 Anonymous, France, in: *Gazzetta di Zara*, 17 May 1847, p. 148.

101 Anonymous, *Notizie politiche*, in: *Gazzetta di Parma*, 12 May 1847, p. 149.

102 Maria Consiglia Napoli, *La censura libraria a Napoli nel periodo risorgimentale*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 357–376; Salvatore Bottari, *Stampa e censura in Sicilia nell’età del Risorgimento (1815–1860)*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 377–408.

103 AACHIETI, Curia, b. 581, fol. 7783r: Lettera circolare di Giuseppe Lanza, 18 May 1847.

104 Anonymous, Italia, in: *Gazzetta Piemontese*, 1 May 1847, p. 3.

105 Fausto Fonzi, Antonucci, Benedetto Antonio, in: DBI, vol. 3, Roma 1961 (URL: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-antonio-antonucci_\[Dizionario-Biografico\]](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-antonio-antonucci_[Dizionario-Biografico]); 12. 12. 2018).

106 Gian Paolo Romagnani, *La censura nel Regno di Sardegna 1814–1859*, in: Bruni (Ed.), *Potere* (see note 85), pp. 195–212, here p. 199.

notification of the Encyclical was not echoed by any censorship of the bishops' pastorals. In the cities of Piedmont, nine bishops published their pastorals in May (8 May – Susa and Cuneo, 10 May – Alessandria, 15 May – Alba and Ivrea, 22 May – Mondovì, 24 May – Luni, 27 May – Vigevano, 28 May – Albenga), one in June (7 June – Turin), and one in July (15 July – Asti).

With the bishops' appeals delayed by all these state-imposed limitations, the timing of the charitable initiatives varied. However, most of the tridua took place in May (in ten cases) and June (twelve cases).¹⁰⁷ An original way to maximise the alms collection was implemented by Filippo Curoli, Bishop of Rieti, Papal States, who ordered the tridua to be held on different days for each church of the diocese, covering in this way the whole month of May with charitable initiatives in support of Ireland.¹⁰⁸

5. Censorship and diplomatic processing were not the only obstacles for raising aid funds quickly. The audience of the Italian states had already established notions of moral economy regarding poverty and charity, forged by the experience of modernization and the recent economic crises. The bishops were well aware that, since the end of the eighteenth century, the principle of Christian charity was under attack by English and French liberal thinkers, who presupposed the permanence of poverty in the modern world. The ongoing debate about the efficiency of the modern means of production left a strong imprint on the idea of how to improve the efficiency of relief for the poor. For example, in the Kingdom of Piedmont the government's identification as an instrument of Divine Providence resulted in a debate on the possibility of establishing state-directed charity, a sort of welfare system for the poor. This idea, in Piedmont, but also in Tuscany, was contested by those who considered charity to be unlikely to bring about change and who believed that the solution was *laissez-faire*:

107 May: Alessandria (2, 3, 4 May – „Day of Pentecost and in the two following ones“); Ivrea (2, 3, 4 May – „Sunday of Pentecost and the following Monday and Tuesday“); Cesena (one on 7 May, two on 11 May); ?Susa („in the first Holy Day after having it“); ?Cuneo („in the days considered most opportune by the priests“); Ferrara (13, 14, 15 May); Città di Castello (14, 15, 16 May); Rieti: see note 89. June: ?Vigevano („in the first Holy Day after the priests receive it“); ?Albenga; ?Lucca („immediately after the priests have received the following notification“); ?Luni, Sarzana, and Bugnato („in those days and hours that the Priests and Rectors will consider more opportune“); ?Orvieto („we allow the priest of our diocese to decide“); ?Mondovì („in the first holy day after having received this letter“); Naples (6, 7, 8 June); Arezzo (11, 12, 13 June); Chieti (11, 12, 13 June); Pisa (11, 12, 13 June); Turin (27, 28, 29 June). July: Bologna (Sundays, 4, 11, 18 July); ?Asti („in one of the next weeks ... three continuous or not continuous days, as the priests will consider more opportune“); August: Asti (15, 16, 17 August); October: Feltre and Belluno (22, 23, 24 October); November: Concordia (8, 9, 10 November).

108 In Rieti, the tridua were held in the Cathedral (1, 2, 3 May), St. Domenico (4, 5, 6 May), St. Benedetto (7, 8, 9), St. Lucia (10, 11, 12 May), St. Angelo in Borgo (14, 15, 16 May), St. Francis (17, 18, 19 May) and St. Augustinus (20, 21, 22 May). See ASDRIETI, AVDR, EN 3, fasc. Curoli, 1847: Curoli, Lettera pastorale 26 Aprile 1847.

forcing the poor to help themselves through work.¹⁰⁹ However, both visions found limited application in the Italian states, since Christian charity was deeply entrenched as a cultural practice. On one hand, it was widely considered to be evidence of the widespread Christian spirit of the community; on the other, the instruments of social control such as public assistance institutions (schools, hospices, and the like) and modern police, set up by the Italian states in the 1830s and 1840s, were ineffective both in offering a remedy for poverty but also in preventing social unrest.¹¹⁰

Besides these ideas on the place of poverty and charity in the modern world and besides the rudimentary instruments set up by the states, whose circulation and efficiency at mass level is questionable, the bishops were aware that their appeals to help Ireland were addressing populations afflicted by recent economic and social distress. In 1846, the grain harvest had been poor. Nonetheless, the merchants of Lombardy-Venice exported grain to northern Europe, causing popular riots in response to rising bread prices. Similar tendencies prevailed in other states, involving peasants, artisans, and later on, intellectuals.¹¹¹ In such a context of poverty, charity, and local moral economies, the churches' audiences had to be convinced that donating to Ireland was a proper duty within the larger moral economy of Catholicism.

6. The bishops' appeals were most likely designed for being read or paraphrased during the tridua, since appealing to the parishioners was a usual strategy for rallying support in the Catholic Church. The triduum held at Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome in January, with the famous orator Gioacchino Ventura di Raulica as preacher, provided the bishops with the model for appealing for Ireland. There is evidence that professional orators were enrolled locally in order to replicate the success of Rome's triduum. Professional orators could easily adapt the rhetoric of the written words of the prelates, which were not accessible to the illiterate, in order to elicit donations. In Reggio Emilia, appealing to the audience during the triduum in the cathedral was left to the oratory of a Jesuit, Lorenzo Baldassini, of the College of Saint George. Also in Modena, following the reading of the pastoral letter by Reggianini, the preaching during the triduum in the cathedral was left to a Jesuit, Tito Facchini, who, according to a newspaper account, exhorted the large number of people gathered with „motions of affects, notions of Catholic doctrine, perceptiveness of reason, sublimity of concepts, all of this expressed with the pathos of improvisation and with richness in language and imagination“.¹¹² Educated orators were recruited also in the Papal States:

109 Stuart Woolf, *The poor and how to relieve them. The Restoration debate on poverty in Italy and Europe*, in: John A. Davis/Paul Ginsborg (Eds.), *Society and Politics in the Age of Risorgimento*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 49–69.

110 Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento. State, Society and National Unification*, London 1994, pp. 40–44.

111 Beales/Biagini, *The Risorgimento* (see note 28), pp. 85f.

112 Anonymous, *Interno*, in: *Foglio di Modena*, 31 May 1847, p. 384.

in Imola, the audience was addressed by „distinguished ecclesiastic and secular persons [who] willingly accepted the task to excite [the believers] and collect the alms for such compassionate work“.¹¹³ However, not all the local churches could count on a professional orator. In some cases, the local priests had to decode the pastoral letters for their audiences by themselves, in Italian or even in their local dialects, as they often did.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the bishops' letters asked the priests to be clear and concise and to make their oral appeals intelligible for their audience, „so that even the most ignorant will understand the good we propose to do“.¹¹⁵ The next three sections are aimed at analysing the communicative strategies present in the bishops' appeals, which are to date the only evidence of what could have inspired the oral appeals to charity of the preachers locally.

7. The exhortation for action present in the „Praedecessores Nostros“ is mirrored in the episcopal appeals. The textual analysis of the twenty-five letters sheds light even on the modality of spoken preaching, on the arguments used, and on the keywords and authoritative references meant to inspire charity. The texts show how in the mid-nineteenth century the Italian bishops tried to persuasively engage their flocks with „a kind of congregation-centred hermeneutics“, using metadiscursive resources.¹¹⁶ Metadiscursive resources are expressions used in written and oral texts in order to awaken in the audience a sense of interaction with the writer or speaker.¹¹⁷ They are rhetorical strategies meant to guide the audiences with the aim of making the message clear and convincing.¹¹⁸ Although the discursive content and the metadiscourse are inextricably linked,¹¹⁹ examining the usage of metadiscursive resources is useful for understanding how the sense of emergency for a humanitarian cause was communicated in the Italian kingdoms.

Considering the twenty-five bishops' appeals as a linguistic corpus, and processing it through concordance software AntConc,¹²⁰ the use of metadiscursive resources

113 Anonymous, *Elemosina per l'Irlanda*, in: *L'Educatore*, 17 July 1847, p. 231.

114 Piero Gibellini, *Tra lingua e dialetto. Letteratura e identità nazionale*, Brescia 2015, p. 72; Giovanni Pozzi, *Grammatica e retorica dei santi*, Milano 1997, pp. 20, 263.

115 The quote is from ADALBENGA, SP, sc. 11, pal. I, sc. 33–54, nr. 52, SGM, Circ. 6, Biale, *Al Venerabile Clero*. See also PSMPC, *Pastorali*, Manzini, *Lettera Pastorale*, nr. 44, fol. 151r; BNV, AL, *Pastorali 1854–1924*, Agnini, *Lettera Pastorale*, p. 16; ADSUSA, Giovanni Antonio Odone, *Lettera Pastorale*; AABOLOGNA, Cadolini, *Lettera pastorale*; AVORVIETO, Vespignani, *Lettere* 43, Vespignani, *Invito*; Frasoni, *Pastorale* (see note 51).

116 Malmström, *Engaging* (see note 7).

117 Ken Hyland, *Metadiscourse. Exploring Interaction in Writing*, London 2005, p. 37.

118 Walter Nash, *An Uncommon Tongue. The Uses and Resources of English*, London 1992, p. 99.

119 Tamsin Sanderson, *Corpus, Culture, Discourse*, Tübingen 2008, pp. 170 f.

120 Laurence Anthony, AntConc, Tokyo, Japan (www.laurenceanthony.net; 1. 2. 2018). I exclude from the corpus newspaper paraphrases, since they may not respect the language and formulas used in the original texts and Jesi's edict, since it was not drafted as an answer to the Encyclical.

is evident: 170 verbs of first conjugation and 25 verbs of the second and third conjugation are in the second person of the plural case, which is at times explicit in the texts („voi“ – „you“, 179 hits). The verbs, conjugated in these modalities (indicative, imperative) and person (second plural), serve as engagement markers, elements aimed at explicitly referring to or building a relationship with the reader or listener.¹²¹ The call for engagement is also testified, to a lesser degree, by the presence of other markers such as transitions („inoltre“ – „furthermore“, 10 hits; „ma“ – „but“, 103 hits), frame markers („infine“ – „in conclusion“, 10 hits; „il mio sermone“ – „my sermon“, 2 hits), evidentials (several references to the Bible and, to a minor extent, to patristics and modern authors), code glosses („per esempio“ – „for example“, 3 hits), hedges („forse“ – „perhaps“, 18 hits; verbs in conditional mode, 33 hits), boosters („quindi“ – „therefore“, 16 hits), self-mentions („noi“ – „we“, 165 hits; „io“ – „I“, 37 hits). Beside metadiscursive resources, some specific keywords were also determinant elements of the bishops' appeals.

8. The appeals show similarities in their semantic approaches, for example with regard to the keywords used, revealing the specific moral economic obligations, which the bishops as local fundraisers highlighted for their parishioners. Processing the corpus of bishops' appeals with AntConc and analysing the findings, several semantic field results predominant: (1) the divine and the Church's authority; (2) abundance; (3) charity; and (4) poverty. The most present semantic field regards the divine and the Church's authority, referred to with the terms „God“, „Christ“, „Church“, and several references to the pope. All the bishops used the image of the pope and exploited his celebrity status as a means of embodiment of the moral economy in which they tried to involve their audience. Mastai-Ferretti was referred to as „Pio IX“ („Pius IX“, 48 hits), „Pontefice“ („Pontifex“, 52 hits), „Sua Santità“ („His Holiness“, 21 hits), „Papa“ („pope“, 21 hits), „Profeta“ („Prophet“, 2 hits), „Pastore“ („Pastor“, 1 hit). The pope is characterized alternatively as „sommo“ („high“, 33 hits), „augusto“ („august“, 9 hits), „gran“ („great“, 5 hits), „venerato“ („venerated“, 2 hits), „amoroso“, „benignissimo“, „sempiterno“, „beneficentissimo“, „umanissimo“ („lovely“, „benignant“, „everlasting“, „very beneficent“, „very human“, 1 hit each).

The second most present semantic field regards the terms referring to money, gold, and wealth. This shows that the collections were presented as economic choices with altruistic meaning. The corpus presents various words for „offers“ („elemosina/e“, „limonina/e“, „offerta/e“, „sussidi/o“, 138 hits), „money“ („denaro/i“, 22 hits), „food“ and „richness“ (8 hits each), „gold“ (7 hits).

The third most common semantic field is „charity“. The word has 140 hits (126 for „charity“ proper and 14 for „charitable“). The term „charity“ is present at least once in each text. Besides being a theological virtue, „charity“ in the Italian language

¹²¹ Malmström, Engaging (see note 7).

also means the act of donating, „beneficence“ („beneficenza/e“, 12 hits). At the time, the word „charity“ was also in fashion among those educated elites who wanted to inject new life into the Catholic faith by founding ecclesiastical orders and lay associations, often inspired by the teachings of Saint Vincent de Paul.¹²² Analysing the adjectives connected to „charity“ helps us to understand its use in 1847: it is described as „your[s]“ („vostra“, 8 hits), „brotherly“ („germana“, „fraterna“), „Evangelical“ and „Christian“, „generous“ (2 hits each), „sacerdotal“, „Catholic“, „of him“ („sua“ = of the pope), „immense“, „eternal“, „divine“ („sovraceleste“), „industrious“, „reciprocal“, „substantial“, „public“, „private“. Besides „your“, charity is alternatively „of God“ (6 hits), „of Christ“ (5 hits), „of the pope“ (3 hits), referring to the „example“ (22 hits) believers should follow. Throughout the corpus, it is possible to find elements that attribute to the pope’s primacy over the charitable initiative: Luigi Fransoni, the Bishop of Turin, describes his „industrious charity“ and invited the believers to follow his example.¹²³

All the terms that indicate wealth (183 hits) surpass the total number for „charity“ and „beneficence“ (152 hits). The moral economy involved more money transactions than prayers: the terms indicating abundance surpass also the terminology of „prayers“ („preghiere“, „preci“, 125 hits) and referring to „Ireland“ („Ireland“, 111 hits, „Irish people“, 54 hits). Also the practical requirements of the moral economy of humanitarian aid overruled the simple act of praying: while the imperative „preghiamo!/pregate!“ is mentioned only 15 times, the „triduum“ (81 hits), the act of recommending („raccomandare“, 32 hits) and exhorting („esortare“, 27 hits; „ispirare“, 2 hits) and the acts of helping („aiuto/aiutare“, 29 hits), offering („offrire“, 10 hits), collecting („raccogliere“, 21 hits) and sending („mandare“, 24 hits; „inviare“, 12 hits; „spedire“, 2 hits) appears with much greater frequency.

Of equal importance to charity, the bishops recalled the semantic field of poverty, with the terms „hunger“ („fame“, 40 hits), „need“ („bisogno/i“, 32 hits), „death“ („morte“, 29 hits), „miserable/miserably“ („misera/miseramente“, 18 hits, of which 6 referred to „la misera Irlanda“), „famine“ („carestia“, 12 hits), „sorrow“ and „penury“ (8 hits each), „scourges“ („patimenti“, 5 hits), „desperation“ („disperazione“, 2 hits). All these terms were linked to Ireland and the Irish people, showing them as victims of terrible circumstances to whom the donors owed some tribute of „mercy“ („misericordia“, 39 hits) and „love“ („amore“, 21 hits). Insisting on the poor conditions of the recipients of charity was relevant. Ireland is described alternatively (1 hit each) as „hit“ („bersagliata“), „disgraceful“ („disgraziatissima“), „praise“ („benemerita“), „suffering“ („sofferente“), „scourged“ („travagliata“), „generous and unhappy“ („generosa e infelice“). The appeals refer also to the Irish „nation“ („nazione“, 19 hits), that is probably nothing more than a popular expression referring to a homogeneous popula-

¹²² De Giorgi, *Cattolici ed educazione* (see note 19), pp. 78 f.

¹²³ Fransoni, *Pastorale* (see note 51), p. 151.

tion. However, it may well be that such references to an oppressed nation were aimed at reminding the audience of the condition of Italy. Reporting of the scourges of other nations across Europe was a common press strategy at the time to circumvent censorship and indirectly address the scourges of their own people.¹²⁴ Despite the cult of the martyrs having been a key element of mid-nineteenth-century Catholic preaching and an inspiration for the national *Risorgimento*,¹²⁵ the whole corpus hosts only three references to Ireland as a land populated by „martyrs“, and all of them in one pastoral issued in Asti, and another three references to the Irish as „Catholic heroes“ („eroi cattolici“) once again in pastorals issued in Piedmont (Asti, Susa, and Cuneo). The „enemies“ („nemici“) of the Church, briefly recalled also in the Encyclical, are mentioned only six times, and only in the pastorals of Asti, Luni, Mondovì, Susa, and Turin; their „machinations“ („macchinazione/i“, 7 hits) are present in the pastorals of Alba, Cuneo, Mondovì, Turin, Cesena, and two times in Lucca’s notification. The bishops of Bologna and Asti mentioned also the „profane/profaners“ („profani/profanatori“). However, the majority of the Italian dioceses avoided the semantic field of conflict. The bishops seem to have considered that they would have a better chance of convincing the believers to donate by stressing the tragic conditions of Ireland, since the „threats“ mentioned in some of the pastorals („minacce“, 4 hits) endangered the lives of the Irish people, not of the Church.

Besides fulfilling the pope’s wish, the bishops suggested other reasons why it was beneficial to take part in the fundraising. All assigned high relevance to the „indulgence/s“ („indulgenza/e“, 59 hits) and the „reward“ („ricompensa“, 4 hits) that the Church „granted“ (the verb „concedere“, in various persons of the indicative mode, present tense, 17 hits) to all those who would have confessed and received the Eucharist. This was a religious motivation for donating that was well-grounded in Catholic faith.

9. The bishops’ letters contained several evidentials from the Bible and, to a minor extent, from patristics and from modern literature. It is rewarding to show how the references to the Bible were incorporated within the moral economy constructed by the pastoral letters. Eleven texts included references from the Bible: Albenga (8), Asti (4), Cuneo (6), Ivrea (13), Lucca (5), Luni (5), Mondovì (8), Naples (15), Rieti (3), Susa (45), and Vigevano (5). Among these, six of the pastorals from Piedmont (Albenga, Asti, Cuneo, Ivrea, Luni, Mondovì) included the full Italian translation of the entire Encyclical and four quoted the Encyclical partially (Alba, Rieti, Naples, Vigevano),

¹²⁴ Sorin Mitu, *National Identity of the Romanians in Transylvania*, Budapest-New York 2001. Lisa Ferris, *Irish Views on Old Austria and Austrian Views on the Irish Question. 1848–1918* (dissertation), Vienna 2008.

¹²⁵ Lucy Riall, *Martyr Cults in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, in: *Journal of Modern History* 82,2 (2010), pp. 255–287.

expressly „in order to excite“¹²⁶ the priests and the believers with the words of the pope. Possibly, this was also a means to circumvent the silence of Piedmont's official newspaper upon receiving the Encyclical. In the whole corpus of appeals considered, biblical references in quotations or paraphrases are taken from Matthew (13 hits), Hebrews (7 hits), John (6 hits), Tobias (6 hits), First Letter to the Corinthians (6 hits), Letter to the Romans (5 hits), Luke (4 hits), Acts (4 hits), Galatians (4 hits), Colossians (3 hits), Ephesians (2 hits), Second Letter to the Corinthians (2 hits), and Psalms (2 hits).¹²⁷

Making of the biblical references quoted in these texts a linguistic corpus of its own (of approximately 3 100 words)¹²⁸ and processing it through AntConc, the most used nouns are „God“ („Dio“ and „Signore“, 38 hits), „Jesus“ and „Christ“ („Gesù“ and „Cristo“, 26 hits), followed by the translation of the Greek word ἀγάπη, which means both „charity“ and „love“ („amore“, 19 hits). These are followed by „man“ („uomo“, 10 hits), „poor“ and „people“ („povero“ and „popolo“, 9 hits each), „heaven“ („paradiso“, 5 hits), „death“ („morte“, 4 hits). The term „charity“ is referred to by the noun „love“, but also by action verbs: „give“ („dare“, 10 hits), „help“ („aiutare/ajutare“, 6 hits), „share“ („condividere“, 2 hits), and „feed“ („nutrire“, 1 hit). These verses show that also in the Bible altruistic meaning is attached to money, by making references to „offering/s“ („offerta/e“, 3 hits), „money“ („soldi“, 6 hits), „gold“ („oro/i“, 7 hits), „coins“ („monete“, 5 hits) and „silver“ („argento“, 2 hits).

Comparing the corpus of the bishops' appeals (a total of roughly 35 000 words) with the one contained in the corpus of biblical references, it is evident that the two corpora have the four mentioned semantic fields in common with similar proportions. In both corpora, the semantic field referring to the divine and Church's authority is the most present (64 hits in the Biblical reference corpus). The field indicating wealth, second by frequency in the letters' corpus, is mirrored in the Biblical references corpus by 23 hits. Similarly, the field of charity is in third position, with 19 terms in the Bibli-

126 PSMPC, Pastoral, Manzini, nr. 44, fol. 150v.

127 Albenga: John 3,17; Luc 6,38; 2 Ambr ad Const. Ep.; Tob 4,11; Tob 19,9; Tob 11,41; Math 19,21; Coloss. 5. Asti: Ap 3,6; John, 5,1–18; Ap. 2,43; 1Sam 17. Cuneo: Math 8,7; Joan 16,23; Tob 12,9. Ivrea: Act 22,28; Joan 8,20–22; 1Cor 12,22; 1John 1,3; Acts 4,32; Col 3,25; Gal 3,28; Math 16,18; John 21,15–17; Hebr 13,1; Hebr 13,6; Hebr 13,25. Lucca: Is 42,2; Proverbs 28,21; Gen 40,12; Gen 16. Luni: Hebr 13. Mondovì: 1Cor 1,16; Math 7,2. Naples: Eph 1,22; 1John 3,17–18; Act 9,27; 1Cor 16,1–2; Gal 2,10; Eph 3,12; Tob 4; 2Cor 1,2; 2Paral 7,15; Math 21,13; 1Tim 2,5; Math 18,20; Math 10,42; Ps 9. Rieti: John 13,55; Ps 40,2; Job 12,8. Susa: Col 3,12; Rom 12,10; Hebr 13,1; Ps 21,3; Math 18,10; John 20,17; Proverbs 13,24; Hebr 12,6; Ps 31; Luke 2,46; Gal 6,20; 2Cor 8,3–9; Rom 5,5; John 13,34–35. John 6,38; John 3,16; Hebr 2,14; John 8,18; Phil 2,8; Luke 10,30; 1Cor 11,27 et 11,39; Math 5,21; Luke 6,27; Math 7,2; Jacob 2,13; Eph 4,32; Eph 5,1; John 17,21; 1John 4,11; 1John 4,16; 1Cor 13,1; John 13,35. Rom 13,8; Rom 13,10; Math 35,31; Sophon 1,14; Act 4,32; Gal 6,3; Eccl 29,15; Tob 4,1; Ps 40,1; Mat 10,42. Turin: Rom 13. Vigevano: 1Cor 10,13; Ps 83,11; Joel 2,26; 1Peter, 6; Gen 3,22.

128 All the Biblical references have been previously translated in English according to the New International Version of the Bible (URL: <https://www.biblestudytools.com/niv/>; 1. 6. 2018).

cal references and the field of poverty is in fourth position, with 13 hits in the Biblical reference corpus. This comparison indicates that the bishops were skilful in drawing from the Bible the most appropriate words for inspiring the audience to donate.

The letters by Artico and Moreno also reference a total of eleven patristic texts, and Artico also quotes sixteen modern texts.¹²⁹ However, these may have been a resource only for the priests provided with the original texts and good interpretative skills, while even the most humble priest had the Bible at hand and could contextualize its messages.

10. All bishops' letters provided clear, practical instructions for organizing the tridua and for collecting the alms. Firstly, these letters clarify the practical means to appeal for charitable purposes: which prayers, which psalms, which songs and litanies. The most explicit in this regard are the pastorals issued in the Kingdom of Piedmont by Francesco Agnini, Bishop of Sarzana and Bugnato, and by Clemente Manzini, Bishop of Cuneo. Manzini included a list of orations to be used during the tridua.¹³⁰ In Lucca, Bertolozzi ordered the specific allocution „Ut Hiberniam a presentis calamitate liberare digneris“ („So that You free Ireland from the present calamities“), to be recited before starting the prayer „Ut fructus terrae [dare, et conservare digneris]“ („so that [You give and preserve] the fruits of the earth“).¹³¹

Secondly, practical instructions detailed how to collect the money: in three cases, the priests were ordered to set up a box in their churches with the inscription „Alms for the Irish people“ („Collette a favore del popolo irlandese“ in Luni and Cuneo) or „Help for the Irish Catholics“ („Soccorsi per i cattolici irlandesi“ in Naples) so that offers could be collected all through the week in which the triduum was held. To these instructions, Francesco Agnini, Bishop of Luni, Sarzana, and Bugnato, added the invitation to perform door-to-door fundraising with the agreement of the local clergy.¹³² Dionigi Pasio, Bishop of Alessandria, provided the priests with similar instructions, but also exhorted the money collectors to remind the believers that „the offer is a seed that produces a return a hundred times bigger to the donor“.¹³³

Requesting the local priests to appoint collectors was common throughout the Italian states: Giosuè Maria Saggese, Bishop of Chieti, ordered also that each priest appoint two persons and one cashier in each church to take care of the collection.¹³⁴ Giovanni Tommaso Ghilardi, Bishop of Mondovì, suggested instead that the priests

129 I. e., ADIVREA, Moreno, Lettera pastorale 1847, and Artico, Lettera pastorale.

130 PSMPC, Pastoralis, Manzini, Lettera Pastorale, fol. 148r: „Deus qui culpa offenderis etc., Da Nobis quaesumus Domine“ etc. (from the hunger times missals), „Defende quaesumus Domine B. V.“ etc., „Ecclesiae“ and „Pro Papa“. See also BNV, AL, Pastoralis 1854–1924, Agnini, Lettera Pastorale.

131 ASDLUCCA, AA, ADV, Bertolozzi, Notificazione.

132 BNV, AL, Pastoralis 1854–1924, Agnini, Lettera Pastorale, p. 12.

133 ADALESSANDRIA, Vescovi, Corrisp., fal. 22, fasc. 1, Pasio, Circolare ai signori parrochi.

134 AACHIETI, Curia, b. 581, fol. 7783r: Saggese, Invito pastorale.

„appoint some rightful person who in the first day of the triduum and in the following holy days stands on the door of the church, in the hours of major flow to the Holy Mass, in order to collect the believers' alms“.¹³⁵

The correspondence between Soldati in Treviso and the government in Venice suggested that the censorship politics were implemented extensively in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Veneto. In the letter from Concordia drafted by the Apostolic Vicar Francesco Rizzolati, the organization of the triduum was presented as separate from the alms collection: the appeal referred to the Encyclical as aimed at reciting prayers and the triduum at reciting solemn prayers. During the triduum, he wrote, the believers may have voluntarily added offerings for the Irish paupers: the priests could not appeal for them explicitly.¹³⁶ In Feltre and Belluno, Gava worded the message similarly, even if in this case the appeal of the pope was referred to as aimed at providing help to poor brothers and at giving „charity“ („elemosina“), but still as a voluntary work, not as part of a Catholic rite of charity.¹³⁷

11. Implementing a global charity drive at the local level in mid-nineteenth-century Italy meant adapting an overarching message to specific local cultures and the legal obligations of the various states. Unfortunately, of the thousands of local Italian churches in which the tridua for Ireland were organized, no recorded sermon has survived. Therefore, the actual appeal to church attendees remains obscure. This inevitable limitation due to lack of documentation leaves the bishops' appeals as the main source that indicates the keywords, the arguments, and the metadiscursive resources adopted when appealing for charity. The twenty-five pastorals that have survived provide significant documentation of how the pope's appeal was adapted and transmitted to the priests of the local churches, which in some cases were hundreds in each diocese: in Naples, the pastoral by Cardinal Sisto Riario Sforza was delivered to 212 local parishes that implemented the requested alms collection.¹³⁸ Even in the smaller towns, the bishops' letters were important for coordinating the logistics and timing of the alms collections: besides Rieti, where Curoli skilfully organized each triduum on different days in the churches of the city,¹³⁹ the appeal by Luigi Carsidoni, Bishop of Fano, was pivotal for the fundraising in fourteen local churches and ten religious congregations.¹⁴⁰ Despite the censorship implemented in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice, where the issuing of the Encyclical and of the pastorals that advertised the alms

¹³⁵ Ghilardi, *Lettera Pastorale* (see note 49), p. 15.

¹³⁶ ASDCONCORDIA, Rizzolati, *Al Venerabile Clero*.

¹³⁷ AACA, P, CORRISPONDENZA, b. 117, prot. 242/1847: Gava, *Al Venerabile Clero*.

¹³⁸ Sisto Riario Sforza, *Notamento delle elemosine raccolte nelle chiese della città e della diocesi di Napoli in sovvenimento de' poveri cattolici dell'Irlanda*, in: *La Scienza e la fede*, fasc. 79, vol. XIV, year VII, July (1847), pp. 69–74.

¹³⁹ ASDRIETI, AVDR, EN 3, fasc. Curoli, 1847: Curoli, *Lettera pastorale* 26 Aprile 1847.

¹⁴⁰ ASDFANO, CV, *Carteggio Vescovi, Luigi Carsidoni*, b. 1847–1848, *Elemosine*, 10 maggio 1847.

collection was forbidden, at least part of the clergy succeeded in organizing tridua and in collecting alms: once Soldati in Treviso got the permission from the Venetian government, he requested the priests of his vast diocese to organize the tridua.¹⁴¹

Based on the sample of the twenty-five appeals analysed, there is concrete evidence of collections in twelve cases. Five of these alms collections were organized in the dioceses of the Kingdom of Piedmont: in Alessandria, the alms collected in the tridua amounted to 927 *scudi romani* (£ 200).¹⁴² The tridua raised offerings also in Asti (5 452 francs, £ 213),¹⁴³ in Cuneo (2 766 francs, £ 110),¹⁴⁴ and in the diocese of Luni-Sarzana-Bugnato (23 *scudi romani*, £ 5).¹⁴⁵ These four collections were sent to the Propaganda Fide in Rome, and from there they were redirected to the archbishops of Ireland. The offerings collected in Ivrea (500 francs, £ 20) were not sent to Rome but to France, where they became part of the French episcopal collections.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, it appears that at least to some degree the Kingdom of Piedmont contributed to the cause: the alms collected in Alba and Turin were sent to Count Adriano Thaon di Revel e Sant'Andrea, plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Piedmont in London, who forwarded them to Ireland.¹⁴⁷ In the Papal States, the Bishop of Bologna succeeded in collecting 440 *scudi romani*, equal to £ 95.¹⁴⁸ The believers of Cesena offered 290 *scudi romani* (£ 63),¹⁴⁹ while the diocese of Fano collected 116 *scudi romani* (£ 25).¹⁵⁰ In the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, Cardinal Riario Sforza could send to Propaganda Fide the amount of £ 1 666,¹⁵¹ collected from the parishes of Naples, from a subscription organized within the army, and from a private subscription; also the diocese of Chieti

141 ADTREVISO, GD, b. 31, fasc. 2, fol. 1–17. See also Luigi Pesce, Introduzione, in: id. (Ed.), *La visita pastorale di Sebastiano Soldati nella Diocesi di Treviso (1832–1838)*, Roma 1975, p. CXV.

142 APF, SC, Irlanda, anno 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1018r–1019v.

143 Ibid., fol. 436r.

144 Ibid., fol. 1014r–v.

145 Ibid., fol. 164–165; *Diario di Roma, Italia, Stati Pontifici*, in: *Gazzetta di Firenze*, 26 December 1846, p. 3.

146 Anonymous, *Rapport a messeigneurs les archevêques et évêques de France et à messieurs les membres du Comité de l'Irlande*, Paris 1849, p. 4.

147 Dublin, Diocesan Archives (= DDA), Murray Papers, 32/3/119r–v.

148 APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1042, 1065; APF, *Indice 1845–1847*, p. 40v, fol. 752r–v.

149 APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1082r–v.

150 ASDFANO, CV, *Carteggio Vescovi, Luigi Carsidoni*, b. 1847–1848, *Elemosine*, fol. 1r–2v.

151 PIC, CUL, fol. 1446r–v; PIC, CUL, fol. 1358(1); APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1070–1071r–v; AACHIETI, Curia, b. 581, fol. 11; APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1050r–v. See also: Anonymous, *Health of the Pontiff*, in: *Galway Mercury and Connaught Weekly Advertiser*, 11 September 1847, p. 2; APF, *Indice delle lettere della sacra congregazione e dei biglietti di monsignor segretario per ordine di località dall'anno 1845 all'anno 1847* – seconda parte dalla lettera G. alla lettera V, fol. 41r; APF, *Indice delle Lettere della Sacra Congregazione dei Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario per ordine di località – dal 1848 al 1850 – Lettere dalla I alla V*, vol. 11, fol. 1r–3r; APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1068r–v.

could send to Sforza a decent sum (308 *Ducati Napoletani*, equal to circa £ 54).¹⁵² In Tuscany, the diocese of Arezzo sent to Rome 587 *scudi romani* (£ 127),¹⁵³ while from Pisa 647 *scudi romani* (£ 140) were sent.¹⁵⁴ Finally, the general capital vicar of Lucca collected 451 *scudi romani* (£ 98).¹⁵⁵ In total, the twelve appeals considered contributed to collections £ 2 816, a sum aimed at saving the lives of the starving Irish people.

There is no clear evidence of actual alms collections in the other thirteen cases and if and how these reached Ireland. However, documents preserved in the Propaganda Fide Historical Archives, in the Vatican Secret Archives, in the Pontifical Irish College Archives, and in the Dublin Diocesan Archives, as well as literature and newspaper articles, suggest that approximately eighty higher prelates from the Italian states organized tridua and collected alms for Ireland in 1847. They succeeded in collecting approximately £ 7 000.

As this article shows, in the context of globalization and of concurrent Catholic revival, the new voluntarism of the Church and its elite reflected the idea of charity extended to long-distance brethren. The „Praedecessores Nostros“ appealed in favour of this idea at a global level, but the clergy had to adapt it at the local level. Modes of appealing and registries adopted counted for providing the local priests with convincing arguments for maximising the offerings. Clarity, simplicity and directness of the message were the best way to appeal to Italian audiences in 1847. Consequently, many of the bishops' letters requested that the priests follow this advice when appealing to their flock. Pope Pius IX is the main protagonist of the majority of the appeals, with the narratives indulging in recounting his January donation and the triduum held in Rome. His Encyclical is the main reference in all the appeals issued. The majority of churchgoers in the cities and periphery could only read or be told about the balls and charitable events organized by the nobles and bourgeoisie in favour of Ireland. By contrast, the pope's appeal was universal and listening to his message did not require any particular entrance fee to participate. It was an occasion for ordinary people to go global and feel part of a much greater community.

Mastai-Ferretti's status as the highest celebrity of the Italian states had been constructed since 1846 by the Italian nationalists who saw in him a hope to unify the homeland and by the liberals within the Church who opposed absolutist stances. By late 1848, the revolutions that briefly turned Europe (and the Papal States) upside down polarised Pius IX and the Italian liberals against each other, establishing a long-lasting legacy of contraposition between a growingly ultramontane Church and an anti-Catholic *Risorgimento* movement. The Catholic charity in 1847 transcended traditional local moral economies and suggested a larger communion that neces-

152 AACHIETI, Curia, b. 581, fol. 7783r: Saggese, Invito pastorale.

153 Carlo Pigli, *Relazione delle feste aretine*, Arezzo 1847, p. 80.

154 APF, SC, Irlanda, 1846–1847, vol. 29, fol. 1039r–v.

155 *Ibid.*, fol. 1034r–v.

sitated humanitarian relief aid at the transnational level. In the second half of the century, with the expansion of the Catholic missions, charitable help also came to more distant recipients, together with European civilising messages.¹⁵⁶ In unified Italy, charity would essentially continue to be a private responsibility of lay and religious civil society which, with the rise of the Catholic social movement, focused on local and national relief.¹⁵⁷ The states, instead, would have focused on welfare measures aimed at improving the living conditions within their borders with no economic loss. In pre-revolutionary Italian states, referring to the Holy Pastor's charitable aim was one of the best narrative resources at the disposal of the bishops for inviting their audiences to take responsibility for distant brethren. His charity showed that „money“, „gold“, and „silver“ could be made to carry altruistic meaning when used for humanitarian relief.

156 Gerald J. O'Collins/Mario J. Farrugia, *Catholicism. The Story of Catholic Christianity* (Oxford 2015), digital edition.

157 Giovanni Gregorini, *Le invenzioni della carità e il movimento cattolico*, in: Centro Ricerche per lo Studio della Dottrina Sociale della Chiesa (Ed.), *Dizionario di Dottrina Sociale della Chiesa. Scienze Sociali e Magistero*, Milano 2004, pp. 836–238; Gianni La Bella, *Fare la carità. Attività e attivismo*, in: *Cristiani d'Italia Treccani* (2011) (URL: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/fare-la-carita-attivita-e-attivismo_%28Cristiani-d%27Italia%29/, 12. 12. 2018).