

GLOBALIZING LOCAL HISTORY: GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI IN NEW YORK
AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY, 1884-1932

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ABSTRACT

GLOBALIZING LOCAL HISTORY: GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI IN NEW YORK AND THE POLITICS OF MEMORY, 1884-1932

Daniel Falcone

Globalizing Local History: Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York and The Politics of Memory, 1884-1932 examines local historical societies and public historical sites and describes how commemorators utilized Giuseppe Garibaldi's (July 4, 1807- June 2, 1882) legacy as a symbol and form of patriotic, political, and revolutionary speech and action. This dissertation explains how his life was appropriated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. My work explores how New Yorkers and Italian Americans used spaces, collective memory, and identity, to produce a form of world history through local historical events. This dissertation thematically describes how Garibaldi was collectively recalled in New York as a patriot, politician and revolutionary while offering chronological accounts and stories inside each respective chapter. The study analyzes Garibaldi's legacy as seen through the lens of New York's local history. The impact of New York's local history with respect to Garibaldi caused a flow of speculation, not only in the United States but also throughout Europe and South America. This research specifies that commemorators were not worried with how short of a time Garibaldi had been in New York (less than two years) but only interested in conserving a version of who he was, that would eventually help them meet some monetary or partisan end. Commemoration exercises did much more than endorse the Italian American way of life, New York City and the New Yorkers involved; they linked people to a specific version of

the past, refined battle lines between rival political groups, delivered space to create a purified Italian identity, and made sense of the journey from the Old World to the New World. Aside from advancing social ideas, memorializing Garibaldi shaped a resolve around the meaning of conflicts overseas. Both presented spaces for municipal activity, places for grift, as well as places for civil strife, destruction, and political antagonism. This study moves local history further away from promotional and sentimental images of the past and moves closer toward an international and global historical perspective.

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Professor Vapnek introduced me to the concept of narrative analysis and the intricate ways of looking at New York and how working-class histories link and impact the city's connection to world history.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
Garibaldi in New York.....	1
Garibaldi Historiography	3
Local History as a Form of World History	5
Local History and the Splintering of Political Thought.....	13
The Cult of Garibaldi: During His Life and After His Death.....	14
Review of Local History and Collective Memory Literature	16
Constructions of Nationalism and Whiteness	22
Chapter Descriptions.....	26
CHAPTER ONE	36
The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi: Italy and Beyond	36
Garibaldi and Risorgimento Historiography.....	38
The Early Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1807-1832	46
Garibaldi's Early Political Influences, 1832-1834.....	48
Garibaldi in South America, 1834-1848.....	49
Garibaldi and The First War of Italian Independence, 1848	52
Garibaldi in New York, 1850.....	53
Garibaldi's Return to Europe, 1853-1859.....	69
Garibaldi and The Second War of Italian Independence of 1859-1866	72

Garibaldi and The Third War of Italian Independence, 1866-1870.....	77
Garibaldi's Last Years, 1870-1882	78
CHAPTER TWO	81
Garibaldi as Material Culture in New York.....	81
A Brief History and Overview of the Garibaldi House (1845).....	83
The Garibaldi Society House (1882-1919).....	86
Order Sons of Italy and the Garibaldi Memorial, 1919-1956.....	97
The Garibaldi-Meucci Museum (1956 to the Present)	106
The Garibaldi Statue, Washington Square Park in the Nineteenth Century	111
The Garibaldi Statue, Washington Square Park in the Twentieth Century and Beyond	118
The Garibaldi Red Shirt and the Illustrated Press.....	125
Conclusion	132
CHAPTER THREE	134
Garibaldi as Patriot in New York.....	134
Garibaldi as Patriot	139
Garibaldi as Patriot and the Mid-Nineteenth Century Illustrated Press.....	143
Garibaldi as Patriot: The American Civil War	146
Garibaldi: Born on the Fourth of July.....	149
Garibaldi as Patriot in Mass Produced Print Media at the Turn of the Century	155
Garibaldi as Patriot in the Era of World War	163
Garibaldi-Meucci: Joint Commemoration in Post War Years	176
Conclusion	180

CHAPTER FOUR.....	182
Garibaldi as Politician in New York: From Frontier to Foreign Policy	182
Political Uses of Garibaldi Legacy at Tammany Hall, 1882	185
Washington Square Park’s Garibaldi Statue and Political Speech, 1888	187
The Memory of Garibaldi and Political Speech World War I, 1917-1918.....	195
Garibaldi Inspired Rhetoric in the Early Twentieth Century & Interwar Period, 1905-1932	201
The Vito Marcantonio Years: The Political Speech of a Radical Garibaldian, 1937- 1942.....	203
Garibaldi Nostalgia in the Post War Years, 1950-1969.....	215
New York Politicians and the Competitive Repurposing of Garibaldi, 1982-1998	220
Return of the Great Man: Post 9/11 and the Twenty-first Century Political Uses of Garibaldi	224
Conclusion	229
CHAPTER FIVE	231
Garibaldi as Revolutionary	231
Garibaldi as Radical	237
Historical Context for Garibaldi as Revolutionary: Fosse Ardeatine	241
Context for Garibaldi as Revolutionary: Anita Garibaldi.....	245
Revolutionary Politics and Collective Violence in Garibaldi’s Name	248
Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1914	249
Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1925	251
Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1932	254

Conclusion	266
EPILOGUE	271
Garibaldi's America and Beyond.....	271
REFERENCES	286

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1 Giuseppe Garibaldi Historiography, 1850 to the Present45

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1 Comic book that extends Garibaldi’s stay in New York to 1854.....	68
FIGURE 1.2 Garibaldi and Meucci’s house on Staten Island in an atrophied state	86
FIGURE 1.3 Sign from 1884 remains at the entrance of Garibaldi’s home on Staten Island.....	90
FIGURE 1.4 Postcard of Garibaldi Memorial, Rosebank, Staten Island, N.Y.....	93
FIGURE 1.5 Italian American dignitaries unveil the Garibaldi statue.....	118
FIGURE 1.6 NYU students stand around Garibaldi statue ca. 1960 for Italy’s centenary	123
FIGURE 1.7 The Garibaldi Guard marching down Broadway	130
FIGURE 1.8 Garibaldi as The Modern Perseus.....	132
FIGURE 1.9 The War for the Union: Gen. Garibaldi Coming.....	137
FIGURE 2.0 Famous American Garibaldi image on cover of Harpers Weekly, 1860	144
FIGURE 2.1 Garibaldi Guard Poster, 1861.....	148
FIGURE 2.2 Little Journeys, a series on Reformers in 1907.....	158
FIGURE 2.3 The Italian daily, l’Italai, celebrates Garibaldi’s 100th birthday.....	159
FIGURE 2.4 Italia’s Great Patriot beer advertisement.....	161
FIGURE 2.5 Staten Island, 1850 by Daniel Santoro, 1940.....	169
FIGURE 2.6 Anti-Fascist World War II era comic book.....	176
FIGURE 2.7 Prince Udine of Italy visiting Manhattan.....	199
FIGURE 2.8 Washington Square Park’s Garibaldi Statue.....	200
FIGURE 2.9 Letter to all Lodges of the Garibaldi American Fraternal Society.....	213

FIGURE 3.0 Garibaldi U.S. Stamp, 1960	218
FIGURE 3.1 Mario Cuomo stands in front of the Garibaldi statue.....	223
FIGURE 3.2 IWW Italian language newspaper published in Brooklyn.....	253
FIGURE 3.3 July 5, 1932, New York’s Italian language, The Free Press.....	255
FIGURE 3.4 The Battle for Staten Island on July 4, 1932.....	259
FIGURE 3.5 Italy’s politicization of the 1932 murder of Blackshirt Salvatore Arena at the Garibaldi house	261
FIGURE 3.6 June 1, 1933, discontinuation of Garibaldi events honoring his birthday..	263
FIGURE 3.7 1935 Italian anti-fascist protest	265
FIGURE 3.8 A digital sculpture by the Garibaldi statue (created by NYU Tandon Industry Professor Carla Gannis)	273

INTRODUCTION

Garibaldi in New York

Garibaldi in New York investigates local historical societies and sites and explains how commemorators utilized Giuseppe Garibaldi's (July 4, 1807- June 2, 1882) legacy as a symbol and form of patriotic, political, and revolutionary speech and action.

Commemorators dedicated Garibaldi's Staten Island house in 1884, just two years after his death. The Staten Island house closed their July Fourth Garibaldi commemorative birthday celebrations starting in 1932. This study also analyzes the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park erected in 1888.

This work essentially covers 1884-1932 but also extends beyond these dates to explore how New Yorkers and Italian Americans used public spaces, created collective memories, and constructed their own identities, thus creating a form of world history through local historical events from the late nineteenth century to present. This dissertation also thematically explores how commemorators collectively remembered Garibaldi, the unifier in New York as a patriot, politician and revolutionary, while providing chronological accounts within each chapter. Rarely was Garibaldi however, specifically referred to as a unifier, and this produced a reliance on American patriotic symbols and, at times, a local history apart from his world historical significance.

Garibaldi lived in New York City for nearly two years after arriving in the United States in 1850. Garibaldi travelled to America primarily to retreat from public view, regain his health, and to try his hand at commercial sailing after fleeing Europe. Immediately after his arrival, if not just right before it, commemorators began promoting

the meaning of Garibaldi in the United States as a legendary figure linked with events worthy of regional commemoration.

Commemorators dismissed how long Garibaldi lived in New York. They actively preserved, however, some versions of him and these ultimately helped them meet financial or political ends. Further, commemoration exercises did much more than promote the Italian Americans, New York City and the New Yorkers who participated. They connected people to a particular version of the past, sharpened battle lines between political groups, provided space for an admittedly sanitized Italian identity, and made meaning of the journey from Italy to New York.¹ Aside from promoting social ideas, commemorating Garibaldi created urgency around shaping meaning for conflicts abroad. Rendering a meaning of Garibaldi through iconic people and events such as George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or July Fourth, substituted for a complexity in understanding South American and European political and independence movements. New York City commemorators made Garibaldi into a local hero, and this made Italians worthy of seeking heroism. This process gave late nineteenth century Italian Americans access to Washington Square Park, and residents of Staten Island, a connection to the city, starting in 1888 (the year the Garibaldi statue was unveiled) and 1898, (the year Staten Island became a part of New York City). Both offered places for community, spaces for grief, as well as spaces for vandalism and contentious politics and other forms of political speech. This work moves local history further away from promotional and

¹ Mary Elizabeth Brown and Rafaele Fierro, *The Italians of the South Village: the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation*, (New York, NY, October 2007). (The 1855 New York State Census counted only 1,039 Italian-born persons living in New York City and Brooklyn. The 1860 federal census counted 1,067. After 1860, the number of Italian-born persons in New York City came close to tripling every ten years: 3,017 in 1870; 13,411 in 1880; 49,514 in 1890; and 145,433 in 1900).

nostalgic reflections of the past and closer toward an international and world historical perspective to provide a more balanced and thought-provoking account of Garibaldi in New York.

Garibaldi Historiography

Historians and academics previously studied Garibaldi's remembrance and commemoration in Uruguay and Italy. Admiration for Garibaldi spread throughout England, France, and America. In 1914, Uruguayan politician and historian Setembrino Pereda (1859-1933) first started utilizing the archives in Montevideo to investigate Garibaldi's "epic military exploits."² Subsequent historical revelations questioned the oversimplified history of Garibaldi as a hero in South America, often used to promote nationalism back in Italy.³ Both Argentina and Uruguay, in some respects, viewed Garibaldi as an adventurer and disrupter of trade and the local economies.⁴ In terms of Italian memory, some considered him a pirate and a thief of the land.⁵ Over time, he received mixed reviews in conjunction with his reputation as a liberator in both South America and Europe. In terms of Italy's history "during the twentieth century, both the left and the right of the Italian political spectrum took possession of the myth of Garibaldi for their own ends. He became a man for all seasons."⁶ Scholars argued that "Men like Garibaldi and Mazzini were not revolutionaries at all. In the pursuit of a narrow nationalist ideal, they played fast and loose with both sides."⁷ In other words, aside from Garibaldi,

² David McLean, "Garibaldi in Uruguay: A Reputation Reconsidered," *The English Historical Review*, 113 451, (April 1998): 351.

³ David McLean, "Garibaldi in Uruguay: A Reputation Reconsidered," 351.

⁴ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: The Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 42.

⁵ Gianfranco Cresceni, "Giuseppe Garibaldi: Between Myth and Reality," *Italian Historical Society Journal*, 16 1 (January-June 2008): 16.

⁶ Gianfranco Cresceni, "Giuseppe Garibaldi: Between Myth and Reality," 17.

⁷ E.H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 333-334.

commemorators targeted famous Italian unifiers and appropriated them across a diverse political spectrum for political purposes. In Italy, “during the fascist period, Garibaldi became much more than a single person: he came to display the characteristics of a group, of a mass movement.”⁸ These interpretations created a duality to his persona summed up using a set of binaries ranging from: individual heroism to popular revolt, patriotic loyalty to an aversion to institutions, and rebellion to order.⁹

Scholars often reshaped the entire Risorgimento (the “awakening” movement for Italy’s reunification, 1848-1871) and repurposed it politically, thus impacting the historiography. For example, the “time and the literature surrounding it, was bound tighter by famous figures with ideological investments as diverse as those of Manzoni, Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi, Gentile, Croce, Gramsci, Visconti, Bossi, and Bolatti.”¹⁰ Today, Garibaldi’s name and image dwell in commemorative markers, statues, and busts in many public squares across Italy and South America. “Garibaldi's fame is also alive and well in contemporary Italy. A survey carried out in July 2007 with a sampling of 1,002 people by the *Istituto di Studi Giuseppe Garibaldi*, found that 46.4% of Italians still considered Garibaldi by far the most significant national figure in the country's history.”¹¹ In many respects, honoring public spaces for famous figures is hardly unique.

⁸ Rosario Forlenza and Bjorn Thomasen, “From Myth to Reality and Back Again: The Fascist and Post-Fascist Reading of Garibaldi and the Risorgimento,” *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3 2: 2011, 275.

⁹ Rosario Forlenza and Bjorn Thomasen, *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3 2: 2011, 275.

¹⁰ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 18.

¹¹ Gianfranco Crescenzi, “Giuseppe Garibaldi: Between Myth and Reality,” *Italian Historical Society Journal*, 16 1 (January - June 2008): 16.

Local History as a Form of World History

My methodology borrows from Amy Bass's *Those About Him Remained Silent: The Battle over W.E.B. DuBois* (University of Minnesota Press, 2009), which stands out as a great work of local history. This local and microhistory (small units of research with broad implications) modeled an example of scholarship with regional, national, and international implications.¹² DuBois was a well-travelled influential figure with notoriety and significance. In this book, not only did Bass recount the life of a monumental and extraordinary revolutionary and progressive thinker, but she managed to tell the controversial history and politics of recognizing his legacy within the "patriotic orthodoxy" of Great Barrington, Massachusetts.¹³ Her work showed that when it came to historical commemoration, monument construction, and the naming of institutions in public space, (in Bass's case it was about naming DuBois's childhood home) a universal component of contentious politics emerged within the process. Bass managed to explain the importance of highlighting both the localization of an international figure and the globalization of a local one. She moved local history beyond both sanitized forms of conservative promotion and liberal inclusivity and offered a broad study and intellectual history through a rereading of the documents related to DuBois in the Massachusetts locale.

When I first came to Staten Island, New York in 2016 to live and work I was only aware of some random colonial history and that Cornelius Vanderbilt was born there in

¹² Sarah Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 181. (Maza has written that "Practitioners and commentators have differed sharply as to what can and should constitute a microhistory)."

¹³ Amy Bass, *Those About Him Remained Silent: The Battle over W.E.B. DuBois*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 62. (Bass quoting the concept of American historian Michael Sherry).

1794. Vanderbilt was also buried at the Moravian Cemetery in New Dorp, Staten Island in 1877. Later, I would learn of many prominent historical figures that also lived on the island including photographer Alice Austen (1866-1952), journalist Dorothy Day (1897-1980), and poet Audre Lorde (1934-1992) just to name three. Initially, I became interested in knowing if the legacies of Austen, Day, and Lorde had been politicized in any way on Staten Island. Aside from some scholars historically contextualizing Austen's place in social history with her photography, Day's anarchism and Spanish Camp, and Lorde's brilliant and courageous radical art, not that much attention was paid to these three noteworthy women in terms of how connections and affiliations to their respective homes might have prompted debates over commemoration and memory.

On Staten Island's North Shore, I once learned that while the Pride Center of Staten Island recognized both Austen and Lorde, an undercurrent of tension existed within the LGBTQ+ liberal bloc since less focus was applied to Lorde, perceived to be the more liberating, progressive, and politicizing figure across racial and class lines. Further, Snug Harbor, The Wu-Tang Clan District, the Sandy Ground historical site, "Little Sri Lanka" and "Little Liberia," and Historic Richmond Town, all made Staten Island a more interesting place, but none drew the exact form of political contestations regarding public space and collective memory, I was looking to study. The study of Cherry Lane Cemetery, a burial place for enslaved Staten Islanders that had been made into a parking lot and strip mall, is currently being studied closely by local scholars and researchers, rectifying a tragic form of collective forgetting.

The most contested area of collective memory to my knowledge was Little Bay Street in 2014 when a member of the New York Police Department murdered New York

City Parks employee Eric Garner. The competition of politics over Garner's memory, I suspect, dissipated quickly just as the same mindset and interest groups marginalized the revolutionary character and spirit of Lorde. There was a "custody battle" over the meaning and memory of Garner's death that spread into residential, commercial, and political life in terms of who had agency and accuracy in telling the story.¹⁴ As Garner's legacy formed, his memory fell into the hands of the more organized institutional forces, while the history of local policies and the consequences of overdevelopment and over policing faded away. His family members and friends gave stirring speeches and held candlelight vigils with freelance memorials and works of art, music, and poetry that continue today in honor of him and his daughters Erica and Legacy. This all happened while the politicians and mid-level interest groups they called out, organized their own resources to capitalize on Garner. This divide marked and set up, a universal trend of appropriating noteworthy people, contentious politics, and battles over symbols. In short, I recognized a universality within these broader arguments and tensions over remembering important figures in public space. Influential people leave behind complicated legacies. Those socially constructed legacies set up battles over memory and commemoration by those attempting to fix, appropriate, and link symbolism to their own conceptions to legitimize their politics and actions.

Before living on Staten Island, I had a very basic knowledge of Giuseppe Garibaldi. I knew that previous generations of Italian American friends, family, and acquaintances, concentrated in the northeast United States referred to Garibaldi as "the

¹⁴ Shawn Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of American Political Thought*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017). (Parry-Giles uses the term "custody battle" to explain the diversity of political thought and rhetoric).

sword” (and this complemented Cavour as “the mind” and Mazzini as “the pen”).¹⁵ They also considered him as one of the four major Italian figures that helped create a unified Italy along with Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), Camillo Cavour (1810-1861), and Victor Emmanuele II (1820-1878), but I had no idea that he lived in New York City. It was the Chair of the History Department at Staten Island Academy, an anthropologist named Marc Goodwin, that first informed me that I lived about one mile from where Garibaldi lived on Staten Island.

Later, New York University archivist Janet Bunde helped me to learn more about the statue commemorating him in Lower Manhattan just fourteen miles from the Garibaldi house. Interestingly, the house’s existence on Staten Island today comes as news to people that study Washington Square Park historically unlike the political culture of the park in the nineteenth century that knew about the Staten Island house with a level of intimacy. After reading more on the subject, a gap and pattern emerged between what historians and academics knew and what the locality believed about Garibaldi. Upon further investigation, I also noticed how both the historical sites dedicated to him, and the commemoration exercises and tributes made in his name, shaped a history of knowledge and identity construction. Often, this identity construction involved Italian Americans in pursuit of the “real” Garibaldi. Unpacking Garibaldi in New York also helped me to understand how a foreign struggle (Italy’s unification from 1848-1871) can be viewed through the local lens of New York.

This process, of honoring, commemorating, imagining and inventing Garibaldi in New York was a local phenomenon but still included universal and identifiable themes of

¹⁵ Spencer M. Di Scala, *Italy from Revolution to Republic* (Oxford, England: Westview Press, 1995), 114.

history and memory both nationally and globally. Garibaldi, and the mythology surrounding his cultlike status was just as prevalent during his life as it was after his death. The relevancy of Garibaldi's arrival in New York in the antebellum, falls in between the two economic panics of 1837 and 1893, a time when New York City nonetheless emerged as a global city with enormous trading capacity with 590,000 people.¹⁶ Even more precisely, Garibaldi entered New York in 1850 at the height of the Know Nothing movement, nativism, and anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States. Although under a thousand Italians were in New York by mid-century, the number of Italians in New York dramatically increased at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when Garibaldi's legacy took shape.¹⁷ 1850 also marks the year of the beginning of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, and others like it, an illustrated publication of literature, politics, and culture. Most importantly in the context of an international icon like Garibaldi, it marked the rise of the illustrated press overall.¹⁸

The more I started to research Garibaldi the more it took me to sources that discussed the politics of his memory globally but also informed me of the moving parts of my own area and neighborhood. The local and national New York presses covered Garibaldi, but by the time he entered Staten Island Quarantine Grounds he was a global figure known as the famous "Hero of Two Worlds."¹⁹ Studying and writing about

¹⁶ Frederic S. Mishkin, "Why We Shouldn't Turn Our Backs on Financial Globalization," *IMF Staff Papers*, 56 1 (2009): 141.

¹⁷ Daniel Santoro, "Italians Past and Present," *The Staten Island Historical Society*, August 11, 1950.

¹⁸ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: The Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁹ The United States had designated this nickname in the tradition of historical figures known for accomplishments in both the Old and New Worlds, including Marquis de Lafayette, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, and Casimire Pulaski.

Garibaldi's legacy, a famed internationalist known for his exploits in Europe and South America, posed obvious distinctions from public historical studies such as Bass's regarding DuBois. But nonetheless, Bass's writing brought with it a series of episodes of political conflict and explanations for who gets to remember who, and how they go about engaging in the politics of remembrance. Commemorators silenced Garibaldi's house and statue and deterred efforts to celebrate them regularly especially from the years 1914-1932. Further, the house closed outright from 1932-1956. An inevitable jockeying for connection to Garibaldi's legacy brought about arguments over the meaning of public spaces, sites, and collective memory.

Recognizing DuBois in Massachusetts served as a form of emancipatory public history. The creation of his childhood home as a historic site required bottom-up activism and the area's willingness to liberate and historicize their collective past. The site produced critical thinking and helped to generate historical analyses. Even if "patriots" never hid or denied DuBois's childhood home in New Barrington, Massachusetts, a political disagreement would find another way to manifest itself regarding the house. In any event, W.E.B. DuBois's memory disrupted the traditional right leaning fabric of his town throughout the twentieth century. This example, fascinating, beautifully written, and well researched, offered a clear-cut case and binary of a distinct local history controversy over naming. It was not so subtle. What makes imagining *Garibaldi in New York* interesting is that it involves the complexities of Manhattan and Staten Island. There are subtleties and controversies in different forms woven throughout the history of the commemorations and the broader *Garibaldi in New York* story.

This history of the politics of Garibaldi's name on historical sites is straightforward, but also requires a thorough understanding of greater New York's changing political demographics throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Aside from explaining how Italian American identity construction shaped alongside public history and its development, this study also helps to clarify how primary source documents ended up at various locations across an immigrant city. This means, as Italian American Historical societies and clubs dissolved over the course of New York history, the source material once located in a couple of central locations spread out across various local historical societies and archives. Garibaldi's memory faded just as the hardy set of archives dispersed. The work of Amy Bass located a distinct and robust collection of documents and addressed the Massachusetts commemorators to describe and highlight the politics of the commemorated as well as organized remembering and forgetting.²⁰ This work traces the history of Garibaldi sites in New York to address the commemorated, but also describes and highlights the politics of the commemorators and the political usages of selectively remembering or arranging that past.

From the outset, one thing is certain regarding this matter: Garibaldi himself participated in the active construction of his image upon entering New York. For starters, the Italians located in New York mostly comprised of a mid-level support network. They were republican friendly ambassadors, expecting and anticipating his visit in 1850. Garibaldi entered New York essentially attempting to make money in shipping and sending it back home while regaining his health. It is true that New York planned a grand

²⁰Amy Bass, *Those About Him Remained Silent: The Battle over W.E.B. DuBois*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press), 2009, xix.

celebration in his honor upon arrival, but as historians point out, this was very common for political exiles entering the city, and America at this time.²¹ The liberal sectors of the United States political culture, both Italian and American, including abolitionists, anticipated Garibaldi's entrance. They viewed him and his brethren as allies in the anti-slavery movement. Not much more than a decade before Garibaldi's arrival to New York, he served as a general in the Uruguayan Civil War and fought alongside Andrea Aguyar (ca.1810 – 1849) a former enslaved person of Uruguay. The United States knew of Garibaldi's fame and reputation, and what he offered in the way of diverse forms of political capital. Italian members of the professionalized class were interested in appropriating his image and notoriety if they saw an opening.

Ultimately, Garibaldi declined the entrance celebration into New York and used this decision as an opportunity to perform great humility as someone reserved with exceptional character and modesty. He wasn't in great health and knew that revolutionaries taking refuge in New York wore out their welcome quickly, especially when they overindulged as visitors, and carried on in an overly conspicuous way.²² He didn't need to stand out in New York, he only needed to bide his time, meet with key Italians in America to shore up support, and to try his hand in local free enterprise. Garibaldi already possessed the reputation he needed with the help of a worldwide illustrated press that centered around his career and aura. He enjoyed this enterprising of his image and mystique. Often on the right side of history, Garibaldi, however, never missed an opportunity to brand himself as a local, regional, and global figure. He even

²¹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 108.

²² Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 114.

participated in the crafting of his biographies by controlling and selecting a set of authors to carefully assemble them according to his own political expediency and needs.²³

Local History and the Splintering of Political Thought

Professor of Political Communication Shawn Parry-Giles helped me locate additional key arguments for this work. She argued, along with David S. Kaufer in *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of American Political Thought* in 2017, that political icons are socially constructed in part because of repurposed first-person accounts that persist and survive as lasting narratives.²⁴ They explained how politicians utilized and crafted Abraham Lincoln's legacy wishing to associate his political and material ideals with their own. It is evident, in the case of Garibaldi, that politicians across the United States wished to be associated with him during his life and after his death. Michigan elected officials, for instance, had a stake in celebrating his arrival in 1850 just like New York City.²⁵ So did many activists, political liberals, moderates, and conservatives throughout the twentieth and twenty first centuries.

Garibaldi in New York also covers the politics of his remembrance. New Yorkers appropriated him to promote their own legacies. Garibaldi's own legacy in New York spanned two centuries, and started during the Risorgimento (1848-1871), continuing into the present. In the process, New York simplified the meaning of the Risorgimento (Italy's "reawakening") and reduced Italian unification to one person (outside of Mazzini) and symbol. As a result, New Yorkers elevated their own positions and personal standings

²³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 16.

²⁴ Shawn Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of American Political Thought*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

²⁵ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 114.

within society in the pursuit of legitimacy. Immigrants, academics, politicians, activists, and common citizens, appropriated Giuseppe Garibaldi especially during the one-hundred-and-fifty-year period of Italian unification remembrance (1861-2011) to gain a foothold in middle and upper-middle-class American life. Preserving Garibaldi's memory was rarely used as a way of historicizing him. Instead, it preserved, evoked, and created feelings of pride and nostalgia within the greater community to build upon a way of life in New York. Like Eric Hobsbawm once pointed out, it resembled an invented tradition.²⁶ History in the case of Garibaldi remembrance was not what happened but a recollection of his "transcendent purpose" by his New York commemorators.²⁷ This process occurred during Garibaldi's life, and it accelerated after he died.

The Cult of Garibaldi: During His Life and After His Death

Most histories of Italian unification, or the Risorgimento and Garibaldi speak of his political legacy posthumously. Historians such as Enrico Acciai however, studied Garibaldi's impacts on war volunteering starting in 1861. In other words, his research shows the far-reaching effect of Garibaldi's persona on volunteers spanning more than two decades of Garibaldi's own lifetime.²⁸ Historian Lucy Riall wrote about the legacy creation of the living Garibaldi cult and how that coincided with modernized mass political communication and technology. She looked closely at the newly emerged nineteenth century illustrated press. More like Acciai, I look at the Garibaldi legacy during and after his life but instead I look through the lens of local New York.

²⁶ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. ed., *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

²⁷ Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1994), 28. (Chomsky citing Hans Morgenthau's notion of American exceptionalism).

²⁸ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2021).

What motivated New Yorkers to make a large fuss over Garibaldi over the course of Italy's first one-hundred-and-fifty-years of its existence? Garibaldi's history needs to be viewed through the lens of global and local history, to better understand the past and change over time.²⁹ Even further, like professor of American Studies Paola Gemme, who studied the politics of domesticating the foreign struggle of Italian unification in merging transnational and American Studies, I articulate the significance of Garibaldi and the Risorgimento through a lens of micro and local history.³⁰ In other words, what is the history of provincialized New York through analyzing the foreign struggles of Garibaldi and Italy? Perhaps even further, can the Garibaldi inspired New York statue, house, or random artifact extend as a form of historical text and abandon what Pierre Nora referred to as "the cult of the document, a religion of preservation and archivalization."³¹ In short, understanding Garibaldi in New York requires an investigation of visual space and place just as it does a review of the documents related to it.

Related to the localizing of world history is realizing how powerful local objects and symbols pertaining to Garibaldi served as symbols of revolution. "The symbols of revolution and related matters are global, regional, and local, even microlocal, freighted with meaning and significance, their employment and deployment consequential," writes political scientist Eric Selbin.³²

²⁹ Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction*, (UK: Routledge, 2016). (The author explains how globalization and localism intersect and reinforce each other. The term was first popularized by sociologist Roland Roberston).

³⁰ Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggle: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007).

³¹ John Borneman and Abdellah Hammoudi, *Being There: The Fieldwork Encounter and the Making of Truth* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 11.

³² Eric Selbin, "El Che: The (Im)possibilities of a Political Symbol," ed., Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 216.

Review of Local History and Collective Memory Literature

David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty authored *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* in 1982 and argued that American history was on the default setting of local story telling for much of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Historian Donald H. Pflueger pointed out that towards the end of the nineteenth century to the mid twentieth century this practice fell out of favor. Starting again in the second half of the twentieth century, however, a new interest in nearby history emerged. Historian Carol Kammen, the author of, *Doing Local History* in 1985, explained how the field shifted from its early tendencies in raising the profiles of people or locations to a more academic and archive-based approach. As her work and book was reissued in newer editions, she argued more that local historians should approach their topics in a broader sense and increase the depth and breadth of their research. As American historian Walter Muir Whitehall wrote back in 1972, “local history is admirable when its subject is recognized as a microcosm of the real world and good local history needs to have universal appeal that avoids provincial mindedness.”³³

Collective memory provides a common language that individuals maintain while contributing to and representing collected views of the past.³⁴ In terms of historical knowledge, memory and commemoration historiography, the literature that applies to this topic remains quite robust. The French sociologist and philosopher Maurice Halbwachs’s work helped to produce my starting point in determining how Garibaldi entered New

³³ Walter Muir Whitehill, “Local History Makes Good – Sometimes,” *American Heritage*, August 1972, 41.

³⁴ Lewis Coser. Introduction to Maurice Halbwachs’s, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 188.

York's collective memory as a social practice. Further, Michel Foucault famously asked, "how have domains of knowledge been formed on the basis of social practices?"³⁵ Just as important perhaps and noteworthy was the work of Pierre Nora who coined the phrase, "lieu de memoire," ("site of memory") that explained how a physical place or object served as the container for memory.³⁶ In the 1920s, Halbwachs introduced the concept of collective memory to explain how individual memories tied strongly to the collective or group. In introducing Halbwachs, SUNY professor of sociology, Lewis A. Coser wrote that memory is how we recall things and recognize and localize them in the society.³⁷ It is both cumulative and episodic.³⁸ Halbwachs argued that collective memory served as a form of a social belief that carried a dual meaning. Memory, on the one hand provided collective traditions or recollections, but they acted as collective ideals or conventional forms of local knowledge.

Perhaps the leading scholar of his era on history and memory, Michael Kammen's work on historical memory provides a foundational text for this type of local or microhistory featuring Garibaldi events and artifacts in New York. In 1991, Kammen studied how public spaces, memorials, and commemorations preserved and solidified memory when they in fact invited disagreement, contestation, and controversy. He argued that, coinciding with history, flawed traditions and memories over time demonstrated

³⁵ Michel Foucault, "Truth and Juridical Forms," in *Foucault: Power*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 2000).

³⁶ Sabine Marschall, "Public holidays as *lieux de memoir*: nation building and the politics of public memory in South Africa, *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 36 (2013): 11-21.

³⁷ Lewis Coser. Introduction to Maurice Halbwachs's, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38.

³⁸ Lewis Coser. Introduction to Maurice Halbwachs's, *On Collective Memory*, 47.

unique durability and were very difficult to control.³⁹ He explained how memorials, shrines, temples, relics, pilgrimages, and venerated ancestors produced powerful meanings for American culture during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁰ Kammen also emphasized how traditions presented ideological consequences and helped to define culture and subculture especially in the United States.⁴¹

Scholar of Hebrew literature Yael Zerubavel wrote that even though the categorization of commemorative narratives focusses on the issue of historical accuracy and validity, they in fact revolve around issues of credibility.⁴² If messages maintain their symbolic value, what is historically valid gets negotiated politically and breaks down in the face of what is collectively decided as appropriate for commemoration. Art Historian Kirk Savage further explained, how the nineteenth century especially, saw sharp increases to construct or promote public memory in physical monuments.⁴³ The creation of monuments dedicated to the Civil War for example, provided attempts in standardizing memory, Savage argued. These accounts, from a collection of essays edited by historian John R. Gillis highlighted some the most seminal academic works on memory in the 1990s and help to unpack the meaning of New York's monuments in dedication to Garibaldi.

In short, all these works show how commemorating Garibaldi in New York, from the nineteenth century to the present, became both a patriotic and political act while

³⁹ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, (New York: Knopf, 1991), 38.

⁴⁰ Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 193.

⁴¹ Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, 11.

⁴² Yael Zerubavel, "The Historic, the Legendary, and the Incredible: Invented Tradition and Collective Memory in Israel," ed., John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 117.

⁴³ Gillis, ed., *Commemorations*, 130.

providing organization for a complex history and figure. People rallying around Garibaldi's commemoration benefitted from what Folklorists Mary Hufford and Steven J. Zeitlin cited as cultural conservation and cultural landmarking.⁴⁴

In 2002, Historian David Blight compared the memory of the Civil War to its history. He looked at 1) omissions of white supremacy, 2) the preservation of sympathy for the South, and 3) how teaching slavery as its main cause can rectify those very omissions and problematic preservations. In essence, in the first two areas, he asserted that remembering the Civil War as a race neutral event undermines the historical accuracy and validity of the third area.⁴⁵ After the 2021 United States Capitol Attack, Blight appeared on cable news programming to reintroduce his thesis. His work shows how the study of memory, and how it relates to history, continues to be a vast and ever-growing field of study especially within the context of the politics of memory within the nineteenth century. For instance, historian Christina B. Carroll has recently published *The Politics of Imperial Memory in France, 1850-1900* in 2021, another recent study of the politics of memory and history covering the nineteenth century.

In 2019, sociologist Andreas Leuttsch introduced the concept of comparative memory. He set out to draw parallels between Chinese and European commemorations and icons. The book investigates foreign policy, movies, and commentaries on cultural remembrance. The authors collectively believe that the past, and the re-presentation of history are pre-shaped and prefigured by academic, political, social or cultural standards;

⁴⁴ Mary Hufford, ed., *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage, Cultural Conservation of Place* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994). (Hufford's work on cultural conservation, preservation and landmarking, details how local legislation connects to community life).

⁴⁵ David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

therefore people are guided through history and by historiography.⁴⁶ Although my own study does not set out to compare the historical memories of Garibaldi in Europe, South America and North America specifically, Leutzsch's work sheds light on how local history can produce a fuller picture of world history.

The creation of memorials and monuments are intentional actions of knowledge construction, no matter how short they fall of reconstructing the past. In 2021, historian James Banner wrote that "lived experience and memory of it has to cede psychological space to evidence-based research before perspective can even begin to be gained on what had earlier been part of individual lives."⁴⁷ Banner, who argued that all history is revisionist history, explains how events are perpetually refracted through specific ideological or cultural lenses.⁴⁸ He claims that culture produces memory, and memory creates culture.⁴⁹ To understand the past is to understand nature, explains Banner. "The past, like nature, is indifferent; it simply takes place. By contrast, written history is purposeful. Books about the past and monuments and memorials to it are the results of thought and intention, artifacts of the times in which those books and memorials are created, as well as the products of the people who write, create, and direct them; are artifacts neither of all times nor of all people."⁵⁰ In short, Banner points out that history competes with memory.

⁴⁶ Andreas Leutzsch, ed., *Historical Parallels, Commemoration, and Icons* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), 2.

⁴⁷ James Banner, *The Ever-Changing Past, Why All History is Revisionist History*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021), 27.

⁴⁸ Banner, *The Ever-Changing Past*, 186.

⁴⁹ Banner. *The Ever-Changing Past*, 187.

⁵⁰ Banner. *The Ever-Changing Past*, 243.

More recent works on memory and history show how regional events shape continental movements through symbolic people and objects. In 2022, after the George Floyd protests, Art Historian Erin L. Thompson authored *Smashing Statues: The Rise and Fall of America's Public Monuments* and argued that memory associated with memorials usually constitute some form of loss while monuments entail some form of visual and representational success.⁵¹ In 2022, social scientists Cassandra Mark-Thiesen, Moritz A. Mihatsch and Michelle M. Sikes also wrote in response to 2020's anti-racism movements. The chapters of their book connect the past to the present through an essential analysis of the politics of historical memory and its remembrance in particular African contexts.⁵² The book, cites urban planner and sociologist Martin Murray who defined memory as "a shared understanding that belongs to social groups and collectivities of all kinds." Murray stated that "commemorative practices have always been deeply invested in the shaping of political and national identities."⁵³ Each chapter of this dissertation incorporates the patterns, themes and arguments found in these secondary materials, and others, on memory and commemoration to show how local events are world historical events.

⁵¹ Erin L. Thompson, *Smashing Statues: The Rise and Fall of America's Public Monuments* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2022), xviii.

⁵² Cassandra Mark-Thiesen, Moritz A. Mihatsch and Michelle M. Sikes, ed., *The Politics of Historical Memory, and Commemoration in Africa: Essays in Honour of Jan-Georg Deutsch*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 3.

⁵³ Mark-Thiesen, Mihatsch and Sikes, *The Politics of Historical Memory, and Commemoration in Africa*, 4.

Constructions of Nationalism and Whiteness

In 1983, historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger argued that history could be used for the purposes of nation building.⁵⁴ Scholars and anthropologists like Ernest Gellner also wrote seminal works expanding on nationalism during this time. In that same year, Benedict Anderson highlighted the ways collective groups constructed national identities. His study was also critical for how he outlined the role of the press within this process.⁵⁵ On a different scale perhaps, the same model could apply to studying Italian Americans and Garibaldi in New York.

A final important question to consider, that will in the process address a vital portion of historiography necessary for this study: was Garibaldi portrayed and presented to New Yorkers as white?⁵⁶ The answer to this question is both yes and no. Further, the answer to this question helps to explain the actions and philosophies of Italian Americans in New York over the course of history and how appeals to American patriotism and U.S. electoral politics guided their behaviors and speech. If you take the work of historians Robert Orsi, John Higham, Matthew Frye Jacobsen, James Barrett, and David Roediger, Italians were in-betweens, conditionally white, situationally white, or not quite white, into the early twentieth century.⁵⁷ For these scholars, it was difficult to separate race from color as Italians experienced privilege and discrimination simultaneously over the course

⁵⁴ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁵⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, NY: Verso, 1983).

⁵⁶ According to Lucy Riall, Garibaldi was portrayed as “a virile ‘white savage.’” His eyes were most likely light brown, but artists often pictured him with blue eyes. See: *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 46. Toni Morrison’s first novel in 1970, *The Bluest Eye* describes what fuels the desire for blue eyes as it relates to whiteness.

⁵⁷ Peter Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of whiteness in the Early 20th Century*, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 5.

of American history. This manifested itself in both subtle and overt ways. An 1857 issue of *Putnam's Magazine* discussed Italians in America and bemoaned how they were an anomaly because of their Anglo-Saxon indifference.⁵⁸ In short, why were Italians failing to achieve whiteness, *Putnam's* lamented.

In 2003, one scholar, Thomas Guglielmo, who authored *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945*, challenged the in-between oriented theses. Starting in the early nineteenth century, Italians were perhaps one immigrant group that “invoked their own whiteness as a way of warding off their fears of dependency.”⁵⁹ Guglielmo’s argument was countered by Peter Vellon’s 2014 work, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century*, who reaffirmed the in-between arguments in citing how Italians became white via the press during World War I. He noted, “By the mid-1920s, New York’s Italian language newspapers were selling more than 200,000 copies a day.”⁶⁰ This scholarship is significant in three distinct ways. First, Vellon directly confronted and contested the “white on arrival” thesis offered by Guglielmo. Second, before Vellon, the normally accepted time for when Italians were designated as white, developed during the era of fascism and World War II, and ranged from 1925-1945. Vellon wrote that, “defined as an inferior race by many Americans, southern Italian immigrants arrived already stigmatized by northern Italian constructions of race and civilization coming out of Italian unification branding them as turks or

⁵⁸ “Italians in America,” *Putnam's Magazine*, January 1857, 8.

⁵⁹ Sarah Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 219. (Maza summarizes the work of David Roediger in her sixth chapter, “Fact or Fiction”).

⁶⁰ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 3.

African.”⁶¹ This, he argued, started an American push to craft Italians as white as early as 1886 through 1920.⁶² Third, and in following Vellon’s thesis, early efforts by Italian Americans to commemorate Garibaldi’s life started to transition into ways to secure Italian identity and ultimately whiteness.⁶³ Perhaps whiteness arrived even earlier than 1886 for Italian Americans in the context of Garibaldi. After all, the Garibaldi Guard Civil War regiment of 1865 was an early example of Italian assimilation and Americanization and hastened people from the Old World to embrace the New World.

The frame of whiteness shaped Garibaldi’s respectability and honor by early and later New York commemorators. New York already appropriated Garibaldi from 1848-1861, but from the time of his death in 1882 to World War I, his name association gained intensity in nationalistic contexts. Garibaldi was an Italian, but also became American and white from the perspective of commemorators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One notable person Vellon writes about is Carlo Barsotti (1850-1927). He owned the most widely read Italian immigrant newspaper, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, and raised funds to construct New York’s Garibaldi statue in 1888. He was a prominent northern Italian attempting to solidify an Italian identity and presence around the statue along with mostly southern Italian compatriots and immigrants. Garibaldi’s memory and monuments in New York then, from 1882-1920, were instruments in

⁶¹ Peter Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century*, (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 5.

⁶² Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century*, 4.

⁶³ Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society. The first lawyer of Italian origin to establish his practice on Staten Island was Ralph Cerreta, a well-known attorney in the metropolitan area of New York since 1914. When asked about the future of the Italians, Cerreta stated, “the sons of the immigrants from Italy have overcome the handicaps of their pioneer fathers and are beginning to assimilate with other assimilated groups, which form the rank and file of this great Republic, The United States of America., Papers of Daniel Santoro. (MS 59, Box 47).

moving Italian Americans collectively, away from in-between status to an Italian race only known as fully white.

After World War I Italian whiteness was established, and their identity was wholly separated from people of color. This played out publicly across generations. Local commemorations in honor of Garibaldi from 1882-1920, frequently used references to Italian unification and the Italian language in the printed and spoken word. The people attending however, were not outsiders and the period marked a transitional phase into World War I and full whiteness.⁶⁴

As World War II approached, Italians competed with other people to secure an identity perceived shaken by a diverse and volatile political spectrum. For example, moderate Staten Islander Daniel Santoro (neither Fascist nor anti-Fascist) would write in frustration in 1940 that, “Socially, politically, and economically, the Italians of America are far behind other racial groups. They are leaderless and in a disorganized state.”⁶⁵ Here, he essentially means, Italians were behind other whites socially, politically, and economically. After World War II, Garibaldi tributes untied race from color altogether and materials regarding Garibaldi commemoration became more exclusively for second and third generation Italian Americans. Italian Americans and their transition from in-between race to white race can be seen in each chapter regarding Garibaldi’s life and time in New York. It can also be seen in the politics of Garibaldi material culture, and the memory of Garibaldi as a patriot, politician, and revolutionary in New York.

⁶⁴ Daniel Santoro, “Italians Past and Present,” *Staten Island Beacon*, August 11, 1950. Santoro wrote that: “To the average American reader who has no knowledge of the Italian language it should be pointed out that the Italian they hear spoken in the streets is no Italian at all. The majority of immigrants speak a ‘dialect.’”

⁶⁵ Daniel Santoro, “The floundering Italians in America,” *La Critica Sociale*, 1:1, August 1, 1940.

Chapter Descriptions

Garibaldi in New York is written thematically and covers Garibaldi's New York remembrance specifically across chapter topics that include Garibaldi in New York (Chapter One), Garibaldi as: Material Culture (Chapter Two), Patriot (Chapter Three), Politician (Chapter Four), and Revolutionary (Chapter Five). In each, I use primary data found at: The New York Public Library, The Center for Migration Studies of New York, The New-York Historical Society, The Staten Island Historical Society, The Garibaldi-Meucci Museum, New York University, Columbia University, and the New York press archives. This study provides a focus on how orators, demonstrators, and office holders utilized and commemorated Garibaldi's life and the two historic sites that bear his name, the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum located on Staten Island and the Garibaldi Statue located in Manhattan's Washington Square Park. Aside from the historiographies of Garibaldi, the Risorgimento, modern Italy, and Italian identity in New York, woven throughout this work, are two additional specialized forms of history: local and microhistory, and the study of memory and commemoration.

Chapter One, *The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi: Italy and Beyond*, explains the biography of Garibaldi. I introduce the historiography on the subject and explain how revisionism factors into the Risorgimento as well as his biography. After explaining how the history scholarship has evolved over time, I start unpacking Garibaldi's early life and formative political development. The next part of the section discusses Garibaldi on three continents, Europe, South America, and North America and uses primary and secondary source material found in letters, newspaper articles, state department documents, magazines, memoirs, pamphlets, newsletters, personal papers, and scholarly books and

journal articles. These sources are also used throughout each subsequent chapter. Perhaps the two leading biographical accounts of Garibaldi were written in the same year on the two hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth. One by professor of modern European history at Birkbeck College, University of London, Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* in 2007, and the other by professor of humanities at the University of Frederick II in Naples, Italy, Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World*. Riall's work is important in a couple of crucial ways. She explained the Garibaldi cult, not in terms of a posthumous legacy but focused almost solely on the construction of the Garibaldi persona while he was still active. Further, Riall applied a focus on Garibaldi by studying him through the lens of the illustrated press and the rise of nineteenth century mass political communication. Studying Garibaldi this way, Riall argued and explained how he became the world's first international celebrity.

As for Scirocco's study, he focused on the intricacy and richness of Garibaldi's life and how it was filled with inconsistency. His underlying thesis is that the time and life journey of Garibaldi required him to be many things to many people. Garibaldi was humble and down to earth, yet nearly majestic and stately at the same time. As Garibaldi devoted his life to stability for nations, it required him to engage in riotous enterprises. Scirocco weaves an interesting biography while navigating these complexities and contradictions that help to explain how Garibaldi could fade in and out of American memory over time. Indicative to this work is a biography about the American patriot John Paul Jones by international lawyer Robert Hornick. Hornick authored, *What Remains: Searching for the Memory and Lost Grave of John Paul Jones*, a book that highlights how Jones's complicated legacy created a selective memory and opportunities for

politicians to advance their own agendas both foreign and domestic.⁶⁶ A fourth book, written by professor of Philosophy at SUNY, Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi* in 2020, helps to highlight Garibaldi's life in the context of philosophers and other leading Italian thinkers.

Chapter Two, Garibaldi as Material Culture, is where I discuss the history of the Garibaldi house on Staten Island and the history of the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park. "Architecture is the physical representation of cultural symbols," wrote Communications scholar Muluaem Daba Tola in 2017.⁶⁷ The quaintness of the Garibaldi house and the attention paid to it was emblematic of Garibaldi's reputation, "yet all too often the role of such symbolic objects has been undertheorized, or even overlooked entirely, absorbed into the totality of the act."⁶⁸ Statues were constructed, Tola states, to "transmit mythical histories, to represent a nationhood, to preserve cultural heritage, to beautify cities, and to legitimize authority."⁶⁹ Aside from these efforts to legitimize authority in physical forms, I am also interested in the meaning of historical items related to Garibaldi memory such as the red shirt and the nineteenth century illustrated press. Specifically, I am attentive to how the material culture overlapped with significant historical events and essentially ask, which objects were arranged in New York to preserve and form a profile of Garibaldi memory? The management and protection of the objects were often used to enhance the reputations of the commemorators. Any

⁶⁶ Robert Hornick, *What Remains: Searching for the Memory and Lost Grave of John Paul Jones* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017).

⁶⁷ Muluaem Daba Tola, "The Historiography and Values of Statue Construction: Focus on Global Perspectives," *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5 2: 2017, 53.

⁶⁸ Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 1.

⁶⁹ Muluaem Daba Tola, "The Historiography and Values of Statue Construction: Focus on Global Perspectives," *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5 2: 2017, 53.

makeovers, restorations and preservations of Garibaldi material culture usually served a particular individual or interest group while guarding and determining a specific connotation of Garibaldi's legacy. In all, 1) the main material and physical objects outlined in this chapter along with 2) the significance of the places within the city as well as 3) the person and people involved with commemoration, all correspond with the latest scholarship that reinforces the breakdown of 'meaningful stuff:' "(i) key artifacts, (ii) symbolic places and (iii) iconic persons."⁷⁰

In Chapter Three, *Garibaldi as Patriot*, I argue that Abraham Lincoln's offer to Garibaldi to help lead in the American Civil War in 1861 and the making of the Garibaldi Guard (39th New York Infantry Regiment), helped designate Garibaldi as a patriotic American symbol. Further, his Fourth of July birthday and nationalistic celebrations during the World Wars merged with Garibaldi's early reputation as hero and patriot in South America (1836) and Europe (1848). In some ways, the easiest way for New Yorkers to appropriate Garibaldi as a symbol for American patriotism was to naturally cite militaristic examples. I explain how primary data sets, including those of writers, publicists, the press, cultural managers, and commemorators, all produced a devoted and patriotic aspect of remembering Garibaldi. Patriotic here means any image or rhetorical device of Garibaldi's legacy that denoted a love of country while downplaying any dissent or criticism of the leader or country. Additional considerations of patriotism in this sense incorporate the purposes of admiration for Garibaldi's legacy throughout the

⁷⁰ Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 3. (The authors cite: J. Lofland, *Social Movement Organizations: Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities*, New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996).

twentieth century World Wars and beyond. This chapter also explains the importance of Garibaldi's fame in encouraging a dedication to American organizations.

Professor of modern history at University of College London Axel Körner, authored, *America in Italy: The United States in the Political Thought and Imagination of the Risorgimento, 1763-1865* in 2017, where he essentially explained the influence of American politics on Italian thinkers. In the third chapter however, I explain how Garibaldi and Italian unification shaped New York political thought. Professor of History at Brigham Young University, Mark I. Choate authored, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* in 2008. In this book he sets out to describe Italian migration patterns from the perspective of Italy, whereas again, in this chapter, I describe Garibaldi's migration patterns from the perspective of New York.

In Chapter Four, Garibaldi as Politician, I describe how the use of political speech in New York appropriated Garibaldi's legacy and how that rhetoric evolved. The chapter traces the usage of Garibaldi as a form of political rhetoric spanning mainly the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Politicians during this time typically used Garibaldi imagery to combine the importance of nineteenth century Italian (Risorgimento) and American (Civil War) unifications. Using the model of professors of political communication and English, Shawn J. Parry-Giles, and David S. Kaufer in, *Memories of Lincoln and The Splintering of American Political Thought*, I researched how politicians used speech to shape their own charisma through the perspective of a celebrated figure and event. Garibaldi's persona had palpable benefits for Italian Americans seeking and maintaining public life. By researching the papers of local New York politicians, such as Vito Marcantonio (1902-1954), I was able to locate how Garibaldi's name and Italian

unification was an important rhetorical symbol for office holders and eventually ranged from local, state, national and world levels of political discourse.

In Chapter Five, *Garibaldi as Revolutionary*, I discuss Garibaldi as a revolutionary symbol and how that image changed and endured in New York. *Garibaldi as Revolutionary* advances the ways New Yorkers regarded him in the contexts of the Italian Risorgimento (the “awakening” and unification period from 1848-1871), whenever they perceived a necessary opposition to the status quo. In this chapter, I argue that the politics of Italian American appropriation of Garibaldi produced arrangements of revolutionary political activity and contentious politics. This, on occasion, resulted in collective forms of political violence in opposition to the status quo as well. Garibaldi’s inter-continental career, as well as his standing as a politically varied agitator, allowed for him to be an adaptable symbol before and after his death. Competing interest groups in New York City, especially those interested in activism and resistance had ways to shape Garibaldi as a revolutionary.

This chapter includes two additional contexts. First, by looking at the commemoration of the 1944 Fosse Ardeatine Massacre near Rome and the life of Garibaldi’s wife Anita Garibaldi, I attempt to better understand Garibaldi’s legacy and how revolutionary politics grew using his name through European and South American contexts respectively. By the time Garibaldi entered New York, his legacy was broadened within the contexts of internationalism and independence movements across two continents, therefore it became easier to associate him with revolution. Garibaldi was world famous and authors throughout the end of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century consistently felt the need to mention his depth and breadth as an

international figure, especially regarding Anita. W.E.B. DuBois would write, “Recently in Rome a monument was dedicated to the colored consort of Garibaldi, Anita, a Brazilian.”⁷¹ Italian Americans and New Yorkers that appropriated Garibaldi as a revolutionary were picking up on traditions and philosophies that shaped Garibaldi as a welcomed hero but also a political outsider that cut his teeth on his overseas encounters and exploits. Plenty of evidence suggests Garibaldi was merely a charismatic mercenary historically, but at the same time, enough associations with his liberating activity also associated his memory with revolution.

Further, with the use of Charles Tilly’s, *The Politics of Collective Violence* written in 2003, I explain how commemorators remembered Garibaldi as revolutionary while utilizing: a clear leader, an ideology, justifications for their own actions, insider vs. outsider framing, consolidations of competing elements within the establishment, and efforts to seek cultural, political, and social capital.⁷² I use this section of the chapter to introduce and contextualize the politics of collective Garibaldian violence used on Staten Island in his name from 1914-1932. Tilly cited the complexities of violence, its organization, and stated how it demonstrated change over time as well as a capacity to be completely random. At the same time, the final product of collective violence was the result of a place’s political arrangement, he asserted. His work conceptually mapped out the extent of organization among violent actors versus the salience of short-run injury.⁷³ After providing three collectively violent vignettes, the American West, Malaysia, and

⁷¹ W.E.B. DuBois, *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History*, (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1943), 48.

⁷² Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁷³ Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, 13.

Rwanda, he emphasized how all three shared features of political violence. Riots concerning Garibaldi memory and appropriation follow a similar trajectory to this universality of violence: 1) observable damage, 2) dualling perpetrators, and 3) varying degrees of coordination.⁷⁴ This happened at a time when Fascists were increasingly at odds with anti-Fascists over Italian and American politics in the early twentieth century.

For Tilly, it was important to see how congregation bred violence, comprised of day-to-day resistance, and most graphically, mutated into civil war. His sociological and historical approach unpacked violence along relational lines. He set out to discuss the place of violence in public and political life and explained his well-known concept of contentious politics, asserting that collective violence and nonviolent politics overlap continuously.⁷⁵ There was usually a required political context for the categorization and variation of violence, according to Tilly, as he stated that category formation is itself a crucial political process.⁷⁶ Why does violence vary so much and why is it important to understand certain types of nationalism? Tilly also explained political groups and how they necessarily engage in inequality-generating opportunity hoarding.⁷⁷ All these tendencies are especially pronounced in the chapter where I explain the battles over Garibaldi's Staten Island house from 1914-1932 as well as its aftermath.

Historian Lynn Hunt wrote that the anthropological model is the ultimate way to understand the cultural approaches to the politics of collective violence. Rituals, carnivalesque inversions, and rites of passage, Hunt stated, are found in every country

⁷⁴ Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, 2003.

⁷⁵ Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, 27.

⁷⁶ Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, 29.

⁷⁷ Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, 34.

and almost every century.⁷⁸ American historian Suzanne Desan explained how rioters act on behalf of moral conviction while commanding a sense of validity for their ritual patterns. Violence within a reasoned symbolic context produces legitimacy and meaning.⁷⁹ Desan explained how Thompson and Davis added to the work of George Rude' and Tilly in the late 1950s and 1960s. They analyzed the social makeup of crowds to correct the misconception that rioters and unruly mobs committed random acts of violence without rationality, goals or motivations.⁸⁰ Not only did common values influence the nature of the riot and the characteristics of its victims, writes Desan, but shared behavior also influenced the riot's timeliness, effectiveness, legitimacy and ritualized features.⁸¹ This is all to say, that when it came time to commemorate Garibaldi in New York during the first World War and Interwar period, violence regularly ensued among Italian Americans. They intentionally vied for authenticity and the security of a greater moral purpose politically, socially, and economically. By authenticity, I mean Italian Americans thought themselves purer if they were identified and associated with Garibaldi's legacy.

A substantial amount of this political disorder took place during the interwar period when Italian Americans with both Fascist and anti-Fascist political leanings experienced conflict. Further, the political opinions of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, Communist labor leader Peter Cacchione, and socialist politician Vito Marcantonio, all found ways to link Garibaldian thinking to revolutionary thinking. Quite simply,

⁷⁸ Suzanne Desan, "Crowds, Community, and Ritual in the Work of E.P. Thompson and Natalie Zemon Davis," ed., Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: CA, University of California Press, 1989), 11.

⁷⁹ Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*, 48.

⁸⁰ Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*, 47-48.

⁸¹ Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*, 62.

revolutionary thought and action of twentieth century Italian Americans co-opted the imagery of Garibaldi's nineteenth century revolutionary career.

By the end of the dissertation, the reader will have a better understanding of Giuseppe Garibaldi and how his public memory was constructed in historic sites and how his persona was utilized in New York as a patriot, politician, and revolutionary. In the process this phenomenon shaped a meaning and constructed a form of Italian American identity in New York. Further, the reader will learn about the politics of appropriating Garibaldi and Italian unification around monuments, physical objects, and material culture. Ultimately, the commemorative actions taking place in New York and the United States regarding the "hero of two worlds" can be traced back to events from 1836-1848, Garibaldi's time in South America, and 1848-1871, the years of the Italian Risorgimento. There is one additional fundamental goal. After finishing reading this dissertation, it is my intention that readers will get a sense of how the field and practice of local history can be explored through the lenses of global studies, world history, and internationalism, thus demonstrating how a micro or local history can relay a transnational study and serve as a new form of world history.

CHAPTER ONE

The Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi: Italy and Beyond

Who was Giuseppe Garibaldi? He was arguably the world's most famous unifier, patriot, politician and revolutionary of the nineteenth century. Like most subjects of history and biography, however, explaining the meaning of his life depends on the historian. This chapter, after an initial emphasis and explanation of Garibaldi historiography, focuses on his early life and domestic and international activities. I will explain who and what influenced Garibaldi's revolutionary thinking and his actions in Italy and South America as well as what brought him to New York.

I then discuss his return to life in Europe in highlighting Italy before and after its unification. Obviously, for my own purposes, his time in exile in New York will be crucial to understanding the city's efforts to appropriate and commemorate his legacy. Interestingly, each phase of Garibaldi's life and career, which includes his arrival to Staten Island, was ultimately utilized to shape meaning and association with him and New York, especially in the year 1861, when he helped to unify Italy. "After 1860 the figure of Garibaldi became the prisoner of a hagiography in which appreciation for his undeniable military qualities became jumbled with sentimental considerations."⁸² Italy gained independence and became consolidated while the United States was embarking on a fragmenting albeit necessary Civil War to bring human rights and to preserve the nation. By the end of this chapter, the reader will be able to discern how Garibaldi's

⁸² Manlio Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood: The Geopolitics of a Troubled Identity*, (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 23-24.

persona and international life became provincialized in the crafting of his celebrity. I will discuss the significance of Garibaldi in New York, before, during and after his stay.

On the one hand, Garibaldi's time on Staten Island hasn't been shortchanged by historians since he was not in New York long enough to warrant thorough coverage. On the other hand, simply dismissing his time in "the forgotten borough" is too simple and deterministic, especially as he relates to memory creation and public history.⁸³ The political refugees of 1848 and their legacies have been documented and discussed elsewhere in the context of nineteenth century migration patterns and nation building. The focus of this work, however, is Garibaldi's life in New York and the impact it had on commemorators. This chapter will also point out how more recent analyses of local history should rely more on global history to help integrate components of Italian American historical development related to the present.⁸⁴ Garibaldi in New York then, is not merely an anecdotal aside, since events there connected and correlated to themes overseas. Garibaldi was known as the "hero of two worlds," for his liberating crusades and military associations, in South America and Europe. North America needs to be added to the fold, not in any hagiographic sense, but in terms of relevance to connect the present to the past, as local history is a part of world history. The complexity of nineteenth century Atlantic history and the emergence of New York as a global city requires investigations into migration, refugee status, civil war, class struggle, identity, and ethnic strife. All these salient characteristics come to the fore when analyzing

⁸³ Kenneth M. Gold authored, *The Forgotten Borough: Staten Island and the Subway*, Columbia University Press, 2023 and explains that although Staten Island did not become a borough until 1898, it has existed as an afterthought and with a common "forgotten" designation. Staten Island's Daniel Santoro wrote in the March 28, 1930, edition of *The Beacon*, that "someday, there will be such an uprising that Staten Island will get rapid transit." Gold's work explained how and why this never happened.

⁸⁴ Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction*, (UK: Routledge, 2016).

Garibaldi in New York as a part of local and world history. This all becomes additionally pertinent through an understanding of the Italian welcoming committee put in place to greet Garibaldi's entrance into New York in 1850.

Garibaldi and Risorgimento Historiography

For beginners, I start with the historiography of Giuseppe Garibaldi for three reasons. First, it is important to understand how and why scholarship and Garibaldi coverage changed over time. As more historians gained access to the Risorgimento documents (the 1848-1871 movement for Italian Unification), the history of Garibaldi changed accordingly. Secondly, by tracing the historiography, the reader will be able to grasp the instrumental patterns, trends, and major events of social, political, and economic life in Italy and America, related to the history of Garibaldi in New York, 1850 to the present. For example, historian Lucy Riall pointed out that Garibaldi fatigue set in starting in the 1950s because authors grew wary of twentieth century autocratic heads of state.⁸⁵ It is interesting to note then, the third reason to highlight Garibaldi historiography. That is, to show how changes in the scholarship match the record of local New York. After the Second World War, Garibaldi memory projects in New York lost steam, just as Riall indicates his popularity fading or repurposed elsewhere.

The particulars of the Garibaldi historiography are somewhat nuanced and complicated. Two moments in history serve as central events in parsing out the intellectual history of modern Italy and understanding its historical consciousness: the Risorgimento (“the Resurgence” for Italian unification) and the demise of fascism.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 8.

⁸⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 1.

Afterall, Garibaldi's life takes place during a very volatile time in human history. He comes to New York in 1850 during the midpoint of the unification process in Italy but also at a time when the prospects for civil war, immigration, innovation and shifts in political tradition were being tested and reaching crucial junctures and transitions. In a broad sense however, Garibaldi historiography is easier to view from a distance in terms of dates and conceptual themes.

During Garibaldi's life, namely in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a strong effort to highlight and catapult Garibaldi imagery through autobiography, biography, memoir and through the professionalization of Italian studies in higher education. This type of Garibaldi coverage often resulted in amplifying the theories of the 'Great Man' in history and served as strong supporters in crafting Garibaldi as a hero in glorifying the Risorgimento. It was basically hagiography-centered and did not take documents into account. Author and playwright Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870) assisted Garibaldi for one of the more famous autobiographies. Eleuterio Felice Foresti (1789-1858), who taught at Columbia and started the professionalization of Italian studies in New York also helped to establish Garibaldi's reputation as a hero. Other notable biographers showing great reverence to Garibaldi in the nineteenth century were Elpis Melena, G. Guerzoni, Jessie White Mario, G.E. Curatolo and G. Sacerdote. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries also featured Italian moderate, conservative and right-wing statesmen such as Francesco Crispi (1818-1901), Benito Mussolini (1883-1945), and Bettino Craxi (1934-200) who, across the right side of the political spectrum, made

attempts to turn the topic of Italian unification into a cult.⁸⁷ Additionally, the liberal statesman, Giovanni Giolitti (1842-1928) advanced Italian exceptionalism and complained that historians were showing too many divisions within Italian leadership. Crispi, a Sicilian lawyer, was one of Garibaldi's closest political colleagues and shared his intense desire for unification. He later turned authoritarian and as British Historian David Gilmour would argue, became Mussolini's precursor.⁸⁸

Early in the twentieth century, G.M. Trevelyan (1876-1962) continued the work of the late nineteenth century biographers and glorified Garibaldi for political purposes. Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) wrote revisionist histories of Italian unification. Croce, a famous philosopher and historian, had an intellectual reputation equal to Garibaldi's political following. In other words, both were incredibly diverse ideologically and they inspired support across the political spectrum.⁸⁹ Starting in the 1930s however, a focus given to lesser-known people who fought for Italian unification saw a questioning of Garibaldi's leadership capabilities. This was not reliant upon a bottom-up social history, but rather a history that still praised the Risorgimento, taking unsung heroes into account while emphasizing a strong usage of the archival record. The Institute for the History of the Italian Risorgimento started this push once they realized that broadening the events from 1815-1861 beyond Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cavour and Emmanuele II, would prolong the relevance of nineteenth century Italian history at the professional level of research.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ John Julius Norwich, *Sicily: An Island at the Crossroads of History* (New York: Random House, 2015), 280.

⁸⁸ David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, Its Regions and Their Peoples*, (New York, NY: Penguin, 2001).

⁸⁹ Shepard B. Clough and Salvatore Saladino, *A History of Modern Italy: Documents, Readings and Commentary*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1968), 157.

⁹⁰ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 2007.

Alberto Mario Ghisalberti, Emilia Morelli and Pietro Roselli primarily carried out this work.

Starting in the late 1940s, scholars interested in a Marxist analysis of Garibaldi and the Risorgimento studied the *Prison Notebooks* of Antonio Gramsci. Since the prior history failed in a critique of capitalism or commitments to societal revolution in any foundational sense, Gramsci criticized the tendency to focus on the individual and the top-down movement. Gramsci saw Garibaldi as someone inside the system and “checkmated” by moderates such as center-right statesman Camillo Cavour.⁹¹ Perhaps Garibaldi was capable of constructive liberal and moderate projects, but in the end, his work was a byproduct of the established order and seen as an extension of the state. Garibaldi was a manifestation of the politics of brute force, to Marxists like Gramsci.⁹² Italian scholar Giuseppe Vacca, like Gramsci, objected to the subordination of the more radical elements of the Garibaldi project in Italy and ultimately viewed it as a moderate program.⁹³ He viewed Garibaldi and the Risorgimento as “a diffusion of real revolutionary possibilities insofar as they restricted radical developments within the programs of the northern industrial bourgeoisie.”⁹⁴ He characterized both the leadership and the unification movement as things “lacking broad popular support.”⁹⁵

⁹¹ Paul Piccone, *Italian Marxism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 41.

⁹² Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 5. (“Following Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault, Edward Said argues cogently that the dominant culture in the West achieves its hegemony by making invisible the ‘actual affiliations’ that exist between the world of ideas and scholarship, on the one hand, and the world of brute politics, corporate and state power, and military force, on the other,” writes Behdad).

⁹³ Paul Piccone, *Italian Marxism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 31.

⁹⁴ Piccone, *Italian Marxism*, 1983, 31.

⁹⁵ Piccone, *Italian Marxism*, 1983, 31.

Dennis Mack Smith, an early and noteworthy English speaking and writing historian wrote how Italian heroes disagreed in political philosophy. When he wrote about the conflict between Garibaldi and Cavour in 1954 and juxtaposed them as realist and idealist, he wrote in opposition to the early twentieth century Italian expectation of the Risorgimento as a virtuous monolith. He stated, “another Prime Minister, Giovanni Giolitti, made the discouragingly negative reply that ‘it would not be right to let beautiful legends be discredited by historical criticism.’”⁹⁶ Arthur J. Whyte also emphasized the role that Cavour (as well as the French) played in Italian unification in his *Evolution of Modern Italy* (Oxford) in 1959. In the 1970s, the New Social History started to write about the Risorgimento from the bottom-up when “fear of popular disorder affected the political attitudes of the urban and rural elites,” certainly making them “wary of radical change and it clearly bred political discontent.”⁹⁷ Italian scholar Marino Berengo wrote revision social histories about Italian cities during the Restoration period (1815-1835) before Italian unification. In 1971, he wrote an important essay highlighting the evolution and interdisciplinary nature of Italian scholarship after the Fascist era.⁹⁸ Another prominent social historian of the period was Raymond Grew. Grew repeatedly mentioned how Italian nationalists’ greatest achievement was found in their “success in persuading many Italians to sacrifice the immediate realization of particular political and economic institutional preferences for the sake of the overriding imperative of unification.”⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Dennis Mack Smith, *Cavour, and Garibaldi 1860: A Study in Political Conflict*, (Cambridge: New York, Cambridge University Press, 1954), x. (Reissued with the new preface 1985).

⁹⁷ Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento: State, Society and National Unification*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 1994), 49.

⁹⁸ Marino Berengo, “Italian Scholarship Since the Fascist Era,” *The Historian and the World of the Twentieth Century, Daedalus*, (Spring 1971): 469-484.

⁹⁹ Shepard B. Clough and Salvatore Saladino, *A History of Modern Italy: Documents, Readings and Commentary*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1968), 157.

Starting in the 1990s notable academics such as Eric Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson redefined the significance of Garibaldi and the Risorgimento. This was not done to make heroes out of Italian revolutionaries or the unification process, but to offer a better understanding of the crafting and creation of nationalism and national identity in the study of world history. Before the emergence of academic writers such as Hobsbawm and Anderson in the 1980s and 1990s, Italian statesmen and former officers tried to re-advance a cult following of the Risorgimento in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries.

Into the twenty-first century, scholars began to reassess the Risorgimento and Garibaldi in several nuanced ways. First, there was an effort by Italian professor of history, Alberto Banti to revise the history of Italian unification as a cultural event, more so than a political event. More primary sources were brought into the fold that reflected a richer and deeper social history to serve as a lens for the political changes that took place.¹⁰⁰ Second, the scholarship of Marzia Marsili started to analyze the invention of the Garibaldi cult, starting after his death, and taking an especially strong hold after the Second World War.¹⁰¹ Third, more recent scholarship by Lucy Riall explains the cult of Garibaldi as something that started during his lifetime because of innovations in mass communication that coincided with Garibaldi's legitimate international celebrity.¹⁰² Fourth, Enrico Acciai, studied Garibaldi through the lens of war volunteering.¹⁰³ A close reading of Lucy Riall's *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, helps to unpack some of the more

¹⁰⁰ Alberto Mario Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano*, (Economica Laterza), 2004.

¹⁰¹ Marzia Marsili, "Charisma and the Cult of Personality in Modern Italy," *Association for the Study of Modern Italy*, 3:2, (1998).

¹⁰² Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 2007.

¹⁰³ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of Warfare in Southern Europe (1861-1945)*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2021).

detailed aspects of the Garibaldi historiography. I have broken it down below (See Table 1.1) in terms of: time-period, author, institution and profession, and historical perspective.¹⁰⁴ Further, in 2020, independent scholar Richard Bourne studied Garibaldi's legacy as a transnational idealist and the impact of his cultural memory through the lens of southern Brazil and Montevideo, Uruguay. Lastly, Professor of Philosophy Raymond Angelo Belliotti reframes the life of Garibaldi in a philosophical context and conducts a study across disciplines including Caesar, Dante, and Machiavelli, to explain Italian identity.¹⁰⁵ Belliotti's work picks up on earlier scholarship that points to Dante as a founding father of Italy. "If Dante was to be understood, above all, as the distant 'father' of national Italian civilization, it seemed only logical, in the climate which followed unification, to compare him directly to the new 'fathers' of political Italy."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 8-12.

¹⁰⁵ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020).

¹⁰⁶ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 88.

Era	Authors	Institution	Argument
1850-1930	Giovanni Battista Cuneo, Alexandre Dumas, Eleuterio Felice Foresti	Compatriot, Novelist and playwright, Italian academic at Columbia	Romantic, 'Great Men' theory, promoted Italian studies in U.S.
1882, 1884, 1925, 1933, 1907-1911	G. Guerzoni, Jessie Mario White, G.E. Curatolo, G. Sacerdote, G.M. Trevelyan, Piero Gobetti	Biographers of Garibaldi	Reverence, promotion of Garibaldi & Risorgimento for political purposes, Gobetti was a Garibaldi skeptic and a strong anti-Fascist
Nineteenth and twentieth centuries	Francesco Crispi, Benito Mussolini, & Bettino Craxi, liberal Giovanni Giolitti	Italian statesmen	Political history & Risorgimento 'cult', downplayed rivalry within Risorgimento leaders
1930-1980	Alberto Mario Ghisalberti, Emilia Morelli, Pietro Roselli	Istituto per la del Risorgimento Italiano, Roselli was critical of Garibaldi	Archival study of Risorgimento, unheroic Garibaldi, focus on lesser-known figures
1949	Antonio Gramsci	Italian Communist Party, <i>Prison Notebooks</i>	Garibaldi led 'passive revolution,' Marxists challenged virtues of Risorgimento
1954, 1963	Dennis Mack Smith, Raymond Grew	British historian, social historian	History from the middle, focus: political conflict, Nat'l Society
1970s	P. Ginsburg, J.A. Davis, A.W. Salomone, M. Caravale, C. Cingari, L. Cafagna, S. Soldani	Scholars of the Italian Risorgimento, some offer Gramscian analyses	New Social History, history from bottom-up, Risorgimento non-integral
1980s, 1990s	Eric Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson	British scholars, historians	Understanding national identity, 19 th century, non-glorifying, the press
1990s – 2010s	Alberto Banti	Italian professor of history	Risorgimento 'canon' (1790-1830), cultural history > political
1998, 2005, 2007-present	Marzia Marsili, Daniel Pick, Lucy Riall, Enrico Acciai, Alfonso Scirocco, Salvatore DiMaria, Richard Bourne, Raymond Angelo Bellotti	Italian and European Scholars	'Cults of invention,' psychobiography, mass communication, war volunteering, narrative analysis, synthesis, counter-revision, South America, philosophy

TABLE 1.1 Giuseppe Garibaldi Historiography, 1850 to the Present.

The Early Life of Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1807-1832

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) was born in Nice (Nizza) on July 4, 1807, when it was still “a sleepy little town” under the control of France.”¹⁰⁷ (Nice was made up of both French and Italian people). Prior to that, the dukes of Savoy controlled it for two centuries.¹⁰⁸ Joseph-Marie Garibaldi’s birth certificate was written in French, but other official documents listed his named as Giuseppe Maria.¹⁰⁹ Ten years before Garibaldi’s birth Napoleon seized the Kingdom of Piedmont. Garibaldi was a French citizen until 1815 when his town went back under the authority of the House of Savoy.¹¹⁰ Garibaldi’s father Domenico and mother Rosa Raimondo were from the northwestern coastal region of Liguria. “His mother and father were ‘wholly Italian’ having been born and raised in Chiavari and Loano respectively.”¹¹¹ They settled in Nice where his father was a sea captain and where his cultured and Catholic mother emphasized education and compassion.¹¹² According to his memoirs, Garibaldi was self-taught in physical activities as a youth, as he became a talented swimmer, fisherman, and loved the natural world.¹¹³ He was said to have brought, a deer antler, one of his cherished keepsakes, from South

¹⁰⁷ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1.

¹⁰⁸ Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, 1.

¹¹⁰ Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi: Hero of Italian Unification*, (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.

¹¹¹ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 150.

¹¹² Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 2.

¹¹³ Alexandre Dumas, William Robson (translator). *Garibaldi: An Autobiography*, “The Memoirs of Joseph Garibaldi, Chapter One, My Parents,” 1861.

America to Staten Island.¹¹⁴ He was one of six children. His brother Angelo “moved to the United States where he became a businessman and the consul for the Kingdom of Sardinia in Philadelphia.”¹¹⁵ Garibaldi had a Ligurian dialect and was a French speaker. He was more interested in sailing than schooling, but he still received an education and was tutored in English, Italian and ancient world history and prepared to take a ship rearing examination while still in his teens.¹¹⁶

Garibaldi's first phase of post adolescent development spanned 1824-1833, a time he lived as a sailor in the Mediterranean and Black Seas and became certified in 1832 as a merchant marine captain.¹¹⁷ In his younger years he spent much of his time navigating the Mediterranean Sea as a merchant sailor. “It was through travel that he acquired a political awareness, mainly through encounters with French political exiles and with Italian revolutionary conspirators.”¹¹⁸ In his memoirs, he writes with excitement about his first voyages and ship named *Costanza*. He lamented about how his early seafaring distracted him from the concept of a free Italy. Garibaldi’s first voyage brought him to Odessa seaport in the Black Sea under the Russian flag. This journey had a significant effect on him, and he remained appreciative of his mentor and captain, Angelo Pesante.¹¹⁹ Garibaldi’s father accompanied him for his second voyage headed for Rome with a freight of wine. During these trips Garibaldi increased his sensibility and

¹¹⁴ Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY. The Papers of Daniel Santoro, (MS 59, Box 47).

¹¹⁵ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 3.

¹¹⁶ Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, 5.

¹¹⁷ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2022), 151.

¹¹⁸ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 1.

¹¹⁹ Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi: Hero of Italian Unification*, (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5.

capacities for understanding the state of the world and the prospects for a united Italy. From 1828-1831, Garibaldi lived in Constantinople and Turkey dedicated a historic site, the Casa Garibaldi in 1884 in his honor. Later, contestation over Garibaldi's memory commenced even there. In 1994, journalist Ragip Duran published an interview in a pro-Kurdish daily newspaper highlighting the leader of the Workers Party of Kurdistan. When he made a casual comparison between the politician and Garibaldi, Duran was charged with "propaganda for outlawed organizations under the Anti-Terror Law" and he was sentenced to ten months in prison in 1995.¹²⁰

Garibaldi's Early Political Influences, 1832-1834

In 1833, when Garibaldi was twenty-six years old, he visited Taganrog, Russia.¹²¹ Here, he met Giovanni Battista Cuneo, a member of Young Italy.¹²² Young Italy was a group dedicated to liberating Italy from Austrian control. He was also introduced to the free-spirited Saint Simonians and became intrigued by their progressive value system and notions of social and economic equality, liberation, and idealism. In 1834, an even greater political influence on Garibaldi was the leader of Young Italy and the work of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872). Born in Genoa, and raised by a Jacobin father and Jansenist mother, it was Mazzini who first started the idea of organizing uprisings to promote Italian unification in the early 1830s. Mazzini had developed a reputation for having deep commitments to social democracy and Italy's unification but argued for gradualism. Young Italy had been laying the foundation for unification in Italy by

¹²⁰ Antoon De Baets, "The subversive power of historical analogies," ed., Andreas Leutzsch, ed., *Historical Parallels, Commemoration, and Icons* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), 45.

¹²¹ On June 2, 1961, Taganrog, Russia built a Garibaldi monument at the site of one of its largest ports.

¹²² Epaminonda Provaglio, *Giuseppe Garibaldi: sua vita, pubblica, privata, militare, aneddotica*, (Casa ed. Nerbini: Italy, 1907), 20.

organizing rebel provinces and initiating revolutions and insurrections against France and Austria starting in 1830. He was very well known but was perceived as a second-rate revolutionary by Marxist scholars like Eric Hobsbawm, who called him an ineffective self-dramatizer, that held back Young Italy.¹²³ In any event, Mazzini's inspirational words about the Italian fatherland nonetheless made the inspirational ideals of the Saint Simonians concrete for Garibaldi.¹²⁴ Inevitably, Garibaldi was involved with the Young Italy uprising in Genoa against Piedmont's government and escaped to France. Today, there stands a monument in New York's Central Park dedicated to Mazzini, funded by the New York Italian American Community, and designed by Giovanni Turini, the same sculptor of the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park located near New York University.

Garibaldi spent the next phase of his young life in South America, arriving there in his late twenties and staying there until he reached the age of forty. By the time he entered South America he internalized the values instilled in him by the Saint Simonians and Mazzini.

Garibaldi in South America, 1834-1848

Historian Lucy Riall states that "South America is where Garibaldi first began to get a name for himself."¹²⁵ She also points out that, "by the early 1840s newspaper reports had already begun to speak of Garibaldi as a romantic 'bandit leader' and to tell (and often condemn) his adventures in Brazil and of his formation of an 'Italian legion of

¹²³ Eric, Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789 & 1848*, (New York, NY: Mentor Book, 1962), 149.

¹²⁴ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 16.

¹²⁵ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 1.

Montevideo' to defend liberal Uruguay against the aggression of Buenos Aires.”¹²⁶

Garibaldi arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1835 and he participated in the independence movement for the Rio Grande province in the fight for freedom against Brazil's empire. Garibaldi met Anna da Silva (1821-1849) during this time. Known as Anita, she “would fight beside him bravely” and “would later marry him and have children with him. They both commanded a small Uruguayan fleet against Argentina and formed and commanded the Italian legion at Montevideo that achieved several successes including victory at the battle of San Antonio.”¹²⁷ She was multiethnic and of Portuguese and Indian descent.”¹²⁸

After the birth of their first son, Menotti in 1840 in Argentina, she would accompany Garibaldi to Uruguay and also returned with him to Europe with the South American inspired Redshirts.

Garibaldi's time in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay is significant for five main reasons. First, it allowed for his popularity to grow and build inside Italy and across Europe as a freedom fighter and internationalist, interested in furthering political unification. Second, it furthered his reputation as an opponent of illegitimate forms of authority, and he gained admiration from abolitionists in the continental Americas. Third, Garibaldi endured a fair amount of adversity while fighting in South America (a shipwreck, an imprisonment, and topography challenges, etc.), so whatever strategic gaps needed filling were honed before returning to Italy. In addition, 1843 will forever be remembered as the beginning of the Italian Legion and the creation of the Redshirts.

¹²⁶ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 1.

¹²⁷ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2022), 153.

¹²⁸ Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi: Hero of Italian Unification*, (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan), 2008, 19.

Finally, as pointed out by independent scholar, Richard Bourne, the legacy of Garibaldi in terms of South American commemoration alone, is rather significant.

Garibaldi fought against the Argentine dictatorship in 1846 on the side of Montevideo and “it was after Salto that Garibaldi became famous and a political and military actor in his own right.”¹²⁹ Further, additional Italian exiles in Montevideo helped to perpetuate Garibaldi propaganda for rebels throughout the region. In 1883, one year after Garibaldi's death, the joint Houses of Parliament erected a Garibaldi statue overlooking the port of Montevideo.¹³⁰ In 1900, Rio Grande do Sul named municipalities after both Giuseppe and Anita.¹³¹ In 1940, Garibaldi's house in Montevideo was purchased with the intention of opening a museum.¹³² And in 2016, Uruguay celebrated the 170th anniversary of the battle of San Antonio de Salto, where there stands a Garibaldi obelisk.¹³³ Although the historical record indicates that locals viewed Garibaldi favorably in Montevideo, they also largely saw him as an adventuring mercenary.¹³⁴ Garibaldi was a saint, hero, and revolutionary, but also viewed as a settler colonist, an unfortunate added political dimension of his hybridity.¹³⁵ In any event, by the time Garibaldi entered New York as a worldly and patriotic Freemason in 1850 (exiled Europeans often used masonic lodges as asylums), he was an established international celebrity. His heroism in both Montevideo and Rome were interchangeable events when referring to republicanism, freedom, and liberation in the Americas.

¹²⁹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 41.

¹³⁰ Richard Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, (UK: Hurst Publishing, 2020), xix.

¹³¹ Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, xix.

¹³² Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, xix.

¹³³ Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, 166.

¹³⁴ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 52.

¹³⁵ Lorenzo Veracini, “Postcolonial Garibaldi,” *Modern Italy*, 24 1: 2019, 106.

Garibaldi and The First War of Italian Independence, 1848

The First Italian War of Independence took place in 1848. In 1849, while under Garibaldi's leadership, republican forces resisted the French army's restoration of the pope, just outside of Rome. Garibaldi became well-known around the world for courageously protecting and defending Rome. It was after this valiant effort that he made his famous "Ovunque noi saremo, sara Roma" speech, ("Wherever we go, there will be Rome") at the Roman assembly.¹³⁶ Lucy Riall indicated how the 1848-49 events bolstered Garibaldi's reputation and lore: "his last-ditch attempt to march north to save the besieged Venetian Republic, his daring exploits in eluding the enemy when all was lost and the tragic death *en route* of his pregnant wife Anita, added to the growing legend surrounding Garibaldi."¹³⁷ Garibaldi gained worldwide fame during the revolutions of 1848-1849 in Italy. He started another chapter as the "hero of two worlds."

At the age of forty-six, Garibaldi could already reflect on monumental events. Italy went through multiple changes as did Garibaldi himself. Just before he was born, France invaded the Italian mainland. When he was about seven years old, the Two Sicilies were in an alliance with Austria, and soon after he witnessed suppressed uprisings in the 1820s and 1830s and further efforts to liberate Sicily. Young Italy formed in 1831, and shortly after this Garibaldi built a strong Italian legion in South America to fight as Redshirts in the Uruguayan Civil War. By the end of 1849, "the hero" was an accomplished sailor, commander, Freemason, and revolutionary. Further, he understood French, Italian, English, Portuguese, and Spanish. He carried with him navigational,

¹³⁶ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 226.

¹³⁷ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

military, and diplomatic experience while dissatisfaction for papal authority increased throughout Europe. As Garibaldi entered New York in 1850 as a political refugee, demands for constitutional governments were growing abroad. Before arriving in New York on July 30, 1850, Garibaldi stopped in England and visited Liverpool. This stay wasn't a planned event nor anticipated and received very little following and press attention. One exception was *The Red Republican*, a socialist publication that ran a story and published a poem about Garibaldi to highlight his brief stopover, most likely to coopt his celebrity.¹³⁸ South America and Europe had up and running models for promoting Garibaldi's reputation and the same would be true in New York.

Garibaldi in New York, 1850

In appearance, Garibaldi was about five feet seven inches tall, with a wide frame, bowed legs, and long reddish blonde hair and beard. He carried himself with confidence. By 1850, *The New York Times* would describe Garibaldi as "rather below the middle size, stoutly made, with an erect and soldier-like air."¹³⁹ Italian professor of humanities Alfonso Scirocco referred to Garibaldi's time in New York as "The Gray Years," to point out that these years for him were grim and dull. Lucy Riall stated that in New York, "Garibaldi went once more into exile and into a form of political retirement and spent almost two years living quietly among the Italian community on Staten Island, NY and then travelled again as a merchant sailor to Central America and around the Pacific Ocean to China and the Philippines."¹⁴⁰ According to Garibaldi's letters to his cousin Augusto, his Italian friend Francesco Carpanetto, and T.H. Hyatt, the American consul in

¹³⁸ "Poetry for the People," *The Red Republican and Friends of the People*, 1 (1966): 24.

¹³⁹ *New York Times*, June 29, 1850.

¹⁴⁰ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

Tangier, Garibaldi's main reason for going to New York was to acquire money as a merchant sailor.¹⁴¹ Garibaldi wrote to Hyatt in Tangier, Morocco on February 22, 1850:

Sir,

Finding myself banished, and in a strange country, I am desirous of resuming my former profession as a commander of a merchant vessel.

I beg your permission and protection to set up the North American flag on a vessel belonging to Mr. F. Carpeneto of Genoa, which is to be under my command; and I will strictly observe whatever instructions or regulations you may deem proper to impose for the purpose. I confidently appeal to the generous hospitality and proverbial courtesy which the United States government and People so generously extend towards the prescribed friends of liberty of whatever nation they may be.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, etc.

G. Garibaldi¹⁴²

Even before he arrived, New York readers of the press were aware of Garibaldi's most recent feats. The *New York Tribune* in 1849 ran front page stories that covered his retreat from Rome.¹⁴³ They also ran a few columns about the state of European affairs and politics. One column was entitled, "Things and Thoughts in Europe," and stated that "his look was that entirely of a hero of the Middle Ages, his face still young for the excitements of his life."¹⁴⁴ New Yorkers anticipated Garibaldi's arrival based on this foundational hero worship and set up a welcoming committee. The heroic image

¹⁴¹ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 106.

¹⁴² H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship," *The American Historical Review* 38 no. 5, (October 1932): 3.

¹⁴³ "Garibaldi's Retreat from Rome: A Chapter in the Italian War," *New York Tribune*, November 3, 1849, 1.

¹⁴⁴ "Things and Thoughts in Europe," *New York Tribune*, August 18, 1849, 1.

persisted easily into the twentieth century for local commemorators.¹⁴⁵ Making up the committee were “distinguished person” and Columbia professor of Italian literature Felice Foresti, and former Italian soldier and government administrator Giuseppe Avezzano (1797-1879).¹⁴⁶ Also in attendance were Italian politician and statesman Quirico Filopanti (1812-1894) and the inventor Antonio Meucci (1808-1889).¹⁴⁷ Foresti first alerted Mazzini of Garibaldi’s whereabouts writing to him on October 21, 1850, “On the 1st of October 1850, Garibaldi went to Staten Island to live with Antonio Meucci, to enjoy rest and economic liberty.”¹⁴⁸ Journalist Parke Godwin (1816-1904) and his father-in-law, longtime editor of the *New York Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), met with Garibaldi upon his arrival as well. They would also meet with him later in 1867 in Florence after Italy was unified.¹⁴⁹

Historian Barbara Faedda wrote that, “in the wake of the uprisings and revolutions in Europe in 1848 and 1871, many patriots and exiles were forced - or chose on their own - to go to America, known as the country of freedom. These intellectuals and activists with heroic and varied backgrounds fascinated the Americans.”¹⁵⁰ The academic Foresti was a major influence in popularizing Garibaldi in New York. He was a lawyer, politician and active propagandist for the Carbonari, the secret group revolting

¹⁴⁵ Daniel Santoro, Santoro wrote in his papers that Garibaldi had, “consummate generalship and matchless endurance,” Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, The Papers of Daniel Santoro (MS 59, Box 47).

¹⁴⁶ The Crystal Palace, The Ceremony of Erecting the First Column, *New York Weekly Herald*, 16 no. 4, (November 6, 1852): 357.

¹⁴⁷ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 107.

¹⁴⁸ Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, The Papers of Daniel Santoro (MS 59, Box 47).

¹⁴⁹ William Cullen Bryant, *The Letters of William Cullen Bryant* (Bronx, NY: Fordham University Press, 1975), 100.

¹⁵⁰ Barbara Faedda, *From Da Ponte to the Casa Italiana: A Brief History of Italian Studies at Columbia University*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017), 14.

against Austrian control back in Italy.¹⁵¹ Foresti was arrested in 1818, sentenced to death in 1821 in Italy and was deported to America in 1836.¹⁵² Perhaps most importantly, “he continued to promote Italian unification by speaking out for Mazzini and setting up a Young Italy group in New York.”¹⁵³ In a letter to Hugh Forbes, the opportunistic mercenary soldier that fought with Garibaldi, Foresti wrote:

Hastings, N.Y.
Aug. 7th, 1850.

My Dear Colonel:

I thank you much, for having sent me the extracts from several journals of New York, which pretended to give accurate details of the biography of Gen Garibaldi. After dinner I gave them to him, and he laughed heartily, at the various stories created by the imagination of nobody knows who. . . . Garibaldi salutes you, Avezzano, Filopanti, Dr. Mott, and other friends, in which I heartily join.

Your very affectionate friend.

E. Felix Foresti¹⁵⁴

The letter had three significances. One, it showed that New York City was an established place with notable political exiles from Italy.¹⁵⁵ Two, it showed that Garibaldi and his compatriots were networked throughout the city and “there was nothing unusual at all about this kind of welcome. The failure of the revolutions in Europe produced a stream of political refugees during 1850 and 1851, and various fundraising

¹⁵¹ Faedda, *From Da Ponte to the Casa Italiana: A Brief History of Italian Studies at Columbia University*, 11.

¹⁵² Faedda, *From Da Ponte to the Casa Italiana: A Brief History of Italian Studies at Columbia University*, 11.

¹⁵³ Faedda, *From Da Ponte to the Casa Italiana: A Brief History of Italian Studies at Columbia University*, 12.

¹⁵⁴ “Gen. Garibaldi,” *Richmond Whig* 27, no. 66 (August 16, 1850): 2.

¹⁵⁵ “Meeting of Italian Patriots,” *Evening Post*, January 8, 1885, 3.

exercises and publicity drives were held in New York to help them and their political cause.”¹⁵⁶ Three, the letter revealed the process of magnifying and heightening Garibaldi’s reputation through biography, and how that type of industry was already an open secret; something valued but looked upon with a caustic, casual humor.

Foresti went on to become an American citizen and received a position as American consul to Genoa. Initially his nomination for this received resistance because of Foresti’s past support, advocacy, and connection to the revolutionary Mazzini, but with his political and media connections however, he finally received the post.¹⁵⁷ He taught at Columbia from 1839-1856 and then worked as a professor at New York University.¹⁵⁸ He possessed an extensive education, numerous contacts, and gained respect as a known commodity of “city intelligence” for Italian Americans.¹⁵⁹

Politician, scholar and fellow Mazzinian, Quirico Filopanti also welcomed Garibaldi into New York. In his writings, he described his life with Garibaldi for a short period of time on Staten Island. The *New York Daily Tribune* explained how:

The Italians of this city have organized a committee, made up of Avezzano, Foresti, Filopanti, Mianelli, Secchi di Casali, and other Italian citizens, for the welcome to be given to the defender of the Roman Republic and hero of Montevideo. We are delighted to hear that Mayor Woodhull will be receiving the famous Italian upon his arrival. The generous hosts of the Astor House have written a letter, to be delivered to him upon arrival, with which they invite him to be their guest. We also learn that a few days after his arrival he will be given a splendid banquet at the same hotel.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 108.

¹⁵⁷ Barbara Faedda, *From Da Ponte to the Casa Italiana: A Brief History of Italian Studies at Columbia University*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2017), 13.

¹⁵⁸ Eleutario Felice Foresti, 1841-1858, Columbia University Libraries Archival Collections, New York, New York (volume 1).

¹⁵⁹ “City Intelligence,” *Evening Post*, June 30, 1852, 2.

¹⁶⁰ “The Reception of Gen. G. Garibaldi,” *The New York Tribune*, July 27, 1850.

After Mayor Caleb Smith Woodhull (1792-1866) greeted Garibaldi and New York City's luxury hotel (Astor House was on Broadway and Vesey Street from 1836-1926) planned a ceremonial dinner and banquet, *The New York Times* referred to Garibaldi as the, "celebrated partisan chief."¹⁶¹

The New York Tribune, edited by Horace Greely, and the *New York Herald*, both ran articles for four days leading up to Garibaldi's arrival, calling Garibaldi "the defender of the Old and New World," and citing how "socialist citizens" attended with red badges, "as no other color than the red will be admitted."¹⁶² Columbia scholar Howard Marraro, who taught at the school from 1925-1965, later noted how people registered for the demonstration and parade at the Café de la Republique in New York City so "Garibaldi would receive a handsome welcome."¹⁶³

Marraro was an important authority in New York regarding the cult of Garibaldi in his own right. He was well known in the twentieth century for continuing the professionalization of Italian coursework in higher education. He carried out the inheritances set forth by the nineteenth century intellectual architects of the Garibaldi persona in terms of local New York, the press, higher education, and the greater international discourse and wrote a widely read scholarly piece in *New York History* in 1946. The article was a continuation of local historian Henry Tyrrell's "Garibaldi's New York" written in *Century Magazine* in 1907 for the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth.¹⁶⁴ The article turned pamphlet was entitled, "Garibaldi in New York,"

¹⁶¹ *New York Times*, August 8, 1850.

¹⁶² *New York Tribune*, July 26, 27, 29, 1850 (cited by Riall).

¹⁶³ Howard Marraro, "American Opinion on the Unification of Italy: 1846-1861," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University Press, 1932.

¹⁶⁴ Henry Tyrrell, "Garibaldi in New York," *Century Magazine*, 52 (1907): 174-184.

and stated how “Garibaldi was often met by friends while walking on Richmond terrace at Livingston, or on Saint Mary's avenue, Rosebank, or coming to market at Stapleton, or perhaps indulging in a game of ‘bocci’ at the Italian resort of one Bergamo, on New York avenue near the water’s edge.”¹⁶⁵ He went on to complain about the condition of the Garibaldi’ “shrine,” his home on the island, to revive an interest in the Garibaldi memorial. Although Garibaldi died in 1882, his legacy had an up and running proverbial welcoming committee well into the first half of the twentieth century. Marraro’s *New York Times* obituary referred to his own global reach: “In 1961, The United States Embassy in Rome and the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction sponsored a series of lectures by Dr. Marraro at twenty-two Italian universities and institutes of higher learning.”¹⁶⁶ It was worthwhile for Marraro, an outstanding scholar, to stand on the shoulders of Garibaldi’s commemorators.

It was also safe to say that Garibaldi was promoted as an international hero. This remained as a time tested and consistent feature of the Garibaldi historiography in New York. Writers basically asserted that entering New York was a necessary and inevitable part of his journey to finish the unification project back home. We need to remember him, these authors argued, not just for the benefit of the United States and Italy, but for that of humankind and aspiring patriots everywhere, foreign, and domestic. New Yorkers writing about Garibaldi needed Garibaldi more than Garibaldi needed New York. Micro and local histories over generations seemed to accentuate him as an important global figure that coincided with the creation of Italian American identity, but they mainly flourished while

¹⁶⁵ “Garibaldi’s Stay on Island Described in Pamphlet: Liberator’s Life In This Country is Narrated,” *Staten Island Advance*, July 26, 1946.

¹⁶⁶ “Dr. Howard Marraro, Professor of Italian at Columbia,” *New York Times*, January 27, 1972, 40.

stuck on a default setting of local reverence and the culmination of hero worship at the same time. To better trace the life of Garibaldi, I argue, uses a multi-archival and multi-regional approach to better understand the politics of his memory in New York.

A third member of the Garibaldi welcoming committee was General Giuseppe Avezzano, who left Italy for New York City in 1834. The General, a leading proponent of a unified Italy went back to Europe in 1848 only to return to New York six months before Garibaldi. Avezzano received a similar welcome to Garibaldi, as did Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894) of Hungary and Jose Antonio Paez (1790-1873) of Venezuela.¹⁶⁷ The most sensational of its kind, however, was for the Hungarian exile, Kossuth, who arrived in Manhattan in December 1851 and was “greeted with ‘such a scene as the world seldom beholds,’ according to the *New York Times*.”¹⁶⁸ “In other words,” writes Riall, “the reception planned for Garibaldi in New York was part of an American political tradition, as was the more general public and popular adoption of foreign exiles as political heroes.”¹⁶⁹ What Riall concludes about this phenomenon across America (glorifying other “heroes of two worlds,” such as France’s Lafayette in 1824 and additional 1848ers for domestic reasons) was especially true for Garibaldi in New York.¹⁷⁰

Commemorators in New York City liked the idea of appropriating 1848 and 1849 for political purposes in New York. It provided, especially for new arrivals and immigrants, an accessible and visible form of symbolic and revolutionary shorthand to condense

¹⁶⁷ Descripción de los honores hechos al general José Antonio Páez el 24 de marzo de 1888 en la ciudad de Nueva York, traducido del *New York Herald*, Electronic reproduction. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library Digital Imaging Group, 2005). (Latin American pamphlet digital project at Harvard University, Paez visited Garibaldi at the Pavilion Hotel in 1850).

¹⁶⁸ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007, 108.

¹⁶⁹ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 109.

¹⁷⁰ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 109.

complicated and fast-moving events overseas. Garibaldi was already being popularized in New York but not only by the welcoming committee. He and the revolutions were also covered by respected journalists like Margaret Fuller, the first woman to ever report for *The New York Tribune*, who was a foreign correspondent stationed in Rome. Fuller wasn't much different from other writers of that era in terms of maximizing Garibaldi and the 1848-49 revolutions to sell newspapers. Professor of American Studies Paola Gemme wrote that, "Fuller's references to the revolutionary army led by General Giuseppe Garibaldi in her writing for the *Tribune*, and in her correspondence, offer a dramatic illustration of the distance separating her public narrative of Italian republicanism from her private one."¹⁷¹ In her personal letters she speaks of the army's extreme violence and fears for the safety of a very young nurse.¹⁷² In the public press however, she commented that "The order of Rome, thronged as it is with troops, is amazing. My friends send out their little children alone with their nurses. The amount of crime is almost nothing to what it was. The power here is indeed miraculous."¹⁷³ This point is perhaps subtle but shows the extent to which there was a pressure and an expectation to cover the events related to Garibaldi in a favorable light.

On July 30, 1850, *The New York Tribune* reported: "The ship *Waterloo* arrived here from Liverpool this morning, bringing the world-renowned Garibaldi, the hero of Montevideo and the defender of Rome. He will be welcomed by those who know him as becomes his chivalrous character and his services in behalf of liberty."¹⁷⁴ In any event,

¹⁷¹ Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggle: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2007, 97.

¹⁷² Robert N. Hudspeth, *Letters of Margaret Fuller*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983). See: Fuller's letter to Caroline Sturgis Tappan, March 16, 1849.

¹⁷³ *New York Tribune*, June 30, 1849, 1.

¹⁷⁴ *New York Tribune*, July 30, 1850.

despite the efforts of the welcoming committee and other celebrations associated with 1848 refugees, Garibaldi's arrival on Staten Island took place without much fanfare or an extravagant ceremony. After he arrived on Staten Island, quarantined, and entered Manhattan, he then travelled to Hastings-on-the-Hudson and resided there for a brief time before going back to Staten Island. Garibaldi wrote a letter to the *Tribune* in August of 1850 while located nearly twenty-five miles from Manhattan at this time:

No such public exhibition is necessary to assure me of the sympathy of my countrymen, of the American people, and of all true Republicans in the misfortune which I have suffered, and for the cause out of which they have flowed. Though a public manifestation of this feeling might yield much gratification to me, an exile from my native land, severed from my children and mourning the overthrow of my country's freedom by foreign interference, yet, believe me, then I would rather avoid it, and be permitted, quietly and humbly, to become a citizen of this great Republic of freeman, to sail under its flag, to engage in business to earn my livelihood, and to await a more favorable opportunity for the redemption of my country from foreign and domestic oppressors.¹⁷⁵

This letter from Garibaldi was sincere and accurate for the most part. Ultimately why was there no welcome celebration for Garibaldi in New York? There were several reasons for this. First, he was in bad health. Tired from his excursions and his attempts to unify Italy, Garibaldi developed rheumatism. Secondly, Anita's tragic death in Italy during their desperate northward march to reach and defend Venice emotionally exhausted him.¹⁷⁶ Thirdly, the well-being of his children preoccupied Garibaldi's mind, and next, Garibaldi knew it wise to remain inconspicuous in New York as he focused on a way to make money.

¹⁷⁵ *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1850.

¹⁷⁶ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 13. ('The cordiality and hospitality of the Meucci family in the modest little home on Staten Island, free from the noise of the great city, and the visits of patriots in exile, served as a balm to his heart which was lacerated from the recent death in the Pineta of Ravenna of his wife, Anita).')

Lastly, the non-event featured an interesting work-around; by not having a ceremony, Garibaldi carefully crafted himself as the levelheaded down-to-earth revolutionary all too grounded, modest, and humble for such an egotistical event. Garibaldi offered a stable symbol that didn't invite riots, class, or ethnic and religious strife. "Garibaldi's American exile also marks the moment when he leaves his bandit persona behind him."¹⁷⁷ The press would be sure to highlight this rationale, along with his friends, especially emphasizing the humility aspect. As H. Nelson Gay would write in 1908 about the non-event:

Upon the receipt of this letter only one course was possible for the committee: to renounce all plans of public demonstration. American friends of liberty could only allow the gallant soldier to remain as he had asked, undisturbed and modest retirement, to toil for his daily bread. He chose the humble work which first offered an independent livelihood. An Italian friend, Antonio Meucci, was setting up a candle factory on Staten Island, and with him Garibaldi found employment for several months sending his earnings to his distant mother and children.¹⁷⁸

Like many New Yorkers of the middle class, Garibaldi lived somewhat like a nomad around New York and occupied his time according to the seasons. At the end of the summer, he stayed with some of the welcoming committee in Manhattan and during the fall he moved back to Staten Island. During the winter he would hunt, fish and work in a candle factory on the property and fish from a sailboat with Italian colors. "Life on Staten Island flowed lazily along," according to Daniel Santoro of West Brighton, Staten Island, a local Garibaldi historian.¹⁷⁹ Further, Santoro remarked how the little house on Staten Island served as a meeting place for political exiles of different nationalities.¹⁸⁰ He enjoyed

¹⁷⁷ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 114.

¹⁷⁸ H. Nelson Gay, "Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 75 (1908): 65.

¹⁷⁹ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society. Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

¹⁸⁰ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society (MS 59, Box 47).

playing bocce ball and engaged in political discussions.¹⁸¹ Garibaldi also spent his time on Staten Island and Manhattan, serving as an informal adviser to mend fences between Italians featuring different views on Italian unification.

Lewis Cass (1782-1866), from Michigan, a midwestern politician already friendly to old immigrants and the 1848ers from Germany in the region, sought appropriation as well. He wrote to Garibaldi, “It is not success that hallows a cause; it is the principle involved in it. You yielded to an overwhelming force, to another descent of the Gaul upon Italy. Your glorious exertions, followed by misfortunes, borne with equanimity are a passport to the hearts and homes of my countrymen.”¹⁸² This letter, in effect, Americanizing the Risorgimento, wasn’t just metaphoric in terms of the passport, (Garibaldi had attempted to secure a U.S. passport) it had a deeper meaning and purpose for Cass. Cass, an “ex-presidential candidate and father of the diplomat, Lewis Cass, Jr. (1814-1878) who had apparently given Garibaldi an American passport in Rome, wrote Garibaldi a public letter of welcome to the ‘land of freedom.’”¹⁸³ Numerous political insiders, writers, academics, and visitors continued to try to get access to Garibaldi, either to show appreciation, or make his stay in New York and America as profitable as possible for themselves.

Garibaldi and Italy’s Risorgimento drew interest in the United States and all around the world, for that matter. Historian Elena Mortaro investigated the interest of French liberals and the revolutionary events of Italy. She points to Alexander Dumas, who after

¹⁸¹ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society (MS 59, Box 47) (Garibaldi played bocce in Stapleton, Staten Island).

¹⁸² Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 8-9.

¹⁸³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 109.

meeting Garibaldi in 1859, joined him in Sicily the following year in support of his landing with his thousand Redshirts. Dumas wrote Garibaldi's "autobiography" in 1860.¹⁸⁴ Theodore Dwight (1796-1866) translated and released in New York, the first version of Garibaldi's memoirs, *The Life of Garibaldi: Written by Himself* in 1859.¹⁸⁵ Dwight, an intense admirer and follower of the revolutions of 1848 (as was the greater New York press) met Garibaldi in 1850. In his written account of the Roman Republic, Dwight included a daguerreotype of Garibaldi in the volume's frontispiece. The daguerreotype originated from a photograph by Marcus Root.¹⁸⁶ It was "strikingly different to previous representations of Garibaldi. No trace is left of the red blouse, flowing hair, and passionate expression. In the portrait, Garibaldi strikes a quiet gentlemanly pose with a tree and rising sun in the background."¹⁸⁷ Professor of journalism Paul Moses wrote that in 1850, "Reporters scrutinized the hero: 'Garibaldi is not so ferocious in appearance as some engravings have represented him to be, he has fair hair, and a red beard,' the *New York Herald* remarked. 'He is of middle stature, and of pleasant countenance, with eagle eyes.'"¹⁸⁸ Essayist Henry Theodore Tuckerman's admiration for Garibaldi found in the *North American Review* in 1861, further moved and inspired Dwight. The use of this serene imagery and the daguerreotype along with Dwight's text, upheld the Garibaldi-as-modest performative complex. Dwight wanted Americans to share Garibaldi's politics and sympathize with Italian revolutionaries on the Garibaldi and republican side. Dwight's

¹⁸⁴ Elena Mortara, *Writing for Justice: Victor Sejour, the Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara, and the Age of Transatlantic Emancipations*, (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2015), 36.

¹⁸⁵ Mortara, *Writing for Justice: Victor Sejour, the Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara, and the Age of Transatlantic Emancipations*, 36.

¹⁸⁶ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 111.

¹⁸⁷ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 111.

¹⁸⁸ Paul Moses, *An Unlikely Union: The Love Hate Story of New York's Irish and Italians*, (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 16.

book was no small thing. The final portion of the book featured a Conclusion entitled: “Garibaldi’s Appearance on His First Arrival in New York, in 1850.” The reader got this part of the book in suspense as New York symbolized Garibaldi’s last major stop before unifying Italy.

In the end however, the efforts to maximize Garibaldi’s persona in New York did not really materialize in 1850. Further, Garibaldi lacked a real interest in New York and experienced his own physical, personal, and emotional issues at this time. For Garibaldi, accompanied by Italian patriot Colonel Paolo Bovi Campeggi (1814-1874), consulting with Mazzinians, mediating relations between Italian exiles, sailing, earning money, and planning his next steps would all suffice in New York. During his time in New York, he “delved more deeply into democratic and socialist political theory and action.”¹⁸⁹ He also missed Italy tremendously and needed to go back to resume his activities there. Historian Christopher Hibbert cited his letter to Augusto Vecchi and how:

Garibaldi felt lonely and sad, impatient to return to Italy, ‘terrified at the likely prospect of never again wielding a sword’ in her name. ‘I thought distance could diminish the bitterness of my soul, but unfortunately it is not true, and I have led an unhappy life, restless and embittered by memory. Yes, I am athirst for the emancipation of our country.’¹⁹⁰

In April 1851, Garibaldi left New York for the Pacific Ocean.¹⁹¹ There was not much more interest in his temporary return to the United States in the autumn of 1853, when he arrived in Boston with a cargo of copper from Chile, although Boston was another city of intense Garibaldi commemoration. In 1882, after his death, hundreds of Italian

¹⁸⁹ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 154.

¹⁹⁰ Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi: Hero of Italian Unification*, (New York NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 123.

¹⁹¹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 112.

immigrants piled into Faneuil Hall “for the purpose of taking action on the death of the patriot, Giuseppe Garibaldi.”¹⁹² The Hall featured a huge portrait of Garibaldi and with the inscription, “*Non e morto; vive nel cuore del Popolo,*” meaning, “Not dead; but living in the hearts and minds of the people.”¹⁹³ Garibaldi finally left New York for good in November 1853 and returned to Europe.”¹⁹⁴ Contrary to some later accounts shortly after Garibaldi’s death, that attempted to stretch his stay from 1851-1854, Garibaldi was only in New York for roughly eighteen months.

¹⁹² “Giuseppe Garibaldi,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 16, 1882.

¹⁹³ “Giuseppe Garibaldi,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 16, 1882.

¹⁹⁴ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 112.

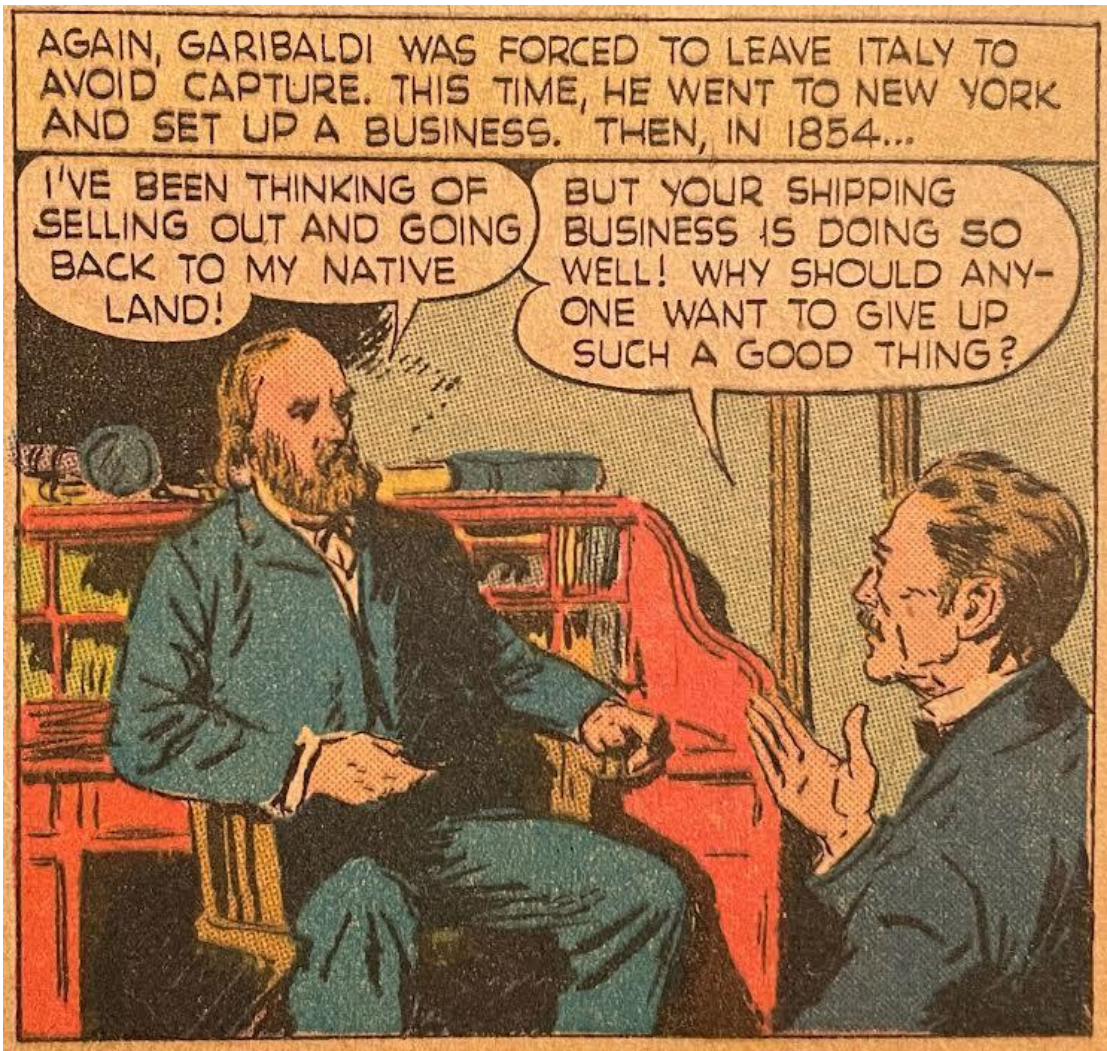


FIGURE 1.1 Comic book that extends Garibaldi’s stay in New York to 1854. Exaggerates his shipping experience, and shows him dressed as a businessman, and anachronistically wearing Piedmont blue, and much like the New York era daguerreotype of 1859. Source: Ralph O. Ellsworth and David T. Marke, *True Comics: Garibaldi: Fighter for a Free Italy*, New York: The Parents’ Institute, 1944.

In the end however, “Garibaldi looked with sympathy on the country that had shown him hospitality in the darkest hour of his life,” wrote Vincent Caso.¹⁹⁵ “This nation is certainly living up to its reputation and will soon become the first among the great

¹⁹⁵ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 15.

nations,” wrote Garibaldi.¹⁹⁶ Garibaldi originally stated, according to the Italian publication, *Nuova Antologia*, (*New Anthology*) that America represented “the only intrepid bulwark against European despotism.”¹⁹⁷

By the time Garibaldi left New York, it was a global city. “Over the previous few decades, New York had become the city of 700,000 inhabitants, the country's financial center, and a great port connected by channels to the river systems of the interior and equipped with quays and shipyards of considerable importance.”¹⁹⁸ New York, some three decades later would be a center for immigrants, exiles, social democrats and feature a large Italian colony. But when Garibaldi first arrived in 1850, there were just 853 Italians living in New York, while more than one fourth of the city's population of 515,547 was Irish.¹⁹⁹

Garibaldi's Return to Europe, 1853-1859

Garibaldi worked on acquiring a ship with other merchant sailors from Italy in 1853. He came into some money upon an inheritance after the passing of his brother, bought a portion of the island Caprera, and then financed the trip that would eventually take him to Genoa. In 1854 he received an opportunity to head a ship called *The Commonwealth*, and this allowed his return to Europe. He headed for England where he experienced a similar welcoming committee to that of New York before arriving in Italy; in essence, Garibaldi brought a little of the New World back to the Old World. More specifically, Staten Island, New York found its way to Garibaldi's home in Caprera. It

¹⁹⁶ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, 15.

¹⁹⁷ Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York*, 15.

¹⁹⁸ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 191.

¹⁹⁹ Paul Moses, *An Unlikely Union: The Love Hate Story of New York's Irish and Italians*, (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 15.

was there that Garibaldi carried with him several slips of the Douglas Pine (*pseudotsuga douglasi*) from New York and spread them out near his home.²⁰⁰ “The slips flourished,” the *Times* indicated, and “when United Italy had been achieved and it became customary for patriotic Italians to make pilgrimages to Caprera, some of them carried away slips of the pine which now formed a grove around the Liberator’s house, and replanted them at their own homesteads.”²⁰¹ Despite his short stint in New York, it continued to have relevance in small and large ways.

In 1857, independent Italian politician Daniele Manin (1804-1857) formed the National Society, designed to attract moderates to the promotion of pro-nationalistic thinking and Italian unification. Historian Raymond Grew pointed out how the Risorgimento at this time shifted from a bottom-up political movement to a more top-down military movement.²⁰² It was also around this time that Garibaldi would meet with the Prime Minister of Piedmont-Sardinia Camillo Cavour (1810-1861) in Turin for a series of meetings. During these meetings (1856 and 1858), Cavour, more politically conservative, persuaded Garibaldi into realizing that Italian unification was more possible under the king than Mazzinian ideas based on revolution and republicanism. “In the more liberal climate of Italian politics from the mid-1850s onwards, he seemed to abandon his republican convictions and to distance himself from Mazzini.”²⁰³ They disagreed both privately and publicly and this negatively impacted Mazzini. Over time the two grew increasingly apart. “Garibaldi was an experienced traveler, whereas Mazzini was an

²⁰⁰ “US Trees in Italy: Douglas Pine is Selected for all Reforestation Projects,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1940.

²⁰¹ “US Trees in Italy,” *New York Times*, 1940.

²⁰² Raymond Grew, *A Sterner Plan for Italian Unity*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963, 143.

²⁰³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007, 2.

intellectual tactician. Garibaldi perceived Mazzini as frequently impractical, where Mazzini viewed Garibaldi as too often naïve.”²⁰⁴

Further, in the late 1850s Mazzini’s political influence went into a decline especially after several failed insurrections that initially included Sicily (1850-1851) and Milan (1853). “For Mazzini, Garibaldi’s attitude was a source of enormous frustration. Mazzini had been unable to understand Garibaldi’s departure for the Pacific Ocean in 1851 and his disappearance from politics for nearly two years.”²⁰⁵ In any event, although Garibaldi and Mazzini remained friendly, they disagreed animatedly on ways to move Italy forward tactically and politically. Cavour and Garibaldi did not agree either, they only shared thoughts on the importance of undermining Austria’s influence over Italy. Further, it helped that “in March 1859, Cavour also introduced Garibaldi to the king of Piedmont, Emanuele II, and some kind of trust and sympathy seems to have developed between the two men.”²⁰⁶ This is all to say that although Garibaldi was cut from the revolutionary Mazzini cloth, he gravitated towards Cavour and the establishment to secure a concrete victory in pursuit of Italian unification.

The years 1853-1859 completed the second installment of Garibaldi’s exile. By this time, his relationship with Mazzini had been strained. After returning to Italy, he found new attempts in revitalizing his career. He realigned himself with new political forces. In 1859 Cavour offered Garibaldi a major generalship. Manin offered him a key role in the National Society. Both posts seemed to make the idea of Italian unification

²⁰⁴ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 160.

²⁰⁵ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 121.

²⁰⁶ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 124.

more immediate. Also, during this time, Garibaldi settled in Caprera with his children and enjoyed the environment and beauty of the natural world. Although a public figure, he lived at Caprera in relative solitude and seclusion and pursued numerous tumultuous love interests that included his housekeeper, German writer Esperanza von Schwartz and the short-lived marriage to the very young noble Giuseppina Raimondi. The newspapers kept quiet about these many problematic and chaotic affairs.²⁰⁷ He also used Caprera for its privacy and to plan his next ‘performance’ outside of public view.²⁰⁸ Scholars, such as Lucy Riall indicate however that even Garibaldi in seclusion in Caprera, was perhaps just as carefully performed and manufactured as his planned stay in New York.²⁰⁹

Garibaldi and The Second War of Italian Independence of 1859-1866

The Second War of Italian Independence (The Franco-Austrian War) took place in 1859, the same year that Garibaldi's autobiography was published in New York City. The book's creation and publication, while he still lived and fought overseas, embarked on a glorification project, largely conducted by Garibaldi through Theodore Dwight, looking to promote republicanism and unification in America. Since the Risorgimento started in 1848, readers of the U.S. press followed and learned of Garibaldi. One distinct change that Americans and Europeans probably noticed in him, by the year 1859, was Garibaldi's appearance during the Second War for Independence. For this battle, he lost the red shirt, replaced it with Piedmont blue, and he wore a poncho. In his early fifties,

²⁰⁷ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 181.

²⁰⁸ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 127.

²⁰⁹ Riall further states that “Caprera could be said to have served a quite notable political purpose; Garibaldi could hide from his public, and his manifest desire to do so is perhaps an indication of the growing personal burden of his fame; Garibaldi could discuss strategy and plan another ‘performance’ without being observed by outsiders and he could control access both to himself personally and to his public appearances and the part he had to play; Caprera soon acquired a mythical status of its own, and was to become a kind of second more privileged, stage in itself.” *Invention of a Hero*, 127.

Garibaldi's hair was thinning and grey and his beard was trimmed and most of these changes started in America.²¹⁰

According to historian Raymond Angelo Belliotti, in 1859 Garibaldi took the advice of Count Cavour and formed a volunteer force known as the *Cacciatori delle Alpi* or "Hunters of the Alps."²¹¹ Garibaldi then captured Varese and San Fermo and earned a decisive victory over the Austrians in the Austro Sardinian War as the Villafranca Armistice ended this conflict. As a result, Piedmont acquired Lombardy.²¹² Despite all this activity, Riall cited Dennis Mack Smith who stated that, "The war of 1859 was short, messy, and violent. Austria was slow to mobilize, and Piedmont had apparently little in the way of a military plan relying instead on the French army coming to their rescue."²¹³ The war lasted for roughly two months and resulted in a win for the Franco-Italian side and served as the precursor for Italian unification as "the war of 1859 was the most newsworthy event of the year."²¹⁴ The armistice at Villafranca however, did not really indicate an end to the Second War of Independence. "It was just the beginning of a rapid series of events which culminated into Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily in the spring of 1860, and which were drastically to alter the political map of Italy and European diplomatic relations."²¹⁵ The results of 1859 weakened Cavour and Garibaldi's relationship and produced unhappiness as their mutual trust drastically weakened. Further, France's negotiated separate treaty with Austria incensed Cavour, while

²¹⁰ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 168.

²¹¹ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 227.

²¹² Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, 227.

²¹³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 165.

²¹⁴ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 185.

²¹⁵ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 185.

Cavour's agreement to hand over Nice to France, Garibaldi's hometown, outraged Garibaldi.

In 1860, after Garibaldi requested to lead the Piedmontese Blueshirts army to Sicily, Cavour refused. Garibaldi, without any official approval famously defied Cavour and now led his Redshirts and the thousand volunteers (*i Mille*). After victories in Palermo and Milazzo, Garibaldi named himself the dictator of Sicily under the auspices of King Emmanuele II. He next raised an army of 30,000 and defeated Bourbon troops near Naples. Although Garibaldi tried twice, to fully and immediately liberate Rome (1860 and 1862), Emmanuele II, a gradualist, resisted these attempts in uprising and Garibaldi then retreated to Caprera. The king was content with Turin as the capital and Garibaldi's takedown of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, which united most of the peninsula by 1861. King Emmanuele II hosted a parliamentary session in 1861 with the Prime Minister Cavour marking a unified Italy under the House of Savoy (Piedmont-Sardinia), otherwise known as the Kingdom of Italy. Cavour passed away only three months later. "These changes seemed all the more momentous because they were so unexpected and so rapid," and 1859-1866 was swift and unforeseen in numerous ways.²¹⁶

Garibaldi answered the call militarily and his worldwide fame catapulted into overdrive in 1860 with the popular press and he was the subject of even more books, articles, sketches, poems, and theatrical productions. In 1861 his prestige was immense.²¹⁷ Karl Marx stated that, "the prevailing topic of conversation here, as everywhere all over, Europe, is, of course, Garibaldi's adventures in Sicily."²¹⁸ Italy was

²¹⁶ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 223.

²¹⁷ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 307.

²¹⁸ Karl Marx, "Garibaldi in Sicily, Affairs in Prussia," *New York Daily Tribune*, June 14, 1860.

unified but at what cost? This time brought on as much dissatisfaction as it did fulfillment for Garibaldi and others. He lived a peaceful life at Caprera with his children Menotti, Teresita, Fruscianti and neighbors. As Riall indicates, he was crafted by the media as an earthly, humble, frontiersman as the island itself became another aspect of Garibaldi performance. His career was back on track militarily, but he developed fractious relationships with friends, allies, and lovers. Abraham Lincoln famously offered him a general post in the American Civil War in 1861, but neither could accept each other's conditions. While he changed the course of history in terms of traditions of war volunteering in Southern Europe, he was often met with resistance from above in their utilization.²¹⁹ Nonetheless, "in Italian politics, the period between 1860 and 1865 was one of transition, and Garibaldi played a central role in establishing the direction of political life."²²⁰ His life revealed the ongoing debate of how to best change and improve the society; from below or above? Garibaldi essentially served as the link between more moderately conservative approaches to nineteenth century nation building and twentieth century calls for socialism and left internationalism in the name of liberation and revolution.

By the time he reentered England in 1864 to help promote English radicalism, his fame reached a fever pitch. British activists and journalists Lindsey German and John Rees wrote about how 1864 marked Giuseppe Garibaldi's triumphal visit to London and shortly after he inspired the founding of the Society for the Progress of the Italian

²¹⁹ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)*, New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2021.

²²⁰ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007, 344.

Working Classes, later known as the Mazzini-Garibaldi Club.²²¹ British Historian Orlando Figes's 2019 work, *The Europeans: Three Lives and the Making of a Cosmopolitan Culture* also cited Garibaldi in London, and the admiration he received there for his opposition to authoritarianism and the papacy. The *New York Times* reported in 1864 that, "there is no instance in which the appearance of a public personage in Great Britain, native or foreign, has produced a deeper or more universal enthusiasm. Even the loyal demonstrations made on great occasions in honor of Her Majesty, have been surpassed by that in honor of this poor foreigner."²²² In London much to Karl Marx's chagrin, "Garibaldi was lionized by the rich as well as the poor, reflecting at least in part the interest of the British ruling class in backing movements such as that for Italian unity which, they believed, would help clear away the last vestiges of feudalism in Europe."²²³ Marx was exasperated anytime the politics of the British working class overlapped with government interests and ruling elites.²²⁴ All of this would set the stage for the Third Italian War of Independence and another attempt in the seizure of Rome. Historian Spencer Di Scala's work indicated how "plebeian volunteer soldiers under the tutelage of republicans consented to joining the nation - an idea perfected by Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose soldiers often came from humble backgrounds."²²⁵

²²¹ Lindsey German and John Rees, *A People's History of London*, (New York: Verso, 2012).

²²² "Garibaldi in England," *New York Times*, May 3, 1864, 8.

²²³ Lindsey German and John Rees, *A People's History of London*, (New York: Verso, 2012), 118.

²²⁴ German and Rees, *A People's History of London*, 118.

²²⁵ Donna R. Gabaccia, "Race, Nation, Hyphen: Italian Americans and American Multiculturalism in Comparative Perspective," Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno, ed., *Are Italians White? How Race is Made in America*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2003), 50.

Garibaldi and The Third War of Italian Independence, 1866-1870

In 1866, Garibaldi along with his volunteers, joined the monarchy and Prussia's side to fight Austria in the Third War of Italian Independence (The Kingdom of Italy vs. The Austrian Empire), lasting for almost two months. The war was considered a national disaster, and the poor performance of the Italian military was characterized as an awful and pitiful embarrassment.²²⁶ It represented a new turning point in world history as Italy suffered its first national disgrace.²²⁷ After this conflict, Austria and Italy reached an armistice and Garibaldi agreed to the terms, by responding, "*Obbedisco*," ("I obey").²²⁸

In 1867, Garibaldi again pursued another operation to seize Rome, which did not go well either. Although initially fighting with determination and valor in driving back the Austrian supported French, Garibaldi's army was defeated in a dreadful outing at Mentana. At this point Garibaldi underestimated the empire, the supported opposition, and the lack of preparation of his volunteers. "Amongst its various prints, *L'Illustration* produced a wonderful panoramic scene of the Battle of Mentana, and a group of Redshirts being held as prisoners at Castel Sant'Angelo. This marked the end of the heroic period of the Risorgimento, in which bayonet charges brought victories to the volunteers over regular troops."²²⁹

Garibaldi advocated for the pope's abolishment after the war and the International League of Peace and Freedom, comprised of pacifists, socialists, and political refugees

²²⁶ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 347.

²²⁷ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 347.

²²⁸ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, (*Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 228.

²²⁹ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 357.

from many countries, named Garibaldi their honorary president.²³⁰ Garibaldi was “the biggest fish whom the organizers of the Congress had swept into their net.”²³¹

Garibaldi’s Last Years, 1870-1882

In 1870, France started its war on Prussia. Garibaldi arrived at Marseille in 1870 with his two sons and assisted the French Republic against Prussia in the first and second Battle of Dijon. The radical press declared that “Garibaldi does not belong to Italy; he belongs to the whole world,” although French authorities and many Catholics were not especially pleased to see him; including those who did not forget Garibaldi’s incredible loyalty to independent Nice.²³² In that same year, the Paris Commune started and Italy completed the final event of Italian unification, the capture of Rome. “After the French Garrison was recalled from Rome the Italian army captured the papal States and annexed them to Italy.”²³³ Also, as Garibaldi moved to the left of the political spectrum, the French National Assembly elected Garibaldi as a member.

In moving even further to the left of Mazzinian politics, in 1871, Garibaldi supported the Paris Commune and the International Workingmen's Association. Working with a younger radical, Felice Cavallotti (1842-1898), gave Garibaldi “a new lease on political life.”²³⁴ Garibaldi then “proposed a massive alliance of leftist political forces and organized a Congress of Unity” that advocated for universal suffrage, progressive

²³⁰ Ruth Nattermann, *Jewish Women in the Early Italian Women’s Movement, 1861-1945*, (New York, NY: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 119.

²³¹ E.H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 343.

²³² Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 353.

²³³ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 228.

²³⁴ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 355.

methods of taxation, political reforms, mandatory public education, and the abolition of the death penalty.²³⁵

By 1874, the candidate Garibaldi, was elected to the Italian parliament.²³⁶ Amid a deepening economic crisis he stood as a radical and was elected for Rome.²³⁷ Garibaldi, long interested in public works, arrived in Rome with a plan to divert the Tiber River to prevent transmission of infectious diseases.²³⁸ In a state of failing health he remained active and repudiated the idea of retirement. In 1879, Garibaldi founded the League of Democracy “to promote a legal campaign for electoral reform.”²³⁹ Although much of these proved immediately unsuccessful his platform included: universal suffrage, the emancipation of women, abolition of ecclesiastical property, creation of a standing army, and extensive land reclamation and other public works projects.²⁴⁰ These platforms helped put in place however, more policy agenda items on the table for the greater Italian society as a whole, moving forward. Altogether, these episodes of Garibaldi’s substantial leftism likely eclipsed even the perceived revolutionary legacy he left upon New York.

Garibaldi married a longtime companion, Francesca Armosino (1846-1923), his third wife in 1880. For the last two years of Garibaldi’s life, he continued to experience ongoing bouts with severe bronchitis and rheumatoid arthritis. The two major biographers, near the time of Garibaldi’s death in 1882, were Jessie White Mario and

²³⁵ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, (Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2020), 228.

²³⁶ U.S. State Department, *Foreign Relations*, 1875, 760.

²³⁷ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 356.

²³⁸ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 228.

²³⁹ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007, 415.

²⁴⁰ Raymond Angelo Belliotti, *Values, Virtues, and Vices, Italian Style: Caesar, Dante, Machiavelli, and Garibaldi*, Teaneck, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 229.

Giuseppe Guerzoni (1835-1886). According to Riall, they both found ways to stage Garibaldi's final days. Nearly every turn of Garibaldi's political and volatile life was turned into a marketable publicized saga and ripe for creating memories. "Death came to be seen as the apotheosis of Garibaldi's life and provided an occasion for the unrestrained use of Risorgimento rhetoric."²⁴¹ Commemorators in New York were about to embark on their own rich tradition of Garibaldi and the politics of remembrance.

²⁴¹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 380.

CHAPTER TWO

Garibaldi as Material Culture in New York

This chapter focuses on Garibaldi memory as material culture in New York. Mainly, I cover the history of the Garibaldi house (which most of the time drew contestation) on Staten Island and the history of the Garibaldi statue (which mostly served as a gathering location) in Washington Square Park and what they meant symbolically. Current scholarship explains how “symbolic objects fill quite a large number of roles in contentious politics: they make declarations, represent constituencies, attract attention, inspire responses, stigmatize or legitimize actions, and afford authority, vulnerability, or other reputational attributes.”¹ Incidentally, I am also interested in the significance of additional key historical objects related to his memory such as Garibaldi's red shirt and the illustrated press that often-featured Garibaldi. By using local primary source archives from the Staten Island and New-York City Historical Societies, I analyze the history of the house and statue and their symbolic values but also explain the struggles and efforts made in maintaining the objects physically as well as their meanings jointly and separately. I am interested in how all the material culture (house, statue, red shirt and illustrated press) coincided with key historical events and moments in New York. I essentially ask, what objects were prioritized in New York to preserve and shape his memory and overall legacy? What purposes do the artifacts concerning Garibaldi possess and how are they utilized to promote thoughts, feelings, and attitudes about Garibaldi? I argue that the rehabilitation and maintenance of the objects served the

¹ Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 295.

purpose of the commemorators and the renovations of their own respective interest groups while patrolling and shaping a meaning of Garibaldi. Also, authority over the objects at hand (Fascists and their fellow travelers determined and prioritized the political actions at the Garibaldi house) demonstrated what Michel Foucault pointed out when he discussed the significance of power as an uninterrupted exercise of control.²

Another overall point I am making in this Chapter is that the house, statue, red shirt, and illustrated press were never intended to fulfill or articulate Garibaldi history. What the objects reveal rather, were efforts to establish and maintain a mentality about Garibaldi's legacy and where Italian Americans fit in throughout New York's version of local history. For certain, the objects promoted a feeling and attitude about Garibaldi and made people connect and identify with the historical legacy of Italy's leading unifier and served as items that produced factional battlegrounds. New York excelled in promoting these objects to instill a narrative that resulted in politicians, civic reform groups, historical societies, press outlets, artists, and organizations, reinforcing them. I will explain what Italian Americans were fulfilling when they maintained, preserved, and illuminated these objects for their own purposes or for the purposes of the locale.

An additional key question in this Chapter asks, how has the study of Garibaldi artifacts altered the perception of the local population's sense of history?³ Enough Staten Islanders, especially in Rosebank and Clifton are well aware of the Garibaldi house and the contents therein, but few internalize the history of Garibaldi and those claiming to be his rightful heir in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how that

² Deanna L. Fassett and John T. Warren, *Critical Communication Pedagogy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007), 66.

³ Cary Carson, "Doing History with Material Culture," *Material Culture, and the Study of American Life*, ed., (New York: Norton, 1978), 41-64.

compares with their own political sense of identity in the present. After outlining, A Brief History and Overview of the Garibaldi House (1845), the beginning portion of this Chapter will then cover the three major historical phases of the house: 1) The Garibaldi Society House (1882-1919), 2) Order Sons of Italy in America (1919-1956), and 3) The Garibaldi-Meucci Museum (1956 to the Present). The second part of the Chapter covers the Garibaldi statue's history and, 1) The Garibaldi Statue and Washington Square Park in the Nineteenth Century and 2) The Garibaldi Statue and Washington Square Park in the Twentieth Century and Beyond. Lastly, the Chapter breaks down the meaning and memory of the red shirt and the illustrated press as additional objects of material culture.

A Brief History and Overview of the Garibaldi House (1845)

The restoration of nineteenth century homes of historical influence and establishing them as museums has a long history in the United States.⁴ Scholars maintain that visitors seek out an essence when they visit historic homes. Often, they are in search of origins, identity, belonging, and personal connection. “The general public seems to respond better to museums than to any other form of historical presentation,” writes professor of history Sarah Maza.⁵ Further, historian Linda Young states, “another powerful idea embedded in the house museum is commemoration.”⁶ “The tool of museumization has been seized by many a motive in the large field of memorialization and identity politics.”⁷ The house now known as the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum and Memorial was built in 1845. It is a Gothic Revival farmhouse or cottage that was

⁴ Sherry Butcher-Young, *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for Their Care, Preservation, and Management*, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1996, 3.

⁵ Sarah Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 132.

⁶ Linda Young, “Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 22 1 (March 2007): 59.

⁷ Young, “Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum,” 59.

commonly built in rural and commuter suburbs throughout the nineteenth century. Frank Bachman, a local brewer, originally owned the home and he rented it to a musician and theatrical promoter named Max Maretsch. Maretsch allowed the Italian inventor Antonio Meucci and his friend, Giuseppe Garibaldi (who arrived in New York in 1850) to settle and move in and live there in 1851 while Maretsch was on an opera tour. The house was originally located in Clifton on what would become Ditson Street and now stands at Chestnut and Tompkins Avenue in Staten Island's Rosebank section, a stone's throw away from Clifton, Staten Island.

The significance of the house's architectural features coincided with the image Garibaldi presented while living there, one of quiet, quaint, and tranquil humility, a house in the country away from the fanfare of other political refugees and international celebrities of 1848.⁸ Over the years the house would serve not just as a museum or meeting place but as a convenient backdrop for conveying the ideas of politicians and local Italian Americans. The house supplies a source and form of social and political understandings on Staten Island as it relates to Italian Americans. The Garibaldi house experienced a process of renovations and reinventions that mirrored the same social constructions of Italian American identity and the efforts they made in the name of social reproduction, authenticity, and preservation.⁹ Additionally, the power of the country

⁸ Historian Lucy Riall points out that other revolutionary figures that came to New York at this time, such as notable Hungarian Lajos Kossuth, were not able to 'perform' modesty in the way Garibaldi could, thereby jeopardizing their reputations. Garibaldi's image remained intact all throughout his brief stay in New York.

⁹ Setha M. Low, "Cultural Conservation of Place." ed., *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage, Cultural Conservation of Place*, (Champaign, IL: The University of Illinois Press), 1994. (Low discusses the symbolic appropriation of space).

house museum serves as a transnational symbol of the ideal across global house museology.¹⁰

In the late nineteenth century, Garibaldi's imagery in New York fended off xenophobia towards Italians as they embraced authenticity through patriotism and the domestication of Garibaldi. Once that was thoroughly established, the early and mid-twentieth century saw Garibaldi's likeness and objects associated with him, bolstering United States policies overseas. From the Cold War period onward, Garibaldi New York tropes dwindled in terms of their political intensity but became readily available for local pursuits, especially on Staten Island (due to the house) and Manhattan (due to the statue). Garibaldi first went to live in the Staten Island house with Antonio Meucci in 1851 and resided there for about eighteen months while staying in New York between the years 1850 and 1853. In his autobiography, *Memoire*, Garibaldi, a political refugee in New York, wrote that Meucci treated him like a member of the family.¹¹ Howard Marraro wrote in 1946 that during Garibaldi's time there, "New York City had an Italian colony of about 3,000 persons, many of them political refugees."¹² The significance of Garibaldi living there was noted before his death; as early as 1878, the *New York Times* reported that, "Garibaldi is perhaps the most celebrated foreigner who has lived on the island."¹³ This is interesting and important because it is evidence that Garibaldi's popularity in terms of appropriation came after the unification of Italy and before Garibaldi's death.

¹⁰ Linda Young, "Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 22 1, March 2007, 72.

¹¹ Cy Berlowitz, "Italy's Garibaldi Was Accorded Warm Welcome on Staten Island," *Staten Island Advance*, September 4, 1966.

¹² Howard Marraro, "Garibaldi in New York." *New York History: Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, 1946, 181.

¹³ "Nook on the North Shore: Trampling Beyond Port Richmond, Still Life," *New York Times*, June 2, 1878: 4.

The author of the *Times* piece interviewed Meucci and was taken through the house to observe the objects and letters that he had collected to remember his friendship with Garibaldi. The Gothic Revival cottage in the neighborhood known as Clifton on Staten Island in New York was basically a modest farmhouse and featured a peaked attic and dormer windows.



FIGURE 1.2 Garibaldi and Meucci’s house on Staten Island in an atrophied state. Milan’s illustrated press, *La Domenica del Corriere*, May 1910.

The Garibaldi Society House (1882-1919)

After Garibaldi died in 1882, 700 members of various Italian clubs and societies, namely the “Societa Legione di Giuseppe Garibaldi Mutuo Socorso” (Legion Society of Giuseppe Garibaldi Mutual Aid) met in Washington Square and marched to South Ferry to visit the five room, three window wide, cottage.¹⁴ Frederick Bachman, allowed

¹⁴ Daniel Santoro, At the time of Garibaldi’s death, nearly a thousand Italians came to Staten Island to pay homage to Garibaldi. The house was owned by Frederick Bachman the brewer, who on June 11, 1882,

Meucci to live there after deeding the house to the Italian colony, who wanted to perpetuate Garibaldi's memory. Bachman, initially motivated to give the house away to move it and clear the expense of tearing it down, wished to make room for his expanding brewery on the plot of land.

Material culture objects on display throughout that day in 1882 ranged from: allegorical pictures of Garibaldi and other famous Italians, chairs, bands, banners, red shirts, badges, flags, a brass cigar case, and Garibaldi's room.¹⁵ People interested in observing the personal possessions of Garibaldi saw artifacts that included his own red shirt, dagger, cane, and sundial. They combined to convey and symbolize his modest, humble, everyday common life on the island. As Sarah Maza writes, "close exposure to physical artifacts from the past certainly elicits powerful emotional responses."¹⁶ Further, "houses are intricate objects, comprising real estate, physical fabric, arranged or decorated settings, items of furnishing, household equipment and fittings; not to mention the load of human associations past and present, often including the extended family of occupants and sometimes including residents."¹⁷ Equally important that day in 1882 was the presence of Dario Papa, Carlo Barsotti and Vincenzo Polidori.

Dario Papa (1846-1897) was a traveler, politician and Italian newspaper journalist that came to the United States to study American federalism and the organizational model of the *New York Herald*. Carlo Barsotti (1850-1927) was the founder of the Italian

declared to a large group who came to honor Garibaldi, that the house now belonged to the Italians, and that Meucci was to occupy the house, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

¹⁵ "In Memory of Garibaldi: Visit to the Former Residence of the Hero on Staten Island," *New York Times*, June 13, 1882, 8.

¹⁶ Sarah Maza, *Thinking About History* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 133.

¹⁷ Linda Young, "Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 22 1, March 2007, 60.

American Newspaper, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* along with Vincenzo Polidori (ca. 1822-1901). They sold newspaper subscriptions to produce monuments of influential Italian figures in New York, including the Garibaldi statue that would eventually come into fruition in 1888. The significance of these figures (Barsotti and Polidori much more so than Papa) in attendance at the Garibaldi house as early as 1882 indicate the importance and power of the Garibaldi name in New York, especially at key moments of commemoration. It also shows how prominent Italian Americans, more concerned with investment opportunities and developing interest groups over the concerns of working-class immigrants, were paying close attention to Garibaldi, who earlier that year died on the island of Caprera.¹⁸ Barsotti and his associates seemingly anticipated plans for the house very soon after Garibaldi's passing and how owning it could increase their own social and economic capital. Although the house was shared by both Meucci and Garibaldi, it emerged as a Garibaldi memorial in 1882.

In 1882, the house was also featured in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, showing how it looked in 1853, the last year "our hero was making tallow candles" in New York.¹⁹ Garibaldi's house featured in *Leslie's* was significant for several reasons. First, the illustrated press was already a popular vehicle for disseminating news regarding Garibaldi and its invention coincided with Garibaldi's arrival in New York. Publications such as the *London Illustrated News* and *Harper's Weekly* were already widely known for featuring Garibaldi. Secondly, *Leslie's* provided a wide audience equipping New Yorkers with an affordable visual aid. Next, the monthly provided drawings that

18 Joseph J. Perconi and Francesco Durante, ed., *Italoamericano: The Literature of the Great Migration, 1880-1943*, (Bronx, NY: Fordham University, 2014). *Italoamericano* highlights the accusations against Barsotti.

19 *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, New York, NY, May 1882, 13:5, 519.

resonated with American audiences and archetypal ways of life. Garibaldi's humble house sat neatly within the body copy and included a vivid caption in the center of the page. Houses like Garibaldi's were not just house museums later, they were functional dwellings and presented as such regardless of the time.²⁰ Lastly, the publications themselves became the purveyors of Garibaldi fame and items of material culture. Garibaldi was iconic in life and the press certainly capitalized on the same cult following, after his death. As soon as 1884, a sign commemorating Garibaldi was hanged on the front of the building while Antonio Meucci still lived there; overshadowing the inventor, it famously reads in Italian:

“QUI VISSE ESULE DAL 1851 AL 1853
GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
L'EROE DEI DUE MONDI
9 Marzo 1884. *Alcuni Amici posero*

HERE LIVED IN EXILE FROM 1851 TO 1853
GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
THE HERO OF TWO WORLDS
March 9, 1884. *A Few friends*

²⁰ Linda Young, “Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 22 1, (March 2007): 60. (Young highlights the significance of house museums in general in this article).



FIGURE 1.3 Sign from 1884 remains at the entrance of Garibaldi’s home on Staten Island.

Bachman deeded the house to the Italian societies in 1884 for potential public use. The *New York Times* reported on the purchase of land as the society proposed elaborate plans for a park, statue, and larger building structure, patterned after an Italian resort.²¹ The plan received momentum but faded away in the end as funds were invested elsewhere. It is unclear what happened to the money and the idea. It is possible that leading commemorators, figures such as Barsotti and Polidori, reconsidered and applied the funds raised to help along the creation of a Garibaldi statue in Manhattan and circled back to the house in preparation for 1907’s Garibaldi centennial birthday. It is also possible that the project was simply mismanaged, or the money pocketed, something the trustees of the Italian colony were already suspected of doing around this time. The

²¹ “A Park Named After Garibaldi,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1884, 3.

Italian government covered Meucci's funeral expenses in 1889 through the Italian Consul and issued a directive to "take steps to conserve the Garibaldi house."²² In 1891 the house was put up for auction, but there weren't any takers, leading it into a turn of the century state of neglect and state of disrepair. A year later in 1892, the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's "discovery," stole any immediate Garibaldi memory project's thunder. On the part of Little Italy Trustees and financiers, much of the attention centering on Garibaldi memory construction in the late nineteenth century shifted and focused on the statue of him featured in Manhattan's Washington Square Park in 1888. All the while Staten Island, or Richmond, wasn't even incorporated into New York City until 1898. There was an attempt to use the house as a hotel in 1902 but nothing really materialized.²³ In 1905, the society moved the house from the brewery site in Clifton at Willow and Forest Street and moved it to Rosebank at Chestnut and Tomkins Avenue on Staten Island. Bachman did not want the house and needed space for his brewing property to expand. Italian commemorators happily obliged, thankful that Bachman preserved the home.

This all set up a challenge for any Staten Island commemorator heading into the early twentieth century, especially by the year 1907, the one hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth, who incidentally, relied on the Italians of Alabama to fund a pantheon

²² Daniel Santoro, "The idea of the monument to Antonio Meucci was conceived by Captain A. Cuomo Cerulli, Secretary of the Lodge Reduci Patrie Battaglie (a patriotic society) who were the trustees of Meucci's ashes. Mayor General Emilio Guglielmotti became Honorary President and Representative in Italy. The monument was inaugurated on September 16, 1923," The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

²³ "Garibaldi's Home Now a hotel: Relics of the Days When the Italian Patriot Made Candles Preserved at Rosebank, Staten Island," *New York Times*, September 21, 1902, 29.

around the house as a gift to the Italians of New York.²⁴ Italian Americans around the country in the early twentieth century seemed more galvanized and networked according to the pursuits of club building, belonging, and Americanization. This happened to the point where rivalries over Garibaldi memory and associations with Italian Union volunteers in New York, apart from the far lesser population of Italian Confederates in Alabama, apparently fell by the wayside to advance local projects, lodges, and civic reform groups. Ultimately, the project fell into the hands of Staten Island businessman Philip Wolff (1829-1908) and his family company. They were not Italians, and it is unclear how much money they made. By 1907, commemorators would plan a procession linking the Manhattan statue to the Staten Island house (now a part of New York City) in one of the earliest joint commemorative activities in New York featuring Garibaldi memory and guided by its material culture.

10,000 Italian Americans gathered in New York City and were on hand to celebrate Garibaldi's 100th birthday. The confusing nature of the pantheon in terms of its creation, funding, and purpose almost mirrored the actual Pantheon, whose architect is historically unknown. Furthermore, its appearance contrasted with the humble Garibaldi home and projected an unwanted image of Garibaldi, known for being secular and anti-clerical. The Pantheon in Rome was known as "a building dedicated to all the gods and so from its origins conceived as expressing all-inclusive religious meaning and symbolism."²⁵ This classical essence diametrically opposed the modern Garibaldian worldview.

²⁴ "Garibaldi's Staten Island Home," *The Scrap Book, First Section*, Frank A. Munsey Company, (July-December 4: 1907 477.

²⁵ William L. McDonald, *The Pantheon* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 24.



FIGURE 1.4 Postcard of Garibaldi Memorial, Rosebank, Staten Island, N.Y. New York Public Library Digital Gallery. Garibaldi-Meucci Museum Administrator, Stephanie Lundegard points out how the pantheon swallowed the cottage inside and doubled the structure’s height and thereby made it visible for visitors coming across the New York Bay on the ferry for commemoration exercises on Staten Island.

Staten Island historian Ira K. Morris of the *Richmond County Advance* wrote about the Garibaldi house in 1905 describing it as “a modest little dwelling” and “Mecca of Italians and patriots.”²⁶ Morris described how one of Garibaldi’s grandsons visited a local merchant from Stapleton and wanted to see the house and take a guided tour. After witnessing its appalling condition, they both agreed to invest in Italian American communities and to mobilize a plan for restoration. A group merged between Italians and Americans called “The Society of the Preservation of the Dwelling House of the Late Giuseppe Garibaldi at Clifton, NY.” In hindsight, this 1905 meeting, the same year that

²⁶ Ira K. Morris, “Garibaldi’s Home at Clifton: The Famous Old Dwelling, in Which He and Antonio Meucci Resided, to be Removed to Another Site,” *Richmond County Advance*, August 5, 1905, 2.

the Order Sons of Italy was founded, was most likely a prearranged affair to start the groundwork in preparation for 1907, the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth. Italian societies and lodges clearly anticipated this event.

By 1907, the house was moved from its initial location (a couple blocks away) on the street and placed away from the street with a large front yard space and inside an open-air colonnaded covering, (the pantheon), that remained on top of the house until the 1950s. In essence, the Garibaldi house in 1907 on Staten Island resembled the Roman Edifice Pantheon. It was not made of concrete, but of a plaster material on all sides including ionic styled Roman columns. It was gaudy, ostentatious, not very durable, and a far cry away from the meager cottage that lay underneath. How Garibaldi entered New York, as a political refugee in 1850 looking to break even, lay low, and score an American flagship, while making beer, candles, hunting, and occasionally playing chess on Staten Island, Manhattan, or Hastings-on-Hudson – were all very far cries from the pomp and circumstance of 1907. The *New York Times* quoted celebrating Italians at the Garibaldi house, as “The candlestick maker and King maker of Staten Island.”²⁷ The cottage transitioned from a local modest abode to a spectacle trying hard to gain local, state, national and global relevance. The press indicated that “while celebrating Garibaldi's memory the Italo-Americans also had in mind the New World idea of the Fourth of July and did not forget that Staten Island was on the map of the United States and not a bit detached from Sicily.”²⁸ The nature of holidays and centennials gave

²⁷ “Italians Dedicate Garibaldi Memorial, Throng of Little Italies to Patriot's House of Exile on Staten Island,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1907, 6.

²⁸ “Italians Dedicate Garibaldi Memorial,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1907, 6.

Garibaldi celebrations a heightened significance (for both his 100th birthday and the celebrations tied to Independence Day).

Meanwhile, the Garibaldi Society had purchased adjacent lots around the house to increase the size of the gathering spots for visitors. Candles, chairs, clothing, weapons, photographs, letters, and items sent to Meucci by Garibaldi after 1853, drew many visitors to the historic event. The house on Staten Island changed over time both physically and symbolically. Aside from its ownership, landscape, location, and overall structural variations, it varied in meaning. Like Garibaldi memory and knowledge construction in general, the house had local, state, national and international implications and the makeshift pantheon was an attempt in dressing it up to suit the time. The fact that Garibaldi lived there for less than two years did not stop commemorators from capitalizing on Garibaldi's fame either.

Garibaldi's time on Staten Island seems substantial when you consider his stay compared to the preserved Garibaldi Cabin in Ravenna, Italy, a place he stayed for one night only, (much less 18 months) in 1849 during revolutionary activities in Europe. The Garibaldi Cabin is a tourist attraction near the Adriatic and serves as a visual reminder of Garibaldi's stealth ability to live in humble spaces, navigate remote areas, and is located near the place where his wife Anita took her last breath. Safeguarding and producing meaning for the Garibaldi "hut" in Italy mirrored the process in New York. Associations, lodges, and clubs started efforts to designate it in the nineteenth century leading to a procession, or "National Pilgrimage to Garibaldi's Cabin in 1907."²⁹ Left-wing politicians

²⁹ Giorgia Vittonatto, *Il Capanno di Garibaldi: Culto del Risorgimento, Memoria Locale e Cultura Politica a Ravenna*, Ravenna: Longo, 2005.

associated with the cabin and claimed the cabin as their symbol at the turn of the century while Fascists attempted appropriation of it in the 1920s and 1930s. The crude cottage in Italy and the politics of coopting it evoked the same feelings and behaviors found around the creation of the Staten Island Gothic Revival home and its meaning.

Ultimately, the pantheon designed and structured around the Garibaldi house to protect it, while projecting local, national, and global strength, existed to hide its neglect and this posed a fundamental problem leading up to the 1907 Garibaldi celebration on Staten Island. The 1907 event that ultimately drew over 10,000 people featured a slightly improved structure, but it was a building in decline and by 1909, just two years after the centennial, the house reverted into a state of disrepair and showed signs of “neglect and vandalism.”³⁰ The pantheon, to many, was a tacky, pretentious, plaster, stucco, and wooden eyesore and writers and visitors criticized the silly looking house and property for looking overly staged as if it was positioned in a display case.³¹ Designed by Caesar Maldura and built by Rocco Scocco, it “rested on a concrete base making one of the oddest architectural statements New York has ever seen.”³² Nonetheless, Garibaldi inspired events in early twentieth century New York had the capability to draw large crowds of Italian Americans. By 1914, 370,000 were living in New York, and many were fully aware of Garibaldi’s legacy and his connection to the house.³³

Even if hideous, the structure was no small feat. According to the Secretary of the Garibaldi Society at the time, Andrea Cappabianco, the pantheon was the culmination of

³⁰ Henry Tyrrell, “A Patriot’s Neglected Home,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 53 (1909): 28.

³¹ Christopher Gray, “4-Room Tribute to the Hero of Italian Independence: Giuseppe Garibaldi moved into the small cottage in 1850,” *New York Times*, September 28, 1997, 5.

³² Christopher Gray, *New York Times*, September 28, 1997, 5.

³³ Salvatore DiMaria, *Towards a Unified Italy: Historical, Cultural, and Literary Perspectives on the Southern Question*, (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2018), 134.

a five-year project that included some 400,000 members of the Italian Society of New York that raised \$9,000.00.³⁴ In the end however, the project and site went into bad financial health as not enough funds could pay the mortgage charged by the pantheon lender, Wolff & Sons. After going into foreclosure, owners of prominent Italian language newspapers attempted to raise money to maintain the house but fell short. The Italian Consul of Manhattan took custody of the house in 1914 and when the Italian National Sharpshooters attempted to sponsor a community event under the auspices of the consul, and charged a 25 cents admission, it set off a factional dispute led by anarchists (and Carlo Tresca) and opponents of the rising prominent Italian Americans, or *prominenti*.³⁵

Order Sons of Italy and the Garibaldi Memorial, 1919-1956

Contentious politics and political violence on Staten Island were the norm at the Garibaldi house for more than two decades. Giuseppe Genovese became the first curator of the Garibaldi house once the Order Sons of Italy took over the memorial in 1919. The Order was founded in the early twentieth century to help Italians assimilate in America. Genovese, unlike most of the Order Sons of Italy, would go on to become a known anti-Fascist. As the Order became sympathetic to the eventual rise of Fascism, they started referring to it more as a “shrine,” and built their organization around associations with Garibaldi’s military prowess, not his liberating feats or his social relevance. In 1932, the Grand Venerable of New York of the Order Sons of Italy spoke at the house to promote

³⁴ “To Honor Garibaldi, ‘Washington of Italy:’ Centennial Celebration to be Held on Staten Island, where a Pantheon Has Been Erected in His Honor,” *New York Times*, June 30, 1907, 7.

³⁵ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten island, NY (MS 59, Box 48).

Garibaldi as “the military creator of Modern Italy.”³⁶ Although the Fourth of July 1907 commemoration exercise was perhaps the biggest and most significant event in the history of the Garibaldi house, other major Fourth of July events involved the house in 1914, 1925 and 1932 respectively, with Carlo Tresca (1879-1943) at the forefront. Tresca, the radical labor organizer and journalist came to the United States to publish Italian language newspapers. He was an influential figure on the left and his life in New York showed the importance of Garibaldi memory exercises as part and parcel of a larger “cottage industry” on Staten Island.³⁷ Tresca was known for escalating the tactics of political guerilla warfare in all five New York City boroughs.³⁸ The initial protest he led in 1914 was five years prior to the house transitioning under the direction from the Garibaldi Society to the Order Sons of Italy. Tresca was there in reaction to the house charging admission to working class Italians. Another exercise took place in 1925. This demonstration was noteworthy since it featured revolutionary Redshirts and Fascistic Blackshirts both claiming the legacy of Giuseppe Garibaldi. This set up the final major custody dispute in 1932 on the fiftieth anniversary of Garibaldi’s death. On this occasion the event resulted in the murder of an Anti-Fascist. The Garibaldi house was an indication over time for how certain Italian Americans identified politically.

After the events from 1914-1932 with Tresca at the center, local Staten Islander Daniel Santoro (1890-1954) of West Brighton, a noted civic leader, architect, and

³⁶ Daniel Santoro, “Honoring the Military Creator of Modern Italy: Stephanino Miele, Grand Venerable of New York, addressing the crowd at the Garibaldi Memorial,” Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 66). (See: *Times Wide World Photos*, 1932).

³⁷ Margot Gayle, “Changing Scene: Cottage Industry,” *New York Daily News Magazine*, September 25, 1988.

³⁸ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 87.

president of the Staten Island Historical Society wrote, “the Memorial is no longer a place of patriotic pilgrimage but has become the factional battleground of various political groups who bring their dissensions to Staten Island on some historical date when celebrations take place. The gathering place of Italian culture today lies abandoned and lonely. The building is ill kept and vacant.”³⁹ In another document he indicated that “the Garibaldi Monument on Staten Island is in disgraceful condition. It certainly does not reflect credit to the Italians of America. It should be either preserved or reconstructed.”⁴⁰ The *Staten Island Advance* reported that July Fourth Garibaldi tributes on Staten Island in 1933 would be canceled. In short, the house coincided with a myriad of Garibaldi events that displayed competing sets of political thoughts, opinions, attitudes, and ultimately deadly actions. Those messages would range from vernacular and spontaneous forms of activism to institutional and officially sanctioned forms of communication. In all, it revealed the messy and interesting dimensions of commemoration.

For example, in 1917, New York Mayor John Purroy Mitchel (1879-1918) spoke at another major event at the Garibaldi Memorial on Staten Island to basically assert its exceptional humbleness (and Garibaldi’s) equating it with the ideal democracy that both America and Italy were trying to achieve in the twentieth century.⁴¹ At this commemorative event, the Prince of Udine from Italy was reassured U.S. allied support in the war effort. It brought in thousands of people on the visit of the six dignitaries that

³⁹ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47, 21).

⁴⁰ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47, 9).

⁴¹ Santoro, Papers of Santoro, Santoro wrote that “In 1917, when we entered the World War, the population of Staten Island was about 110,000 of which about 16,000 were of Italian origin. Staten Island’s quota in the Great War was about 4,500, of which about 800 were Italian or about 5%.” The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, July 20, 1936, (MS 59, Box 47).

comprised of the Italian War Commission. The Garibaldi house, with an earthy pantheon in somewhat stable tact, was now simple, broken in, and conveyed a visual sentiment of humility and uniqueness exemplified by the west. Although even the 1917 event featured some disorder, it was a basic and straightforward exercise as were the goals of United States foreign diplomacy in 1917. Tresca's 1914-1932 organizing from the bottom-up was perhaps effective but only served as an instructive model for those interested in showing how disorderly political activity mirrored the poor condition of the house, a place that anti-Fascist groups could only attend with police escort. Middle class professionals and Italian Americans wanted to take advantage of commemoration and remembrance from the top down on a local level.

This is why Staten Island architect, community leader, and member of Italian Historical Society Daniel Santoro started commemorative exercises starting in 1935 that reverted to hagiographic inspired events that either featured Columbus or early modern Italy's Mount Rushmore: Garibaldi, Mazzini, Emanuele II, and Camilo Cavour. The same type of Garibaldi memory surfaced for both World Wars as Manhattan's Garibaldi statue and Staten Island's Garibaldi house served as a patriotic and nationalistic battery fusing and advancing American exceptionalism along with its goals and pursuits overseas. For the most part however, the Interwar years and post 1935 events, manifested as fundraising concerts and dinners to draw attention to the condition of the house, and Santoro, an architect by trade, who led efforts in these renovation initiatives and projects. In 1936, a frustrated Santoro wrote, "the administration of this monument or shrine should be given into the hands of a special committee or to the *Casa Italiana*, (at Columbia University) who is believed to be better equipped to preserve it and create a

historical museum which would become part of the monument. Today it is nothing more than a dilapidated old dusty house with no historical significance whatsoever.”⁴²

The Staten Island Italian Historical Society’s reaction to the three Tresca centered events frustrated members of the professional managerial class, like Santoro, for obvious reasons. This all does not necessarily mean that Tresca and working-class radicals demonstrating at the house were to blame for the decline in the house’s condition or the political situation in New York. The Order Sons of Italy provided the main problem for the burgeoning Italian American wing of the Democratic Party, the creation of the Staten Island Italian Historical Society, and Santoro’s overall initiatives. This group, at the time led by a New York Judge John Freschi, competed with Tresca on Staten Island and leaned heavily Fascist all during the 1920s and 1930s. To Santoro, the Order preferred instigating the anti-Fascist population over stability. The last thing the Order wanted was to hand over commemorative control.

The complexity of the Tresca vs. Fascist rivalry was illustrated in an August 1, 1921, article found in the *Staten Island Advance*. They reported on Italian General Pietro Badoglio’s visit to the Garibaldi house to honor veterans. In attendance were local, state, federal, and international clubs, attaches, dignitaries, lodges, and civic groups.⁴³

Lodges of the Sons of Italy from other boroughs escorted the General by ferry to Staten Island. At Saint George, they were met by the Staten Island lodges and marched from the ferry terminal to the memorial on Tompkins Avenue in Rosebank. All lodges carried their banners, and a number of bands were in line. The marchers carried American and Italian flags.⁴⁴

⁴² Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, July 20, 1936, (MS 59, Box 47, 9).

⁴³ “Chief of Staff Greets Throng at Memorial: Italian General Visits Garibaldi Home and Decorates Sergeant for Bravery,” *Staten Island Advance*, August 1, 1921.

⁴⁴ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, New York, (MS 59, Box 47).

At this time, Badoglio was rising through the ranks of the Italian military and opposed to the Fascist side. Later, however in the latter 1920s and throughout the 1930s, Badoglio became an ardent Mussolini supporter and engaged in atrocities overseas, namely in Ethiopia. In other words, whoever was used to promote the Garibaldi house in an innocuous way was ultimately marked by an instability of character and veered towards someone favorable in the eyes of the Order Sons of Italy. Most Italian Americans preferred and directly supported Fascism or supported it indirectly through sympathy or indifference.

On December 7, 1940, the *New York World Telegram* ran a story called, “Land of the Free: Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile in Staten Island Cottage.” Journalist Morris Gilbert wrote, “Today the yellow cottage is occupied by a solitary caretaker. The proud structure hasn't been painted lately.”⁴⁵ He indicated how the house was surrounded by high grass, dusty and vandalized. “The unholy union of Garibaldi and Fascism has come apart over here at last. The limbo into which the cult of Garibaldi on Staten Island has retired by bad luck also harbors Meucci.”⁴⁶ This meant that Meucci as an inventor was always at odds with patent law and the courts. This also meant that Garibaldi’s reputation and legacy had been exhausted by competing factions by 1940. For the Fascist elements deciding on the fate of the Garibaldi house it was all or nothing. The anti-Fascists trying to stand in their way lacked the political and social capital in opposition. Both factions made it difficult for people like Santoro, by all accounts a

⁴⁵ Morris Gilbert, “Land of the Free: Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile in Staten Island Cottage,” *New York World Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

⁴⁶ Gilbert, *New York World Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

legitimate and decent moderate retail politician, that wanted the house preserved and the local groups strengthened.

Throughout the late 1930s and 1950s, Santoro reached out to various lodges, organizations, and the General Consul of Italy asking for funding to repair the house. Efforts were made to rally for a commemorative event in 1950 to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's arrival on Staten Island. Skilled political writers, such as editor Vincent A. Caso of the Italian language daily in New York, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, crafted interesting essays that caught some attention, but nothing translated into a real event that raised money. He wrote that, "the Pantheon has been sadly neglected it is in a deplorable state of deterioration. I recently visited it and felt a deep sense of humiliation. Here was a monument to a great world figure who had devoted his entire life to the cause of liberty."⁴⁷ Caso also called for another organization and group (other than The Order of the Sons of Italy) to take over the maintaining of the house and stated that the Order should give up 'custody' to a more active body.⁴⁸ By forming a nationwide agency to resurrect the annual pilgrimage from Manhattan to Staten Island, more respect would be allotted to the memory of the 'Hero of Two Worlds' and the 'Washington of Italy.'⁴⁹ *The Saturday Evening Post* ran an article in 1950 that echoed back to Professor Howard Marraro's words in 1946. It cited the house's poor condition and essentially blamed the Italian Americans on Staten Island. "The 'temple Garibaldi' (Memorial in Rosebank, Staten Island) constructed of stucco and plaster, is now falling

⁴⁷ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 10-13.

⁴⁸ Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, 10-13.

⁴⁹ Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, 10-13.

apart and the house is rotting away. Island Italians no longer have much interest in their glorious past!”⁵⁰ The author, Hal Burton, remarked that the house’s state of disrepair indicated Staten Island Italian’s inability to assimilate. This lazy narrative that placed blame on Staten Island Italians made people like Santoro furious.⁵¹ Santoro would write letters to the local editors of the *Staten Island Advance* and the *Staten Island Beacon*:

The Italians of Staten Island had nothing to do with the present deplorable state of the Garibaldi monument, the matter has been the constant and continuous activity of our Staten Island Italian Historical Society, as well as a large number of persons of Italian origin. We have contacted either in person, or by mail, every Italian group, or individual leader in the United States over a period of 20 or more years. We have preached in vain, the Sons of Italy always took the attitude that it was no one's business but theirs as to the condition of the memorial and that they would do something someday when they wanted to. It is indeed strange that the world's greatest soldier of freedom who lived on Staten Island while in exile from Italy should receive so little consideration from the very people whose country he liberated from foreign oppression.⁵²

It is unclear how much of the Garibaldi house racket was ideological and how much rendered pointless squabbling. In any event, on June 27, 1951, Staten Islander Ferdinand Fiore would write to Santoro:

Irrespective of the ownership of the monument, we of course have a moral obligation which the people of Staten Island and direct nations recognize. That moral responsibility is something which should be assumed by our Italian Americans throughout the nation and some action must be taken in order to rehabilitate those of Italian origin in America in the eyes of our fellow citizens.⁵³

In other words, beyond the local level, most outlets couldn’t conceive how the Order Sons of Italy was holding the monument hostage in the eyes of people like Fiore, Santoro, and Howard Mararro. At the same time, even some local Staten Islanders would

⁵⁰ Hal Burton, “Commuters’ Island, *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 9, 1950, 139.

⁵¹ The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, July 20, 1936, MS 59, Box 47.

⁵² The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, July 20, 1936, MS 59, Box 47.

⁵³ The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, July 20, 1936, MS 59, Box 48.

write to Santoro and ask for him to improve the condition of the house, perhaps unaware that he sent out 350 letters to Italian consuls, clubs, societies, lodges, and organizations throughout the United States.⁵⁴ Santoro also did his best to galvanize local support to renovate the house and brought in the Jewish Community Center on Victory Boulevard, the American Institute of Architects, local advertising agencies, The New York Department of Labor, and the Staten Island Fenways and Brookside Committee (a naturalist and conservationist group). As to the entire matter, it was almost as if Fascist friendly members of the Italian language New York press and the Order did not want anti-Fascist or apolitical or liberal Italian members of the society to get credit or gain a foothold in pursuit of owning Garibaldi collective memory. Fascists, and the cult of Garibaldi on Staten Island, had stuck the house in a state of intentional limbo at the expense of the public.⁵⁵ It was the politics of collective memory and forgetting, and a custody battle over the Risorgimento's most colorful figure. Santoro's next step would be to take the matter to the New York State Industrial Commissioner Edward F. Corsi (1896-1965) and the Italian Consulate, Aldo M. Mazio, and Vice Consul, Aldo Marotta, in New York, but he got nowhere. The house simply belonged to the Order, they would rather let it sit in poor condition than allow other civic, reform, professional and political groups to claim Garibaldi. More importantly perhaps, as far as the Order was concerned, money needed to be directed elsewhere. One Supreme Venerable of the Order based in Chicago, George J. Spatuzza (1896-1979), wrote to Corsi in 1950, and stated that funding was simply not available or prioritized for the Garibaldi home and upkeep for the

⁵⁴ Daniel Santoro, *The Papers of Daniel Santoro*, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, July 20, 1936, (MS 59, Box 48).

⁵⁵ Morris Gilbert, "Land of the Free: Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile in Staten Island Cottage," *New York World Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

pantheon at the time.⁵⁶ The flimsy pantheon, which by this time, was decayed stucco with sheet metal, had plans to be torn down in 1952.⁵⁷ The goal of 1907 was to make the Garibaldi house a place of honor, but after a few short decades, it was no longer lofty but a farce.⁵⁸ Its faulty columns were cracking and unsightly, well before the tear down. As the contentious politics devolved in the Interwar years, so did the house. To people like Santoro, the house's deterioration represented the Island's lack of focus on political order and Garibaldi's memory. He also suspected that the Order stalled the project to demonstrate the power and control they enjoyed in owning the monument. During the 1930s and 1950s, Santoro remained in the center of the political spectrum in a battle over the Garibaldi house. Frustrated by the Order of the Sons of Italy's National Secretary Salvatore Parisi (1883-1985) to his right, and the type of actions prompted by anarchist and leftist Carlo Tresca (1879-1943) to his left, Santoro experienced a difficult time making headway and gaining traction in preserving Garibaldi's memory despite all of his efforts in civic reform.

The Garibaldi-Meucci Museum (1956 to the Present)

In 1956, under the auspices of the Order Sons of Italy, the Garibaldi house reopened as the "Garibaldi Memorial."⁵⁹ Additionally, it was rededicated on May 20, 1956, and officially known as the "Garibaldi and Meucci Memorial Museum" once the

⁵⁶ Daniel Santoro, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, July 20, 1936, (MS 59, Box 48).

⁵⁷ Santoro, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society, September 1, 1952, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁵⁸ Santoro, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, July 20, 1936, (MS 59, Box 47, 9).

⁵⁹ Landmarks Preservation Commission, Garibaldi Memorial, 420 Tompkins Avenue, Staten Island, Built about 1845, Landmark Site Borough of Richmond Tax Map Block 2966, May 25, 1967, Lot 32, (Number 1, LP-0377).

pantheon construction from 1907 was torn down. The house honoring Garibaldi and Meucci contained a signature book. On its first page it read, “opened to the public, in order that their memory and the memory of their friendship on American soil, shall reaffirm the ties joining the United States and Italy, bound today by those very ideas that once warmed the modest abode, and gave it a place in history.”⁶⁰ One of the attendees was Josephine Garibaldi Ziluca (1895-1971), Garibaldi’s granddaughter, who emigrated from Rome and served as a nurse in World War I. The newly reopened museum in 1956 included five rooms and featured the Garibaldi Memorial Hall on the first floor. Up until this point, the house was mainly known to the public for its exterior. It was the first time the inside of the home was viewed as a museum to this extent since 1882-1884.

In 1966, it was designated as a landmark site in New York. The New York City Landmark Preservation Commission noted that, “The Garibaldi Memorial has special characteristics, special historical and aesthetical interest and value as part of the development, heritage and cultural characteristics of the city of New York.”⁶¹ Most of the Cold War era however, starting mainly in the 1950s and 1960s saw a depoliticization of Garibaldi memory and a plethora of random events rounding out the second half of the twentieth century. New Yorkers sensed that the Garibaldi stimulated past reduced in its potency and power in connection with the house. The house was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 setting the stage for 1982, the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi’s death. Documents at the New-York Historical Society reveal

⁶⁰ Archives of the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum, Staten Island, New York, 1956 (Exhibit, 1GM.3AE.1956, Box# 4-7).

⁶¹ Landmarks Preservation Commission, Garibaldi Memorial, 420 Tompkins Avenue, Staten Island, Built about 1845, Landmark Site Borough of Richmond Tax Map Block 2966, May 25, 1967, Lot 32, (Number 1, LP-0377).

that, The New York State Association of Architects American Institute of Architects and the Grand Lodge of the State of New York Order Sons of Italy in America, announced a design competition in 1980 for the development of a cultural center to the Garibaldi-Meucci Memorial Museum.⁶² This, more than a contest, was really a way to get as many people into the renovation fold as possible, again gearing up for an important date in commemoration, 1982. That same year President Sandro Pertini of Italy visited Staten Island and met with Mayor Edward Koch along with a United Nations delegation and other administrators. A fulltime curator was hired in 1985 and then programs at the house became more widespread. One brochure from 1988 indicated scheduled events by season. For example, in the Fall of 1988 the house featured: an art exhibit, a concert, opera screenings, literature and language courses, and library access. From there the house served as additional indirect and direct symbolic prompts for politicians in the 1990s on all sides including, Democrat Eugene Prisco, Republican Vito Fosella, Republican Rudy Giuliani, Democrat Eliot Spitzer, and Republican Guy V. Molinari.

From July to October in 2007, in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birthday, the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum featured photos of Garibaldi's monument at Taganrog, Russia as part of the "Hero of Two Worlds: Monuments Across the World" exhibition. After its rededication in 2009, an event to thank the sponsors that renovated the exterior of the house earlier that year, the house was mainly used for local civic events, community events, art showings, language courses, fundraiser luncheons, concerts, and guest speakers featuring local politicians and authors. In 2009, local elected

⁶² Margot Gayle, New-York Historical Society, Papers of Margot Gayle, New York, NY, (Box 9, Folder 24).

leaders visited the house just as they would a random parade or baseball game. Their presence was an indication that they served as conduits in self-preservation projects for the small business sectors of the middle class. Long after having played a role in contentious politics, the house as a public object still showed the capability to “develop longer-running trajectories of invocations and reinvention” that lasted far beyond the initial episodes.⁶³ Even in these depoliticized moments, well outside the contexts of the early twentieth century, the material culture of the house conveyed a significance, as the attention shifted more and more to tidying up the neighborhood and presenting a house with an aesthetic conducive to promoting the neighborhood’s quality.

In the recent past, the house also intermittently celebrated Anita Garibaldi and the “Anita Rose,” a pink flower grown in Italy and Brazil in memory of Garibaldi’s wife and a symbol of the couple’s international legacy. Little is known about Anita’s life, but the house attracted interesting perspectives and authors captured by the intrigue of Garibaldi’s wife. These types of commemorations celebrating the material culture of the rose coincided with 2017’s name change of the Order Sons of Italy to the Order Sons and Daughters of Italy. In 2011, former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, the President of the Commission for the “150th Anniversary of Italy’s Unification” visited the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum and joined students from the Scuola d’Italia G. Marconi School in Manhattan in the singing of Italian national anthem. This is the last known Garibaldi exercise that incorporated both Manhattan and Staten Island as a joint activity in commemoration. It was more Italian-centric than American-centric, and outside of

⁶³ Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 10.

some Italian newsletters and blogs, the event was incredibly underreported and not publicized by the museum, local Staten Islanders or Manhattanites.

In June of 2023, a new installment appeared, the “Tower of Light,” designed by artist and sculptor Georgio Bortoli. It is 40 feet tall and made of steel and Murano glass. It stands in the courtyard near the house and symbolizes the bridging of two countries and cultures.⁶⁴ The sculpture is to attract visitors to the museum and make the property more noticeable while linking the connections between Venice and New York City. The artwork is rather interesting. Inside the sculpture is a visible smaller model of St. Mark’s Tower found in Venice. It is surrounded by the larger tower featuring the Metropolitan Life Tower, a structure based on the design of the St. Marks’ tower.

This type of display and feature at the Garibaldi house in the twenty-first century is consistent with other events and activities that take place at the museum in three ways. First, the house is no longer connected to any form of overt politicization. Secondly, the house continues (like all museums do) to look for ways to promote and advertise itself to get more visitors, donors, members, families, and attendees to maintain its relevance, condition, and existence. These efforts rely more on commodified events and a variety of activities that promote it as a community space more so than a place of historical significance. Thirdly, the consequence of these first two points is that both Garibaldi and Meucci become anecdotal asides when objects of material culture such as the “Tower of Light,” are introduced. There is nothing bad or wrong with the art installation, but it still has little to no bearing on Garibaldi’s life. The tower is only loosely connected culturally

⁶⁴ Carol Ann Benanti, “Garibaldi-Meucci Museum ‘Tower of Light’ Unveiled during Ribbon Cutting Ceremony in Rosebank for all to enjoy for years to come,” *Staten Island Advance*, June 9, 2023.

like other events are, as an Italian American smorgasbord of all things recreational. The viewer can't make a connection to Garibaldi because there isn't one. After all, as writer Tim Parks pointed out in his 2021 book on Garibaldi, Garibaldi never made it to Venice in the first place.⁶⁵ In fact, for some, the display could serve as an additional reminder of the towering light of Garibaldi. Although Garibaldi never made it to Venice, people can carry his torch. The sculpture is perhaps Staten Island's gift to Garibaldi, an incomplete revolutionary, and their own hopes and ideas in the pursuit of liberation.

The Garibaldi Statue, Washington Square Park in the Nineteenth Century

The next leading Garibaldi object of material culture is the original Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park, Manhattan designed by the sculptor Giovanni Turini. It was presented to New York City in 1888. The New York press announced the statue's creation as early as 1885 just three years after Garibaldi's death. It was bronze with a granite pedestal and stood nearly 14 feet tall, weighing 7,000 pounds with a cost in the upwards of \$10,000. The statue initially displayed a surveying Garibaldi in the process of drawing his sword while standing atop a boulder flanked by two smaller statues, Garibaldian volunteers. Probably due to a design flaw, space and financial issues, park organizers decided to cut off the two soldiers ('a cruel amputation,' cited the sculptor) leaving only the central figure of Garibaldi seen today.⁶⁶ Editors of the Italian language newspaper, *Il Progresso*, Carlo Barsotti and Luigi Roversi, a paper they founded with financier Vincenzo Polidori in 1880, raised the money to pay for the statue. They funded the statue by using a subscription drive for their newspaper. In 1878, Barsotti funded

⁶⁵ Tim Parks, *The Hero's Way: Walking with Garibaldi from Rome to Ravenna*, (Norton: New York, NY, 2021).

⁶⁶ "New Statue of Garibaldi: To Take the Place of the Present One in Washington Square," *New York Times*, May 3, 1896, 17.

Turini's Mazzini bust located in Central Park. Due to either financial mismanagement or a lack of funds, the Garibaldi statue, also initially planned for Central Park, shifted to Washington Square Park, according to the *New York Times*.⁶⁷

Like the Garibaldi house, the statue went through its own stages of meaning and memory and served various purposes that changed over time. Washington Square Park had already been known as a working-class meeting space and hub of political activity. In 1842, the stonemason riots featured a workers' rebellion against the usage of prison labor to conduct work at New York University.⁶⁸ Barsotti, a prominent Italian and businessperson was an elite that knew working class Italian immigrants wanted spaces for themselves in a city that categorized them as outcasts. Professor of American Studies Benedicte Deschamps argued that the Garibaldi statue was political because it helped to redefine spaces for Italians that transcended the boundaries of Little Italies.⁶⁹ "Increasing Italian American visibility was a process," argues Deschamps, "which did include 'rising and walking' in the city and memorials provided the immigrants with opportunities to do so."⁷⁰ Barsotti's efforts to commemorate public spaces for the vulnerable were actually his own attempts in newspaper sales while using his role as editor to formulate his various projects. Bronze statue creations were common at that time and largely initiated by grifters. It was the reason Giuseppe Mazzini had a bust in Central Park and other statues featuring Columbus and Verrazano, were built around the same time. The Mazzini

⁶⁷ "New Statue of Garibaldi," *New York Times*, 17.

⁶⁸ Lisa Keller, *Triumph of Order: Democracy and Public Space in New York and London*, Columbia History of Urban Life, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010), 157.

⁶⁹ Benedicte Deschamps, "The Cornerstone is Laid Italian American Memorial Building in New York City and Immigrants' Right to the City at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 2.

⁷⁰ Deschamps, *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 2. (Barsotti also made statues of Columbus, Verdi, Verrazano, and Dante to create more political space).

piece was the first Italian American monument in New York City history.⁷¹ In 1946, the local New York city press wrote that “New York’s Italians chose well when they selected Washington Square as the home of Garibaldi's statue. It was the right place for Italy’s hero, for he and America's liberators had many ideals in common. Garibaldi's name is almost as well known to Greenwich villagers as Washington’s, but few perhaps, know that the famous unifier of Italy once lived within the Greater City’s boundaries.”⁷²

The purpose of the Garibaldi statue, however, was not just tied to the selling of newspapers, the statue also had social and political implications and motivations. The Garibaldi statue provided an almost automatic and inherent Americanized association with George Washington Square Park and the United States. It also allowed a public space for Italian Americans to walk and congregate, thus creating opportunities for immigrants to informally integrate into developing bourgeois sectors on the park’s periphery. In New York, this was a phenomenon that even Barsotti’s Columbus Circle statue of 1892, was not able to duplicate in the city, due to its busier location.⁷³ The Garibaldi statue offered a strategic spectacle that fostered memory and admiration.⁷⁴ It was well received by the newcomers especially because it “extended their walking geography.”⁷⁵ Barsotti buried news clippings under the statue as emblematic seeds in the blossoming of the Garibaldi image that were later revealed in 1970 when the statue was

⁷¹ Deschamps, *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 2.

⁷² N.S. Olds, “The Stroller,” *The Villager*, September 19, 1946.

⁷³ The *New York Times* reported in 1892 that once the Columbus ceremony ended, “all Little Italy disappeared from its unaccustomed surroundings.”

⁷⁴ Benedicte Deschamps, “The Cornerstone is Laid Italian American Memorial Building in New York City and Immigrants’ Right to the City at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 3.

⁷⁵ Deschamps, *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 4.

repositioned within the park.⁷⁶ Even if it would take a long time for Italians to be recognized as part of the city's greater improvement projects concerning public space, on a micro level anyway, the Garibaldi statue (despite being criticized as less than artistic) was well known, appreciated and acknowledged as a meeting place throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Separately, in terms of its appearance, the Garibaldi statue invited controversy. It offered what historian Michael Kammen referred to as "visual shock." When Mark Twain was told in the late nineteenth century to take an opportunity to view the statuary of New York he commented:

So far, I have seen nothing; but recollect hearing this city referred to as 'The City of Statues.' I am not accustomed to seeing good statuary in America. New York has within its parks a few good pieces of statuary, but it is also disfigured by several statues disgraceful in art: in fact, there's nothing suggestive of art about them. They have a statue of Garibaldi in Washington Square Park. It would be no crime to hang the man who made that statue; and it would be most meritorious also to hang the committee who selected it.⁷⁷

Twain did not hold back, and one can only wonder how he'd perceive the Garibaldi house at this time especially as it decayed into the latter nineteenth century.

As a result of sentiments like these, in 1893, Turini wrote a lengthy letter to the editor of the *New York Times* explaining what he perceived as unjust criticism. He wrote, "I wish to protest, through your paper, against the way I am continually attacked in the New York press by certain enemies of mine, who, from no other reasons than pure malice and jealousy, take delight in putting me before the public in the worst light they can

⁷⁶ "PRCA to Show 1880s Documents Found Under Garibaldi Statue," City of New York Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs Administration, Press Advisory, October 6 1970.

⁷⁷ Mark Twain, *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL, 2006, 241.

invent.”⁷⁸ Turini was sensitive to the criticism of the statue and defended his art while asserting that he was being unjustly maligned for his Italian identity and ethnicity. He asked if artists would be treated the same if their name was “Smith or Brown.”⁷⁹ He would again explain to the press two years later that Garibaldi’s statue pose was awkward because it required bending in the foundry after the granite base was reconfigured. He even offered to make a second statue for free to replace the original. He planned to present it to New York in 1895, but the project never materialized.⁸⁰ He likened the statue to a finished book with torn out and missing pages. The statue experienced a very volatile love-hate relationship within the city in the early going. In 2007, local researchers, Mary Elizabeth Brown and Raffaele Fierro investigated Italian pride for the Garibaldi statue. In an extensive study, they conducted of Italians in the South Village, they cited the *New York Times* stating: “our adopted citizens do not forget the illustriousness of their native lands and feel a pride in associating their renown [Garibaldi] with the city of their choice.” But just a few years later, they pointed out how “the municipal art society was less sanguine, ‘Garibaldi looks as if he had been out all night.’”⁸¹ It should not be said however, that the Garibaldi statue was merely a subject of ridicule or a poor example of art. For others, like the noteworthy American novelist and New Yorker Herman Melville, (1819-1891) explains Professor of English Dennis Berthold, the statue became the subject of an unpublished poem that celebrated the

⁷⁸ “Mr. Turini Justifies His Art: The Garibaldi Group, He Thinks. Has Been Unjustly Criticized,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1893, 11.

⁷⁹ “Mr. Turini Justifies His Art,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1893, 11.

⁸⁰ “New Statue of Garibaldi: To Take the Place of the Present One in Washington Square,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1896, 17.

⁸¹ Mary Elizabeth Brown and Raffaele Fierro, *The Italians of the South Village: the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation*, New York, NY, October 2007, 42.

Risorgimento and American political support of Garibaldi and Italian unification.⁸² Most likely written in the 1870s and published in 1882 to coincide with Garibaldi's death it contained lines such as:

The picturesque in Men of Mark.
There's Garibaldi, off-hand hero,
Lion-Nemesis of Naples Nero —
A natural knight-errant, truly,
Tho' virile yet: " Assume, and say
The Red Shirt Champion's natal day
Never he'd quit his trading trips,
Or, slopped in slimy slippery sludge,
Lifelong on Staten Island drudge,
Melting his tallow, Sir, dipping his dips."⁸³

Adding to the complexity and controversial nature of the statue, Garibaldi also stood in emblematic defiance of the Catholic faith which served a problem especially for the Irish in late nineteenth century New York. Since part of his fame revolved around liberating central Italy from papal control he was hated by some and seen as a barbarous anti-clerical heretic.⁸⁴ According to Deschamps, the statue "was deemed 'a thorn in the eye' of the Irish who thought the monument was the 'apotheosis of the most ferocious and implacable enemy of the papacy and of the church' and therefore seized every opportunity to spit on it."⁸⁵ Violence erupted nearby the statue often forcing Mayor

⁸² Dennis Berthold, "Melville, Garibaldi, and the Medusa of Revolution," Gordon Hunter and Larry J. Reynolds, ed., *National Imaginaries: American Identities, The Cultural Work of American Iconography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 104.

⁸³ Herman Melville, *The Works of Herman Melville: Poems*, (Great Britain: University Press, Edinburgh, 1924), 375-377.

⁸⁴ Muireann O' Cinneide, Rebecca Anne Barr, and Sarah-Anne Buckley, ed., *Literacy, Language and Reading Nineteenth Century Ireland*, Liverpool University Press, (Liverpool, UK: 2019), 129.

⁸⁵ Benedicte Deschamps, "The Cornerstone is Laid Italian American Memorial Building in New York City and Immigrants' Right to the City at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3 (2015): 10.

Abram Hewitt (1822-1903) to weigh the political calculus when navigating the statue and its ability to unite and divide ethnic enclaves. Protestant groups and publications would seek out the statue on behalf of the young to recruit people into schools and religious denominations. For instance, in 1910, the Epworth League, a Methodist group, photographed Garibaldi's granddaughter, Miss Italia, in front of the statue while she toured the United States. This was a recruitment effort for the Methodist Episcopal Home School for Girls in Via Garibaldi Rome.⁸⁶

Ultimately, in terms of the statue and the portrayal of other icons, the work of Barsotti could be seen as a vanity project. He made attempts to pocket huge sums of money intended for monument construction in the name of self-promotion, while he was a known tax cheat.⁸⁷ Over time, he developed a reputation for misappropriation of funds to exploit the Italians of New York. The person to point this out most adamantly was the radical anarchist Luigi Galleani (1861-1931). A reliable narrator, he covered Barsotti, also known as the "Statue Man" in the United States press, and his swindling methods in the newspaper, *Cronaca Sovversiva*.⁸⁸ When Garibaldi's legacy wasn't being propped up and appropriated by organizations faithful to Fascism and the rise of Mussolini's politics, it was sanctioned by corrupt trustees, financiers, and newspaper editors, representing the Little Italies in bad faith. Although *Cronaca* was an extremely popular and widely read anarcho-communist newspaper, and there were many politically motivated pro-labor

⁸⁶ Mary Kay Hyde, "Fair Product of Our Italian Work: Granddaughter of Garibaldi, First of the Crandon School Girls, Now Making a Tour of America," *The Epworth Herald*, (September 17, 1910): 10.

⁸⁷ "Attachment Put on *Il Progresso*, Washington Law Firm Asserts Carlo Barsotti, The Publisher, owes \$6,000 Fee, Result of a Tax Tangle, Newspaper Owner, after a Protest, Won Exemption for Christmas Gifts to Italian Soldiers, *New York Times*, June 5, 1924, 18.

⁸⁸ Benedicte Deschamps, "The Cornerstone is Laid Italian American Memorial Building in New York City and Immigrants' Right to the City at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *European Journal of American Studies*, 10, 3, 2015, 11.

antifascists like Tresca in New York City from 1888-1932, they lacked the political capital, organization, and mobilization to succeed in claiming Garibaldi spaces in the face of the Order. Moderate and liberal reformers such as the frustrated pragmatist Santoro faced the same dilemma throughout much of the same time.

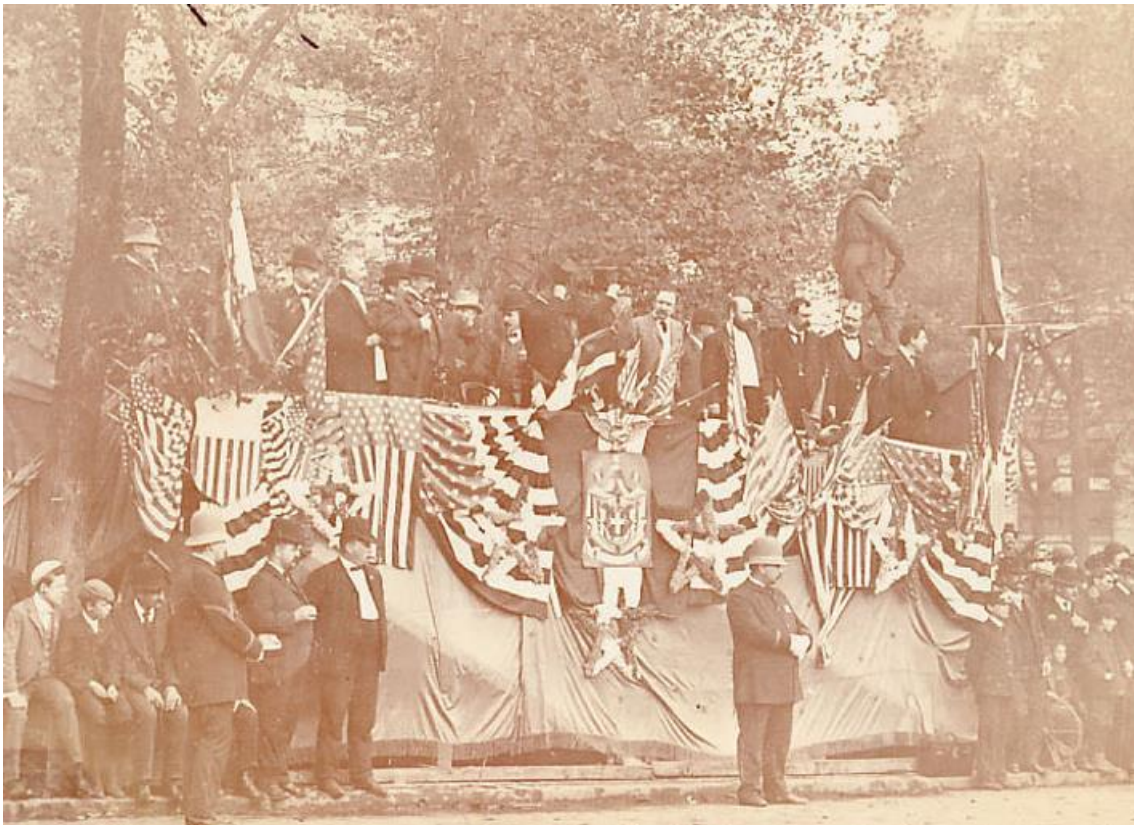


FIGURE 1.5 Italian American dignitaries unveil the Garibaldi statue. Washington Square Park (Statue located at the top right of the image).

The Garibaldi Statue, Washington Square Park in the Twentieth Century and Beyond

When the Garibaldi house reached its zenith in public commemorations in 1907 and 1917, the Garibaldi statue served as the starting point for those day's events. The *New York Times* described the day July 4, 1907:

Women in red waists and gray skirts did not forget their shawls. They fairly daubed the square with color and beneath the Washington Arch they made a picture that could hardly have been classed as American. And yet the bands that had gathered for the parade to the Staten Island Ferry glared forth the 'Star Spangled Banner' for their first tune. Many a frugal Mulberry St. mother brought her wicker basket of lunch with her black-eyed children clinging to her skirts, and her slow-moving husband tagging along behind. Many a grandfather with recollections of sacrifices made for his dear Italia towed in a bottle of Chianti under his red Garibaldian shirt. 10,000 men and women were in line that formed in the square. When the parade started, the bronze Garibaldi could barely peek forth at it for, he was covered with wreaths and flags.⁸⁹

This provides evidence that the popular press acknowledged the social and class-based interactions of assimilating Italians in Washington Square Park while honoring Garibaldi's legacy as a form of acceptance for Americanization and assimilation.

Interestingly, it appears that the Italians that sang the *Star-Spangled Banner* at the Garibaldi statue in 1907 were considered outsiders. Inversely, the celebrants Amato and students from Scuola d'Italia were rendered somewhat as outcasts while singing the Italian national anthem at the Garibaldi house in 2011. The commemorative pilgrimages from the house to the statue demonstrated how the joint exercises became themselves, conceptual spectacles of material culture. In 1913, the statue and the congregation it inspired, was still considered contextually, a product made by outsiders from the perspective of the *New York Times*:

Foreigners Outdo Us: It might be supposed that the enthusiasm which the foreign-born citizens of New York show in perpetuating their admiration for their illustrious countrymen would inspire native-born New Yorkers with a spirit of emulation or would at least make them feel a little shame.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ "Italians Dedicate Garibaldi Memorial, Throng of Little Italies to Patriot's House of Exile on Staten Island, 10,000 in the Parade, 18 Garibaldian Veterans Lead It - Municipal Ferry Tax to Carry the Crowds," *New York Times*, July 5, 1907, 6.

⁹⁰ "New York has done little to honor her famous sons: of all the distinguished men born here only six have memorial statues in this city," *New York Times*, June 22, 1913, 5.

Once the Garibaldi house on Staten Island was being commemorated in 1907 for the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth, the Garibaldi statue took on a new persona at only nine years old. Garibaldi's statue was part of a commemorative battery that could help launch political pilgrimages and ceremonies to Garibaldi's house both large and small. In effect, the statue served as the introduction for a variety of activities that required coordination and speeches to outline the fundamental goals for each exercise. Outside of city officials, foreign dignitaries, heads of state, politicians, mayors, and generals - accessing speeches of bottom-up actors speaking at the statue are difficult to find, but we know they took place when reviewing newspapers of the day.

Furthermore, and equally important perhaps was the material culture on display between the commemorative poles: banners, flags, shirts, uniforms, signs, hats, chants, songs, bands, music, floats, wreaths, and pamphlets. People routinely placed flowers at the base of the Garibaldi statue. In some instances, objects and decorations to promote militarism, patriotism, and cultural pride superseded the statue's subtle orientation itself. The Garibaldi statue was not just important in 1907. It continued to gain relevance as a bookend to the house from 1914-1932 and ferry rides across the New York Bay served to coordinate the battles at the Garibaldi house. After the Manhattan to Staten Island pilgrimages of 1914-1932, smaller events continued in isolation in the two respective boroughs.

For example, the Red Cross Tuberculosis Unit for Italy met with United States representatives in 1918 to place a wreath at the base of the Garibaldi statue. This symbolic gesture shored up diplomatic ties and connected allies in terms of research and

development in the World War I era.⁹¹ The first and second World Wars undoubtedly however presented key commemorative opportunities for fostering joint exercises involving Garibaldi's memory. These were often in the form of gatherings, parades, processions, and marches as scripted events under institutional supervision. At other select moments in history, the Garibaldi statue in Washinton Square was either used as a symbolic backdrop or simply a point of reference for NYU student activities, political demonstrations and calls for civil rights and academic freedom.⁹² In 1933, two editors for the *NYU Daily News* were forced to terminate the paper for running stories critical of the University's board and rallied in protest in front of the Garibaldi statue.⁹³ The students also invited socialist politician Norman Thomas (1884-1968) to speak at the event who was preparing for a run at the U.S. Senate in New York in 1934.⁹⁴ I will note in subsequent chapters how politicians and patriotism appropriated Garibaldi's essence around this material culture.

The second half of the twentieth century, however, saw the house and statue split apart more in terms of their mutual forms of visual and cultural significance. Just as the house became a singular commemorative entity after the second World War, the statue reverted to its own separate form of relevance in the locale. In the absence of major global events and the lessening of politics of social space and identity, New York

⁹¹ "Speak at Garibaldi Statue: Red Cross Tuberculosis Unit Places Wreath at its Base, *New York Times*, September 15, 1918, 20.

⁹² Marianne R. Sanua, *Going Greek: Jewish College Fraternities in the United States, 1895-1945* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2018), 401n58.

⁹³ Ben Burns, *Nitty Gritty: A White Editor in Black Journalism* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1996), 59.

⁹⁴ Thomas J. Frusciano and Marilyn H. Pettit, *New York University and The City: An Illustrated History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 186.

University and residents near Washington Square Park carved out their own relationship with the statue.

According to the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, graduates from the NYU School of Finance traditionally placed a good luck penny at the base of the statue after receiving their diploma. Less gratuitously, the tradition turned into wreath placing ceremonies starting in 1961, the one-hundredth anniversary of Italian unification. The prime participants in the yearly wreath ceremonies were directors of historical societies, both local and national as well as academics from Italy and New York, including the noteworthy NYU professor of history, A. William Salomone, the author of *Italian Democracy in the Making* (1946). The wreath ceremonies effectively served as a form of public relations and professional and social goodwill between both countries well into 1970.



FIGURE 1.6 NYU students stand around the Garibaldi statue ca. 1960 for Italy's centenary. (New York University Library Photo Collection)

Commemorative sites and statues including the Garibaldi statue started to receive scheduled routine maintenance towards the end of the twentieth century. The Citywide Monument Conservation Program was founded in 1997 and the Garibaldi statue and other monuments would be cleaned, painted, and protected under the responsibility of the Parks Department. The Garibaldi statue was vandalized in 1998 and 2021 for unknown reasons. Also, in 2000 the sword was damaged, as it appeared to be a thoughtless and random act. In 2021, the New York Republicans, without evidence, attributed the vandalism and spray paint at its base, to “a leftist mob.”⁹⁵ The interesting part about this commentary that singled out the left, was the fact that it did not include why it would make little sense for a leftist to desecrate Garibaldi. It assumed that the perpetrator was ignorant of history. But if Garibaldi is considered alongside arguably revolting actors such as Christopher Columbus, and without a mentioning of his revolutionary and liberating character, the critique becomes as hollow as the alleged vandal’s motives. In the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Garibaldi house on Staten Island was more likely to be vandalized as it rested in a state of neglect. At this point in history, since the house lacks foot traffic, the Garibaldi statue in Manhattan (no longer surrounded by a protective fence) sees more people and is the more vulnerable and visible target for any wanton destruction.

The monuments continue to stand independently from one another into the present. The Tower of Light sculpture at Garibaldi’s house on Staten Island (2023), linking Venice and New York, has little to do with Manhattan’s Garibaldi statue and its Extended Reality Ensemble (2022). The Extended Reality Ensemble or XRE, is an

⁹⁵ *The New York Young Republican Club Record*, Issue III, (July 2021): 8-9.

augmented reality project, honoring Women's History Month to provide a new view of New York's public monuments. New York University Tandon Industry Professor Carla Gannis spearheaded the project that incorporated thirty gender-diverse digital sculptures juxtaposed against physical statues of men, including Garibaldi.⁹⁶ Adding compensatory history and rethinking monument spaces in New York, including the Garibaldi statue, as gendered spaces, is an important way of understanding additional social complexities associated with the statue. Historian Hanne Blank pointed out an old problematic joke associated with the Garibaldi statue in her revisionist work outlining the social construct of virginity. She explained how the Garibaldi statue would lift its sword whenever a virgin passed by it. The punch line was, "it's been a hundred years since that sword was lifted."⁹⁷ It is interesting to note how far reaching the Garibaldi statue extends into the literature as an object of material culture study with this spontaneous symbolism.

The Garibaldi Red Shirt and the Illustrated Press

The Garibaldi statue in Manhattan and the Garibaldi house on Staten Island were once two endpoints on a line segment of New York Garibaldi commemoration. My research is attempting to explain why and how they were joined and at certain moments in history, separated. Although the two major objects of material culture concerning Garibaldi commemoration and memory in New York are the house and the statue, this Chapter would be remiss without a study of Garibaldi's red shirt and the illustrated press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Garibaldi's red shirt had significant implications, not only in the realm of fashion, but politics and the military. Understanding

⁹⁶ "An Augmented Reality Project Honors Women's History Month and Provides a New Vision of New York's Public Monuments," New York University, XRE, #MakeUsVisible project, March 2022.

⁹⁷ Hanne Blank, *Virgin: The Untouched History*, New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2008, 78.

the shirt helps to unpack a rich social history at the time of its creation and re-creation. Garibaldi is known for the red shirt and the red shirt is known for Garibaldi just as scholar of material culture Daniel Miller once pointed out, “things make people, just as people make things.”⁹⁸ Some New Yorkers in the nineteenth century initially thought and disseminated the idea that Garibaldi received inspiration (“a fiery idea”) for the red shirt while watching a procession of loyal and dedicated firefighters on Staten Island.⁹⁹ This nostalgic trope evoked an obvious sentiment and furnished a powerful narrative and oversimplification, but of course, could only be mostly false. Staten Island did not bring the red shirt to Garibaldi, Garibaldi brought the red shirt to Staten Island, but such is the nature of local history and the creation and exaggeration of legend. The red shirt was initially worn in the 1830s by Garibaldi’s Italian volunteers in Montevideo. It was cheap, leftover clothing, that effectively hid or camouflaged blood.¹⁰⁰ It was a “loose-hanging outfit modelled on the garment worn by the Uruguayan gauchos; they hung over the trousers, had no buttons, and mere holes for the heads and arms.”¹⁰¹ In 1842, Garibaldi’s “Redshirts” were a well-known symbolic unit, an artifact he and his volunteers donned during the Uruguayan Civil War. Although Garibaldi refined the shirt over the years, and finally added buttons to it while in New York, this thinking shaped an interpretation of Garibaldi as solely a military figure on Staten Island, and not as someone guiding

⁹⁸ Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010).

⁹⁹ “Visit of General Garibaldi's Grandson Recalls the Liberators Exile Here, While Making Candles on Staten Island, Seeking American Citizenship, for His Fiery Red Shirts as He Watched a Fire Man's Parade, *New York Evening Post*, July 6, 1925.

¹⁰⁰ Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, (Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 25.

¹⁰¹ Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento*, 25.

political forces. As a result, Garibaldi was a fighter, and acquired fame for doing it and was thoroughly divorced from politics.

At the same time however, the nature of his revolutionary character and support from abolitionists around the world was conducive to producing a rich social history. The sword that Garibaldi holds atop the Manhattan statue isn't necessarily being swung in defense of the nation state. The scabbard just as well could be coming down on an enslaver's head. The red coat that covers his red shirt could just as well be a poncho given to him by Anita who helped him fight in the tradition of the South American gaucho. His hat that looks to be an Italian smoking hat may simply be a Hungarian military cap. In other words, when Garibaldi's imagery is reduced to solely Italian or American understandings, we fail to get a broader sense of how he was shaped by many cultures and served as an international figure, in the same way New York is a global city. However brief his stay, Garibaldi was a New Yorker for a brief moment in time. He was created and recreated just as the city went through phases of invention and reinvention. This is all to explain, I argue, how Garibaldi's red shirt most effectively tied together his international character visually and symbolically. The red shirt unpacked historically, is perhaps the most convincing and emblematic feature of his internationalism.

It follows then, that the red shirt is probably the one object of Garibaldi material culture that is crucial in developing historical knowledge about him. It helps to unpack his versatility as a historical symbol everywhere he went around the world. Inside the Garibaldi house on Staten Island is a red shirt amongst many other objects. The interior of the house and the strategic placement of objects is just as significant as the exterior. The red shirt was a part of him, if in fact it was red. Professor of Italian Cristina Mazzoni

has argued that Garibaldi's shirt, (like the bright orange fish off the Pacific with his name) was in fact a bright burnt orange. The color was established during the Risorgimento after 1860 and is based on Italy's "golden fruit," a food and object with its own expansive material cultural history in Italy.¹⁰² Regardless of the history of the shirt, it is remembered as red.

The Garibaldi red shirt was prominent in New York in three distinct ways. First, the red shirt was the uniform of choice for the Union Army's Garibaldi Guard that served as the 39th Regiment in the American Civil War. To wear it meant to honor freedom, liberty, and the eradication of slavery in the name of preserving the Union. Second, the shirt also went on to become the inspiration for a women's blouse and the garment is well documented by historians of post Victorian fashion. *The Evening World*, a New York City newspaper that ran from 1887-1931, the peak years in Garibaldi remembrance, was run by Horace Greely's granddaughter, Nixola. It regularly ran advertisements that sold red shirts, blouses, dresses, and capes in the Garibaldian tradition and legacy. In one instance, Franklin Simon Company on Fifth Avenue advertised the red shirt as, "the Mode of the Moment." They described the army of Garibaldi wearing the blouse as part of their uniform. The shirt was "symbolic of victory."¹⁰³ Budweiser also consistently ran advertisements featuring Garibaldi drinking the freedom loving beer with his red shirt.¹⁰⁴ Thirdly, the red shirt was often featured in the newspaper or the illustrated press, which became prominent in the nineteenth century.

¹⁰² Cristina Mazzoni, *Golden Fruit: A Cultural History of Oranges in Italy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

¹⁰³ *The Evening World*, March 17, 1919.

¹⁰⁴ The Budweiser Advertisement is included in the Chapter, "Garibaldi as Patriot."

I include the illustrated press as a key component of Garibaldi material culture for four reasons. First, much of the illustrated press was widely read in New York if not published in New York. Second, New York's illustrated press was invented in 1850 and coincided with Garibaldi's arrival to New York's quarantine station. Third, the illustrated press was the perfect media for highlighting and accentuating the cult of Garibaldi. Similarly, Brown University Librarian and Curator, Peter Harrington explained the importance of the panoramic scene to promote Garibaldi's image. He stated that "before photography, people flocked to panoramas to gaze at far-flung scenes painted on huge canvases, as moderators dramatized the unfolding events."¹⁰⁵ Through these types of visuals, Garibaldi became a larger-than-life international figure of fame and the illustrated press enjoyed covering him and characterizing him as someone with an indomitable will. Lastly, the illustrated press was a mechanism of material culture that harnessed the collective forces of the house, statue, and red shirt.

Harper's Weekly featured the Garibaldi Guard procession and presentation of colors in 1861 in New York.¹⁰⁶ Garibaldi was featured on the cover of *Harper's* more than five times in the 1860s alone. The same was true of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*. A month before Garibaldi's death in May of 1882, *Leslie's* featured Garibaldi on the cover and pictured a drawing of his birthplace at the port in Nice. They wrote:

Few men have been judged more differently by different minds than general Garibaldi. Enthusiastic hero worshippers clothe him with the virtues of infallibility; on the other hand, his opponents paint him in the vilest colors. Scarcely an event occurs in the whole of Garibaldi's career- a career in which one event succeeds another in startling rapidity-

¹⁰⁵ Peter Harrington, "Garibaldi's Panoramic Exploits," *The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, August 2 (2018): 82.

¹⁰⁶ *Presentation of colors to the Garibaldi Zouaves*, New York, May, The Garibaldi Zouaves on the double-quick in Broadway. United States New York, 1861. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/97519089/>. Also see: Illustration in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 5, 1861 June 8, 362.

which is not keenly contested by friend or foe; eyewitnesses of the same scene will give diametrically opposite accounts according to the party feeling which influences them.¹⁰⁷

This cover and quote revealed how as Garibaldi drew closer to the end of his life, the historical inventories, and interpretations to sensationalize him, were well on their way.

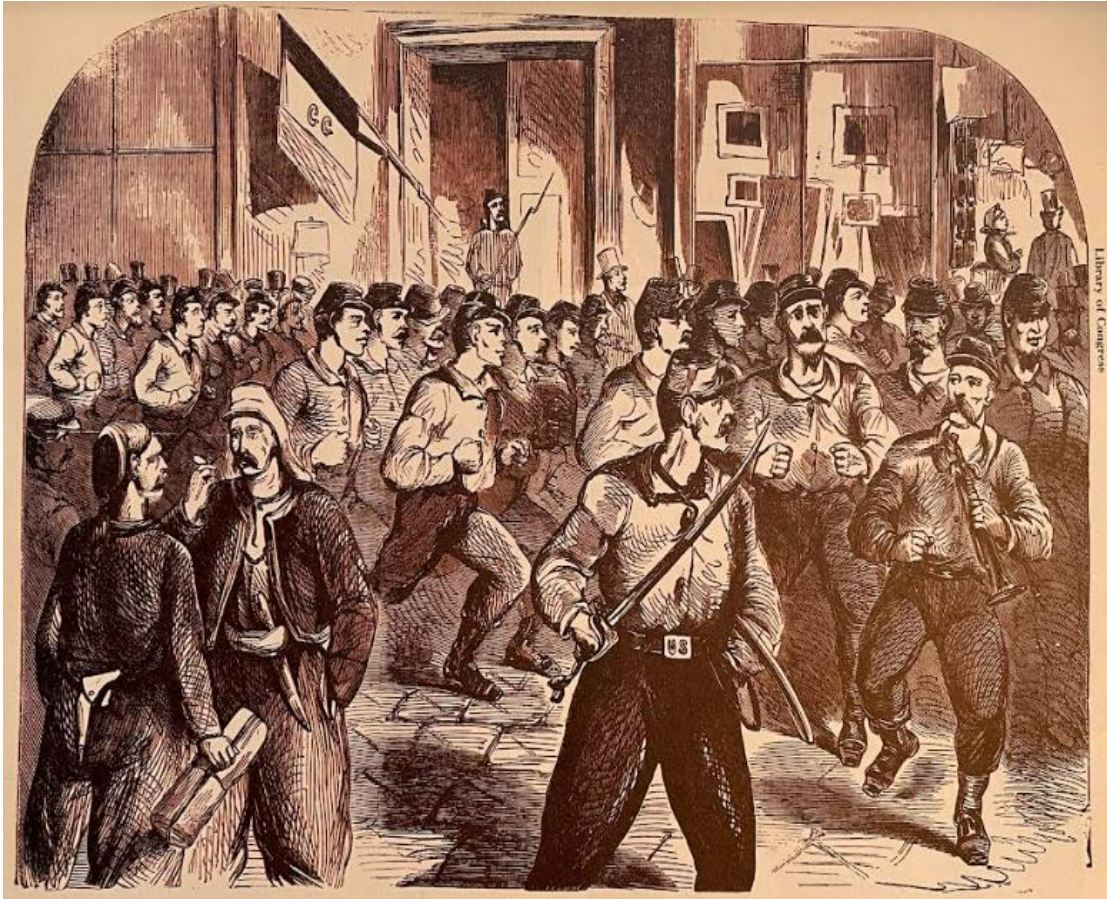


FIGURE 1.7 The Garibaldi Guard marching down Broadway. (*Harper's Weekly*, 1861)

Garibaldi was also featured through the work of Frank Munsey (1854-1925), the innovator of the pulp magazine in New York City. The authors, editors and artists associated with presenting Garibaldi and his likeness in the popular press rarely took the

¹⁰⁷ "Giuseppe Garibaldi," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, 13:5, May 1882.

time to comment on the house or the statue. It was nevertheless at times, part of their storytelling while covering Garibaldi for possessing republican virtues appraised by the nineteenth century illustrated press. *Harper's* was especially well known for illustrating Garibaldi and brought his popularity to American audiences. The news outlets that featured Garibaldi illustrations or photographs most frequently in reference to him were the following:

The Sun of NY (1833)
New-York Daily Tribune (1841)
Illustrated London News (1842)
Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly (1855)
Harper's Weekly (1850)
The Greenwich Villager (1933)
The New York Times (1851)
The New York World-Telegram (1867)
The Plattsburgh Daily (1895)
The Republican Journal of Ogdensburg (1916)

Harper's often conveyed and ran images issued by *Punch*, to show New York and United States audiences the widespread perceptions of Garibaldi as liberator:

This British cartoon portrays Giuseppe Garibaldi as a modern-day Perseus rescuing Andromeda by slaying the sea monster who had imprisoned her. Garibaldi's remarkable invasion of Sicily the previous month had expelled the royal forces of the Bourbon King Francis II of Naples, here represented as "Bomba Junior" after the infamous penchant for Bourbon rulers in Italy to shell their own subjects.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ "Garibaldi the Liberator," June 16, 1860," House Divided: The Civil War Research Engine at Dickinson College, <https://hd.housedivided.dickinson.edu/node/32066>



FIGURE 1.8 Garibaldi as The Modern Perseus. Featured for his reputation as liberator and brave rescuer in *Punch and Harper's*, 1860.

Conclusion

In 1884, *The New York Times* announced three things regarding the Garibaldi legacy, just two years after his death. On Staten Island there was to be: 1) the creation of “Garibaldi Park,” that included 2) a statue of Garibaldi and 3) a large structure, patterned after a well-known public resort in Italy.¹⁰⁹ None of these three concepts and ideas came to fruition on Staten Island. What remains is instead the house that went through a history

¹⁰⁹ “A Park Named After Garibaldi,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1884.

and series of key moments of commemoration. In 1887, the Garibaldi Monument Committee presented and proposed the Manhattan statue to the City of New York. It was accepted and recorded in *The City Record*.¹¹⁰ This chapter argued that analyzing Garibaldi as material culture helps to gain a better understanding of the politics of his remembrance in New York. Through an investigation of the house, statue, red shirt, and illustrated press, this data connects in realizing how this transient global actor produced visuals associated with local struggles over history and identity thereby creating a form of world history through a local historical lens.

¹¹⁰ *The City Record: Official Journal*, Volume 15, Part 3, New York, NY, 1887.

CHAPTER THREE

Garibaldi as Patriot in New York

In this Chapter, I explain how authors, advertisers, the press, organizers, and commemorators, all generated a patriotic face of Garibaldi and how that image took hold in New York. Patriotic in this sense means any projection of an American-centric image of Garibaldi that highlighted his love for America or Italy (and America's love for him) as well as his engagement or proximity with republican experiments.

Early twentieth century scholar H. Nelson Gay (1870-1932) wrote, "At the close of his triumphant campaign of Sicily and Naples, Garibaldi modestly retired to his farm in Caprera. It was there that President Abraham Lincoln, after the disaster of Bull Run in July 1861, sent an official envoy to enlist his services for the North and offer him a major general's commission."¹ At this time, Lincoln desperately needed competency at the general and officer level rank and was attracted to the idea of the North receiving overseas support.²

Gay previously pointed out, in an edition of *Century Magazine*, documentation regarding these negotiations highlighting Lincoln's offer through a United States consul named James Quiggle (1820-1878). Quiggle wrote to Garibaldi, "the newspapers report that you are on the verge of coming to the United States to join the Army of the North in the conflict now raging in my country. If this is true, the name of Lafayette will not excel yours. There are thousands of Italians and Hungarians ready to join your ranks and

¹ H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship," *The American Historical Review*, 38 no. 1 (October 1932): 2.

² Eugenio F. Biagini, "The Principle of Humanity: Lincoln in Germany and Italy, 1859-1865," in Richard Cowradine and Jay Sexton, eds., *The Global Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 76-94.

thousands and tens of thousands of Americans who will be proud to serve under the command of the ‘Washington of Italy.’”³

Garibaldi responded with, “the report published by the newspapers that I am going to the United States is incorrect. I have had and still have a great desire to go there, but many things prevent me from doing so. Please inform me if this agitation really concerns the emancipation of the negroes.”⁴

Essentially, Garibaldi declined Lincoln’s offer and would only accept the deal if he was given full command of Northern forces as well as a pledge to end slavery immediately.⁵ Perhaps this was something Garibaldi knew he wouldn’t or couldn’t receive. Further, Lincoln may have offered Garibaldi the post knowing he couldn’t meet the two primary requests on the part of the Italian icon: 1) immediate and full emancipation for enslaved people and 2) Garibaldi as commander in chief. In other words, it’s very possible that Lincoln anticipated Garibaldi declining. In any event, Garibaldi acknowledged the kind gesture with generous remarks: “It is America, the same country which taught liberty to our forefathers, which now opens another solemn epoch of human progress.”⁶ Remarks such as these made it possible for New York commemorators to use Garibaldi as a patriotic symbol for America.

The famous exchange between the sixteenth President of the United States and Giuseppe Garibaldi conveyed that Garibaldian projects gathered enough legitimacy to

³ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 17.

⁴ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 17.

⁵ H. Nelson Gay, “Lincoln’s Offer of a Command to Garibaldi,” *Century Magazine*, 75, (1907): 63-74.

⁶ Don Harrison Doyle, *Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question*, (Athens: GA, University of Georgia Press, 2002), 27.

warrant the attention of Lincoln, a figure perhaps admired by most Americans who consider themselves patriotic. In 1911, for the fiftieth anniversary of the Lincoln-Garibaldi exchange and the American Civil War, the United States press commonly reminded the reading public of their association. Moreover, the United States press reflected on how the European press covered the offer extensively and wrote about Garibaldi as an embodiment of liberty.⁷ Meanwhile, newspaper reports explained how the American government recruited Garibaldi to compensate for a lack of northern experience at the officer level that coincided with the European powers' acknowledgment of the Confederacy. Historians would go on to debate the exact details involving the Garibaldi-Lincoln written exchanges including the involvement of foreign ministers, the recruitment of foreign officers, and the accuracy of the press in 1860. The point of these articles, however, was quite clear: key moments of commemoration, such as the semicentennial Garibaldi's death, provided another way to shape Garibaldi into a symbol of U.S. patriotism.

In connecting him to Lincoln, Garibaldi's political currency in New York increased and showed how regional history merged with world history.

⁷ The Civil War Fifty Years Ago Today, *The Argus* (October 6, 1911): 8.

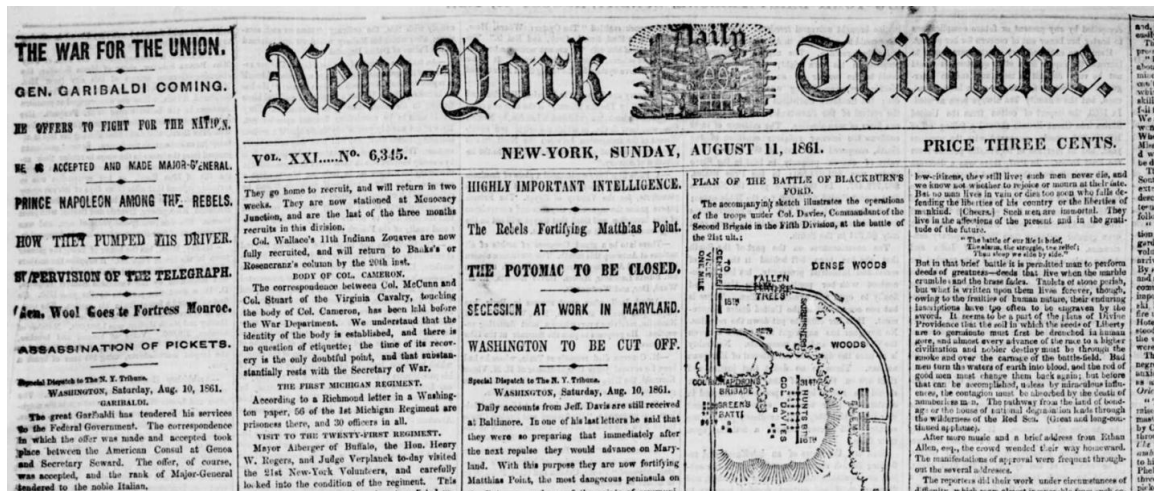


FIGURE 1.9 The War for the Union: Gen. Garibaldi Coming. (*New-York Tribune*, August 11, 1861)

H. Nelson Gay's writings were also featured in the 1932 edition of *The American Historical Review*, where he wrote on "Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship." Here, he cited Garibaldi's acquisition of an American passport in 1851 and explained how a letter penned by Garibaldi in 1850 from Hastings-on-Hudson contained "the first intimation that we have of Garibaldi's desire to acquire American citizenship."⁸ Although Garibaldi's mere mention of interest in acquiring American citizenship was strategic and political, (he ultimately needed the document to own a U.S. flagship) admirers of Garibaldi recalled it as something more sincere, ideal, and patriotic than it actually was. Some New Yorkers wanted to believe that Garibaldi yearned for United States citizenship. Garibaldi wrote on March 9, 1855:

I have tried in vain to become an American citizen. This, in spite of the facts, that in the course of two visits I have resided in this country about a year, that I've sailed under the American flag and that I have had friends and acquaintances who took an interest in my case. The laws of the country require a formal declaration to be registered in one of the cities of the Union, and a certificate stating that one

⁸ H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi's American Contacts and His Claims to American Citizenship," *The American Historical Review*, 38 no. 1 (October 1932): 1.

has renounced his loyalty to the land of his birth. The required term of residence in America is five years.⁹

Garibaldi admired his American friends, and the feeling was mutual.

Gay investigated American's love for Garibaldi. He cites "Garibaldi's first recorded relations with a representative of the American government" in 1849 after Rome fell to France and the subsequent communications Garibaldi had with American consul generals stationed throughout Europe.¹⁰ Garibaldi found himself in a strange country and wrote from Tangier in February of 1850, describing his banishment from Italy. He also wanted to carry on with his life and resume his previous profession as a sea merchant captain. He wrote, "I beg your permission and protection to set up the North American flag."¹¹ Here, Garibaldi gets involved in a chain of letters that apparently reveals his own lack of political practicality, a documented tendency of his, which at times seemed intentional on his part. In the end, American officials were cordial and welcomed Garibaldi as he arrived at New York in 1850, but they did not want to make any promises they knew they couldn't keep.

In some instances, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's revisionist history of Garibaldi sought to rehabilitate him as one who either considered, for whatever purpose, or outright aspired, to be American. He expressed an interest in American citizenship (it never happened, as Gay rightly pointed out) if it meant for a chance to earn money, but beyond that, Garibaldi saw little need for U.S. citizenship.

⁹ Gay, *The American Historical Review*, 1-3.

¹⁰ Gay, *The American Historical Review*, 1-3.

¹¹ Gay, *The American Historical Review*, 1-3.

Soon after Garibaldi died, people made strong statements linking him to American patriotism. New York Politician Daniel E. Sickles (1819-1914) commented at Tammany Hall in 1882: “in the dignity of manner with which he treated great civil questions, [Garibaldi] was as a Roman senator; in his military achievements, a Scipio, in his disinterestedness, a Cincinnatus, when he left America to return to his native country he brought to Italy that same liberty which he had seen here, and which he had loved so well.”¹² In this 1882 speech, Sickles, a member of the United States Committee on Foreign Affairs, aimed to recognize Italy as an officially united country. Further, he promoted Garibaldi as a patriot and as someone who learned how to liberate and unify Italy only after staying in New York.

Garibaldi as Patriot

Several factors produced Garibaldi the patriot in New York: Garibaldi’s interaction with Lincoln, the creation of the Garibaldi Guard Civil War Regiment, Garibaldi’s Fourth of July birthday, illustrated newspapers, trade press books and advertisements, over the top nationalistic festivities for both World Wars, and the motivations of local civic groups — all merged with Garibaldi’s early reputation as a patriot in South America (1836) and Europe (1848). Local Garibaldi history was ultimately a transnational one and this served as another basis for Garibaldi commemoration in New York.

Further understandings of patriotism in this sense include realizing the purposes of the growing admiration that emerged with Garibaldi’s name in the early twentieth century United States. In 1916, the Patchogue, New York newspaper *The Argus* wrote

¹² “In memory of Garibaldi,” *New York Times*, June 12, 1882, 8.

that Garibaldi was “a dreamer and a fighter” and willing to fight for freedom anywhere in the world.¹³ Historian Peter Vellon indicates that nineteenth century Italian Americans gradually shifted their focus from the politics of Garibaldi in Italy to incorporating an appeal to him alongside the waves of southern Italians arriving to New York City.¹⁴ Since America considered itself to be the exceptional nation, Garibaldi had to be exceptional as well. Garibaldi seen as a patriot attempted to emphasize his celebrity to promote a love and devotion for the United States and its institutions. More accurately, Garibaldi considered America another place to possibly do business and launch further seafaring as well as a place to hide in exile. It was for him, like for many other migrants, a point of entry as well as an exit, and Garibaldi was just another bird of passage.

In reading the work of historian Alessandro Bonvini, you can see how the groundwork for Garibaldi’s reputation as a patriot was anticipated prior to the nineteenth century movement to unify Italy, or the Risorgimento (1848-1871). Bonvini’s scholarship reminds us that Young Italy sent Italians from Montevideo to New York while Garibaldi still lived in South America. Some Italian naturalized patriots such as Young Italy’s Giovanni Albinola, Paolo Antonini, and Alessandro Bargnani also entered New York as early as 1835. These individuals helped America become a political platform for Italian patriots.¹⁵ In short, well in advance of more official attempts in unifying Italy, New York found itself already reinforced with Italian exiles in the event someone like Garibaldi ever needed a haven in the New World. As a result, they made the anticipated events of

¹³ “Garibaldi the Patriot,” *The Argus*, March 5, 1916.

¹⁴ Peter Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2014) 24.

¹⁵ Alessandro Bonvini, “‘Good Christians, Good Citizens, Good Patriots,’ Young Italy and the Atlantic Struggle for the Nation, 1835-1848,” *Diasporas* 34 (2019): 65.

1848 and 1849 (Garibaldi's first attempts in unification) even more pronounced. Garibaldi's early efforts to unify Italy transformed, according to Bonvini, "into an international phenomenon," and shaped the "condition of exile into a collective and transnational experience of politicization."¹⁶ This work, which focusses on Italian exiles and their relevance, increases the scope of local or micro history of Garibaldi in New York. Eventually, it became common to see editorials, newspaper articles, magazine and short story titles referring to Garibaldi as patriot in the latter part of the nineteenth century in New York. The word choice "patriot" only intensified in the early twentieth century, especially during key moments and opportunities for remembrance.

Sociologist Richard N. Juliani pointed out how New York City was carved out as an immigrant hub sympathetic to the liberating causes of Garibaldi as New Yorkers celebrated in saloons whenever they received news about him and his work in independence and liberation movements.¹⁷ Interestingly, Garibaldi wasn't a big deal in New York when he lived there and Garibaldi himself did not consider himself anything worthy of attention. Once he left New York however, and acquired even greater fame in Italy after 1860, more people in New York claimed a connection to him, especially Italian Americans seeking belonging and a personal connection to Garibaldi the patriot.

In New York, Garibaldi's reputation as a revolutionary on both the liberal and correct side of history merged with his image as a patriot. "He would become one of the most compelling myths of post-unification Italy, embodying two opposing ideals that could attract both Right and Left - that of father of his country and that of symbol of

¹⁶ Bonvini, *Diasporas*, 65.

¹⁷ Richard N. Juliani, *Building Little Italy: Philadelphia's Italians Before Mass Migration* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1998), 186.

permanent opposition.”¹⁸ As early as 1857, a soldier of fortune, Hugh Forbes would write a *Manual for the Patriotic Volunteer*, a popular yet formal handbook that the Convention of Liberal Societies in New York wanted translated for French and German immigrants. When writing about guerilla bands and insurrectionist initiatives on “Popular or Irregular War,” Forbes stated that Garibaldi’s retreat from Rome in the summer of 1849 was laudable because it provided a foundation for his eventual success.¹⁹ This supports the work of Historian Lucy Riall, who also concluded that Garibaldi’s losses in Italy in 1848-1849 paled in importance when compared to the image created by the mere attempts in rebellion.

Forbes fought under Garibaldi in Italy and emigrated to New York to become a journalist and mercenary strategist. Perhaps most notably, “John Brown came to New York in 1857 looking to raise money for his anti-slavery ventures” and sought out Forbes as a military adviser.²⁰ Unfortunately, Forbes proved to be an outright mercenary and threatened to expose John Brown’s plans for slave revolt in Virginia and his additional financial backers in Congress if he did not pay him promptly.²¹ During the time Forbes was in New York, liberal societies were largely represented by universal forms of republicanism as various leagues and unions were interested in social reform. They were composed of Americans opposed to the practices and extensions of slavery. In these contexts, Garibaldi’s name also inspired patriotism with fundraising capacities fostered

¹⁸ Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, (Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 24.

¹⁹ Hugh Forbes, *Extracts from the Manual for the Patriotic Volunteer on Active Service in Regular and Irregular War, Being the Art and Science of Obtaining and Maintaining Liberty and Independence*, (New York: W.H. Tinson, 1857), 19-20.

²⁰ Lida L. Greene, “Hugh Forbes, Soldier of Fortune,” *The Annals of Iowa*, 38 no. 8 (1967): 610.

²¹ Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 362n.

by interest groups coalescing around a northern strategy to wage a war against the system of slavery. This patriotic essence, of Garibaldi association with liberal pragmatists such as Abraham Lincoln and abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, was much more common in the nineteenth and early twentieth century than in subsequent generations. New Yorkers were not alone in raising money for Garibaldi campaigns overseas as cities across America held concerts, meetings, and events in support of Italian unification. The people of New York established a “Million Rifles Fund,” and generated nearly \$100,000.00 for the “Yankee of Italy.”²² Garibaldi wrote a thank you note to his good American compatriots regarding the Garibaldi Fund, and had it published in *The New York Times* on December 14, 1860.²³ As Garibaldi memory continued further into the twentieth century however, it moved away from a form of liberal internationalism and evolved into a more provincial localism.

Garibaldi as Patriot and the Mid-Nineteenth Century Illustrated Press

The highly acclaimed cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902) provided some of the more intriguing examples of Garibaldi as a patriot. Nast, mostly known for critical caricatures, emerged as one of the more talented illustrators of the day, and Garibaldi’s fame coincided with the invention of the illustrated newspaper. By 1860, Garibaldi had fully captured the imagination of Nast, whose drawings and illustrations then captured the imagination of New Yorkers and the United States in 1861. Before moving to work at *Harper’s Weekly* in 1862, Nast drew for *New York Illustrated News*. The invention of the illustrated newspaper in 1850 coincided with Garibaldi’s entry to New York. By 1860,

²² Adam Goodheart, “Hero of Two Worlds,” *Opinionator, The New York Times*, December 4, 2010.

²³ Giuseppe Garibaldi, “The Garibaldi Fund,” *The New York Times*, December 14, 1860, 4.

publications like *Harper's Weekly* featuring Garibaldi on horseback à la George Washington attested to his popularity in America.²⁴ During this time, Nast acquired a skill for depicting detailed heroic and militaristic scenes.



FIGURE 2.0 Famous American Garibaldi image on cover of *Harper's Weekly*, 1860.

Art historian Melissa Dabakis, who studies the politics of American women artists and sculptors in nineteenth century Rome, also included Nast's travels to Sicily and Naples in her work.²⁵ Nast went to Italy to cover and capture Garibaldi's unification

²⁴ Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004) 125.

²⁵ Melissa Dabakis, *A Sisterhood of Sculptors: American Artists in Nineteenth Century Rome* (State Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2014).

exploits, thus relaying a visual reputation to New York that highlighted his heroism.²⁶ Historian Fiona Deans Halloran argued that Nast saw in Garibaldi “the political ideals of his youth” and traveling with Garibaldi provided for an opportunity to capture the “essence of European liberalism in action.”²⁷ Nast referred to Garibaldi as “a patriot whose religion and whose motto were combined in one word – Liberty.”²⁸ It was allegedly Nast who first commented that the Garibaldi red shirt had been inspired by New York City firemen, a profession associated with a zealous devotion to the nation.²⁹ Garibaldi, we know, did not receive the idea while in New York, although he added brass buttons to the shirt; as the final refinement to the red shirt was likely made in New York.³⁰ Further, the shirt went through several stages of evolution.³¹

Harper’s Weekly, *Frank Leslie’s* and *The London Illustrated News* featured Garibaldi patriotic exploits frequently throughout the 1850s and 1860s thus manufacturing a connectedness to New York and America. One 1859 issue stated that “We are glad to be able to present our readers with a portrait of the famous Italian patriot Garibaldi, whose exploits on the slopes of the Alps are at present in everyone’s mouth. *Joseph* Garibaldi (my emphasis on the Americanized first name) is the type of the gallant soldier of fortune to whom the excitement of war is a necessity.”³² Lucy Riall also

²⁶ Melissa Dabakis, *A Sisterhood of Sculptors: American Artists in Nineteenth Century Rome*, 122.

²⁷ Deans Halloran, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 50.

²⁸ Deans Halloran, *Thomas Nast*, 51.

²⁹ Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 29.

³⁰ Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, 25.

³¹ Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, 25.

³² “Garibaldi and His Legion,” *Harper’s Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, (3) 129, 385.

argued how *Harper's* presented Garibaldi's life as a triumph and as a patriot that most deserved the tears of Romans.³³ When a Garibaldi drawing graced the cover of *Harper's* in 1860 it was to show immigrants that support for Italy and the United States were parallel Federal interests.³⁴ *Harper's* went so far as to picture Garibaldi wounded in 1862, a rare way to feature anyone on a cover, with a passage on the inside of the page that reminded New Yorkers of Lincoln's command offer. It read that Garibaldi, "immediately replied, being wounded and as a prisoner, he could not yet dispose his future movements, but that if he regained his strength and his liberty, he would at once offer his sword to the United States which was fighting for freedom throughout the world."³⁵ Since Garibaldi was injured he could easily say, 'If I was healthy I'd help.' This nonetheless served as part of the memory of Garibaldi and Lincoln, whereas the archives reveal Garibaldi uninterested in serving in the American Civil War, because it lacked a clear commitment to universal abolition and full command of the army.

Garibaldi as Patriot: The American Civil War

Publications such as *Harper's* and Nast's creations and portrayals of Garibaldi as Patriot were unique like Hugh Forbes's handbooks in the same sense that the Garibaldi cult in New York started during Garibaldi's lifetime. And the emergence of the Garibaldi Guard (also formed while Garibaldi was still living) provided another noteworthy development in the Garibaldi as patriot category. Founded on July 4, 1861, it was the 39th New York Infantry Regiment of the Union Army that engaged in the American Civil War. The Guard, largely German, Italian, and Hungarian, was assembled in New York

³³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 361.

³⁴ "Garibaldi: Conqueror of Italy," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, 4 (203).

³⁵ "Garibaldi, Wounded and a Prisoner," *Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*, 6 (304), 674.

City under Hungarian officer Frederick George D'Utassy and was active from 1861-1865.

Popular images of The Garibaldi Guard featured President Lincoln presiding and reviewing them on July 4, 1861.³⁶ There is a well-known 1861 image featuring an Italian flag recruitment poster with the words “Dio e Popoli” (“God and the People).” This is the same wording on the flag “which had flown over Roman embattlements during the ill-fated Roman Republic” in 1849, one year prior to Garibaldi’s arrival in New York.³⁷ American Civil War recruiting posters were politically intense and aimed at attracting immigrant groups. The posters attempted to rally them to the Union cause as some Italian immigrants “had already taken part in the Risorgimento and Garibaldi’s fight for Italian independence and unification.”³⁸ In other words, Garibaldi’s foreign struggles were successfully domesticated and appropriated especially for local New Yorkers interesting in promoting appeals to patriotism.³⁹

³⁶ The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., Helen Barolini, et al., *Images: A Pictorial History of Italian Americans* (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), 18.

³⁷ The Center for Migration Studies of New York, *Images*, 18.

³⁸ The Center for Migration Studies of New York, *Images*, 18.

³⁹ Professor of American Studies, Paolo Gemme, writes about the domestication of foreign struggle and the shaping of Italian and American identity.



FIGURE 2.1 Garibaldi Guard Poster, 1861. (Center for Migrations Studies of New York)

Aside from the political and military allegiances this infantry created at the time, the regiment captured the imagination of the average New Yorker interested in fusing Garibaldi with American patriotic endeavors. July Fourth already provided powerful symbolism, but now the American Civil War and the politics that accompanied it, made the Garibaldi memory project cumulative and twice as powerful.

In fact, the Garibaldi Guard still accepts members as part of the broader Civil War reenactment industrial complex highlighting “the manifestation of the unresolved nature

of that war.”⁴⁰ ‘Company A’ of the 39th New York Voluntary Infantry still participated in events as late as 2020. The founders of that group indicated that “as a living history association, it will perpetuate the contribution of the diverse immigrant soldiers who fought for the goals of liberty, equality, fraternity.”⁴¹ They went on to say that “In keeping with the regiment’s diverse traditions,” membership was open to young people and those of all backgrounds and included women who performed traditional roles of support personnel.⁴² It is likely that reenactments of this type, including the dated and scripted roles for women, are actually engaging in specific promotional forms of nostalgia more so than broader historical themes. Further, Civil War reenactments are not rare instances of patriotic symbolism, but the Garibaldi related ones, seemingly to advance notions of the inclusion story of multicultural immigration, are perhaps less common. It could be that the Garibaldi Guard and the Civil War offer such a deep history, too difficult to ascertain, that it is easier packaged as a local commodity and community event, with pageantry, simplicity, and a straightforward wholesomeness. In any event, these instances certainly reveal how Garibaldi’s legacy and regional significance fostered patriotism in New York.

Garibaldi: Born on the Fourth of July

The fact that Garibaldi was born July 4, 1807, served as an obvious and built-in expediency for commemorators in connecting his life with American independence. The Garibaldi-July Fourth connection produced a nostalgic feeling and a patriotic parallel in

⁴⁰ Michael Strauss, “A Framework for Assessing Military Dress Authenticity in Civil War Reenacting,” *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 19 no 4 (2001): 145-157.

⁴¹ Nancy Cacioppo, “Civil War Re-Enactors Perpetuate Memory of Garibaldi Guard,” *The White Plain Journal News*, February 11, 2000, 3.

⁴² Nancy Cacioppo, *The Journal News*, 3.

the same way historian Michael Kammen wrote about Lincoln's assassination on Good Friday in 1865. Lincoln's death elicited convenient analogies between the martyred president and Christ.⁴³ On July 5, 1907, *The New York Times* wrote of Garibaldi that "his fame is well worth remembering on our own Fourth of July."⁴⁴ The power of his July Fourth birthday was not small and the convenience in the utilization of it was not lost on New Yorkers.

July 4, 1907, marked both the centennial of Garibaldi's birth and Independence Day's significance in the nation's capital. It was there in Washington, D.C. that Philadelphian Giovanni Di Silvestre (1879-1958), who co-edited the Italian language newspaper *Il Popolo* along with his brother Arpino, visited the Columbia Theater to meet with the Italian societies of Washington.⁴⁵ At this event, they shared how Italy supported "the Fourth of July having been set aside by the Italian government as a national holiday to do honor to Garibaldi's memory."⁴⁶ About a month before this event, July Fourth sentiments had such an impact on Italian legislators in Europe that they planned to make it a national holiday as a fit recognition of the centenary of Garibaldi's birth in Italy.⁴⁷

Ironically, Garibaldi's global history shaped his legacy and memory in the United States, and in turn, his reputation as a patriot in New York drove a memory project formed in Italy as well. When the Italian Historical Society of America took part in an

⁴³ Michael Kammen, *Mystics Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 204.

⁴⁴ "Garibaldi," *The New York Times*, July 5, 1907, 6.

⁴⁵ "Italy to Celebrate the Glorious Fourth: Garibaldi Centennial Will Be a National Holiday, Second Birthday of Future Kaiser," *The Argus* (June 30, 1907): 13.

⁴⁶ Scott M. Ladd, "Italians Honor Garibaldi: Memory of Soldier and Liberator Lauded at Mass Meeting, G. de Silvestre of Philadelphia Describes Hero's Contributions to Cause of Progress and Liberty," *The Washington Post*, July 15, 1907, 4.

⁴⁷ "Political Notes," *The New York Sun*, June 23, 1907, 32.

annual July Fourth, 1964, wreath laying ceremony at the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square, it included a speech by director and founder John LaCorte (1910-1991). LaCorte started the efforts to name the Verrazzano Bridge that connected Brooklyn and Staten Island. His speech, that included the words, “Garibaldi lived and died with the spirit of July Four,” was entitled, “Would Garibaldi Be Proud of *Italy* Today?”⁴⁸ According to the local reporting made by *The Greenwich Villager*, the wreath laying tradition on Garibaldi’s celebratory birthdays took place from 1956-1973. Most likely, New York’s wreath tradition was borrowed from the Italians of the late nineteenth century when they honored the Garibaldi monument in Rome. Conversely, both Italy and Germany celebrated the “glorious Fourth” in 1907 along with American compatriots.

Garibaldi’s birthday was fixed, but the political evolutions of the social groupings around his memory and July Fourth birthday were only in the beginning stages of social construction, especially in cities like Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York. By 1906, the Patriotic Sons of Italy had six lodges in New York. After 1907, the Italian flag would still appear at Garibaldi inspired events, but it was becoming increasingly more common to see it joined by American flags, emblems, songs, and explosive firecrackers.

Historians that study the history of the Fourth of July point out how the routines of the holiday changed over time. For example, Historian Adam Criblez, in a study of the Fourth in American midwestern cities, stated that starting in the mid-nineteenth century the day shifted from a social and civic event to an overt nationalistic and nativistic one. Criblez explains how the Civil War impacted the perception of the holiday, brought in new debates about sectionalism, and saw a greater prominence to how African Americans

⁴⁸ A Wreath for Garibaldi, *The Villager*, July 2, 1964, 1.

perceived the day. He also argues that from 1857-1865, celebrations around the Fourth altered the meaning of American Independence while redefining nationalism.⁴⁹ In essence, successful custody of the Fourth and securing its significance depended on the time and historical circumstance. Whether it was to rebrand the Founding Fathers, advance nativism, increase nationalism, enter a state of complacency, or to serve as a form of entertainment and consumption, the purposes of July Fourth and Garibaldi's birthday saw a similar versatility in New York.

In his study of understanding the commemoration of the Fourth of July in the Reconstruction Era South, Historian Jack Noe pursued it "in terms of identity and national belonging."⁵⁰ Similar to the work of Historian David Blight, who studies the American Civil War and modern memory, Noe is interested in examining "in a comparative light, African Americans' engagement with national identity and their use of commemoration to stake a claim to full citizenship and American identity in the post-Civil War era."⁵¹ Italian Americans were also trying to stake similar claims in New York throughout much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, Garibaldi could be presented in New York by commemorators for their own sets of purposes. Maintaining Garibaldi as patriot required both the manipulation and convenience of his July Fourth birthday. Highlighting Garibaldi as a local hero and promoting his global celebrity was a method for achieving provincial harmony throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As late as 1960, the Staten

⁴⁹ Adam Cribblez, *Independence Day Celebrations in the Urban Midwest, 1826-1876* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2013), 70.

⁵⁰ Jack Noe, *Contesting Commemoration: The 1876 Centennial Independence Day, and the Reconstruction-Era South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2021), 3.

⁵¹ Noe, *Contesting Commemoration*, 2.

Island Philatelic Society issued a commemorative Garibaldi stamp, calling him the “Champion of Liberty” and the “Italian Patriot” featuring a United States postage stamp in red, white, and blue. (I later explain how the stamp became a form of political speech). The Sons of Italy, (now the Order Sons and Daughters of Italy in America), officially recognizes July Fourth as the “Birthday of Giuseppe Garibaldi” and “Independence Day” in their 2023 printed calendar which advertises their foundation.

In short, the celebrations of the Fourth served to distract from the reality of political and social divisions on the ground for Italian Americans. The day remained complicated however, throughout the nineteenth century. In 1852 for example, Frederick Douglass (1817-1895) (a Garibaldi advocate, not a skeptic) famously questioned the meaning of the Fourth of July to cite dehumanizing injustice for the enslaved people. Art and Architecture Historian Kirk Savage cited, the *Celebration by the Colored People’s Educational Monument Association in Memory of Abraham Lincoln on the Fourth of July 1865 in the Presidential Grounds*, and its use by abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet (1815-1882). Garnet was a leading black activist, that invoked Douglass to promote a national freedmen school in honor of Lincoln.⁵² Instances such as these, show how patriotism around the July Fourth holiday could be subjective and malleable for people from different perspectives, in need of the necessary political capital that the holiday could offer. Celebrating the day had different purposes for different groups at different times. Regarding the Fourth, Douglass by 1860, “was interested in the historical controls that shape collective identity, noting that ‘man’s ability wholly depends upon surrounding

⁵² Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 233n.

circumstances.”⁵³ The ways in which the Fourth of July shaped collective identity around Garibaldi remembrance were evident in New York as the commemorators excelled in appropriating the holiday and Garibaldi’s birthday, especially during times or instances that required American cohesion. And since Garibaldi’s statue was placed in Washington Square Park in 1888, this further reinforced his reputation as the founding father of Italy (like America’s Washington) and as the adopted great man of the Italian community in lower Manhattan.

In an 1894 edition of *The Argosy*, Samuel N. Parks wrote, *Garibaldi, The Patriot* and stated:

Down in Washington Square, New York, where the Washington Arch tell its story of American veneration for American liberty, and where the lighted cross on the Judson Memorial Church tells of a man who gave his life to bring liberty of thought to caste bound heathen, there is a bronze statue, whose artistic merit is not great, but which greets every Italian who reaches the shores as a friend in a strange land, showing that the men who fought for the freedom of Italy are honored on American soil. This statue is that of Giuseppe Garibaldi, who was born with a free heart and a hand to be raised against oppression wherever found.⁵⁴

Argosy, incidentally, founded on the year Garibaldi died in 1882 was the first pulp magazine in the United States and held a wide readership to forge this type of Garibaldi as patriot propaganda in connection to a wider audience. The article is a clear case of domesticating a foreign struggle. Only in this case, instead of American Studies, local history and its applications of patriotism are the devices used to translate Italian freedom fighting.

⁵³ John Ernest, *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 240.

⁵⁴ Samuel N. Parks, “Garibaldi, The Patriot,” *The Argosy*, 18 (1894): 567.

Garibaldi as Patriot in Mass Produced Print Media at the Turn of the Century

American scholars like H. Nelson Gay collected most Risorgimento and Garibaldi works and bolstered Garibaldi's patriotic ideal in books written throughout the United States and England, aside from popular magazines and illustrated newspapers. In 1888, Howard Blackett wrote, *Garibaldi: Italian Hero and Patriot*, a hagiographical account that covered Garibaldi's character, hardships and adventures, and unsurpassed bravery. In 1897, author R. Corlett Cowell would write the biography, *Joseph Garibaldi: Patriot and Soldier*. The book that anglicizes Garibaldi's first name, thereby altering his identity for English speaking audiences, starts with an opening chapter that sets out to explain to readers in a practical and hagiographic sense his "Home, Boyhood, and Early Manhood." The story then proceeds to summarize Garibaldi's seemingly infallible career in South America, Europe and briefly mentions New York. The work uses Garibaldi's autobiography (a merely scripted poetic tale in its own right), as Cowell attempts to romanticize Garibaldi and increase audience enthusiasm for popular history with the uses of memoir, poems, and sonnets. Although Cowell doesn't detail Lincoln and Garibaldi's connection to America, the story underscores political unity and "the spirit of freedom."⁵⁵ He writes, "The story of Garibaldi's life teaches us the marvelous power of a dominant purpose and of steadfast fidelity to an ideal."⁵⁶ That is to say, when it came to marketing Garibaldi's historical reputation to the Atlantic World, the real international figure and history wasn't suppressed, but still needed to infer an idyllic American-centric vision of a patriot named Garibaldi. His stay in New York in 1850 produced the humble,

⁵⁵ R. Corlett Cowell, *Joseph Garibaldi: Patriot and Soldier* (Charles H. Kelly, London, 1897), 121.

⁵⁶ Cowell, *Joseph Garibaldi*, 121.

reflective, and self-sacrificing foundation Garibaldi needed to succeed for the Italian land he longed to liberate in 1860. From the 1830s to the 1850s, it was assumed that New York could play a role in somehow organizing Italian unity at home and abroad.

After 1860, in the New York press and in American stories about Garibaldi, it became understood that ideas around Italian unification passed through New York first. The work of Cowell, largely propaganda, still however managed to discuss Garibaldi's foreign struggle accurately, even though it reflected and relied on the early characterizations and several features of the Garibaldi historiography: a dedication to "great men," the promotion of unassailable leadership, writing with less dependence on the archives, and served as the progenitor for bolstering and standardizing the history of political unification in Europe. All the while appeals to patriotism served as a vehicle to articulate this type of work.

It is the same way that author Edgar Sanderson wrote about Garibaldi in 1900 when he authored *Hero Patriots of the Nineteenth Century*, a book published in London and New York. Even though the book included seven distinct chapters on the broader topic of patriotism, Garibaldi was chosen to represent the book in the frontispiece and Sanderson saved Garibaldi for the last chapter to summarize nineteenth century patriotism. He wrote that "Garibaldi will stand out before the eyes of posterity as the noblest of citizens and patriots, as a man who was a conqueror but no statesman, not always wise, but never debased by any thought of self, a true and perfect gentleman to all who knew his unstudied grace and natural dignity, the signs of a great heart and of a

sweet and manly nature which revealed itself in every word and action.”⁵⁷ In essence, Garibaldi emerged as a patriot in books for readers young and old throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁸ Often the message of love of country by authors such as Cowell and Sanderson was accompanied by a messianic message and vision. Garibaldi was a part of New York City and patriotic lore. Praising him, with the word “Patriot” in individual titles, became part of a mainstream tradition of “civil religion,” at the turn of the century especially.⁵⁹ Civil religion here, means Garibaldi’s memory was crafted into a way of articulating world history through ritual and a unified vision of belonging and identity to America and England and their desires and demands for patriotism and nation building.

⁵⁷ Edgar Sanderson, *Hero Patriots of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hutchinson and Co. Paternoster Row, 1900), 295.

⁵⁸ Albert Payson Terhune, “Historic Heartbreakers, No. 36 Garibaldi, Patriot and Heart Winner,” *The Evening World Daily Magazine*, April 13, 1912.

⁵⁹ Robert Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus*, 134 no. 4 (1967): 40-45.

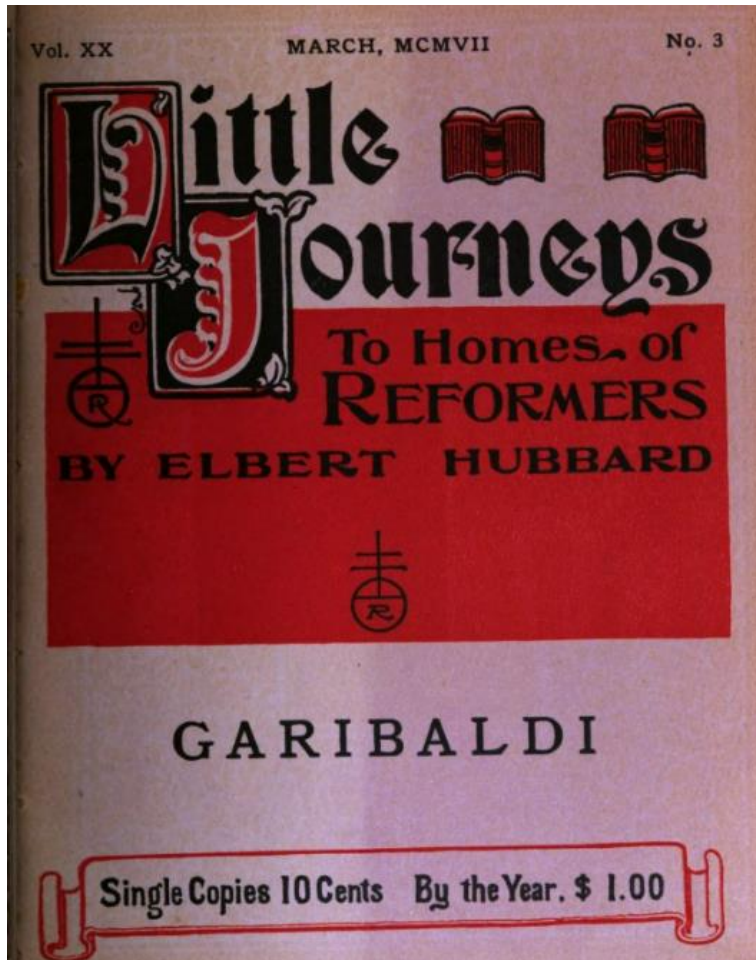


FIGURE 2.2 *Little Journeys*, a series on Reformers in 1907. Books and pamphlets for young readers, such as this one described the patriotic virtue of Garibaldi.



FIGURE 2.3 The Italian daily, *l'Italai*, celebrates Garibaldi's 100th birthday. Features George Washington with both men seen as gentle and wise lions that complement each other across time and space.

In 1911, F.A. Mitchel wrote *What a Yankee Did: The Historical Study of the Time of Garibaldi*, a historical fiction piece about an American's attempt to serve as an envoy in Garibaldi exploits. This showed the extent to which Americans would go to insert themselves into a growing consciousness around Garibaldian memory and history. Around the same year, newspapers featured a series of published biographies and vignettes about Garibaldi and other famous figures, entitled, "Historic Heartbreakers."

The article conflated his “holy cause of liberty” with his search for the love of the ideal woman, which turns out to be his second wife Anita, who “shared his life of wild peril.”⁶⁰ In essence, every opportunity was taken and used to heighten Garibaldi’s emotional appeal to the citizenry.⁶¹

Aside from young reader books, moral tropes commonly extended into the world of advertising. For instance, companies like Anheuser-Busch saw opportunities to claim Garibaldi as Patriot yet attempted a more toned down and moderate form of praise because of the sensitive issues alcohol posed at the time. Although alcohol sales and consumption hardly stopped in New York, prohibition regulations gradually approached during the World War I era. A 1914 Budweiser beer advertisement (commonly ran in multiple news outlets) in New York’s *The Evening World* featured a sizeable “Great Patriot” layout and read, “In the cause of Personal and National Liberty this modern Rienzi [sic] of sunny Italy would have gladly laid down his life.”⁶² The copy went on to read, “Garibaldi would not have legislative tyranny of any kind enter his own private life any more than will our millions of liberty-loving Italian citizens. His flaming soul scorned any legislation which would prohibit ALL because ONE man out of *thousand* imbibes in gluttonous qualities. He knew that the light wines of Italy and the barley brews of Germany are beneficial to humanity.”⁶³ The substantive and lengthy text continued with, “Upon an old Germanic basis of 57 years ago Anheuser-Busch, brewers of

⁶⁰ Albert Payson Terhune, “Historic Heartbreakers, No. 36 Garibaldi, Patriot and Heart Winner,” *The Evening World Daily Magazine*, April 13, 1912.

⁶¹ Historian Lucy Riall outlines the “emotionally appealing” nature of Garibaldi’s cultlike status.

⁶² Cola di Renzo was a populist Roman senator and rector of fourteenth century Italy that advocated for abolition of the pope and Italian unification. He was an important symbol of the nineteenth century Risorgimento.

⁶³ Budweiser, Anheuser-Busch Agency, New York and A. Busch Bottling Co., Brooklyn, “Garibaldi, Italia’s Great Patriot,” beer advertisement, *The Evening World*, May 1, 1914, 10.

Budweiser, established their brand. The Constitution of the United States is the sole authority upon which they launched their business in America. Every day these 57 years have been devoted to the brewing of an honest Barley-malt and Saazer Hop brew—the kind that means Temperance throughout the world.”⁶⁴

"NATIONAL HERO SERIES" NO. 2

GARIBALDI-ITALIA'S GREAT PATRIOT

In the cause of Personal and National Liberty this modern Rienzi of sunny Italy would have gladly laid down his life. It inspired him to deeds of immortal grandeur, of superb valor and of boundless suffering. Garibaldi would not have legislative tyranny of any kind enter into his own private life any more than will our millions of liberty-loving Italian citizens. His flaming soul scorned any legislation which would prohibit ALL because ONE man out of thousands imbibes in gluttonous quantities. He knew that the light wines of Italy and the barley brews of Germany are beneficial to humanity.

Upon an old Germanic basis 57 years ago Anheuser-Busch, brewers of Budweiser, established their brand. The Constitution of the United States is the sole authority upon which they launched their business in America. Every day of these 57 years has been devoted to the brewing of an honest Barley-malt and Saazer Hop brew—the kind that means Moderation throughout the world. Seven thousand, five hundred people are daily required to keep pace with the public demand for Budweiser. Its sales exceed any other beer by millions of bottles.

ANHEUSER-BUSCH · ST. LOUIS

Bottled only at the home plant.

Becker Brewing & Malting Co.
Distributors Ogden, Utah

Budweiser

Means Moderation

FIGURE 2.4 Italia’s Great Patriot beer advertisement. (*The Evening World*, May 1, 1914)

All in all, the Budweiser beer advertisement had obvious implications for a country filled with European immigrants interested in belonging to a place and seeking American acceptance in the early twentieth century. This advertisement was clever for

⁶⁴ Budweiser, *The Evening World*, May 1, 1914, 10.

several reasons. To uphold Garibaldi as patriot meant to allow beer drinking, while realizing that isolated violations of intemperance shouldn't ruin it for everybody. This beer, with a low or moderate alcohol volume, promoted free enterprise and preserved the memory and the steady Garibaldi Expedition of the Thousand, the unit that ultimately unified Italy in 1860-1861. With an almost literal essence, the imported Risorgimento and Garibaldi formula was being brewed as a domesticated product in the form of a United States beverage. This alcohol advertisement was part of a 1914 national hero series largely geared at German (Bismarck), Polish (Kosciusko), Hungarian (Kossuth), and Italian (Garibaldi) immigrants and more. Their complex global legacies were more easily understood through the lens of American beer.

Even though most historians refer to Garibaldi as a teetotaler, the beer association is not without founding. Historian Derek Beales wrote that "Garibaldi drank to the workmen of the world."⁶⁵ Needless to say, this artifact of Garibaldi material culture is significant because it had such strong and obvious patriotic overtones. At the same time however, it was much more than a piece of material culture advertisement. Like Naomi Klein argued in her famous work, *No Logo*, in 1999, advertisements beyond a certain point are no longer trying to describe or sell a product. They more precisely move into the realm of cultural production and create meaning for the consumer.⁶⁶ Budweiser was selling beer, yes, but also producing Garibaldi and brand meaning and the consumers affiliation with both Garibaldi and patriotism. This Budweiser advertisement could not

⁶⁵ Derek Beales, *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento: Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith, Ed.* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 204.

⁶⁶ Naomi Klein, *No Logo*, (Knopf Canada: Picador, 1999).

have been lost on Staten Islanders, who knew of Garibaldi's work in a brewery in Rosebank.

Historian Lucy Riall explains the difficulty of determining exactly how much patriotic sense was transmitted to people from pamphlets, books, magazine pieces, advertisements and newspaper articles featuring Garibaldi. If the political rhetoric that is explained in the Fourth Chapter (Garibaldi as Politician) of this dissertation is any indication, the impacts on shaping Garibaldi's patriotic legacy in New York were widespread in the culture.

Garibaldi as Patriot in the Era of World War

What was New York City like at the time of the First World War for Italian Americans? "In 1915, when Italy entered World War I, there were as many Italians living in the [New York] city as there were in Palermo, the capital of Sicily."⁶⁷ At this time, when Garibaldi as patriot was not mobilized in print media, he could be seen through the actions of leaders with political capital. By the time Italy had joined the Allies in World War I, *The New York Sun* reported on July 1, 1917, that New York would welcome war envoys and the Prince of Udine from Italy at City Hall, at the Garibaldi Memorial at Rosebank, Staten Island and at the Garibaldi Statue in Washington Square. The American Civil War established Garibaldi's name as a patriotic symbol for wartime and World War I only increased this type of intensity and nationalistic fervor.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 3.

⁶⁸ Daniel Santoro, according to Daniel Santoro, 652 Italians of Staten Islanders participated in World War I, Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY, (F, 128R.9.I8, c66, 1935, no. 1).

The Garibaldi name also resonated with Americans to the point where Garibaldi's son ("the Patriot's son") visited and greeted U.S. troops in Italy at the Garibaldi Monument in Rome in 1918 just a year after a sizable reception at the Garibaldi Staten Island house.⁶⁹ It was during this time that Italian poet Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863-1938) would write, *An Address to the American People*. A portion of it was read aloud by New York commemorators, "Now the group of stars on the banner of the great Republic has become a constellation of the Spring, a propitious sign of sailors armed and unarmed alike, the spiritual token for all nations fighting a righteous war."⁷⁰ It was a poem on the entry of the United States into the Great War and used to mobilize support for the American effort. Although d'Annunzio attempted to portray Garibaldi as a patriot, and later used sensationalism to seize Fiume (a futile attempt of overtaking what is now Croatia), journalist F. Cunliffe-Owen, argued that Garibaldi had actual substance. He said, unlike d'Annunzio, Garibaldi was a person "of such disinterested patriotism that until his death he refused to accept any pension from the Government" or honors from Unified Italy.⁷¹ This all means, to most commemorators, writers and journalists, the temperate Garibaldi was guided by a steady and deliberate patriotic virtue while opportunists like d'Annunzio were not.

For much of the World War I Era, at the local level, especially on Staten Island, there existed a strong push to promote Garibaldi's patriotic virtues as a form of historic

⁶⁹ "American Troops in Italy Greeted by Garibaldi, Patriot's Son," *Watertown Daily Times*, April 5, 1918, A6.

⁷⁰ Helen Barolini, et al., *Images: A Pictorial History of Italian Americans, The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.*, (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), 160.

⁷¹ "d'Annunzio's Coup at Fiume Stirs International Politics: Crisis Brought About by Seizure of Fiume Awakens Sympathy in U.S. For King Emmanuel, Little in Common Between Sensational Poet and Patriot Garibaldi," *The Sun*, September 21, 1919, 7.

value, that lasted through the 1920s and only gained momentum in between the years 1935 and 1950. Garibaldi as patriot carried a symbolism to better carry out middle class vanity projects and civic organizing. Staten Islanders like independent scholar and architect Daniel Santoro (also the first president of the Staten Island Italian Historical Society) led local civic groups, political clubs and societies, and organizations, to renovate Garibaldi's home, promote Italian history and language education, and to launch community events.

On one occasion in the 1940s, Santoro, along with another independent scholar, John Rallo, made a pamphlet entitled, *Lincoln, Washington, and the Italian Contribution*. This promotional and patriotic pamphlet for the Staten Italian Historical Society included vignettes about Filippo Mazzei (1730-1816), a scientist and arms dealer that supported the American Revolution and befriended Thomas Jefferson, Francesco Vigo (1747-1836), a fur-trader and lead financier of revolutionary causes in the American Northwest territories, and Giuseppe Garibaldi, the hero of two worlds, South America, and Europe. Santoro and Rallo wrote, "Having just celebrated 'Lincoln Day,' it is proper and fitting that the Staten Island Historical Society record the high tribute paid by the America's beloved President to Italy's great defender and liberator Giuseppe Garibaldi."⁷²

Garibaldi here, seen as an extension of Mazzei and Vigo, and now perhaps a hero of three worlds, presents a clear message in considering Garibaldi as a part of the overall American frontier and patriotic project and experiment. While portraying Garibaldi as patriot, they also repeated the Lincoln offering of rank of Major General to Garibaldi as

⁷² Daniel Santoro, *Lincoln, Washington, and the Italian Contribution*, Daniel Santoro and John Rallo, Vol. 15 A, Articles by Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Italian Feature Clippings, Staten Island, New York, (MS 59, Box 47).

well as Garibaldi's reply. "If through adverse luck the war in your country should continue," wrote Garibaldi, "I shall overcome all obstacles which impede me and I shall hasten to come to the defense of a people who is so dear to me."⁷³ It wasn't enough that Garibaldi declined the offer, but necessary to include that he was somehow a part of the American Civil War by proxy through diplomatic and sentimental quotations.

Sometimes the easiest way to communicate the power of Garibaldi's memory and career of overseas independence movements and unification was to connect him to these patriotic themes as well as other influential Italians in the United States. Further, for people like Santoro and Rallo, it was a way to depoliticize Garibaldi's name and remove his imagery and association from the explosive nature of Italian American politics and rivalries between competing groups, in pursuit of cooption, during the peak years of Fascist and anti-Fascist rivalry. Additionally, they attempted to legitimize their own historical society in the process.

The local Staten Island press, through editorials and opinion pieces, like ones written by Santoro, connected Garibaldi to American presidents routinely for that matter. In 1946, one article indicated how Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and other "global-thinking presidents" thought along the lines of Garibaldi, the George Washington of Italy.⁷⁴ These were the types of pursuits and thought constructs that placed Garibaldi in the center of a larger patriotic socialization process on Staten Island.

⁷³ Santoro, *Lincoln, Washington, and the Italian Contribution*, Daniel Santoro and John Rallo, Vol. 15 A, Articles by Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁷⁴ Daniel Santoro, *Garibaldi's Stay on Island Described in Pamphlet: Liberator's Life in the Country is Narrated*, 26, July, 1946, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

It made it a place looking for heroes that identified with patriotism and visions of what it meant to be a good American while encapsulating a single story of Garibaldi as patriot.

These sentiments came in handy to rally motivation for the renovation projects of the Garibaldi house over the years, a project carried throughout the World War II era but documented in *The Staten Islander* as early as 1918. For example, one editorial asked, “Speaking of patriotism?” and pointed to the condition of the house stating, “What is dilapidated and what we may call a disgraceful condition.”⁷⁵ The house needed repairs after the makeshift cosmetic overhauling it experienced prior to the World War I era commemorative events in 1907 for the Garibaldi centennial. It was then that a large Greco-Roman-like pantheon was constructed around the house for the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi’s birth with plaster columns and moldings. Such a monument and memorial ought to be improved “for the honor of the patriots and the courageous,” the editorial stated.⁷⁶ Garibaldi was a warrior, sailor, and leader, and turning him into a patriot and republican hero fused nicely with forms and notions of American patriotic rugged individualism. Commemorative memory engineers who sought to renovate the Garibaldi structure were also working to preserve his name because the stakes were high.

Another example of patriotic appropriation was seen in 1939 when The Sons of Italy Grand Lodge, Inc., hosted the Grand Annual Ball and Entertainment “To Promote Educational, Social and Athletic Activities,” at Central Opera House in New York City.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Daniel Santoro, “Garibaldi Memorial, Editorial,” *Staten Islander*, 19, June 1918, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

⁷⁶ Santoro, “Garibaldi Memorial, Editorial,” Staten Island Italian Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁷⁷ Daniel Santoro, Grand Annual Ball and Entertainment to Promote Educational, Social and Athletic Activities, 21, October 1939, Sons of Italy Grand Lodge, Inc., Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 64).

On the cover, featured prominently were George Washington and Giuseppe Garibaldi, the founding fathers of American and Italian nations and identity.

As it turned out, many of the books from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century about Garibaldi often referred to a “frontier” identity and Garibaldi’s patriotic relevance. Even though academics pointed out the myth of the rugged individual on the American frontier as early as the nineteenth century, it obviously persisted well past this date.⁷⁸ Documents located at the New-York Historical Society reveal that Staten Island’s Italian Historical Society commemorated Garibaldi in 1935 and highlighted Giuseppe Mazzini, King Emanuele II, and Camillo Cavour, essentially the Italian American’s most iconic figures to remember during the early twentieth century.⁷⁹ This ceremony also served to promote the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences located in St. George, Staten Island. In 1940, Daniel Santoro created an illustrated print featuring both Garibaldi and Antonio Meucci along with a sketch of their Staten Island home. Pictured above the house were the United States Flag and the State Flag of the Kingdom of Italy in use from 1861-1946. Below the flags it read, “Staten Island, 1850,” the year of Garibaldi’s arrival to New York.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Mody C. Boatright, “The Myth of Frontier Individualism,” *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 22 no.1 (1941): 14-32.

⁷⁹ Commemorazione di Giuseppe Garibaldi, Staten Island Italian Historical Society, 15, October ,1935, 128 R .9. I8 C66, no. 5, New York Historical Society, New York, NY.

⁸⁰ Daniel Santoro, Drawing of 1850, 1940, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY (F .28R, .9, I8 C66, no 7).

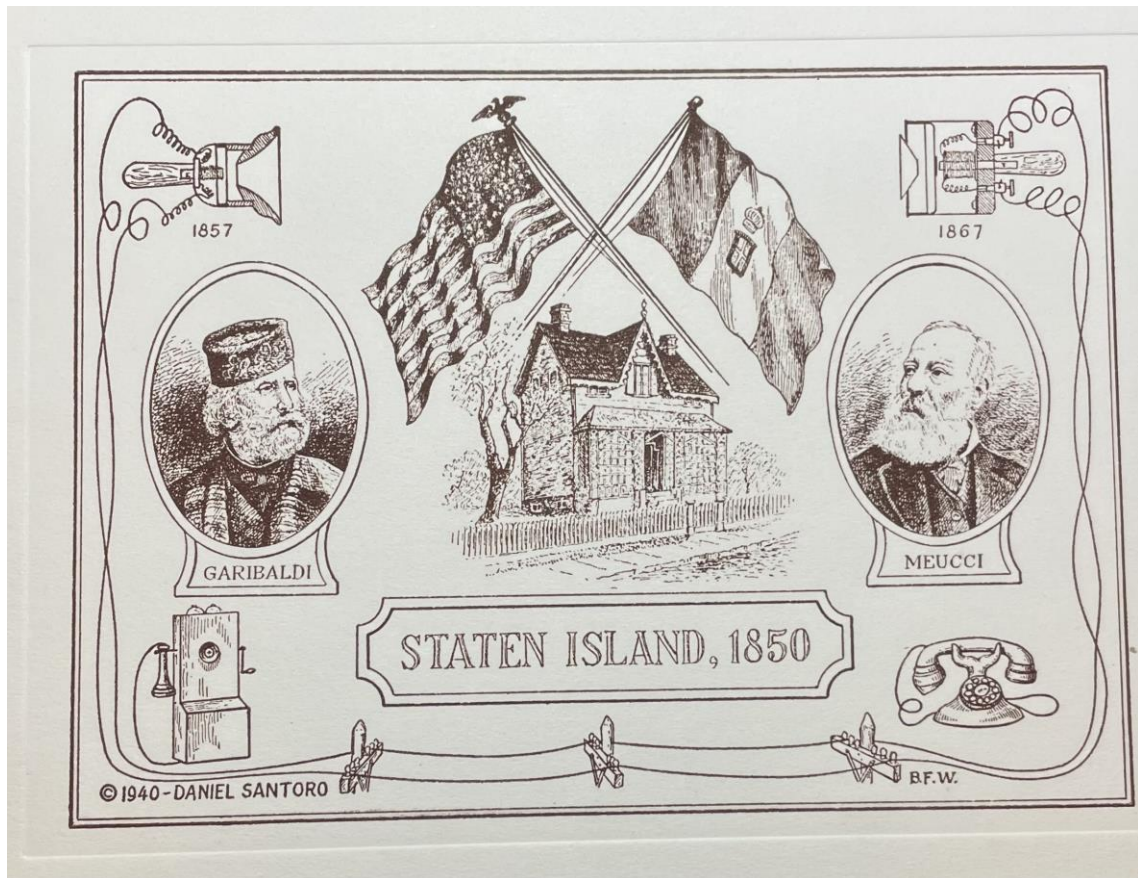


FIGURE 2.5 Staten Island, 1850 by Daniel Santoro, 1940.

Aside from the campaigns to promote good citizenship and civic engagement of Staten Island through heritage education, politics and historical societies and clubs, Santoro made efforts to popularize the “Garibaldi Hymn.” The “Garibaldi Hymn,” according to Santoro was created first as a patriotic poem on the evening of December 19, 1858, in Italy by Italian poet and writer Luigi Mercantini (1821-1872).⁸¹ It was later harmonized by English conductor Anthony Bernard (1891-1963). Santoro stated that the hymn was sung “on the battlefields not with empty words but with blood of patriots and

⁸¹ Daniel Santoro, *The Birth of Garibaldi’s Hymn*, 1935, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society, Staten Island, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY (F 128R .9. I8 c66, no. 2).

supreme sacrifice aiding the cause of Italy setting it free from the chains of foreign masters.”⁸² Lucy Riall also pointed out that the song featured a solo piece that read:

He fought not for self, all his thought was for others.
All earth was his country, Th’ opprest were his brothers, yet dear to his heart
was the land of his father, And freely his life for his country he gave, Come forth
sons of freedom Come join in our welcome!
The cry’s “Garibaldi” who lives but to save.⁸³

The overall point of the song, along with reinforcing patriotism from the commemorators’ standpoint, was that it instilled public awareness and enthusiasm for the Garibaldi name. Associating the hymn with historical sites and events in New York worked well in a place that already had pronounced American and patriotic visuals associated with Garibaldi. The song vaguely referenced Italian unification abroad and reduced historical complexity to the patriotism and sacrifice people identified with at home.

Garibaldi as patriot imagery persisted steadily throughout most of the early twentieth century. For example, in the *New York Evening Post* from Monday, July 6, 1925, it was written that “Visit of Gen. Garibaldi’s Grandson Recalls the Liberator’s Exile Here: While Making Candles on Staten Island, Seeking American Citizenship, Italy’s Emancipator Found the Idea for His Fiery Red Shirts as He Watched a Firemen’s Parade.” This headline was clearly an attempt to imply that Garibaldi had a fondness for American institutions and organizations. The parade Garibaldi watched, if he did watch, was obviously not the inspiration of the “Fiery Red Shirts,” since that uniform and

⁸² Santoro, *The Birth of Garibaldi’s Hymn*, 1935, Papers of Daniel Santoro, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY (F 128R .9. I8 c66, no. 2).

⁸³ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 335.

tradition came out of his leadership in the Independence movements of South America. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this is something that Thomas Nast had also overlooked. Garibaldi's time in Uruguay from 1836-1848 is where the Red Shirts first mobilized under Garibaldi's command at Montevideo, specifically in 1843, seven years prior to his arrival in New York. The 1925 article further stated that after he turned down Lincoln, "Garibaldi never returned to the nation he had sought so diligently to adopt," without mentioning that Garibaldi's attempt at U.S. citizenship was merely to assume control of a U.S. merchant ship.⁸⁴ Further, not only was Garibaldi okay with turning down Lincoln's offer militarily, more than ten years after leaving New York, but he was also quite content on leaving New York in the early 1850s altogether, a place he found boring and uninspiring.

Historian Alfonso Scirocco wrote that Garibaldi's time on Staten Island, was a place "insufficient for a man of [his] energies."⁸⁵ [It] was uneventful as "there was very little to do on Staten Island and the ban on hunting rabbits, quails, and other animals restricted even that past time."⁸⁶ On Staten Island, "Garibaldi was grave, melancholy and spoke very little. Unable to adapt himself to the idle life lived by so many exiles, he was tormented by his anxiety for movement and for work."⁸⁷ This inspired him to hunt for

⁸⁴ Mann Hatton (pseud.), "Visit of General Garibaldi's Grandson Recalls the Liberator's Exile Here: While Making Candles on Staten Island, Seeking American Citizenship, Italy's Emancipator Found the Idea for His Fiery Red Shirts as He Watched a Fireman's Parade," *New York Evening Post*, July 6, 1925, 8.

⁸⁵ Alfonso Scirocco. *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2007), 194.

⁸⁶ Scirocco. *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World*, 194. (At the same time, Meucci and Garibaldi were frequent visitors at Brezzolari's and Pastacaldi's restaurants in Manhattan on Irving Place where they met with Italian exiles). See: Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

⁸⁷ Vincent A. Caso, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York, in Exile from 1850-1853*, (New York, NY: New American Publishing, 1950), 14.

hours at a time. At one point he was arrested for violating a township ordinance for hunting and was let go by the judge after his fame was allegedly recognized. Garibaldi, supported by his neighbors, stood up in court and politicized the ordeal, “No friends, these officers of the law have done nothing more than their duty and I deserved correction. The Americans make and enforce laws proper to the regulation of their own communities just as we someday hope to do with ours in Italy.”⁸⁸ The ultimate irony of the intensity and memory around Garibaldi as patriot in New York, in proportion to the actual history, is interesting and reveals it as a place developing ways to make Garibaldi an accessible patriotic symbol into the twentieth century once Fascism was in play. Even the most willing and proud promoters of Garibaldi as hero in the late nineteenth century accurately cited the South American origins of the Redshirts and viewed Garibaldi as a global figure. They also noted the need and purpose for Garibaldi to secure an American commercial ship. Furthermore, they would write that in New York, his life was isolated and unhappy.

In all, it is interesting to note that once Fascism entered the American picture, the New York press invented associations with American patriotism like the one found in the *New York Evening Post* from 1925. This type of coverage distorted history and fabricated a memory to perhaps suit the political needs of the time. Some New York politicians in the 1930s wanted to insert Garibaldi in their rhetoric to coopt his fame but steered clear of attracting both the Fascists and anti-Fascist camps. For instance, in 1935, New York Assemblyman Phelps Phelps referred to Garibaldi as “the patriot whose memory will

⁸⁸ Cy Berlowitz, “Italy’s Garibaldi Was Accorded Warm Welcome on Staten Island,” *Staten Island Advance*, September 4, 1966. (According to Berlowitz, Garibaldi appeared in court on another occasion while riding the Staten Island Ferry where he witnessed a case of assault and battery and testified in favor of the victim).

never die in the hearts of his countrymen in every nook and corner of the world. People of all nations, lovers of liberty, of heroism, of loyalty, genius, perseverance, and patriotism, have ordained Garibaldi, ‘the hero of two hemispheres.’”⁸⁹

Just prior to the World War II era, the popular press in greater New York became an influential vehicle to advance Garibaldi as patriot in their headlines alone, at a time when Benito Mussolini remained a darling of the American press.⁹⁰ The *Newark Courier Gazette and Marion Enterprise* from 1941 stated that “Garibaldi the Patriot was Italian Dictator,” and went on to explain how “More than half a century before Mussolini’s rise to power, Italy had a dictator. Modern Italy traces its achievements of this patriot who refused to admit defeat.”⁹¹ This comparison and reference is somewhat deceptive, for the context of Garibaldi’s takeover of Sicily in 1860 under the auspices of the king for about a month was obviously far different from Mussolini’s dictatorial role from 1925-1943.

In 1943, *Life Magazine* referred to Garibaldi as a “genius” that placed patriotic heroic action and republicanism over statesmanship.⁹² The magazine included a photo of Garibaldi’s Staten Island home and stretched his stay there to four years when he lived there for just under two. He was in New York overall for a total of roughly eighteenth months. It was common for people to simply use the years 1850-1854 as the dates spanning his time in New York. These dates simplify a stay from the more accurate 1851-1853 that saw Garibaldi in various parts of New York, reentering a final time before

⁸⁹ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society. Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

⁹⁰ Benjamin Leontief Alpers, *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s-1950s*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 84.

⁹¹ “Garibaldi the Patriot was Italian Dictator,” *Newark Courier Gazette and Marion Enterprise*, June 26, 1941, 15.

⁹² “Italy Looks in Desperation for a Strong Man,” *Life Magazine*, 15 no. 6 (August 9, 1943): 18.

leaving for good. *Life* also featured a drawing of the 1860 rally at New York's Cooper Institute in honor of Garibaldi "who remains as an outstanding patriot" that America admires in the form of statues across the landscape.⁹³ Moreover, *Life* preferred Garibaldi to Mazzini; where Garibaldi was a "patriot" and Mazzini was a "propagandist."⁹⁴ Mazzini, by this time was to the left of Garibaldi in the minds of average Americans that followed the history of Italian unification. Mazzini was carved out by historians as an unrealistic Italian politico, while Garibaldi's reputation as a realist and serious statesman was being secured around the time of the Second World War.

In the June 4, 1944, edition of *Advance News* in New York, a story explained a *National Geographic* comparative chart that featured Garibaldi and Dwight Eisenhower in Gaeta in Southern Italy. Entitled, "Fifth and Eighth Armies in Italy Carry on From Point Where Job Was Done by the Patriot Gen. Garibaldi," it denotes the days of the respective campaigns.⁹⁵ This news clipping essentially historicizes Gaeta as the major fortress to be overcome by Garibaldi forces in 1860-1861 in pursuit of Italian unification and likens it to Dwight Eisenhower's American successes in World War II in Italy. The comparison served as an illustration and as an extension to the fostering of Garibaldian patriotism in Europe and America. Furthermore, in 1945, *The New York Times* reported that the Italian Labor Council was honoring World War II commander Mark W. Clark (1896-1984), conductor of operations in the war's Italian campaigns while referring to

⁹³ "Italy Looks in Desperation for a Strong Man," *Life Magazine*, 15 no. 6 (August 9, 1943): 21.

⁹⁴ *Life Magazine*, (August 9, 1943): 19.

⁹⁵ "Fifth and Eighth Armies in Italy Carry on From Point Where Job Was Done by The Patriot Gen. Garibaldi," *Advance News*, June 4, 1944, 7.

him as “the American Garibaldi.”⁹⁶ This was part of the massive celebration of the 453rd Columbus Day Parade on Fifth Avenue.

These references and comparisons to Garibaldi at times of World War were often pro-U.S. and indifferent to the politics of Mussolini, who professor of American Studies Katy Hull points out, was popular in the U.S. from 1919-1936. The divides between Fascist and anti-Fascist appropriation of Garibaldi defined and increased during this time. By the 1940s, references to Garibaldi were illustrative of his patriotic relevance to New York and showed how Italian unification (the US was ultimately allies with Italy in both conflicts) served symbolically to unite Americans in the war effort. It promoted local and national patriotism. It is true that much of the country was ready to move on and associate World War II successes by simply appropriating Columbus Day and honoring modern day American politicians. Although much less than World War I, Garibaldi and his name association with World War II and New York still showed the staying power and ability of his reinvented name as an ever growing and evolving patriotic trope for its citizens.

Global Garibaldi and his foreign struggle were fully domesticated in America and New York by 1945. In all, much of the New York City anti-Fascist press during the Second World War claimed and mirrored the elevation of Garibaldi’s name overseas. The Italian newspaper, *Combattere* for instance, bemoaned how Fascists had “plunged the Italy of Mazzini and Garibaldi, who were the champions of freedom for all nations, into a war of extermination against all the peoples of Europe.”⁹⁷ Another Italian outlet, *L’Unita*

⁹⁶ “Clark Acclaimed as U.S. Garibaldi: At Columbus Day Dinner He Is Called Leader Who Restored Liberty to Italy,” *New York Times*, October 13, 1945, 15.

⁹⁷ “Nazionalismo-patriotismo,” *Combattere*, November 25, 1944, 2.

Europa, in honor of Garibaldi, called for solidarity and a “United States of Europe,” and referred to him the embodiment of this concept.⁹⁸



FIGURE 2.6 Anti-Fascist World War II era comic book. Emphasizes Garibaldi’s dream for unification, freedom, and democracy. Source: Ralph O. Ellsworth and David T. Marke, *True Comics: Garibaldi: Fighter for a Free Italy*, New York: The Parents’ Institute, 1944.

Garibaldi-Meucci: Joint Commemoration in Post War Years

In the post-war years, in terms of appropriating Garibaldi as a patriot, efforts to commemorate and maintain the Garibaldi house on Staten Island required a new approach. In 1956, the Garibaldi house was rededicated and renamed the Garibaldi-

⁹⁸ “Adessioni repubblicane e mazziniane,” *L’Unita Europa*, January-February 1945, 2.

Meucci Memorial Museum by the Italian ambassador, and later the fourth Secretary General of NATO, Manlio Brosio (1897-1980). Aside from tearing down the hideous pantheon that had been decaying since 1919, it was a chance for the house commemorators, (the house was still preserved by the Order of the Sons of Italy), to reopen it for public view. It was also an opportunity to recognize Antonio Meucci, the inventor and candlemaker on the island who aided, assisted, and comforted the nineteenth-century liberator and fighter [Garibaldi] for democracy while he was in political exile on Staten Island.

The mid-century event was significant for several reasons in understanding how the Garibaldi house promoted American patriotism. First, since the rededication happened as late as 1956, it occurred during a general lull in Garibaldi memory creation as the political potency of his name died down some. Almost a quarter century had passed since Fascists and anti-Fascists used the house to clash ideologically and physically. Secondly, including Meucci's name was important for commemorators. It allowed Staten Island to recognize the Italian Meucci (a member of the welcoming committee for Garibaldi's arrival in New York) who settled in the Americas in 1835 in Cuba, moved to Staten Island in 1850, became a U.S. citizen, and lived in New York for the remainder of his life. Third, on the backburner, it permitted prominent Italians in New York to stay in contact and maintain relationships with Italian diplomats abroad. On the front burner, it let Staten Island local officials carve out opportunities to connect with Italian Americans on Staten Island, attracted to Meucci's status as a modern American citizen and inventor perhaps more so than Garibaldi as an Italian liberator of the nineteenth century. In other words, Meucci's name supplied a steady consistency of

reliable political capital in the quaint locale while stock in Garibaldi's name fluctuated in how it relayed as a patriotic communicative device and symbol. Garibaldi's history and legacy was complicated and messy and reminded people of contentious politics during tumultuous times. Meucci's history and legacy was neat, and that of the apolitical underdog, who made straightforward and successful progress in the face of hard luck.

Because of Garibaldi's overall career as a leader in unification, July Fourth birthday, and connections to Lincoln, his broad legacy presented many opportunities for attachment to American patriotic endeavors and ceremonies. And again, sharing a house with inventor Antonio Meucci in 1850 on Staten Island made yet another point of connection and opportunity. The Italian Historical Society of America would meet there for the 1976 American Bicentennial celebrations to support "Meucci, as the "True Inventor of the Telephone, December 1871."⁹⁹ This claim is not without credence. By dedicating the Staten Island residence as a joint Garibaldi-Meucci site in 1956, Italian Americans doubled its capability to resonate as a patriotic and relevant place of remembrance. By 1988, the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum featured a Fall series of special events including temporary exhibits, Spring, Fall, and Winter concert listings, Sunday afternoons at the opera, courses in Italian, and access to the special collections and library. Garibaldi was listed in Gallery A, as "The Champion of Liberty."¹⁰⁰ He was the primary and lead exhibit alongside Meucci and a Hall Gallery featuring the history of Italian immigration. Many people to this day, as administrator of the Garibaldi-Meucci

⁹⁹ Helen Barolini, et al., *Images: A Pictorial History of Italian Americans, The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.*, (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), 291.

¹⁰⁰ Margot Gayle, Garibaldi-Meucci Museum brochure, Papers of Margot Gayle, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY (Box 9, Folder 24).

Museum Stephanie Lundegard reminded me, are drawn to the museum because of Garibaldi's fame but leave more interested in the history of Meucci.

As the Staten Island house pursued a renovation and rejuvenation plan, efforts that Daniel Santoro pursued painstakingly, the Garibaldi statue in Manhattan continued with its own set of commemorative projects that highlighted patriotism, well into the twentieth century. In 1959 *The Villager* reported on the 157th anniversary of Giuseppe Garibaldi's birth in Washington Square Park at the Garibaldi statue. "The local ceremony in his honor was under the auspices of the Italian Historical Society, *Tiro a Segno* (a rifle club for Italians founded in the South Village in 1888), and The Progressive Era Association (all basically private Italian clubs)."¹⁰¹ The Italian Historical Society conducted ceremonial wreath hangings, the most common form of patriotic veneration of the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park since the World War I era.¹⁰² Wreath hanging started as a tradition on the same year of the Staten Island Garibaldi house rededication in 1956, to commemorate both the Declaration of Independence and Garibaldi's birthday.¹⁰³ Wreaths historically, according to archeologists, served as early Greco-Roman symbols of peace, eternity, victory, unrequited love, and the supreme ruler – they were integral to a visual composition of triumph and glorification.¹⁰⁴ Garibaldi's commemorators were using the wreath, at the Garibaldi Manhattan statue and the Garibaldi Staten Island house respectively, to reinforce the symbolic power of the

¹⁰¹ "Garibaldi Honored," *The Villager*, July 9, 1959, 27, 14.

¹⁰² Italy's Prince of Udine and New York City Mayor John Purroy Mitchel laid a wreath at the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square on July 1, 1917.

¹⁰³ Wreath for Garibaldi, *The Villager*, June 29, 1967, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Dragana Gavrilovic, Jelena Anđelković Grasar, Emilija Nikolić, "Wreath, Its Use and Meaning in Ancient Visual Culture," *Religion and Tolerance: The Journal of the Center for Empirical Researches on Religion*, 10 no. 18, (July-December, 2012): 343.

supreme patriot thus reducing and transforming the Italian Risorgimento into July Fourth wreaths.

Conclusion

This Chapter explained how New York appropriated Giuseppe Garibaldi and turned a global Italian icon into a local American patriot. Using newspapers clippings, magazine articles, letters, pamphlets, brochures and ephemera from The Center of Migration Studies and the New- York and Staten Island Historical Societies I was able to trace the creation of Garibaldi as patriot in New York. Secondary sources and scholarly literature in the way of journal articles and academic press books bolstered the context of this specific research especially in highlighting the significance of July Fourth and Garibaldi's birthday.

Commemorators of Garibaldi, such as authors, independent scholars, and local researchers, contributed to the Garibaldi as patriot image to gain a foothold in the community and to develop a sense of belonging within everyday white middle-class life. Garibaldi memory became more Americanized as the Italian American immigrant population engaged in a process of socialization and assimilation covering the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What started out as a way for Italians to identify with Italy and Garibaldi shifted to a way to better understand Garibaldi's legacy and alignment with Americanism and what it meant to be an American patriot. Lastly, in following the work of Peter Vellon, Garibaldi as Patriot perhaps served as the best example accentuating Garibaldi as white and advancing notions of whiteness. The Civil War, July Fourth, and both World Wars, all promoted more Garibaldi Americanism and provincial forms of

patriotism, and less internationalism in the further promotion of a white identity for the
'great unifier.'

CHAPTER FOUR

Garibaldi as Politician in New York: From Frontier to Foreign Policy

In this chapter, I argue that politicians used politically oriented speech in New York to appropriate and commemorate Garibaldi and how that rhetoric changed over time. Politicians specifically used Garibaldi imagery to bring together the importance of nineteenth century Italian and American unifications. Often the repurposing and political usages of Garibaldi's legacy incorporated his cottage on Staten Island and the bronze statue depicting him in Washington Square Park. The memory of Garibaldi, as well as his image and reputation, used for any political purpose is somewhat ironic since he wasn't a person considered to have that much political ability. A December 1860 letter published in the New York press stated, "Garibaldi is the rage in Milan at present. His portrait is in all the shop windows, and everybody is talking of him and his exploits."¹ The letter explains that despite this, "Garibaldi is no politician and when he was in the Sardinian Parliament, he made some remarks about the session of Nice and Savoy to France which gave offence."² In some ways, Garibaldi's own lack of political interest and ability was turned into a positive attribute. He was seen as a virtuous person without an ego or ambition. For example, New York journalist Frederick Cunliffe-Owen, in foreshadowing poet Gabriele d'Annunzio's proclivity to fascism, upheld Garibaldi's character and pointed out that although Garibaldi was far less gifted with words, he was much more worthy of national and global respect.³ Further, Lucy Riall argued that "[Garibaldi] was

¹ "Original Correspondence: Letters from Europe No.1," *The Freeman's Journal, Otsego County*, (January 18, 1861): 1.

² "Original Correspondence: Letters from Europe No.1," 1.

³ F. Cunliffe-Owen, "D'Annunzio's Coup at Fiume Stirs International Politics," *The New York Sun*, September 21, 1919, 7.

extraordinarily adept at handling this great throng of journalists, he made time to talk to them and be nice to them. He was creating the model of the modern politician.”⁴ New York elected officials and politicians around the world identified with the political usages of Garibaldi’s past and the time he spent in New York. They identified with this international celebrity of action of the nineteenth century to come across well rhetorically and vied for his reflected glory.⁵

When writing about the memory of Abraham Lincoln in American political thought, Shawn Parry-Giles, and David S. Kaufer discuss it in terms of character and style. They argue that “Lincoln reminisces ignited heated debates over the essence of Lincoln’s character and character requirements of those entitled to remember him.”⁶ They claimed that “at the time of his death in 1865, Abraham Lincoln was heralded the savior of the nation and emblemized the future of unity of the country.”⁷ Garibaldi posed for those interested in political speech, the need to shape their own character and essence. New York politicians wanted to convince their listening audiences that they too could save the nation and emblemize the future, and in the case of appropriating Garibaldi, it was for local, regional, national, and global purposes.

Parry-Giles and Kaufer’s study of political communication explained how “Lincoln reminisces integrated a diversity of rhetorical styles and topics that democratized his memory because of their diversity of authorship.”⁸ Appropriating

⁴ “Garibaldi: Master of Spin,” *The Canberra Times*, July 7, 2001, 1.

⁵ Sari Gilbert, “Leaders Vie for Garibaldi’s Reflected Glory,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 26, 1982, 13.

⁶ Shawn Parry-Giles, David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and The Splintering of American Political Thought* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), 43.

⁷ Parry-Giles, David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and The Splintering of American Political Thought*, 75.

⁸ Shawn Parry-Giles, David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and The Splintering of American Political Thought*, 2.

Garibaldi's memory for political speech had obvious benefits for Italian Americans creating social bonds and seeking to maintain or enter political office. Garibaldi's career offered for any politician, or speaker for that matter, opportunities to appropriate Garibaldi's life and to capitalize on the perception of his accomplishment of Italian nation building. Political references to Garibaldi were often self-serving platitudes, and came in the form symbolic actions, made to promote the success of the political figure in appealing to a specific social class, interest group or constituency.

The rhetorical uses of Garibaldi in New York and the actions of government officials had a unique versatility. At any given time, Garibaldi could be promoted as an everyman, leader, immigrant, worker, general, patriot, revolutionary, communist, liberal, or conservative. These facets of Garibaldi in New York have something to do with the history of the person, perhaps described as politically aloof, but much more to do with how the collective memory of Garibaldi fulfilled the needs of these political commentators and commemorators. Mentioning figures like Garibaldi in nuanced ways became a part of what Parry-Giles and Hariman would consider "the social reality of politics."⁹ These politicians and cultural leaders, as John Bodnar indicated in his own work on memory, were self-conscious purveyors of the middle class, loyal to institutions

⁹ Robert Hariman, *Political Style: The Artistry of Power* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 9.

and far more interested in orchestrating commemorative events that eliminated citizen and societal indifference.¹⁰

Political Uses of Garibaldi Legacy at Tammany Hall, 1882

Prior to 1882, and aside from 1850's Italian welcoming committee, the first official New York politician to draw an association to Garibaldi was Mayor Caleb Smith Woodhull (1792-1866), who was set to welcome Garibaldi into the city as a political refuge in 1850. Garibaldi entered New York with the intentions of laying low, (not uncommon for escaped 1848 revolutionaries) to recover physically, (he was in bad health) and to meet regularly with his Italian contacts. He also came to America to earn some money and to retain an American flagship before his next adventure into the Pacific. For example, while in New York "Garibaldi met John Anderson, a rich tobacconist who identified himself with the Italian cause and who may have subsidized some of his later military expeditions."¹¹

The political uses of Garibaldi's celebrity took hold in New York City immediately after his death on June 2, 1882, in Tammany Hall. The *New York Times* reported on June 12, 1882, how "Tammany Hall was filled last evening ... to honor the memory of the late Garibaldi."¹² The stage, galleries and walls of the hall were heavily draped in mourning as American and Italian colors were suspended side-by-side.¹³ Seccidi Sasali, the editor of the Italian immigrant newspaper, *l'Eco d'Italia* introduced Italian

¹⁰ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.

¹¹ Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, (Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 27.

¹² "In Memory of Garibaldi: Italian Ceremonies in Tammany Hall - Addresses by Garibaldi's Former Secretary and Others," *New York Times*, June 12, 1882, 8.

¹³ "In Memory of Garibaldi," *New York Times*, June 12, 1882, 8.

general and scholar Giuseppe Dassi who outlined Garibaldi's life, urging the audience to unite in commemorating his legacy to prevent "the results of Garibaldi's life being lost in his death."¹⁴ Dassi closed his remarks with, "Viva America! Viva Garibaldi! Viva Italia! Viva l'humanita!"¹⁵ During this event, American politician, diplomat, and soldier Daniel Sickles (1819-1914) stated that "everyone who loves Italy mourns Garibaldi. Everyone who admires courage and virtue mourns the great Italian hero. I now have the mournful satisfaction of laying a wreath on his tomb."¹⁶ He used the opportunity to compare Garibaldi to historic Roman heroes, but Sickles also reminded the audience of his own work in the House of Representatives and The Committee on Foreign Affairs. In other words, Sickles used the event to announce and promote his plan to vote in favor of U.S. recognition of a unified Italy.¹⁷ Sickles's comments were likely guided in part by his motivation for reelection into Congress in 1893, something he achieved after serving as United States Minister to Spain in 1874.

Another speaker at Tammany was revolutionary and immigrant from Germany Franz Sigel (1824-1902). He stated that "Garibaldi's idea was that Italy must belong to the Italians and when he had attained that result, he raised the cry 'Rome or death!'"¹⁸ "Rome did not fall by force of arms, but by the force of public opinion,"¹⁹ Sigel stated. These were powerful statements. Here, it was evident that "language choices [were often]

¹⁴ "In Memory of Garibaldi," *New York Times*, June 12, 1882, 8.

¹⁵ "In Memory of Garibald," 8.

¹⁶ "In Memory of Garibald," 8.

¹⁷ "In Memory of Garibald," 8.

¹⁸ "In Memory of Garibald," 8.

¹⁹ "In Memory of Garibald," 8.

... tied to the [speaker's] developing arguments, self-presentation, and audience appeals.”²⁰

The earliest of Garibaldi inspired political stunts in New York featured this type of methodology, only ten days after his death. These types of speeches would take place in halls and parks across the city and cut across class lines. Garibaldi was popular and his following only grew after commemorators learned how to exploit his death.

Washington Square Park's Garibaldi Statue and Political Speech, 1888

The collective memory of Garibaldi was consistently used by politicians in the twentieth century and the speeches from the late 1800s were crucial in setting the stage for Garibaldi inspired rhetoric. This was most evident in the unveiling of the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park in 1888, just six years after Garibaldi's death. 1888 was also the year that New York Senator William M. Evarts (1818-1901) dedicated a bust of Garibaldi to Washington, D.C. In his speech, he stated that Garibaldi “was for two years a resident of New York or its vicinity where he became well known to our citizens and his marked character although not then distinguished by famous achievements.”²¹

The Washington Square Park statue presentation brought out military units, masonic lodges, and private clubs such as, The Garibaldi Legion, The Regiment Alpine and The Botenza Loggia Italiana. Attending were Mayor Abram Hewitt (1822-1903), Italian Minister Saverio Fava (1832-1913), University of the City of New York professor of philosophy Vincenzo Botta (1818-1894), and the co-founder of the widely circulated Italian language newspaper, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, Vincenzo Polidori. The most influential financier of Italian themed public sites, Carlo Barsotti (1850-1927), the

²⁰ Jeanne Fahnestock, *Rhetorical Style: The Uses of Language in Persuasion* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 7.

²¹ Senator Evarts speaking on August 23, 1888, S. 3276, 15th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record* 19, Pt. 8:7863.

businessman and owner of the newspaper, was also in attendance. *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* started a subscription drive fundraiser for the statue's creation.

Founded in 1880, the newspaper apparently raised \$10,000 in funds to create the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park.²² The fact that additional officers of the Italian committees and societies attended the event showed the political importance and expectation to attend the ceremony. There were more than twenty bands at the unveiling and an enormous crowd filled the park from all parts of the United States. Consuls, vice consuls, park commissioners, and secretaries at various government and bureaucratic levels participated in the appropriation of Garibaldi, as the statue's American and Italian flags were removed to the sound of "Garibaldi's March."²³ The *Evening New York World* of July 4, 1888, featured on its front page, "A Day for the Italians," and published Vincenzo Polidori's Lincolnian remarks before he presented the statue to Hewitt: "In the name of the subscribers to this fund, rich and poor, merchants and laborers, I present this appropriate gift to the city, where we find employment and support, where we have an equal chance to rise to fame and honor and position, and where we learn what is free and perfect liberty, democracy and respect for the law and government of the people, for the people, by the people."²⁴

Political speeches in places like Tammany Hall might have been more official, but the Washington Square Park Garibaldi inspired rhetoric wasn't much different and usually carried a similar vernacular tone of rugged individualism. As John Bodnar

²² Peter Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Earliest Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 143n.

²³ "To Garibaldi's Memory; A Statue Erected by His Countrymen. Unveiled and Presented to the City in Washington-Square in the Presence of a Large Crowd," *New York Times*, June 5, 1888, 8.

²⁴ "A Day for the Italians," *The Evening New York World*, July 4, 1888, 1.

outlined in 1992's *Remaking America*, "public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions."²⁵ For example, in New York Mayor Abram Hewitt's 1888 speech, he remarked that:

When our citizens of foreign birth forswear allegiance to all foreign potentates and powers, they do not part with the traditions and memories of their native land. It is right to cherish these memories as one would recall the love of a fond mother from whom we are parted forever. All this is consistent with the new ties which you assume when you become citizens of the United States, whose flag is your flag, and whose glory becomes the first object in your affections. Garibaldi's image will thus stand forever as a warning against domestic strife and as a perpetual monitor of that love of union, for which Italy and the United States have each, in the crises of their destiny, made such heroic sacrifices.²⁶

In other words, as anthologist Mary Hufford asserted, "vernacular versions of history and official (corporate) versions of history instruct one another."²⁷ Hewitt's speech followed a theme outlined by American Studies scholar Paolo Gemme in *Domesticating Foreign Struggles*. That is, he was delineating "American national identity through the comparison of revolutionary Italy."²⁸ New York University art historian Emily Kies Folpe wrote that the mayor drew "a parallel between the Italian struggle for unification and the American war between the states."²⁹ Hewitt had a fair amount of credibility, and he was best known as the main speaker at the opening of the Brooklyn

²⁵ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

²⁶ "To Garibaldi's Memory; A Statue Erected by His Countrymen. Unveiled and Presented to the City in Washington-Square in the Presence of a Large Crowd," *New York Times*, June 5, 1888, 8.

²⁷ Mary Hufford, ed., *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage, Cultural Conservation of Place* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 22n. (Hufford cites Bodnar).

²⁸ Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005) 5.

²⁹ Emily Kies Folpe, *It Happened on Washington Square* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 168.

Bridge while serving in the United States House of Representatives in 1883.³⁰ He was also considered the father of the New York City Subway. Hewitt however, had already gained a reputation for being a nativist and anti-immigrant, which included the lowering of an Irish flag above Tammany Hall in March of 1888, so perhaps his political motivations to strike favor with ethnic Italians in July of 1888 was compensatory and in an effort to gain favorability among immigrant groups.³¹ At the same time, the language in the speech seemed to suggest that Hewitt admired the attendees for seeking pride in the American flag as “the first object in your affections.” This infers that failure to domesticate Garibaldi’s legacy would cause societal complications. The statue’s unveiling featured both the American and Italian flags. Here, the commemorators fused unification, independence, and appeals to patriotism to encourage Italians in taking a step towards Americanization. Italy’s unification was not being erased but merged with America’s. The New York interpretation of Garibaldi was the politician’s invention that ultimately made outsiders feel like insiders when they in fact had very little political capital.

Also at the statues’ unveiling was professor of philosophy and politician Vincenzo Botta. He spoke at length and referred to Garibaldi’s “heroism, valor, humanity and legend,” while indicating that his “historic reality needs no aureola of myth or legend to give its splendor.”³² Botta remarked that:

³⁰ Abram Hewitt, *The Meaning of the Brooklyn Bridge: Speech at the Opening of Brooklyn Bridge, May 24, 1883, Selected Writings of Abram S. Hewitt* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1937), 295

³¹ Florence Elizabeth Gibson, *The Attitudes of the New York Irish Toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1951), 422.

³² “To Garibaldi’s Memory; A Statue Erected by His Countrymen. Unveiled and Presented to the City in Washington-Square in the Presence of a Large Crowd,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1888, 8.

Italians of New York honored by delegations from other cities meet today in this beautiful park, which bears the mortal name of Washington, to celebrate the memory of him who had so large a share in the regeneration of their country, and in the presence of this vast assembly, of the authorities of this great metropolis, and of the representatives of the Italian government, reverently to unveil the noble monument which here in their adopted country will ever speak to them of duty, courage, patriotism, and native land. ³³

Here, Botta is stating that the memory of Garibaldi must be vitally sustained at the institutional level, while later in the speech invoking further political symbolism and at the same time, marking himself as one with political and academic currency.

Botta differentiated his speaking style as he referred to Garibaldi's memory in the context of the ordinary man, yet as an unequalled figure. He invoked Garibaldi's humble beginnings and used melodrama typed rhetoric when he stated that, as:

A sailor and a son of a sailor, Garibaldi possessed the characteristic virtues of that class to an eminent degree. He was honest, frank, and loyal; obstacles stimulated his energy, danger increased his strength. He was endowed with an iron constitution, an indomitable will, and an irresistible magnetic power; he was simple in his manners, frugal in his habits, and shrank with instinctive modesty from all recognition of his great achievements. ³⁴

Botta oversimplified Garibaldi's personal qualities and turned him into a figure with an infallible persona for the audience before continuing to speak on his military career. Speaking as both professor and politician, he cited and conflated Garibaldi as a defender of Montevideo and the Republic of Rome to explain how he was ultimately "treacherously attacked by the army of France." He implies that both events equally led to Garibaldi's fate as a political refugee in New York where he "earned his bread as a common laborer, or when in command of a merchant ship he made extensive voyages on

³³ "To Garibaldi's Memory," *New York Times*, 8.

³⁴ "To Garibaldi's Memory," *New York Times*, 8.

the American and China seas.”³⁵ Botta’s speech, a romanticized timeline of Garibaldi exploits, ends with more references to Garibaldi as a military figure in Europe throughout the later 1850s and then underscores the history of Garibaldi’s role in Italian unification in the early 1860s. In closing he remarked that “today we commemorate the 6th anniversary of the death of the patriot hero.”³⁶

Botta further explained that:

In his life, character, and achievements there is a noble lesson, not only to his own age, but to all future generations. To Italians he leaves the brightest example of patriotism, devotion, and self-sacrifice. To all men he presents the noblest type of hero without fear and without reproach. So, we leave him to his place in history among the few splendid personalities that in ancient and modern times have dazzled the world and given to humanity ideals to admire and to emulate.³⁷

Botta reinforced his own reputation as a Garibaldi expert, and stated what he thought were objective truths about Garibaldi’s actions, career, and life. His rhetoric clearly reflected what historian Peter Novick cited as the Rankean “great man” approach to history that was popularized from 1884-1914.³⁸ In other words, Botta spoke of Garibaldi as a hero plain and simple. He fulfilled the task of presenting history “as it essentially was,” without conflicting archival data.³⁹ The speech by Botta showed how rhetoric could be molded to suit the setting and speaker’s political interests. Like Parry-Giles might argue regarding Lincoln, the ways to discuss a popular figure, in this case Garibaldi, in extremely large audiences required a three-pronged portrayal of him: 1) part common man, 2) part self-made man, and 3) part transcendent figure. “In reality,” stated

³⁵ “To Garibaldi’s Memory,” *New York Times*, 8.

³⁶ “To Garibaldi’s Memory,” *New York Times*, 8.

³⁷ “To Garibaldi’s Memory,” *New York Times*, 8.

³⁸ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question* (Cambridge, England: Oxford University Press, 1988), 28.

Queens College professor of Italian, Frank Rosengarten in 1968, “Garibaldi was not as democratic and equalitarian as the partisans liked to imagine, and there can be no doubt that in 1943 his name was too enfolded in legend to permit a realistic evaluation of his aims and achievements. Yet the fact remains that Garibaldi was not a mere military adventurer, that he did fight in the name of transcendent political ideals.”⁴⁰

“Significantly,” writes Dennis Berthold, “Botta includes Cavour and Victor Emmanuel in his remarks but (at least in the newspaper report) fails to mention Mazzini, an indication of how far the Christian idealist and committed republican had fallen in American esteem.”⁴¹ This demonstrated that as early as 1888 local history was a form of world history when commemorating Garibaldi and Risorgimento figures, and at the same time, differentiated them ideologically.⁴²

The 1888 statue unveiling amounted to an event sponsored by the local Italian language press to draw in a large crowd of prominent civic leaders. The day closed with the final speech by Luigi Roversi (1859-1927), the editor of *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*. According to documents from the New York City Board of Education, Roversi also played a crucial role in inculcating Garibaldi’s legacy via a public lecture series under the direction of the Department of Education of New York through an act of legislation in 1888.

The law “authorized and empowered to provide for the employment of competent lectures, to deliver lectures on the natural sciences and kindred subjects in the public

⁴⁰ Frank Rosengarten, *The Italian Anti-Fascist Press 1919-1945* (Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 1968), 156.

⁴¹ Dennis Berthold, *American Risorgimento: Herman Melville and the Cultural Politics of Italy* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2009), 264.

⁴² Dennis Berthold, *American Risorgimento*, 264.

schools in the evenings, for the benefits of working men and working women.”⁴³ In short, Roversi made brief remarks after Botta in the 1888 statue unveiling that were in line with his lectures prepared for public consumption through the Department of Education of the same year. Roversi and Barsotti both passed away in 1927. The *New York Times* said that Roversi, “was a pioneer of Italian immigration in this country and saw the Italian colony grow from small numbers, some of them distinguished men who exiled themselves on account of political prosecution, and others modest laborers seeking a better opportunity, to a colony as large in numbers as the greatest of Italian cities. He came to New York when Italians were unfortunately regarded as an inferior element.”⁴⁴

Another report issued in 1907, the one hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi’s birth, featured Garibaldi as one of seven prominent individuals to be a featured topic in the night school curriculum. By this time, the Washington Square Park statue designed by Giovanni Turini (1841-1899) of nearly nine feet, was well known for about two decades and stood near the center of the park. It showed “Garibaldi in a working man loose costume, wearing a square cap on his head and about to draw his sword from its scabbard. The pedestal is of Clarks Island granite faces the southwest on the side bearing the inscription, ‘Garibaldi 1807 to 1882.’”⁴⁵ It was a convenient back drop for political speech.

The sources reveal, that at the close of the nineteenth century and at the start of the twentieth, Garibaldi was an established symbol, both literally and figuratively, and

⁴³ Department of Education, The City of New York, *Report of Public Lectures, A University for the People Annual Report of the Supervisor of Lectures to the Board of Education for the Years, 1907-1908* (New York, NY: NY Department of Education, 1907-1908), 120.

⁴⁴ Luigi Criscuolo, “The Late Dr. Luigi Roversi,” *New York Times*, January 10, 1927, 22.

⁴⁵ “To Garibaldi’s Memory; A Statue Erected by His Countrymen. Unveiled and Presented to the City in Washington-Square in the Presence of a Large Crowd,” *The New York Times*, June 5, 1888, 8.

provided a rhetorical device for those seeking political capital in New York. But how was Garibaldi's legacy used in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries? Was Garibaldi the common man for the masses or was he the self-made leader for the few? The easiest way for politicians to present Garibaldi's legacy was to present him as transcendent, while leaving the initial questions of common man and self-made leader unresolved.

The Memory of Garibaldi and Political Speech World War I, 1917-1918

World War I presented an opportunity for politicians to appeal to Italian's devotion to the United States although many urban and agrarian Italian Americans still maintained progressive politics and navigated within a world of political radicalism well into the 1960s.⁴⁶ At the same time, the conflict also saw a depoliticization and shift away from progressive politics and identity for Italian Americans who took the First World War as an opportunity to construct whiteness.⁴⁷ As Garibaldi's patriotic legacy shaped Italian whiteness in the late nineteenth century for Italian American New Yorkers, the political rhetoric associated with Garibaldi's legacy did much of the same and aligned closely at the same time in history. Appropriating Garibaldi to advance nationalism during the first world war was seen in June 1917, when New York Mayor John Purroy Mitchel (1879-1918) spoke at the Garibaldi house on Staten Island and stated that, "every nation has its popular hero." He continued with:

We are here today to pay a tribute of respect to the popular hero of all Italy, the liberator, the unifier of the land from which you and your fathers' came. It is for that tribute that His Royal Highness the Prince of Udine, and this Commission have traveled down to Staten Island in order to testify to the reverence in which is held still in Italy, and ever will be, the memory of Garibaldi...He came here and

⁴⁶ Phillip V. Cannistraro, Gerald Meyer, *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism, Politics, Labor, and Culture* (New York, NY: Praeger 2002).

⁴⁷ Peter Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Earliest Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014).

in this humble cottage, in these surroundings he found employment, and he took fresh inspiration from the democratic institutions of this country and from the ideals that he found here; and, refreshed in his resolve to serve his native country...My friends, this Great War in which we are engaged as the ally of Italy, in which Italy, France, England, and other allied nations are bound together with us in a common undertaking for the liberty of mankind, evidences the fact that the ideals and the aspirations of Garibaldi, Cavour and Mazzini still live in Italian people of today..⁴⁸

These remarks, extremely significant for several reasons, were given as part of a three-day tour of New York for the visiting Prince Ferdinando of Savoy, 3rd Duke of Genoa (Prince of Udine 1884-1963) as the United States was only three months into their official participation of World War I. Italy visited both the Manhattan and Staten Island Garibaldi landmarks and made a pilgrimage across the New York Bay. In the speech, the mayor reassured Italy of allied support in the war effort. He manages to express that Garibaldi was simply a rugged individual who came to New York as a blank slate to learn how to unify his own country and Italy was visiting perhaps to do the same. Mitchell essentially defined Garibaldi and Italian history and identity through the lens of United States foreign diplomacy in 1917. Political speech at this time was consistent in denying Garibaldi his international reputation, as speeches tended to ignore his Brazilian wife Anita, downplayed his South American career, and spoke of him as solely a white European.

Further, this was not merely an opportunity for the mayor to audition his political skill and win local points as he positioned himself as a politician with international (on the European stage) relevance in a global city. In the speech, Mitchell further reinforced Garibaldi as a unifier, something the city and country needed at the time from the

⁴⁸ “Mayor Mitchell and Italy: From the Address Delivered by Hon. John Purroy Mitchel in Connection with New York’s Entertainments of the Royal War Commission, June 21-23, 1917,” *Il Carroccio (The Italian Review)* 3 (October 1917): 323.

perspective of the mayor. Second, Mitchel indicated that Garibaldi's initial attempt to liberate Italy failed in 1848-1849, but after experiencing the exceptional democratic nature of the U.S., he was able to go back and finish the job in 1860-1861. Next, the mayor emphasized the humble nature of Garibaldi's nostalgic cottage on Staten Island and inferred that it helped to create Garibaldi's humility in a post unified Italy. Fourthly, he stressed how the now allied countries are connected through major Italian historical figures and shared values that prioritized unification.

Just like the rhetoric devoted to the American Civil War provided an opportunity for U.S. political speech to tie both country's unification projects together, World War I did the same. Lastly, and in line with what Vellon argued about America, Italy, World War I, and whiteness, was the conspicuous absence of Garibaldi's time in Montevideo. It is indeed possible that the speech that fused Garibaldi and Italy with the United States and World War I was an effort to welcome Italian Americans into a nationalistic world of whiteness. It thereby bypassed Garibaldi's association with South America and Garibaldi's interest in advancing progress in leading independence movements and fighting against global slavery. Twentieth century state-first politicians were not interested in nineteenth century race-first priorities of Garibaldi and this undoubtedly impacted notions of whiteness in how Garibaldi was viewed over the course of Italian American history.

In any event, that day, Prince Udine and Mayor Mitchel successfully used both local landmarks, Washington Square Park's Garibaldi statue and Staten Island's Garibaldi house, to join Italy and America historically and diplomatically. Mitchel made it clear to Italy that New York carved out political spaces honoring Garibaldi to showcase

their love and appreciation for Italian unification when success in the war was the only main objective. The speeches of the tour spanned New York City Hall, Hotel Astor, Waldorf Astoria, and The City College Stadium. Although the Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park drew decorations, processions, and gatherings, it was the house that was ultimately recognized as the venue to rhetorically invoke Garibaldi and the connections to unification. Pilgrimages from the Garibaldi statue in Manhattan to the Staten Island Garibaldi house via the ferry, as a way of organizing en masse, probably first started unofficially with radicals like Carlo Tresca in 1914. When New York representatives welcomed Italian dignitaries however, (such as in the case of promoting allyship in World War I) the pilgrimages became much more official. In other words, 1917 World War I's events and the appearance of the Prince of Udine allowed for these pilgrimages to become more of a formal and institutionalized process. The real reasons for the trip, however, were not to promote local New York history or Italian history. Italy's commission came to the United States to discuss foreign trade and economic agreements in outlining a plan for success in the war.⁴⁹

The World War I era also saw hundreds of Americans going to Italy to volunteer for the American Red Cross. This offered a chance for the United States and Italy to forge as international partners socially and politically.⁵⁰ On September 15, 1918, a wreath was placed at the Garibaldi Statue by members of the American Red Cross Tuberculosis Unit for Italy as people gathered in Washington Square Park. A crowd of

⁴⁹ "Washington Awaits Italy's War Commission," *New York Times*, May 23, 1917, 5.

⁵⁰ Julia F. Irwin, "Nation Building and Rebuilding the American Red Cross in Italy During the Great War," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* 3 (2009): 407-439.

doctors, Italian consuls, and public relations personnel met to emphasize goodwill and friendship between the countries.⁵¹



FIGURE 2.7 Prince Udine of Italy visiting Manhattan. (Featured in the Italian Press, 1917).⁵²

⁵¹ "Speak at Garibaldi Statue, Red Cross Tuberculosis Unit Places Wreath at its Base," *New York Times*, September 15, 1918, 20.

⁵² *La domenica del Corriere supplemento illustrato del Corriere della sera*, 1917.



FIGURE 2.8 Washington Square Park's Garibaldi Statue. Decorated for Italy's visit in 1917 (Library of Congress).

Garibaldi Inspired Rhetoric in the Early Twentieth Century & Interwar Period, 1905-1932

In the early twentieth century, New York politicians competed for votes and with acquiring the attention of Italian immigrants. They could see that outfits such as the 1905 Order of the Sons of Italy were formed in part to help new arrivals assimilate. In that same year, businessman William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), an eventual Fascist sympathizer, and owner of numerous newspapers, attempted to unseat Tammany Hall's incumbent Mayor George McClellan (1865-1940). Hearst tried to project an image of himself as sympathetic to the working-class interests of Jews, Germans, Irish and Italians while challenging McClellan. For instance, "[Hearst] pleaded with all ethnic groups, asking for example, 'Italians, if Garibaldi were living now on Staten Island, where he lived as an American citizen not too long ago, how would he vote?'"⁵³ Hearst, known to use populist and progressive language superficially for political purposes, possibly thought he could attract voters simply by citing Garibaldi.

How would politicians claim Garibaldi and merge their interests with those of their respective listening audiences in the time of World War I? Before Italian Fascism took hold, as World War I approached on July 4, 1914, anarchist newspaper editor and labor organizer Carlo Tresca (1879-1943) made a fiery political speech and organized several radicals to storm the Garibaldi house on Staten Island as he put up a red socialist flag.⁵⁴ This was not a key event, nor did it explode into violence, but it certainly caught the attention of the developing political groups on the island. The era of the First World

⁵³ Thomas M. Henderson, "Tammany Hall and the New Immigrants: The Progressive Years," PhD diss., (The Catholic University of America, June 1976), 160.

⁵⁴ Enrico Acciai. *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe, 1861-1945* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge Press), 2020, 132.

War saw politicians and activists, for the first time perhaps, shaping Garibaldi's past to successfully exploit commemoration exercises. Their speech involved efforts to achieve legitimacy through the utilization of political rhetoric. These types of struggles at times over appropriation, as historian John Bodnar might argue, persisted between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments outside of the official realm of commemoration.⁵⁵

Tresca, a political exile from Italy, was interested in getting a foothold in claiming Garibaldi for his own politically radical pursuits in New York.

On July 4, 1925, during a second Garibaldi commemoration on Staten Island, Fascists vowed to unify and attended the event in opposition to the anti-Fascist rhetoric of Tresca. At this point, a well-known political exile of Italy, Tresca also served as one of the foremost political figures in New York. These instances of charged political speech with Garibaldi's house as a backdrop caused inevitable division. As historian Enrico Acciai noted, throughout the World War I era, the political divisions and speech within the Italian American community regarding Garibaldi memory largely centered on a "split between a radical far-left tradition of opposition and a more official institutional one."⁵⁶ This changed dramatically during the Interwar period as Garibaldi appropriation attained a higher stake of political identity with the developments of Fascism and anti-Fascism as competing worldviews.⁵⁷ That is to say, the emergence of Fascism brought the anti-Fascist Tresca radicals closer to the political center in search of stability and legitimacy to deliver a better chance of offering leftist commentary.

⁵⁵ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

⁵⁶ Enrico Acciai. *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe, 1861-1945* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge Press), 2020, 133.

⁵⁷ Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy*, 133.

Tresca made a third speech in 1932 at the Garibaldi house to an even larger crowd of anti-Fascists. Even though the early political communication of Tresca in 1914 was considered esoteric, and he remained somewhat outside of the mainstream political circles despite his popularity, you can trace the politics of commemoration that changed overall within his Garibaldi themed speeches in 1914, 1925 and finally in 1932. In that same year, 1932, New York Judge John J. Frescha traveled to Washington D.C. to deliver a speech and pay tribute to their Garibaldi bust on the 50th anniversary of his death, the same year Mussolini would attempt to coopt Garibaldi in Italy. Tresca's politics were far from that of a New York judge, but Tresca would undoubtedly favor official United States authentication of Garibaldi over *Il Duce's*. In short, Tresca's political speech remained radical from 1914-1932. More so than events within the United States, the context of his (and other Italian anarchists and exiles) rhetoric in America, hinged largely on the happenings within Italy.⁵⁸ In short, Tresca's actions and speeches were guided by Italian domestic politics.

The Vito Marcantonio Years: The Political Speech of a Radical Garibaldian, 1937-1942

Into the 1930s American politicians continued to appropriate Garibaldi in their rhetoric to attract voters. During this time New York politician Phelps Phelps (1897-1981) changed parties from Republican to Democrat to get elected to the New York State Assembly. In 1935, in a radio address delivered to New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Wilmington, Boston, and Providence, Phelps spoke on "The

⁵⁸ Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)*, (Chino, CA: Verso Press, 2017).

Immortal Garibaldi,” a hagiography apparently designed to impress Italian Americans spread out along the northeast corridor.⁵⁹ In the talk he announced that “the greatest of all Italian revolutionary leaders” and his July Fourth birthday would be celebrated at St. George’s Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences.⁶⁰ Garibaldi July Fourth events at the Garibaldi house were discontinued after the series of melees broke out from 1914-1932, and in 1935 the radio was seen as the safest way to celebrate Garibaldi’s birthday. This Phelps speech, and others like “Mazzini-Cavour-Garibaldi,” would perhaps represent the moderate or conservative politician’s perspective of Garibaldi. They reminded listeners of how Garibaldi’s legacy could be used to promote top-down establishment leadership from “great men” to gain support amongst the mainstream electorate. Mentioning Garibaldi as the sword, Cavour as the mind, and Mazzini as the pen, reinforced the idea to Italian Americans to veer away from anti-Fascist radicalism while embracing an American notion of checks and balances from the top. The life of progressive Democrat Vito Marcantonio (1902-1954) however, provided historical evidence that Italian radicalism did not die out with the anarchists of the early twentieth century.⁶¹

Marcantonio was an outspoken socialist and Italian American in the House of Representatives that served East Harlem for two terms throughout the 1930s and early 1950s. He advocated strongly for the most vulnerable in the society and was a committed anti-racist. He was selected as the principal speaker under the auspices of the Italian Anti-

⁵⁹ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society. Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

⁶⁰ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Italian Historical Society. Staten Island, NY (MS 59, Box 47).

⁶¹ Phillip V. Cannistraro, Gerald Meyer, *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism, Politics, Labor, and Culture* (New York, NY: Praeger 2002).

Fascist Committee and called for an embargo to be placed on Italy and Germany in 1937 as he placed a wreath at Washington Square Park's Garibaldi statue.⁶² It is important to remember that locally and globally, there was a widespread reappropriation of Garibaldi and Risorgimento affiliated names and slogans by the anti-Fascist movement since the mid-1930s.⁶³ Marcantonio appeared again in the park in 1939 to commemorate the 132nd anniversary of Garibaldi's birth. These Garibaldi exercises were conducted by the Italian American Committee for the Fourth of July and Garibaldi Celebration. Veterans of the Garibaldi and Lincoln Brigades from the Spanish Civil War were also in attendance.⁶⁴ In his speech, Marcantonio criticized FDR's former Vice President John Nance Garner (1868-1967), for his skepticism of sit-down strikes and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal spending. Just a year prior, in another July Fourth Garibaldi birthday/Independence Day joint event organized by the Garibaldi Brigade International Workers Order, Marcantonio referred to Garner as a "traitor," a term thrown around no doubt rather loosely in those times, but perhaps noteworthy nonetheless.⁶⁵ "As Garibaldi said to Lincoln," Marcantonio stated, "we under the leadership of our own mayor LaGuardia, say to Franklin D Roosevelt, 'we Americans of Italian extraction will fight to defend democracy and liberty.'" ⁶⁶ This a clear usage of Garibaldi's legacy by perhaps the

⁶² "Rally Honors Garibaldi 130th Anniversary of His Birth: Observed with Open Air Meetings," *New York Times*, July 5, 1937, 19.

⁶³ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 263. (Here the authors comment on the 1930s anti-fascism found in Risorgimento visual culture, film, and novels).

⁶⁴ Frank Rosengarten, *The Italian Anti-Fascist Press 1919-1945* Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 1968), 71. (Garibaldi was appropriated by anti-Fascists in the underground in Spain from 1925-1939. Journalist and veteran of the war, Carlo Roselli (1899-1937) went on Spanish radio and recalled the sacrifices and struggles of Garibaldi in the face of the fascist oppressors).

⁶⁵ "Party 'Traitors' Scorned, Marcantonio Includes Garner at Garibaldi Fete," *New York Times*, July 5, 1938, 4.

⁶⁶ "Garibaldi's Struggle for Liberty Extolled Marcantonio at Rally Likens it to Our Fight for Democracy," *New York Times*, July 5, 1939, 9.

most progressive of New York Italians in modern history. To highlight the challenges to the United States, both foreign and domestic during the 1930s, Marcantonio asserted that Garibaldi was a symbol of both popular liberation and internationalism.⁶⁷

At this same event Gino Bardi (1907-1978), the editor of *L'unita del Popolo*, an Italian American communist newspaper, reaffirmed praise for Garibaldi and invoked William Paca (1740-1799). Paca was a signer of the Declaration of Independence of Italian descent.⁶⁸ The main theme of the event was to simply speak out against totalitarianism and Fascism. The fact that the *New York Times* had to go out of their way to explain that the “crowd of about 1,000 persons was orderly,” shows the potential for volatility during this time in New York in conjunction with Garibaldian exercises and political speech perhaps associated with the left.⁶⁹

Vito Marcantonio also met with Italian politician and journalist Alberto Tarchiani (1885-1964) in New York in the 1940s who came to the city to help lead the Mazzini Society, an anti-fascist political organization formed in the United States in the 1930s. (The first president of the Mazzini Society was Jewish-Italian academic Max Ascoli (1898-1978) who later taught at the New School for Social Research, University in Exile).⁷⁰ Tarchiani was the Italian Ambassador to the United States from 1945-1954. In a speech highlighting *Festa della Repubblica* (Republic Day in Italy), Marcantonio stated:

There is no doubt that in spite of the intrigues against the independence of Italy, for which leaders in high places of our own great Republic are co-responsible, the Italians will demonstrate on June 2nd to the whole world at the Garibaldian spirit

⁶⁷ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 6.

⁶⁸ Phillip V. Cannistraro, Gerald Meyer, *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism, Politics, Labor, and Culture* (New York, NY: Praeger 2002), 206.

⁶⁹ “Garibaldi's Struggle for Liberty Extolled Marcantonio at Rally Likens it to Our Fight for Democracy,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1939, 9.

⁷⁰ Charles Capper and Cristina Giorcelli, *Margaret Fuller: Transatlantic Crossings in a Revolutionary Age*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), viii.

which has guided the glorious partisan fighters to victory, will reaffirm itself victoriously once more and in the most decisive manner. We have the utmost confidence that out of the referendum there were arise the Republic, that Republic as dreamt by Garibaldi for Italy and as conceived by Lincoln for America. Already, today, we Italian Americans, with all true Democrats of the United States, greet the Republic with the utmost enthusiasm, declaring to it our fraternal solidarity.⁷¹

Marcantonio accomplished three things with this speech. First, he merged the legacies of Lincoln and Garibaldi to advance his own status in electoral politics as a social democrat. Second, as a representative, he also advocated for republican forms of democratic government and spoke out against Fascism. Finally, Marcantonio showed how local political speech often combined Italian unification and references to modern republics to show that nineteenth century Italy was aligned with the twentieth century United States politically. Even further perhaps, at this stage in the history of Garibaldi inspired political rhetoric in New York, progressive voices like Marcantonio's were highly respected. As an Italian American socialist, he ushered in government solutions at home and abroad as part of a mainstream discourse. The speech also serves as an example of how again, Italian radicalism persisted through the mid-century and did not totally dissipate with the early twentieth century anarchists.⁷²

In another statement made to the *Amsterdam News* on December 11, 1941, one of the oldest Black-owned newspapers in the United States, Marcantonio indicated that he voted for the Resolution that declared war on Japan, Hitler, and Mussolini. "This is a just war, an anti-fascist war and a war of liberation," stated the Congressman. He continued by saying that "Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and Americans of Italian extraction in

⁷¹ Vito Marcantonio, Vito Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

⁷² Phillip V. Cannistraro, Gerald Meyer, *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism, Politics, Labor, and Culture* (New York, NY: Praeger 2002).

Harlem have lived and worked for America. In keeping with the great traditions of Washington, Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, De Diego, and Garibaldi, they will fight and die for America.”⁷³ Marcantonio never really mentioned Garibaldi’s exploits in the Global South, but for once it seemed Garibaldi inspired rhetoric in New York was far more inclusive. He didn’t separate vulnerable groups or use oversimplifications to encourage Americanization to those marginalized and considered outside the interests of the state. Marcantonio’s inclusion of Douglass was not simply pandering to a black audience for the sake of political points, for Douglass himself had been known to invoke Garibaldi in the political sphere. “At an abolitionist meeting held in Boston in December 1860, Douglass capitalized on the unmistakable similarity between [John] Brown’s 1859 expedition at Harper’s Ferry and Garibaldi’s almost contemporaneous invasion of southern Italy to justify armed revolt against slave power.”⁷⁴ Douglass was not immune to experimenting as a war propagandist himself either, as his political speech called for an “American Garibaldi” and lauded the potential for war and violence when speaking about John Brown.⁷⁵

During World War II, Marcantonio also spoke on the Mutual Broadcasting System on the evening of July 17th on “The Role of Italian Americans in this War in 1942.” Marcantonio ended his speech with, “We too, true sons of Garibaldi to the great democratic leader of this day, to our Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, renew our pledge and rededicate our energies and our lives for the victory of our

⁷³ Vito Marcantonio, Vito Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

⁷⁴ Paola Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggles: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 124.

⁷⁵ David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2018), 330.

arms, for the victory of our cause.”⁷⁶ The speech received a favorable response. So much so that Marcantonio would keep nearly identical rhetoric when addressing Congress for his July 20 address on the same topic and included a famous Garibaldi quote in the context of war:

As the spoils of despotism intone the Bacchic ode which celebrates the fall of a free people, let the free celebrate religiously the downfall of slavery, paradoxical parallels of history, the rape of Mexico and the Proclamation of Lincoln. We salute you, Abraham Lincoln, helmsman of liberty, we salute you who for two years have fought and died for your banner of liberation, we salute you redeemed, oppressed race, the free men of Italy kiss the glorious links of your chains.⁷⁷

Here, he successfully merged the memory of Garibaldi as the common man with the self-made man. This solidified and acquired victories for Marcantonio as a politician on two fronts: a win for legislation consistent with the New Deal, and a victory in claiming Garibaldi as an anti-Fascist with progressive sentiments. Marcantonio’s core argument nevertheless was that free people of the world must resist Fascist and Nazi enslavement. He anticipated and hoped that Italians would identify with the fight for liberation. Marcantonio’s political career flourished in part because of his willingness to mention Garibaldi’s acknowledgment of America.

When Marcantonio delivered this July 20, 1942, speech in the House of Representatives he stated that, “Garibaldi offers his sword to Lincoln in the struggle for freedom and pledges the aid of all free Italians in the conflict against slavery.”⁷⁸ The

⁷⁶ Vito Marcantonio, Vito Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 69).

⁷⁷ Vito Marcantonio, Vito Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 69). (Found in both Vito Marcantonio Papers, Box 69, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY, and Congressman Marcantonio speaking on Italian Americans in the War, July 20, 1942, H.R. 7412, 77thth Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Record* 88, pt. 9: 2848).

⁷⁸ Congressman Marcantonio speaking on Italian Americans in the War, July 20, 1942, H.R. 7412, 77thth Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Record* 88, pt. 9: 2848.

interesting difference however, from his personal speech notes compared to the same speech in the *Congressional Record* were that his notes and private papers indicated a more militant word choice. For instance, he wrote in his personal records that “it is significant that Garibaldi greeted in his salutations Lincoln’s soldiers who were fighting with him and the Negro people also. This to us is significant for we, too, together with millions of democratic Americans are engaged in the destructions once and for all of poll tax, Jim Crowism, and discrimination of every kind. It is in the true tradition of Garibaldi that we greet the heroes of Stalingrad.”⁷⁹ This precise wording and portion did not make it into the *Congressional Record*. Marcantonio was a careful politician and knew how to gauge his messaging. He fused 1940s anti-Fascism with 1860s anti-slavery in select moments while emphasizing the Italian interest in freedom fighting as a form of societal progress. In other words, it seemed that Marcantonio had more radical forms of political speech for some audiences in local New York than he might with the official record of Congress for fear of alienating voters. Seemingly, his political speech was radical on paper and then more carefully spoken in proportion to the setting. Perhaps relatedly, political scientist Michael Parenti noted Marcantonio’s reticence on the issue of Italian Fascism when addressing New Yorkers in his doctoral thesis in 1962.⁸⁰

As it turned out, the anti-Fascist and Fascist sides were an articulate minority of people. Most Italian Americans were indifferent to Mussolini or supported him “sentimentally and ineffectually.”⁸¹ As Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan pointed out

⁷⁹ Vito Marcantonio, Vito Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

⁸⁰ Michael Parenti, “Ethnic and Political Attitudes: An In-Depth Study of Italian Americans,” Ph.D., diss., Yale University, 1962.

⁸¹ Gerald Meyer, *Vito Marcantonio: Radical Politician, 1902-1954* (New York, NY: State University Press of New York, 1989), 247n.

in *Beyond the Melting Pot*, most Italian Americans did not oppose Mussolini and many in fact supported him.⁸² Later scholarship revealed that entering the 1930s, Italian Americans in New York essentially fell into one of three categories politically while about half were simple apolitical members of the society. Although hard to quantify, the largest group of 35% identified as fellow travelers of Mussolini.⁸³ Fellow travelers were not members of the Fascist group but sympathized with official fascist and statist aims. 10% of Italian Americans identified with anti-Fascism and 5% were Fascist diehards.⁸⁴ Most Staten Island Italian Americans were either Fascist or fellow travelers in the 1930s and supported Italy's invasion of Ethiopia.⁸⁵ Any anti-Fascist political victories in the first half of the twentieth century were short-lived for "New York could not break Mussolini's grip on New York's *colonia italiana*."⁸⁶ Furthermore, *Il Duce* reached the peak of his popularity when Italian troops conquered Ethiopia in 1935-1936 as Fascist imperialism in Africa generated a tidal wave of Italian American support from ordinary workers.⁸⁷ Mussolini was in power from 1925-1943 as *Il Duce*, and in the early going of his tenure as Fascist dictator of Italy there was an estimated one-thousand anti-Fascists in New York City.⁸⁸ The discrepancies found in Marcantonio's more radical notes

⁸² Meyer, *Vito Marcantonio*, 247n.

⁸³ Patrizia, Audenino, ed., *Il prezzo della libertà: Gaetano Salvemini in esilio, 1925-1949*, (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2009).

⁸⁴ Audenino, ed., *Il prezzo della libertà: Gaetano Salvemini in esilio, 1925-1949*, 2009.

⁸⁵ Christie DePaola, "Letters to Readers: Mussolini's Record of Accomplishments in Italy Listed," *Staten Island Advance*, May 8, 1935, (also see: Editors, "We Still Don't Understand," *Staten Island Advance*, January 6, 1936, Vito Spiotto, "Defends Italy's Policy Towards League," *Staten Island Advance*, December 21, 1935).

⁸⁶ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 88.

⁸⁷ Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement*, 88.

⁸⁸ Stefano Luconi, "Fascism and Italian-American Identity Politics," *Italian Americana*, 33 1 (2015): 17 6-24"

compared to his less radical official speech was possibly related to the complicated ideological moving parts within the greater local Italian American community. He needed to maintain his political capital with as many citizens as possible.

In an August 1943 speech to the NBC Network, Marcantonio addressed “Americans of Italian Origin,” and discussed the role of the Italian in the fight against fascism to be “free from Mussolini bonds ... on the side of democracy.”⁸⁹ This speech was in reaction to July 25, 1943, when Benito Mussolini was voted out of power. Marcantonio called for Italian Americans to be United Nations advocates for “complete victory.”⁹⁰ Marcantonio, perhaps emboldened by Mussolini’s ousting, again cited the Lincoln connection to Garibaldi to resonate with the listening American audience to create a historical parallel between 1861 and 1943. It should be noted that Marcantonio made great efforts before the war to ensure that vulnerable Italian born Americans would not be deported. He did this through connections with the Garibaldi Lodge No. 2602 I.W.O. (International Workers Order) and the Italian Committee for the Defense of Immigrants; the latter affiliated with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. Marcantonio was also the Honorary President of The Garibaldi American Fraternal Society, I.W.O. This organization would alert Marcantonio of attacks on Americans of Italian Origin in the reactionary and nativist press and request for speeches and statements in response from Marcantonio.

⁸⁹ Vito Marcantonio, Speech Delivered by Congressman Vito Marcantonio Over N.B.C. Network, August 6, 1943, at 10:45 p.m., Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

⁹⁰ Marcantonio, Speech Delivered by Congressman Vito Marcantonio Over N.B.C. Network, August 6, 1943, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

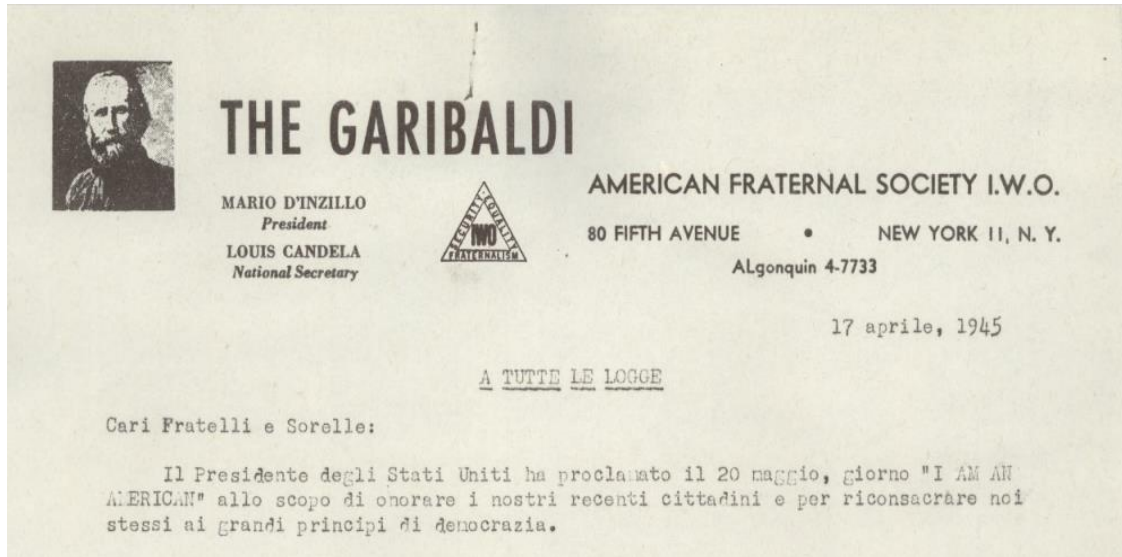


FIGURE 2.9 Letter to all Lodges of the Garibaldi American Fraternal Society. "I Am an American Day," April 1945, correspondence (Cornell University Library).

Marcantonio delivered a speech in 1942 at the historic Benjamin Franklin High School founded by Leonard Covello in 1940 in Harlem, now the Manhattan Center for Science and Mathematics. He remarked that, “we are filled with a sense of gratification in the knowledge that our sons of Garibaldi, De Hostos, and Frederick Douglass will be reared in keeping with the teachings of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. It can truly be said that this great building is indeed a monument to democracy in education” for the people of Harlem.⁹¹ This revealed that Garibaldi was remembered worldwide as a leading father of democracy. At this point in New York City political history, politicians would associate Garibaldi with anti-Fascist internationalism.

Another progressive in the Marcantonio mold was Italian American politician Peter Cacchione (1897-1947). He was elected to the New York City Council as a

⁹¹ Vito Marcantonio, Marcantonio at the Benjamin Franklin High School Dedication Exercises on Thursday, April 16, 1942, Marcantonio Papers, New York Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York, NY (Box 68).

communist in 1941. It has been noted that most conventional Italian American politicians yielded “to the wave of chauvinism that swept over the Italian American population when Mussolini was riding high and had conquered Ethiopia.”⁹² Simon Gerson, editor of *The Daily Worker* described how Cacchione emerged out of anti-Fascist sectors and traditions within the Italian American community. He was most likely capitalizing on the leftist appeal first started by Carlo Tresca’s politics, which were already firmly rooted in anarchism but catching on in America. Cacchione aimed to be a part of “the progressive tradition of Garibaldi among older Italian Americans. At the same time, he was keenly aware that to the native-born Italian Americans, the tradition was vague.”⁹³

Familiar with Italian history, Cacchione knew the thinking of many Italian Americans and astutely addressed himself to their doubts.⁹⁴ He wrote, “the task of the Italian Americans is clear. As good, loyal Americans, and true to the great traditions of Garibaldi, we will rally ever more strongly in support of our country's war efforts, participating in all activities that contribute to the national unity of all the American people, increasing production to ever greater heights, and relentlessly exposing the Fascist agents in our midst. This is the road to salvation in America and to the salvation of our kin in Italy.”⁹⁵ According to Gerson, “one is struck by Pete’s sensitivity to the feelings of his Italian American neighbors. The phrase, ‘good loyal Americans’ is an obvious reply to those who appeal to the great traditions of Garibaldi and clearly

⁹² Simon W. Gerson, *Pete: The Story of Peter V. Cacchione, New York's First Communist Councilman* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1976), 138.

⁹³ Gerson, *Pete*, 139.

⁹⁴ Gerson, *Pete*, 1976.

⁹⁵ Peter Cacchione, *Exhibit No. 68, The Communist Conspiracy: Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, 1956, Part 1, Communism Outside the United States, Section D, Communist Activities Around the World*, May 29, 1956, 384.

designed to evoke the deepest and purest national feelings in the Italian American population.”⁹⁶ Politicos like Marcantonio and Cacchione saw an opportunity to hold Garibaldi up as someone who would support progressive reform and oppose tyranny. They attempted to find legitimacy by operating as the custodians of his symbolism and in the process used political speech in New York that relied on an understanding of world historical events.

Garibaldi Nostalgia in the Post War Years, 1950-1969

In the postwar period, politicians of New York gravitated towards indifference and nostalgia when it came to the political usages of Garibaldi memory and celebrated traditional biographies without formulating their own speeches and context around the meaning of Garibaldi’s legacy. “During the 1950s and 1960s, as Italian Americans were increasingly abandoning older cultural practices and moving from urban slums to the expanses of white suburbia, new immigrants were reactivating many of the sociocultural practices associated with small group life and the domestic sphere.”⁹⁷ Further, “in large metropolitan areas especially, ‘Power to the people’ became a common goal for blacks who sought greater control of their inner-city neighborhoods, for middle-class whites who wanted to protect a suburban way of life and for professionals and intellectuals who feared that respect for institutions and authority was being eroded by mindless bureaucracies.”⁹⁸ Further, Lucy Riall wrote that, “the effort to turn Garibaldi into a

⁹⁶ Simon W. Gerson, *Pete: The Story of Peter V. Cacchione, New York’s First Communist Councilman* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1976), 140-141.

⁹⁷ Laura E. Rumberto, Joseph Sciorra, Ed., *New Italian Migrations to the United States: Vol. 2, Art and Culture Since 1945*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 12.

⁹⁸ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985), 154.

genuinely consensual national symbol in the Cold War period reduced his life to a succession of apolitical banalities.”⁹⁹

On July 25, 1950, while in serving New York’s 4th District, L. Gary Clemente spoke in the House of Representatives on “Garibaldi’s Exile in New York,” in which he read aloud the entirety of Vincent A. Caso’s, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Arrival of Giuseppe Garibaldi In New York in Exile from 1850-1853*.¹⁰⁰ On August 28, 1950, James J. Murphy of Brooklyn, also for the centennial of Garibaldi’s arrival, cited a biography of Garibaldi written in Italian and translated by Staten Island Italian Historical Society President Daniel Santoro. In both cases, the biographies read verbatim showed an unwillingness to extract meaning from Garibaldi’s life to suit the political moment or lack thereof while depriving his life “of precisely those unusual and unsettling aspects which had given his figure such an emotional charge.”¹⁰¹ In short, time had passed, and any real memory of Garibaldi was long gone.

In 1960, the United States Post Office issued a commemorative stamp honoring Garibaldi and the one-hundredth anniversary of his campaign to liberate and unify Italy in 1860. At first glance, the collective memory of Garibaldi that utilized his legacy and survived as a form of imagery for the stamp, mirrored the political rhetoric in New York that entered the latter twentieth century in the form of civic engagement, local promotion, or simple U.S. hero making. In actuality, the US stamp was significant when you consider that Garibaldi was also featured on a Soviet stamp of that same year. In other

⁹⁹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 7.

¹⁰⁰ Congressman L. Gary Clemente Speaking on July 27, 1950, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., *Congressional Record* 96, Pt. 19: A5461.

¹⁰¹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 7.

words, “he was the only effigy which at the height of the Cold War appeared on a postage stamp in both the USA and the former USSR, commemorating the centenary of his triumphant march through Sicily in 1860.”¹⁰² This means that even in a time of relative Garibaldi Cold War depoliticization, his image still ignited a bipolar contestation of sorts.

Even during the least contentious moments for rhetorical opportunities concerning Garibaldi’s legacy, he’d still manage to accomplish a Cold War relevancy when people thought none there. At its issue, Mario Ferrari (1916-1997), the Italian Deputy Consul in New York stated that Garibaldi “belongs to all of mankind” with “universal ideals of peace freedom and justice.”¹⁰³ New York Congressman John H. Ray (1886-1975) emphasized Garibaldi’s “profound faith in human nature and his credo, better to die as a free man than live as a slave.”¹⁰⁴ Again, these quotes demonstrate how since time had passed, any real memories of Garibaldi and the politics surrounding his name were perhaps long gone, unless perhaps a trained eye was following how Garibaldi stamps were issued and appropriated in the Soviet Union as well.

The *New York Times* would remember Garibaldi and highlight the stamp, but the events around him were relegated as anecdotal asides in the “Topics” section of the paper and initially fused with a World War II context. Buried in the newspaper of record, the column commented on the “Champions of Liberty” stamp. The *Times* wrote, “The hero of Umbria, Volturno, and the Siege of Gaeta, was a man who had been briefly a resident of Stapleton on Staten Island ten years earlier. Giuseppe Garibaldi now joins America's

¹⁰² Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, (Chicago, IL: the University of Chicago Press, 1993), 24.

¹⁰³ Staten Islanders Honor Garibaldi Italian Patriot Once was a Resident of Area – New Stamp Bears Picture, *New York Times*, November 7, 1960, 17

¹⁰⁴ *New York Times*, November 7, 1960, 17

Champions of Liberty.”¹⁰⁵ The entire stamp saga reaffirms the United States interest in remembering Italian unification in claiming Garibaldi as a hero to the West.



FIGURE 3.0 Garibaldi U.S. Stamp, 1960.

Heading into 1961, the centennial celebration of the unification of Italy, New York University featured a wreath-laying event featuring prominent speakers in front of Washington Square Park’s Garibaldi statue. In attendance were University President Carroll V. Newsom (1904-1990), tenor Giovanni Martinelli (1885-1969) and NYU professor of history Arcangelo William Salomone (1915-1989). The purpose of this event was to promote the university’s celebration of *Italia ’61*, a cultural exhibit and celebration of Italy’s unification. It encouraged students to honor the centennial of Italian unification and the Risorgimento. The event also promoted the university’s academics by announcing Salomone as a scholar of note who was recently presented with the Order of the Merit of the Italian Republic.¹⁰⁶ This instance showed that in the 1960s, within an

¹⁰⁵ “Topics,” *New York Times*, November 3, 1960.

¹⁰⁶ “Dignitaries Honor Garibaldi’s Memory,” *The Villager, Greenwich Village*, New York, April 13, 1961, 4.

academic setting, the symbols of Garibaldi in New York were useful for educational purposes while commemorating Italian unification. Nonetheless they still marked an opportunity for a variation of political speech to promote local New York causes and institutions as they celebrated and recognized local history as a way of signifying world history. Garibaldi's legacy in New York and the politics of his memory had a way of both localizing world history and globalizing local history at the same time and depended on the time, place, and nature of the event.

On June 30, 1969, in representing New York's 16th District, John M. Murphy recognized the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum and stated that New York City and State had officially granted the house landmark status. In the *Congressional Record Proceedings and Debates* of the 91st Congress under the Garibaldi House "findings and designations" portion of the bill he stated that "Garibaldi was the most famous foreigner to have ever lived there." This act of legislation was made to create Garibaldi's house as an official memorial not just in the City of New York but in the State as well. Although he did not discuss Italy or South America, he crucially indicated that the "historical associations connected with the residence are international in scope."¹⁰⁷ Murphy's language for this speech came from a May 25, 1967, Landmarks Preservation Commission document that outlined the designation.¹⁰⁸ The Garibaldi house would go on to be recognized by the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. It should be noted that as the Garibaldi

¹⁰⁷ Congressman John J. Murphy speaking on June 30, 1969, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record* 115 Pt. 13: 17940.

¹⁰⁸ "Landmarks Preservation Commission, Garibaldi Memorial, 420 Tompkins Avenue, Staten Island, Built about 1845, Landmark Site Borough of Richmond Tax Map Block 2966, May 25, 1967, Lot 32, (Number 1, LP-0377).

house became more prominent in the eyes of the government, and agencies dedicated to its preservation increased, the political speech associated with it lessened considerably.

In all, 1950s and 1960s era New York politicians perhaps realized that Garibaldi inspired history and references had taken a back seat to other forms of political symbolism. Garibaldi's legacy was popular and politicized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Italian Americans were engaged with labor struggles, immigration issues, and the politics of World War and Fascism. Heading into the 1960s and 1970s, however, it was more difficult to hold up Garibaldi as a radical liberator. His image was further eclipsed by internationalist revolutionaries like Che Guevara (1928-1967). Focusing and settling on simplistic ways of remembering Garibaldi allowed for local historical enthusiasts to commemorate Garibaldi without much distraction, interference, or fanfare.

New York Politicians and the Competitive Repurposing of Garibaldi, 1982-1998

The 1980s marked an interesting period for studying Garibaldi's legacy in New York. On the one hand, people became interested in the bottom-up aspects of global history after the arrival and popularization of social history. On the other, scholars reignited an interest in nineteenth-century Italian nationalism.¹⁰⁹ All the while, anniversaries continued to present political openings and the centennial of Garibaldi's death offered politicians yet another opportunity. Journalist Laurie Johnston wrote in April 1982 for the one-hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi's death, "Crossing the Verrazzano Narrows Bridge to a tiny cottage on Staten Island, President Alessandro Pertini (1896-1990) of Italy made a pilgrimage to Giuseppe Garibaldi's 1850-54 home in

¹⁰⁹ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 10.

exile yesterday before exchanging toasts and witticisms with Mayor Edward Koch (1924-2013) at a Gracie Mansion luncheon.”¹¹⁰ Although Koch was mayor at the time, he was preparing for a gubernatorial campaign. The pilgrimage harkened back to Mayor Mitchel’s World War I excursion with the Italian Prince and it showed how New York City was a global city with all the political versatility that Garibaldi affiliation (a main symbolic backdrop of the Pertini visit) could offer. Garibaldi’s legacy in New York, and the sites that honored him, were icons with symbolic power held in abeyance. They were put on the proverbial public historical shelf and taken down to be used for diplomatic or political purposes that localized foreign relations with Italy.

Journalist Anna Quindlen also covered the one hundredth anniversary of Garibaldi’s death. She referred to “Italo-politicos” that attended the event and described how much of it was orchestrated.¹¹¹ In attendance were future Vice-Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro (1935-2011), Mario Cuomo (1932-2015), and Edward Koch. Koch stated that, “New Yorkers have long been influenced by the rich cultural heritage of our Italian community.”¹¹² Although Mario Cuomo didn’t cite Garibaldi by name either, he remarked that, “[Italian immigrants] taught us the dignity of hard work, a shameless bold patriotism, a holy strength, a deep, almost unquestioned religious conviction.”¹¹³ Cuomo’s inclusion of “religious conviction” was significant and ironic. It showed how much collective forgetting had ensued by this time to filter out the fact that Garibaldi and some Italian immigrants and early arrivals to New York had an intense anti-clerical

¹¹⁰ Laurie Johnston, “The One-hundredth Anniversary of Garibaldi’s Death, Italy’s President Pertini Is a Much-Honored Pilgrim in New York,” *New York Times*, April 2, 1982, B1.

¹¹¹ Anna Quindlen, “About New York: In Washington Square Park, A Day to Please Garibaldi,” *New York Times*, May 1, 1982, 29.

¹¹² Quindlen, *New York Times*, 29.

¹¹³ Quindlen, *New York Times*, 29.

philosophy and were highly critical of the Pope. It is obvious that Garibaldi's image served as an opportunistic political backdrop. Garibaldi didn't need mentioning for his statue was situated perfectly over the shoulder of Mario Cuomo in the article's photo layout as the caption read, "Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo and Barbara Gerard of Italian Heritage and Cultural Committee of New York stood before a statue of Giuseppe Garibaldi as national anthem was played."¹¹⁴ The event showed how New York used the legacy of Garibaldi to communicate political speech while serving as good will ambassadors to Italy.

¹¹⁴ Quindlen, *New York Times*, 29.



The New York Times/Neal Boston

About New York

In Washington Square Park, a Day to Please Garibaldi

By ANNA QUINDLEN

Giuseppe Garibaldi is frozen forever in Washington Square Park, in bronze, in a most uncomfortable posture of pulling his sword from its scabbard, atop a pedestal pristine with graffiti-resistant white paint.

Below his feet are engraved simply his surname and the dates 1807-1882. From this vantage point, the Italian patriot has long looked down upon the activities for which the park is justly famous: impromptu steel band concerts, feats of derring-do on roller skates, the wail of unpromising folk singers, the occasional knife fight, the sale of marijuana and, especially on a fine spring morning, on the brink of May, happenings both spontaneous and rehearsed.

Yesterday, the event belonged to Garibaldi himself, and while much of it was orchestrated, there were, as there always are in New York City, both the odd and the unexpected as Italian Heritage and Culture Week was proclaimed from a platform below Garibaldi's statue, on the 100th anniversary of his death.

Lt. Gov. Mario Cuomo and Barbara Gerard of Italian Heritage and Culture Committee of New York stood before a statue of Giuseppe Garibaldi as national anthem was played. A spectator waved an Italian flag.



Joseph Logan, at left, and William Vila of Verdi Choir at Florelio H. La Guardia High School of Music and Art performing at ceremony.



Former Worker Of Martin Carey Testifies on Tax

Says He Was Ordered to Underreport Earnings

By JAMES BARRON

A former employee of a major independent petroleum-distributing company told a State Supreme Court judge yesterday that the company's president, Martin Carey, had ordered him to underreport earnings in 1977 to avoid paying state sales taxes on income from a chain of gasoline stations that Mr. Carey controlled.

The testimony by the former employee, Richard MacKay, came as he pleaded guilty to a single felony charge under a plea-bargaining arrangement.

In return for Mr. MacKay's cooperation, the prosecution said it would seek the dismissal of the 16 other counts against him that were contained in an indictment unsealed in March.

Mr. Carey, who is one of Governor Carey's brothers, was indicted on the same charges. The indictments arose from a two-year investigation of tax-cheating by independent gasoline distributors.

Both Accused of Evasion

Repeated calls to Mr. Carey's lawyers were not returned yesterday, and Mr. Carey's whereabouts could not be ascertained.

Acting Justice Charles Mullen set no date for Mr. MacKay's sentencing. The 58-year-old defendant faces a maximum of four years in prison on the felony charge.

Both Mr. MacKay and Mr. Carey were accused of having evaded about \$122,000 in sales taxes during an 18-month period. The most serious tax charge involved grand larceny, which carries a penalty of up to seven years in prison and fines up to \$5,000 or twice the amount of the unpaid taxes, which ever is larger.

On March 16, they pleaded not guilty to 17 felony counts on the sales-tax charges. Mr. Carey also pleaded not guilty to two additional misdemeanor counts involving late filing of taxes.

Admits Falsifying Returns

Mr. MacKay, in his 20-minute ap-

amid the bemused college students and the vagrants stuffing Italian Heritage and Culture Week programs into plastic shopping bags, and the dog walkers, and the roller skaters.

Some of them, the older ones, were people like Garibaldi, a man who fled Italy for New York, settled in Staten Island for five years and worked in a candle factory. Garibaldi returned to his native country to liberate it. Those later immigrants stayed here, hoping to liberate themselves.

Some of them live near the park, and know the statue, and the story of Garibaldi. Some of them have moved away and know other stories. Dr. L. Jay Oliva, the provost of New York University, which is one of the spon-

FIGURE 3.1 Mario Cuomo stands in front of the Garibaldi statue. (Washington Square Park, May 1, 1982, edition of the *New York Times*)

When Garibaldi was not mentioned in speeches, the statue and the house served as additional metaphoric cues. For example, in 1998 on Staten Island, Eugene Prisco, a Democrat running against the incumbent Congressman Republican Vito Fosella compared the GOP slate and their rigidity and alleged bigotry to Mussolini. He defended himself by stating that "I had uncles who were in the anti-Fascist movement."¹¹⁵ Also, in

¹¹⁵ "The 1998 Campaign: Tactics; Mayor Says Democrats Have Made Ethnic Slurs," *New York Times*, October 25, 1998, ProQuest.

that same year a political rival of Rudy Giuliani, Democratic candidate for Attorney General Eliot Spitzer called the mayor “a dictator,” referring to him as Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), an extremist ruler of 15th century Florence.¹¹⁶ This form of identity politics and name calling by Spitzer, as well as Prisco’s initial comments struck a nerve. Giuliani found himself on the front lawn of the Garibaldi house on Staten Island with Borough President Guy V. Molinari for a public rebuke.¹¹⁷ Italian Americans moved into positions of political power.

Return of the Great Man: Post 9/11 and the Twenty-first Century Political Uses of Garibaldi

Garibaldi was repurposed and revitalized as a brilliant military tactician in the post 9/11 era. In 2011, independent military scholar Ron Field contributed to the “Command Series,” a set of books published in Long Island City, New York designed to highlight, “Leadership, Strategy and Conflict.” The series included military leaders like Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) and John Churchill (1650-1722). Accounts and series like these resurrected and heightened histories of armed conflict and promoted popular leadership, personal bravery, and heroism for figures like Garibaldi. This type of writing conducted by amateur historians reinforced Garibaldi as a patriot and reduced the Risorgimento to a tactical study engaged in by hobbyists. Conservative politicians invoked Garibaldi in a similar way.

On February 16, 2011, the 112th Congress posthumously awarded Garibaldi the Congressional Gold Medal to recognize the Republic of Italy on the 150th anniversary of

¹¹⁶ Bruce Lambert, “The 1998 Campaign Controversy; Giuliani says a candidate was insulting,” *New York Times*, October 18, 1988, 41.

¹¹⁷ “The 1998 Campaign: Tactics; Mayor Says Democrats have made Ethnic Slurs,” *New York Times*, October 25, 1988. ProQuest.

Italian unification. The sponsors of the bill in the House of Representatives were three political conservatives, Michael Grimm, Bill Pascrell, and Peter King. The same bill was co-sponsored as S. 369 by Senator Mike Enzi of Wyoming in the 1st Session. The more interesting and telling portions of the bill are located on the third page, where it indicates that Garibaldi's Risorgimento victory and how it was "viewed in this country as a powerful vindication of the right of the individual to political self-determination."¹¹⁸

In other words, they claimed that New York and the United States benefitted from Garibaldi's example, not the other way around. Even though the bill mentioned the Garibaldi Guard and the Lincoln connection to celebrate Garibaldi's legacy, it stated nothing of Garibaldi's opposition to slavery worldwide. They obviously did not include how Garibaldi was identified by anti-Fascist politicians like Marcantonio and Cacchione in New York throughout the twentieth century. The bill omits anything that can be interpreted as earlier traditions of radical political speech and takes from the more patriotic and conservative elements of Garibaldi association. Both Grimm and Pascrell in particular, aimed to connect with their Italian American-rich constituencies and spoke about the bill as an exemplification of pride in one's heritage, the American dream, and recalling a lasting immigrant legacy, while adding a list of famous Italian names.¹¹⁹ Although it did state that Garibaldi joined Mazzini's Young Italy and "participated in various independence struggles throughout Central and South America," they went on to more elaborately explain how Garibaldi, "applied for citizenship," "was offered a command as Major General in the Union Army by President Abraham Lincoln," "was an

¹¹⁸ Congressmen Michael Grimm, Bill Pascrell, and Peter King Speaking on February 16, 2011, 112th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 742, 1-7.

¹¹⁹ "Rep. Grimm Calls for Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of Italy's Unification," *Targeted News Service*, Washington, D.C., March 17, 2011, ProQuest document.

active freemason,” and inspired the name of “Five Italian Navy Ships.”¹²⁰ Later in the bill, they mentioned how on “March 17, 2011, the Republic of Italy will officially celebrate Italy’s 150th Anniversary with a series of activities across the nation of Italy, in Washington, D.C. and throughout the United States to highlight the unique partnership between Italy and the United States.”¹²¹

Politicians on the right at this time referred to “the lives and ideas of great men like Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln,” and tended to couple them with oversimplifications about Italian immigrants rising from social, political, and economic discrimination taking part in community organization while serving in foreign wars.¹²² This was the return of Garibaldi as less of a leader and more of a rugged individual. It was an obvious attempt to craft a ‘pull yourself up by your own bootstraps’ political message within the 2011 bill and to tacitly endorse skepticism of big government. Politicians in 2011 crafted this bill so they could boast about to their own loyal voting blocs in the respective New York regions, while furnishing it with national implications. When Wyoming’s Mike Enzi, another sponsor of the same bill addressed the United States Senate on February 17, 2011, he thanked the greater New York delegation and stated that, “this legislation will challenge us all to pause and reflect on the pioneering spirit, family and traditions that have this country what it is today.”¹²³ In essence, the rhetoric in the bill allowed for the local level to celebrate and recognize Garibaldi inspired notions of patriotism, militarism, and nationalism in a similar fashion to the

¹²⁰ Congressmen Michael Grimm, Bill Pascrell, and Peter King Speaking on February 16, 2011, 112th Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. 742, 1-7.

¹²¹ Congressmen Michael Grimm, Bill Pascrell, and Peter King, H.R. 742, 1-7.

¹²² Congressmen Michael Grimm, Bill Pascrell, and Peter King, H.R. 742, 1-7.

¹²³ Senator Mike Enzi Speaking on February 17, 2011, *Congressional Record*, 112th Cong., 1st Sess., S860.

federal and global level's notions of internationalism. It helped the politicians to control, connect and celebrate with national and international entities in bipartisan fashion, something encouraged by the National Italian American Foundation (NIAF) located in Washington, D.C.

The flexibility and versatility of Risorgimento's image and legacy was useful for politicians all throughout the nineteenth, twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. 2011 saw Mayor Michael Bloomberg honoring Italian Unification. He met with and welcomed Italian President Giorgio Napolitano on March 27, 2011. Again, the purpose of Bloomberg's speech was to reassure the local New York City base of his civic commitments and to reaffirm Italy of solid U.S. partnership while crafting his own political skills, ambitions, and legitimacy.

True to form, politicians of all affiliations and levels, outside of New York, would continued to appropriate Garibaldi and the meaning of his career as President Barack Obama would issue his own Proclamation (8637) that same year to honor the 150th Anniversary of the Unification of Italy from the Executive Office. Obama recalled the Garibaldi Guard, and his rhetoric emphasized the importance of unification, freedom, democracy, and global partnership in fulfilling human rights around the world.¹²⁴ In effect, his words, like every other politician reflected a somewhat bland, oversimplified bipartisan consensus on the one hand, but an underlying message expressing the need to preserve institutions and the status quo internationally.

Obama even delighted an NIAF crowd at the Washington Hilton Towers in 2011 stating that "I can't sing like Frankie Avalon, I can't cook like your grandmothers, so all

¹²⁴ President Barack Obama Speaking on March 16, 2011, Proclamation 8637.

I've got to offer is a last name that ends in a vowel.”¹²⁵ He went on to emphasize Italy's importance within NATO and the G20, mentioned key politicians and cabinet members and cultural icons of Italian descent and influence. Essentially, Obama harnessed Garibaldi inspired memory by way of the pragmatic centrist and government advocate. All jokes aside, the point of Obama's own meeting with Italian President Giorgio Napolitano was to reassure their shared commitments of maintaining and contributing to a no-fly zone over Libya.¹²⁶

Republican and Democratic political speech that invoked Garibaldi's name differed in the post 9/11 era. In the 1940s it was common for Republicans to connect with historical figures in terms of pacifying leadership, the business elite, and robust institutions while Democrats likened them to common people exploring the frontier along with the masses. 2011 demonstrated that these rhetorical devices reversed politically while both parties continued to vie for what Garibaldi appropriation meant in terms of organized government, law and order, and the respect for America's place in the world. On Staten Island, politicians benefitted from categorizing Garibaldi as a great man of history to accommodate Michael Sherry's notion of the “patriotic orthodoxy,” a practice that reduces complexity and eliminates competing versions of history and memory.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, Remarks by the President at the National Italian American Foundation Gala, Washington Hilton and Towers, Washington, D.C., 8:28 pm, EDT, October 29, 2011.

¹²⁶ *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Book 1*, Appendix A, Administration of Barack Obama, 2011, 758.

¹²⁷ Amy Bass, *Those About Him Remained Silent: The Battle Over W.E.B. DuBois* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 62.

Conclusion

“After his death in 1882, Garibaldi became the subject of an official cult.”¹²⁸ New York politicians got a lot of mileage in using Giuseppe Garibaldi’s legacy or anything that could capitalize on veneration of the Italian icon. In the late 1800s New York officials noticed an immediate opportunity in identifying with Garibaldi to promote themselves within civic life. The ways in which people articulated Garibaldi references in political speech at times reflected the scope and nature of the audience. Speeches were made to cut across the working class, professional class, and dignitaries. The Garibaldi statue in Washington Square Park and his house on Staten Island served as visual symbols of unification and internationalism and were often used in coordination with each another.

“Custody battles” over famous figures is a universal phenomenon.¹²⁹ On the local level, but with more expansive implications, Garibaldi created many angles for politicians and posed some limitations. Because he was such a significant figure of nineteenth-century world history, his household name became a symbolic reference point. At the same time, since his career also included a complicated history of varying political and ideological affiliation, Garibaldi was a moving target for New York politician who tended to stick with concision and needed to make emotional appeals with audiences and voters. Using Garibaldi in political speech allowed for an added benefit for the utilization

¹²⁸ Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 3.

¹²⁹ Shawn Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer, *Memories of Lincoln and the Splintering of American Political Thought*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017). (“Custody battles” is a term used by Shawn J. Parry-Giles and David S. Kaufer to explain the appropriation of famous figures).

of public space, while forging political identities around Garibaldi monuments in New York.

CHAPTER FIVE

Garibaldi as Revolutionary

Because of the 1861 unification image of Garibaldi in America, Italians of the New York immigrant community, working class, and progressive and anarchist traditions spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, celebrated a memory of Garibaldi that fostered small factions of resistance and indifference to American nationalism. As a result, they cultivated an attraction to revolutionary politics and ideals. Leftists in New York could appropriate Garibaldi and the Risorgimento, and they cashed in on a revolutionary caricature of Garibaldi that the Italian consciousness monitored more closely in instances of remembrance.

In 2016, labor historian William A. Pelz authored, *A People's History of Modern Europe*. In this book of social history, he explains how Garibaldi was a member of the First International (1864-1876) as a radical who roused massing peasants by engaging in guerilla warfare.¹ Pelz referred to the First International as “sole dell'avvenire!” (“the sun of the future!”)² Garibaldi also caught the attention of Friedrich Engels writing in the *New York Daily Tribune* who reported on the actions of the Italian insurgency in the 1860s.³ Although Garibaldi and his rebels ultimately opted for compromise, Pelz points out that Garibaldi was an enthusiastic supporter of the IWMA (International Workingmen's Association).⁴ In other words, Garibaldi, for leftists, perhaps at best a

¹ William A. Pelz, *A People's History of Modern Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 70.

² Maurice F. Neufeld, “Italy; School for Awakening Countries,” *Cornell International Industrial and Labor Relations Reports*, Issue 5, 1961, 73.

³ William A. Pelz, *A People's History of Modern Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 70.

⁴ William A. Pelz, *A People's History of Modern Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 74.

liberal reformer, and at worse, a center-right opportunist, participated in enough leftist causes to secure later revolutionary appropriation.

The politics of Garibaldi's legacy shaped forms of revolutionary political activity, contentious politics, and resulted in collective forms of political violence. While Chapter Three explains how Garibaldi was remembered as a patriot in New York, this Chapter discusses the revolutionary face of Garibaldi and how that figure evolved and persisted in New York, mainly during eras of World War. In some respects, Garibaldi as patriot coincided with an American sentiment of "revolution." In other words, for those Americans who viewed George Washington and the militarization of July Fourth as rebellious and synonymous with the Founding Fathers in the late 1700s, Garibaldi could be seen as a revolutionary in this specific American context because of the country's original independence movement.

In this chapter however, Garibaldi as revolutionary, refers to the ways in which New Yorkers viewed him in the South American and European contexts of revolution and in the spirit of the 1830s and 1840s, that more dramatically countered the status quo. Garibaldi's legacy sharpened political divides in New York. Further, references to Italian unification, and Garibaldi's internationalism and leadership in independence movements, was seized by anyone who considered themselves revolutionary. Historian Silvana Patriarca wrote that, "Throughout the course of modern Italian history, different political actors have appropriated the larger-than-life figure of Garibaldi to legitimize quite different projects."⁵ "Patriarca reveals how a late twentieth-century focus on national

⁵ Silvana Patriarca. "Unmaking the Nation? Uses and Abuses of Garibaldi in Contemporary Italy." *Modern Italy*, 15 no. 4, (2010): 470. 467-483

identity remained rooted in essentializing discourses of ‘character.’”⁶ Richard Bourne studied Garibaldi in South America to uncover “the way in which historical memory can be captured or reinvented to serve as contemporary purposes.”⁷ American history, and New York local history were also no exceptions in shaping Garibaldi knowledge construction that reflected the time periods in which his image was recreated.

In some ways, the recognition of Garibaldi by Abraham Lincoln showed the revolutionary nature of the American Civil War. Frederick Douglass, for instance, was one of the more revolutionary supporters of Garibaldi in the nineteenth century. “Given the enormous popularity enjoyed by Garibaldi in the United States at that time,” wrote American Studies professor Paolo Gemme, “the equation of John Brown and the Italian patriot functioned to domesticate, even glorify the use of violence rather than Garrisonian ‘moral suasion’ the awakening of the nation’s conscience to a sinfulness of human bondage, in the fight for blacks’ freedom.”⁸

In other words, progressives, and revolutionaries such as Douglass, frustrated with pacifist abolitionist gradualism, were attracted to Garibaldi’s internationalism, intolerance for incrementalism, and his desire to deliver his sword to the enslavers across the world. While some Italian elites at home disassociated with Garibaldi in 1861 due to his polemic volatility regarding unification, New Yorkers some 4,000 miles away, did not find this same risk, and found a more versatile value for his name on the local level.

Using this “natural localism” or ambiguity involved with Garibaldi remembrance (patriot

⁶ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 18.

⁷ Richard Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, (London: Hurst & Co., 2020), xii.

⁸ Paolo Gemme, *Domesticating Foreign Struggle: The Italian Risorgimento and Antebellum American Identity* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2005), 124.

or revolutionary) helped people to carve out their own political affiliation with arguably the ‘first international celebrity.’⁹ In New York, while Garibaldi was associated with Abraham Lincoln and the American valor of the 1860s, Europeans viewed Garibaldi favorably within a democratic and socialist milieu, and after he died in 1882, custody battles over his memory took place across the political spectrum in Italy. ¹⁰

The potential for Garibaldi to be associated with revolution in 1861 allowed New Yorkers to control the meaning of his name from afar that Italians governing officials couldn’t afford at home. Part of what constituted Garibaldi as revolutionary originated from Garibaldi’s demand for supreme command of the U.S. army and mandatory emancipation of enslaved people during the American Civil War.¹¹ There is also little reason to believe that Garibaldi would fight the Civil War in any diplomatic or negotiating sense. Perhaps weighing on Lincoln’s mind was the fact that Garibaldi would assassinate top generals leading the South without hesitancy.¹² Regardless, the meaning of Garibaldi’s name was a complicated affair while he was still alive.

Political affiliation was complicated, even within his own family for that matter. For instance, Garibaldi had several children, and some did not survive long after childbirth. His son, Domenico Menotti (1840-1903) fought alongside him as a Redshirt and held onto the republican values of Garibaldi. Ricciotti, his fourth child, was a notable Italian soldier and lived from 1847-1924. His daughters, Rosa (1843-1845 who died at

⁹ Middle East scholar Lawrence Davidson coined the phrase “natural localism” to explain how domestic populations are unaware of or insulated from the shocks of momentous overseas events. (Lucy Riall referred to Garibaldi as the ‘first international celebrity’ in the popular history magazine, *History Today* in 2001.)

¹⁰ Patriarca traces the legacy of Garibaldi throughout the nineteenth century in her study.

¹¹ Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 64.

¹² Frederick Douglass referred to Garibaldi as “The John Brown of the Mediterranean.”

age four), Teresa, and Harriet were not involved in Garibaldian affairs, and all died tragically in their younger years.¹³ His daughter Clelia Garibaldi, was his last child and lived from 1868-1959. Clelia, also the name of an early Garibaldi novel written in 1867 (he wrote three somewhat underwhelming novels in all), went on to become a part of twentieth century Italian politics and maintained the Garibaldi house and historic site in Caprera.¹⁴

Garibaldi's grandsons are also historically relevant. Of Garibaldi's grandsons, the most notable perhaps were, the entrepreneur Sante (1885-1946), the soldier Giuseppe Peppino (1879-1950), and the politicians and soldiers, Ezio (1894-1969), Ricciotti, Jr. (1881-1951) and Menotti, Jr. (1884-1934). Tracing the political ideologies of the family and how they perceived Garibaldi's legacy wasn't exactly straightforward and reflected the ways in which the Garibaldi name could be invented and reinvented, especially at the turn of the century. Peppino Garibaldi, before 1925, was outspoken against Mussolini as was Sante, while Ezio defected to the Fascist side. Mussolini shared confidential communications and built a relationship with Ezio to capitalize upon the Garibaldi name and forged a connection with Garibaldianism throughout the 1920s.¹⁵

The political dimensions of the family tree were complicated. Although Ricciotti Jr. publicly pledged allegiance to the anti-Fascist and anti-Mussolini sentiments, he was accused of receiving money from the Fascisti secretly around 1926.¹⁶ Peppino ultimately

¹³ Alfonso Scirocco, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, a Biography*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007),

¹⁴ "Clelia Garibaldi Dies, Last of Italian National Hero's Five Children Was 91, *New York Times*, February 3, 1959.

¹⁵ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 207.

¹⁶ C.G. Moore, "Garibaldi Clan is Again in Spotlight: Ricciotti, Who Has Caused a Political Sensation in Paris, is a Grandson of Patriot Who Won Freedom for Italy." *New York Times*, November 21, 1996, 6.

served as a Mussolini agent as well and always drew suspicion from the anti-Fascist camp. “Though he had all his grandfather's color and dash, he lacked his ideological purity. Where the elder [Giuseppe] Garibaldi consistently fought for liberty, the grandson was a condottiere type whose commitment was more to adventure than liberation.”¹⁷ Garibaldi’s grandson “supervised” Leonardo Bochicchio’s 1932 *Garibaldi in the Light of History* and wrote that “The reader of these pages will realize that overcoming all prejudices, surrounded by mistrust and jealousy, with treason and implacable enemies waiting for him at every turn of the endless road to liberty, my Grandfather will always remain the true symbol for the Italian people.”¹⁸

All of Garibaldi’s children and grandchildren that were involved in political activities on behalf of Italy found themselves claiming their father and grandfather as inspiration. In other words, claiming Garibaldi was easy for people across social class and the political spectrum. The ability to claim Garibaldi reflected the complicated nature of his career and legacy. Garibaldi cut across class divides especially, much like the modern-day revolutionary, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.¹⁹ He was an accessible person and later a symbol for all socioeconomic groupings. The same was true for Garibaldi ideologically.

¹⁷ Jim Tuck, *Pancho Villa and John Reed: Two Faces of Romantic Revolution* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1984), 96.

¹⁸ Leonardo Bochicchio, *Garibaldi in the Light of History*, supervised by Gen. Giuseppe Garibaldi, Grandson of the Hero, Translated from the Italian by Florence Strunsky, New York, 1932. Bochicchio would also speak at the Most Holy Redeemer Church in West Brighton, Staten Island in 1935. At the same event a propaganda film, *The Mediterranean Colony of Libya*, was shown to Italian Americans.

¹⁹ Lara Vapnek, *Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: Modern American Revolutionary*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2015), 37-38, 42. (Vapnek, a scholar of labor and gender, analyzes the ways in which Gurley Flynn developed cross-class alliances, consciousness, and cultivated friendships with her political and labor activism).

Although most New Yorkers would ultimately view the 1861 image of Garibaldi as patriot, some maintained the view of Garibaldi as revolutionary. Over the course of the nineteenth century, new immigrants in New York complicated the binary of patriot/revolutionary. Garibaldi's reputation as a founding father would eventually intersect and merge in Italy and America. This is especially true from the time of his death in 1882, until the era of World War I, when Garibaldi, in both countries would be seen as the symbol par excellence and man of action that brought about unification.²⁰

Even though the memory of Garibaldi in the early twentieth century was more universally top down, the fascist appropriation of his name was contested because of the Redshirts in both countries. The Blackshirts, (Fascists) to be sure, had a more difficult time in designating Garibaldi's image.²¹ Garibaldi's reputation throughout the World War II and post war era saw a familiar trajectory in both Italy and the United States as for the most part, Garibaldi became synonymous with noteworthy yet moderate reform. As the twentieth century developed, Garibaldi's name was further depoliticized, especially in Italy.

Garibaldi as Radical

Garibaldi, a member of the First International (1864-1876), caught the attention of prominent radical thinkers such as Frederich Engels and Mikhail Bakunin of the nineteenth century, especially after his 1860 invasion of Sicily that led to Italian unification. Bakunin knew of Garibaldi's exploits, while still in Siberia and upon his

²⁰ Silvana Patriarca, "Unmaking the Nation? Uses and Abuses of Garibaldi in Contemporary Italy." *Modern Italy*, 15:4, 470. 467-483.

²¹ Silvana Patriarca, *Modern Italy*, 467-483.

entrance in Italy in 1864 he hurried to meet with him.²² Political Scientist Daniel Ziblatt writes that Garibaldi's desire and revolutionary plans to liberate southern Italy demonstrated his democratic and nationalist zeal.²³ The ideological makeup of Garibaldi's men was diverse however.²⁴ The red shirts comprised federalists, republicans, socialists, liberals, Christians, and atheists.²⁵ While most of Garibaldi's revolutionary support consisted of the north, the working classes of Sicily recognized Garibaldi as a 'saint-like figure,' and peasants spread rumors that he was the 'reincarnation of the Archangel Michael,' despite Garibaldi's anti-Catholicism.²⁶ Further, one of the primary things Garibaldi assured the peasants when he landed in Palermo was that he would give away large shares of land which were owned by the nobility and church.²⁷

In his early career he engaged with Young Italy, founded by Giuseppe Mazzini, which centered on social democracy for people under forty years of age. Mazzini, the founder of the Italian unification movement, was the original source of Garibaldi's radicalism and revolutionary disposition. In the same tradition of Mazzini, Garibaldi stood as the most popular revolutionary leader of his day in Italy.²⁸ Garibaldi's political philosophy and ideology combined republicanism, equality, and compassion with the oppressed and faith in direct action.²⁹ While providing his name to many causes, he

²² Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 222.

²³ Daniel Ziblatt, *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 94.

²⁴ Jamie Mackay, *The Invention of Sicily: A Mediterranean History* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2021), 145.

²⁵ Mackay, *The Invention of Sicily: A Mediterranean History*, 145.

²⁶ Mackay, *The Invention of Sicily: A Mediterranean History*, 147.

²⁷ Mackay, *The Invention of Sicily: A Mediterranean History*, 153.

²⁸ Alexander De Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A History of the Socialist and Communist Parties* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1989), 6.

²⁹ Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A History of the Socialist and Communist Parties*, 6.

dithered between traditional radical egalitarianism and forms of socialism.³⁰ After the 1848 revolution failed in Italy, Garibaldi became a member of the Action Party, an official pre-unity party of Italy started to prompt rebel organizations, and by 1867 he identified with the Historical Left, a moderate party of the middle-class advocates for parliamentary government.³¹

By 1877, Garibaldi had moved to the Extreme Left, a group that was less partisan but influenced the eventual “far-left sympathizers,” revolutionaries, and socialists of the early twentieth century.³² Garibaldi left behind notable political and intellectual admirers such as historian A. J. P. Taylor.³³ Charles Dickens, Che Guevara, Engels and Bakunin also took an interest in Garibaldi’s endeavors.³⁴ He even impacted the ultra-left wing organizational thinking and dubious behavior of groups like the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society in 1969. To this day, places like Chicago identify with the tradition of Garibaldi in a more authentic way that identifies with revolutionary politics. As recent as 2020, The Giuseppe Garibaldi Award (an inaugural award) for Political Courage honored Chicago alderpersons Daniel La Spata, Jeanette Taylor, and Rossana Rodriguez Sanchez, a prominent Democratic Socialist.³⁵

³⁰ Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A History of the Socialist and Communist Parties*, 6.

³¹ James Martin. *Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers* (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2002), 113.

³² Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi’s Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2020), 116.

³³ James L. Newell. *The Politics of Italy: Governance in a Normal Country* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 14.

³⁴ Frederick Engels. “Giuseppe Garibaldi’s Statement and Its Effects on the Working Classes in Italy,” *The Eastern Post* (No. 163. November 11, 1871).

³⁵ Political flyer, “There are real leaders in Chicago: The Garibaldi Award, Una Chicago, unita contro la malevolenza, please join us as we honor Alds. Rosanna Rodriguez Sanchez, Jeanette Taylor, and Daniel La Spata with the inaugural Garibaldi Award for Political Courage,” (Chicago, IL, October 12, 2020).

Garibaldi's inter-continental career, as well as his reputation as a politically varied reformer, allowed for him to be a versatile symbol after his death for competing interest groups in New York City, but also descendants of the 1944 Fosse Ardeatine Massacre just outside of Rome. In fact, three memory scenarios (South American, European, and American) produced a claiming and aligning with Garibaldi to make sense of their angst or grief in pursuit of ideal and revolutionary Italianism. Garibaldi memory in connection to the contributions to Italian, Brazilian and Uruguayan independence movements were also subsequently bolstered by Abraham Lincoln, who recruited Garibaldi to lead a northern regiment in the American Civil War.³⁶

By using the memory projects commemorating the 1944 Fosse Ardeatine Massacre near Rome as a model, as well as the life of Garibaldi's wife Anita, I explain how his memory offered a political versatility. These case studies explain where Garibaldi as revolutionary originated and set up rivalries that explain twentieth century demonstrations, people, and events, speaking and acting in Garibaldi's name in New York. I explain the complexities of a harnessed political volatility designed to appropriate the meaning of Garibaldi in pursuit of pure Italian-ness. In other words, to better understand Garibaldi's historical legacy and links to memorial sites in New York (which served as ingredients for revolutionary politics to blossom in his name), I unpack the radical tradition of Garibaldi in Europe.³⁷ Commemorators attempting to remember Garibaldi as revolutionary often presented a clear leader, an ideology, justifications for

³⁶ Shirley Samuels. *The Cambridge Companion to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 170.

³⁷ This is in reference to Enrico Acciai's, a historian of war volunteering, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)*.

their own actions, insider vs. outsider framing, consolidations of competing elements within the establishment, and made efforts to seek cultural, political, and social capital.³⁸

A substantial amount of political activity, I'd consider revolutionary, presided over Garibaldi's legacy during the interwar period. It was during this time especially that Italo Americans with both fascist and antifascist political leanings revealed the political realities of competing identities. Staten Island, New York and the political gatherings that commenced near the Garibaldi house, illustrate what Enrico Acciai explained as comprehensive analysis of the long-term, interconnected, and radical dimensions of the so called Garibaldinism.³⁹ The political sentiments and historical memories of anarchists Nicola Sacco (1891-1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888-1927), Communist labor leader Peter Cacchione (1897-1947), and socialist politician Vito Marcantonio (1902-1954), all anti-fascists, have been contested by world leaders and global citizens alike with autocratic ideals, throughout the twentieth century. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) and the social democratic resistance to the politics he represented, set forth the conditions for organized cultural and political violence and riots throughout the twentieth century concerning Garibaldi memory in New York and Italy.

Historical Context for Garibaldi as Revolutionary: Fosse Ardeatine

Urban historian Delores Hayden wrote that “people make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being and distress. As social relationships are intertwined with spatial perception, human attachment to place attracts researchers from many

³⁸ Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

³⁹ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2020).

fields.”⁴⁰ *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome*, is a study of oral history that outlines and traces the 1944 Fosse Ardeatine cave. I argue that the memory of this event reveals how allegiance to Garibaldi identity shaped the real and imagined legacies of Garibaldian revolutionary republicanism; sentiments that would eventually surface in New York. As Italy tried to produce a modern democratic society in the tumultuous World War I period, the rise of fascism in the early 1920s pushed back against these organizing efforts and resulted in what Portelli called, “a civil war between anti-Fascists and Italian supporters of Hitler and Mussolini.”⁴¹

This 1944 massacre was a direct result of Italy’s defection from the Axis powers and their switching sides in 1943. I will indicate how these same tensions that produced the massacre also surfaced in New York. Garibaldi’s legacy sharpened political divides, and for that matter across three continents, thus showing how New York local history can ultimately be viewed as a continuation and extension of world history. This source relates the worldliness of early twentieth century New York City political strife that culminated around similar forms of political memory and identity.

Portelli researched relatives of persons killed, partisans, and apolitical onlookers, with knowledge of the incident, as well as students of history – all to investigate the interpretations of the 1944 event. Just like scholar Paola Gemme argues that American Studies can be used to explain Italian unification and transnationalism, Portelli uses a

⁴⁰ Delores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 16.

⁴¹ Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, , and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome*. (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2003), 11.

“multi-voiced narrative” and oral history to illustrate how a local event identifies political rivalries within a broader set of “interpretation and representation,” globally.⁴²

Here, I am interested in how Garibaldi’s legacy was emblematic of a wider legacy and adds meaning to the massacre’s revolutionary and “powerful hold on memory and identity.”⁴³ Interestingly, when Portelli’s interviewees weighed in however, on their knowledge of the massacre and its impacts, he found both living relatives and ancestors making references to Garibaldi and aligned with anti-fascism and not with the “memory on the right.”⁴⁴ Portelli learned of the Garibaldi revolutionary tradition by interviewing townspeople, he called “co-authors.”

For example, Italian partisan and doctor Rosario Bentivegna (1922-2012) a communist, remarked in 1998 how his working-class grandfather, “had ancestors executed by the [kings] for being garibaldini” and that their great grandfather “was one of three colonels who were with Garibaldi in 1856.”⁴⁵ Portelli points out that Bentivegna became an anti-fascist in 1937 after witnessing racist and anti-Semitic legislation and propaganda issued by the Italian government.⁴⁶ In 1998, he also spoke with professor of economic history Ester Fano, whose father Giorgio Fano was killed at the Fosse Ardeatine. Ester would recall how her great grandparent “had been a volunteer with Garibaldi to fight” for independence in 1866, in remarking that “the king wanted to keep the garabaldini out of the war.”⁴⁷ Another interviewee in 1998, hospital worker

⁴² Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 18.

⁴³ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 9.

⁴⁴ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 248.

⁴⁵ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 28.

⁴⁶ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 107.

⁴⁷ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 42.

Giuseppina Ferola, lost her father Enrico in the massacre. Her father's politics were republican since, "[His] dad, my grandpa, Giovanni, was in boarding school; and he ran away from the school to go and fight with Garibaldi, that's how far back it goes."⁴⁸ This illustrates the Garibaldi memory and essence that partisans wanted to be associated with and an ideological purity within Garibaldian memory in the face of fascism. Further, Portelli identified references and symbolism associated with notions of people and place in the context of the Ferola family. Portelli writes about Trastevere, Rome:

[It] lies between the river and the Gianicolo hill, where in 1849 Giuseppe Garibaldi led the last, desperate resistance of the short-lived Roman Republic against the French army sent to restore the pope's power. This memory has lived on. It makes sense, therefore, that Enrico Ferola, son of a garibaldino, should name his youngest daughter Anita, after Garibaldi's wife. Anita was four when her father was killed at Fosse Ardeatine.⁴⁹

Considering the conclusions found in Portelli's bottom-up work of local, national, and global history, it is not surprising to learn that Italian Fascists faced some difficulty in appropriating Garibaldi's memory in top-down fashion, and for polemical purposes. In 1932 for example, when Italy was celebrating the 50th anniversary of Garibaldi's death in the "Garibaldian Celebrations," Mussolini decided to commemorate an equestrian statue of Anita Garibaldi (Garibaldi's wife) and not "the unstable" image of Garibaldi, since commemorating him would only "open opposing interpretations" and serve as a "political risk."⁵⁰ Fascists did however, gain some inevitable ground with the 1932 celebrations, and Garibaldi appropriation. This, in part, probably led to the reaction and formation of

⁴⁸ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 47.

⁴⁹ Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out*, 49.

⁵⁰ Claudio Fogu. "Fascism and Historic Representation: The 1932 Garibaldian Celebrations." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 31 (1996), 318. 317-345.

the Brigade Garibaldi, the Communist resistance units to both German occupation and Mussolini's puppet government during World War II.⁵¹

Context for Garibaldi as Revolutionary: Anita Garibaldi

Anita da Silva de Jesus was born in Brazil South in 1821 to Bentao da Silva and Antonia de Jesus. At the age of seven, Anita became skilled with horses and devoted much of her time to raising and teaching her siblings while her mother did domestic work. In 1831, when Anita was ten, revolution broke out in the Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil's most southern province. When Anita was eighteen years old in 1839, she found herself in an unstable arranged marriage. This is when she met Giuseppe Garibaldi (who she referred to as José). Garibaldi was participating in revolutions fomenting in Brazil and Uruguay and they married soon after. Starting in 1839-1840, Anita Garibaldi developed a comradeship with Giuseppe, and contributed to the independence movement and trekked across the countryside, giving birth to their first child. After her capture as a prisoner, she managed to escape and reunite with Giuseppe.

Conventionally, historians argue that Garibaldi's time in South America shaped a gaucho worldview, with habits and military skills he brought back to Italy in 1848. His "scandalous" (she was a young married woman when they met) relationship with Anita, a person that "by all accounts was as adventurous, courageous and unconventional as he and who remained in most respects his female ideal for the rest of his life," provide a firm basis in Anita as a joint-revolutionary.⁵² Richard Bourne wrote that Giuseppe and Anita

⁵¹ Alessandro Portelli, *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome*. (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2003), 305n.

⁵² Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 42.

shared the similar values of internationalism, fraternalism, free thinking, and liberalism.⁵³ He stated that progressive Brazilians might identify with these values and Anita's reputation could represent the liberated woman as an equal partner, with capacities for self-education and the capability to break away from a loveless marriage.⁵⁴

With a dearth of Anita Garibaldi archival information, how does her history register with historians interested in unpacking Giuseppe Garibaldi and his attitude towards women? Lucy Riall argues that, "It is possible that the ideas of the romantic socialists – their confidence in the benefits of technological progress, their spiritualism and especially the faith in a new religion of 'Humanity'; the idea of a community based on affective ties; a belief in female emancipation; a non-monogamous attitude to sex and the rejection of marriage – had a strong impact on Garibaldi's political convictions, if not stronger, as the later nationalist elaborations of Mazzini."⁵⁵ Riall further maintains that Garibaldi's memoirs, including the references to his wife throughout as the "Brazilian heroine," served as a political extension to his actions, thus influencing her biographical construction in 1848 and 1849.⁵⁶ Most likely, Garibaldi was enamored with the idea that he had rescued Anita when it is just as possible that she had saved him.

Anita Garibaldi is not exactly a lost symbol for catapulting and mythologizing Giuseppe Garibaldi's reputation as a revolutionary. Her memory is still alive and well at the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum on Staten Island with events that dedicate the Anita Rose, a symbolic flower grown in Italy and Brazil as well as fictional authors moved by Anita

⁵³ Richard Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, (London: Hurst and Company), 2020, 111.

⁵⁴ Bourne, *Garibaldi in South America: An Exploration*, 112.

⁵⁵ Lucy Riall. *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 38.

⁵⁶ Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, 159.

Garibaldi's story. As Sociologists Peter Gardner and Benjamin Abrams have argued that "some revolutionaries have used tulips, carnations, or roses as signifiers of their cause."⁵⁷ Historian Christopher Hibbert wrote that Anita "looked upon battles as a pleasure and the hardships of camp life as a pleasant pastime."⁵⁸ Anita should not however, be remembered as someone who simply fought at the side of her husband to unify Italy. Anita played a role as a *guerrilheira* in southern Brazil's Farropos movement in 1835 to eradicate slavery.⁵⁹ Further, she was known in the Northern Italian provinces as an ardent nationalist and feminist and as someone who supported women and their right to work despite the absence of women in the Risorgimento.⁶⁰

Dutch historian Marjan Schwegman writes that "Garibaldi's overwhelming presence in Italian monuments suggests that his political role has been defined by the Italian nation, but he started his career as an international fighter for freedom and national borders that did not matter."⁶¹ Garibaldi's presence in New York's monument landscape also suggests that his political role has been defined by New York City and by extension the United States. Anita Garibaldi however, played a vital role in shaping Garibaldi's career and thus his legacy in terms of internationalism. This needs to become a part of the Italian unification academic discourse and part of local New York's approach to remembering Garibaldi.

⁵⁷ Benjamin Abrams and Peter Gardner, ed., *Symbolic Objects in Contentious Politics* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2023), 1.

⁵⁸ Christopher Hibbert, *Garibaldi: Hero of Italian Unification*. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 19.

⁵⁹ Catherine Davies, Claire Brewster, Hilary Owen, *Southern American Independence: Gender, Politics, Text*, (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2006), 215.

⁶⁰ Lois West, Ed., *Feminist Nationalism*, (UK: Taylor & Francis Press, 2014).

⁶¹ Marjan Schwegman, "In Love with Garibaldi: Romancing the Italian Risorgimento." *European Review of History* 12 (2005): 383.

Revolutionary Politics and Collective Violence in Garibaldi's Name

In 1927, Italian aviator and fascist Francesco de Pinedo (1890-1933) conducted a series of flying expeditions referred to as the “Four Continents” flight that included Africa, Europe, North America, and South America. Italian pilots idolized Garibaldi and named their planes after Columbus’s ships. This all was a spectacle to advertise fascism and Mussolini’s prestige. Miller Field’s hangar in New Dorp, Staten Island was the designated place for the construction of de Pinedo’s plane as Mussolini routinely tried to gain more fascist support in New York. On April 29, 1927, the *Staten Island Advance* reported that, “POLICE FEAR FASCIST CLASH AT MILLER FIELD, Guards assigned for the de Pinedo, Mussolini envoy hardened soldiers to patrol plane with fixed bayonets to prevent trouble, Thousands expected, Squad of crack Manhattan detectives assigned by Police Commissioner Warren.”⁶²

Staten Island local history does not publicly recognize this space or event. The interesting, planned event brought out Anti-Fascists with their own small plane to drop leaflets from the sky onto Staten Island.⁶³ The *New York Times* also reported that antifascists planned on damaging the plane before it could enter the sky.⁶⁴ Although de Pinedo canceled the flight, this was a microcosm of the fascist and antifascist rivalries taking place across the city and nation. In the 1920s and 1930s, “violence between Fascist supporters and anti-Fascists was an ever-present undercurrent, ready to break to the surface,” writes Stanislao G. Pugliese, as “police reports reveal almost monthly armed

⁶² Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, February 20, 1943, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁶³ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, February 20, 1943, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁶⁴ “de Pinedo Resumes His Flight Today,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1927, 2.

battles between the two sides.”⁶⁵ Italo American anti-fascists and the organized left, with a revived and robust radical press, still faced four distinct challenges in the interwar period: 1) a biased US corporate press, 2) perceptions of apolitical immigrants, 3) fascist cooption of deceased and famous anti-fascists and 4) blame for murdered fascists actually killed by fascists for dissenting.

Even when the U.S. popular press covered fascist and anti-fascist violence with sympathy for the Garibaldians they tended to tacitly support the idea that anti-fascists often instigated and started the violence. July Fourth, the convenient revolutionary date of Garibaldi’s birth saw three consecutive political conflicts on Staten Island in the respective years of 1914, 1925, and 1932.

Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1914

Historian Peter G. Vellon writes about how at the beginning of the twentieth century, Carlo Tresca (1879-1943), a noteworthy revolutionary and radical labor organizer, came to the United States to publish and edit an Italo-American newspaper. Tresca, Vellon states, was born in 1879 in the southern portion of Italy, and wanted to see how Italian immigrant newspapers could be reshaped to merge “the Italian socialist movement within the broader American labor struggle.”⁶⁶ Tresca, Vellon argues, saw it important for migrating Italians to align more closely to the class-based revolutionary industrial unionism of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He envisioned this outfit “as the vehicle to push Italians beyond their own provincial worldviews and

⁶⁵ Stanislao G. Pugliese, *The Routledge History of Italian Americans: Fascism and Anti-Fascism in Italian America*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2018), 355.

⁶⁶ Peter G. Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2004), 28-29.

establish them within a larger class-based movement.”⁶⁷ This provides context for the actions and philosophy of someone like Carlo Tresca, a person instrumental in highlighting key moments of Garibaldi memory exercises on Staten Island. Another way to look at a person like Tresca, was in the context of a political exile whose actions in New York were done with the politics of Italy in mind. Anarchist Italian exiles played a key role in the process of leading and developing left-wing and anti-fascist organizations in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in developing the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).⁶⁸

Before Italian Fascism took hold, as World War I was barely underway on July 4, 1914, Carlo Tresca, at the request of General Giuseppe “Peppino” Garibaldi (1879-1950) (Garibaldi’s grandson and an eventual fascist agent), led a protest at the Garibaldi house in protest of a fee imposed to visit the memorial. Tresca was perhaps further irritated by the usage of the memorial to foster patriotism around Garibaldi’s July Fourth date of birth by the *prominenti* of the Sons of Italy and the Tiro A Segno Society. He rallied radicals and “replaced the Italian flag with a solid red one,” writes historian and scholar of war volunteering, Enrico Acciai.⁶⁹ As noted in the previous chapter, this predated fascism and was not a major incident or eruption of violence, but it undoubtedly resonated within the developing and emerging ideological sides. The details of the political action were interesting. Tresca organized demonstrators at Peppino’s request, starting in Battery Park, Manhattan and taking the Staten Island Ferry to the Garibaldi Memorial in Rosebank.

⁶⁷ Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race*, 28-29.

⁶⁸ Pietro Di Paolo, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)*, (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2017), 3-4.

⁶⁹ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi’s Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2020), 132.

Although Tresca did not trust Peppino, he obliged and explained that the masses he would lead into action were revolutionary workers, not the patriotic Italians [Peppino] had in mind.⁷⁰

Again, in the World War I era the political divisions within the Italo American community regarding Garibaldi memory were arranged and divided between a revolutionary practice of opposition to the status quo and one guided by the established local government.⁷¹ As Italian politics evolved, and Italian political identity shifted within the growth of fascism in the early twentieth century, the appropriation of Garibaldi became more competitive.⁷²

Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1925

Even though the 1920s saw Italo Americans growing despondent of Fascist Italy and its approach to organized government, The *New York Times* tacitly supported and normalized Mussolini in 1925, when not praising him outright, “as a way to defuse the revolutionary potential of the Left.”⁷³ Also by 1925, Mussolini focused on building political power, influence, and loyalty in the United States. His goal was to fuse Fascism with Italianism via educational groups, fraternal organizations and societies, and newspapers and journals that appealed to vulnerable immigrant populations, all of which generated an anti-fascist response. In short, Mussolini invoked Garibaldi memory within a U.S. Fascist context.

⁷⁰ Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2004), 80.

⁷¹ Enrico Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy: Traditions of War Volunteering in Southern Europe (1861-1945)* (Abingdon: Routledge Press, 2020), 133.

⁷² Acciai, *Garibaldi's Radical Legacy*, 133.

⁷³ Stanislao G. Pugliese, *The Routledge History of Italian Americans: Fascism and Anti-Fascism in Italian America*, (New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2018), 351.

On July 4, 1925, at yet another Garibaldi event on Staten Island, Fascists promised to organize and appear in opposition to an anti-Mussolini speech by Tresca, now a leading figure of New York City's anti-Fascist left. The event resulted in the two groups launching mutual accusations of intimidation and spying to preempt a police presence that would subdue and diminish the organizing capacity of the other. The police arrested seven after injuries resulted from flying stones and bottles.⁷⁴ Although Tresca had just been released from prison for clashing with fascists he felt obligated to protest the pro-Mussolini faction showing up at the Garibaldi house for the expected confrontation. These Italo Americans in 1925 were attempting to wear the Blackshirts to coopt the memory of the Risorgimento, and associate Garibaldi's reunification successes with the Mussolini regime thereby giving fascism legitimacy.

The Fascists, even with police protection and support, were largely unsuccessful that day in appropriating Garibaldi's memory. For starters, the *sovversivi*, subversive anti-Fascists led by Tresca were able to depict the Blackshirts as false supplanters of the Risorgimento tradition.⁷⁵ This portion of the Garibaldi Staten Island left, reaffirmed their own linkage with Giuseppe Garibaldi, the great revolutionary leader who had prophesized that 'the International' and socialism.⁷⁶ Additionally, unlike the 1914 Garibaldi July Fourth fete on Staten Island, the subversives for 1925's event "did not interfere with the ceremony conducted by various patriotic organizations."⁷⁷

⁷⁴ "Fascisti and Reds in Two Riots Here Over Garibaldi Fete." *New York Times*, July 5, 1925.

⁷⁵ Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2004), 165.

⁷⁶ Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 165.

⁷⁷ Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 165.

Ironically, Anti-Fascists then, much like Antifa now, did however launch rocks, bricks, and bottles at organized fascists, who were using constitutional protections and localized police protection to prop up the politics of Mussolini. The Rosebank Staten Island version of antifa in 1925 made the Blackshirts appear as the enemy that day, as labor leaders and radicals successfully promoted Garibaldi as revolutionary. The only victory that day for the Blackshirts was small and cheap. Later, that day, after the Tresca led Anti-Fascist exercises had mainly prevailed and prevented a smearing of Garibaldi by Fascists on Staten Island, they waited in Manhattan for him to enter his *Il Martello* newspaper office to ambush him. The only person spotted was an eighty-two-year-old Garibaldian Redshirt veteran, Giuseppe Genovese, walking home from the ferry after the commemoration and demonstration. He was attacked..⁷⁸



FIGURE 3.2 IWW Italian language newspaper published in Brooklyn. *The Proletarian* headline refers to the Garibaldi event of 1925. It reads, “Giuseppe Garibaldi Worthily Commemorated!”

⁷⁸ “Fascisti and Reds in Two Riots Here Over Garibaldi Fete.” *New York Times*, July 5, 1925.

Garibaldi as Local Revolutionary: The Battle for Garibaldi in 1932

Around June 3, 1932, the Order of the Sons of Italy organized an event at the Garibaldi house in honor of the one-hundredth and twenty-fifth anniversary of Garibaldi's birth. Anti-fascists petitioned to participate in the event and wanted to lay a wreath at the bust of Garibaldi on the property with police escort and were denied the request by the Order Sons of Italy, the fascist friendly group led by eventual Staten Island Borough President Joseph A. Palma (1889-1969), in charge of the house and the ceremonies. Based on the events of 1914 and 1925, another birthday anniversary meant that "a major confrontation at the Garibaldi Memorial on Independence Day was a certainty."⁷⁹ This was proven true as one demonstrator was killed and fifty were injured. On this day Salvatore Arena, a Brooklyn house painter, lost his life. The *Staten Island Advance* reported that, "When anti-fascists started trouble as the Sons of Italy (the Order) parade swung down Tompkins Avenue towards the monument, police went into action.

⁷⁹ Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2004), 205.

They were ready for trouble.”⁸⁰



FIGURE 3.3 July 5, 1932, edition of New York’s Italian language, *The Free Press*. Headline reads, “Against the Ignoble Fascist Desecration of the Memory of Giuseppe Garibaldi!”

Authorities and detectives initially arrested and indicted Clement Lista, an Anti-Fascist from New Jersey for the murder of Arena. Lista was an anti-fascist from New Jersey. Anti-Fascists and their anarchist allies had a reputation for disrupting Garibaldi events sponsored by the fascists with chaos and violence. On the day Arena was killed, six-hundred anarchists stoned the fascists and threw an iron bar into their formation near the Garibaldi house.⁸¹ Anti-Fascists also reportedly brought bricks to the event in bags

⁸⁰ “Fascist Riot Ends in Murder: ‘Black Shirt’ Dies of Wounds, 50 Hurt in Battle on Crowded Beach Train, Police Charge ‘Red Shirt’ Attackers, Paradors Are Halted, Death Gun Missing in Fray, *Staten Island Advance*, July 5, 1932.

⁸¹ Morris Gilbert, “Land of the Free, Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile In Staten Island Cottage,” *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

disguised as lunches.⁸² The *World-Telegram* would report that, “Anarchist or whatever, these offenders against the peace were men who resented the adoption of Garibaldi by Fascismo. The hero had been a republican, a free thinker or Atheist, a Freemason; therefore anathema, it might be argued, the ways of this of Fascist Italy.”⁸³

Ultimately, police would charge newspaper editor of *Il Grido della Stirpe* and leader of the Lictor Federation (a fascist organization), Domenico Trombetta with the murder of Arena that took place on a S.I.R.T (Staten Island Rapid Transit) train at St. George after Tresca organized another tension filled Garibaldi anti-fascist event. “The train from Rosebank to the Saint George Ferry on Staten Island was like a mobile furnace the late afternoon of July 4, 1932. It was abnormally crowded. Heat and the intensity of the day's emotion tempers, tangled nerves, opened the sweat ducts and keyed the talk to a high, persistent, irritating clamor.”⁸⁴ The press claimed however that the murder was bewildering, lacked a motive, and must have been a mistake since Trombetta and Arena were both fascists. Further, Arena was a black shirt primordial and veteran of Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922.⁸⁵ After it was determined that Lista was not the killer, and the investigation pointed to Domenico Trombetta, it was alleged that Trombetta was feuding with Arena thus revealing the rift between generational Fascists; Arena represented the old guard and the Duce Fascist Alliance and Trombetta the new guard and Lictor

⁸² “Fascist Riot Ends in Murder: ‘Black Shirt’ Dies of Wounds, 50 Hurt in Battle On Crowded Beach Train, Police Charge ‘Red Shirt’ Attackers, Paraders Are Halted, Death Gun Missing in Fray, *Staten Island Advance*, July 5, 1932.

⁸³ Morris Gilbert, “Land of the Free, Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile In Staten Island Cottage,” *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

⁸⁴ Gilbert, *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

⁸⁵ Gilbert, *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

Federation.⁸⁶ Additionally, Trombetta was apparently witnessed committing the crime.⁸⁷ The murder of Arena turned him into a martyr for Fascism. The event marked “the climax of a day of strenuous tension which had opened on the highest patriotic, moral, and inspirational tone.”⁸⁸

The court case saw in fighting on both sides while the detectives and police seemed to be more interested in catching Tresca and labor organizers providing pressured and false testimony than they did in convicting a potential fascist murderer.⁸⁹ The house of the Assistant District Attorney prosecuting the case, Edward T. Kelley, had to be guarded after a “bomb package” was delivered to the court.⁹⁰ After all was said and done, Trombetta was acquitted by a Staten Island jury after only 45 minutes on October 28, 1932 as the case resulted in a mistrial.⁹¹ The *Staten Island Advance* reported in 1935 that “the murderer was never apprehended.”⁹² “On this key day of Garibaldi remembrance, Tresca and the subversives argued that most of the demonstrators merely wanted to lay a wreath in commemoration of Garibaldi’s birth although their prime motivation for that day was probably getting in the way of the 3,500 Blackshirts. It marked another time when the politics of memory over Garibaldi’s legacy resulted in

⁸⁶ John Patrick Diggins, *Mussolini, and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 128.

⁸⁷ “Editor is Indicted in Fascist Slaying: Murder After Riot at Garibaldi Exercises on Staten Island on July 4 Laid to Trombetta, Rival Group Accused Him, Two Declare They Saw Him Fire Fatal Shot, but He Denies It – Delay of Trial Is Sought.” *New York Times*, July 27, 1932.

⁸⁸ Morris Gilbert, “Land of the Free, Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile In Staten Island Cottage,” *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

⁸⁹ Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2004), 206.

⁹⁰ “Bomb Scare in Fascist Trial,” *Staten Island Advance*, October 28, 1932.

⁹¹ Morris Gilbert, “Land of the Free, Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile In Staten Island Cottage,” *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

⁹² “All’s Quiet at Scene of Riots in ’32: Arena Murder Followed Demonstration at Shrine Three Years Ago,” *Staten Island Advance*, July 4, 1935.

contentious politics. “The incident gave the Italians a sinister reputation. This was a repetition of the disorder which took place years old when the Prince of Udine came to the monument.”⁹³ The *World-Telegram* wrote that since the house had fallen into a state of disrepair, “it would appear that the unholy union of Garibaldi and fascism has come apart.”

In certain instances, of course, Garibaldian ideals were not central to ideological tension. The Italian press in New York circulated widely since the late nineteenth century to emphasize the importance of general leftism and eventually anti-fascism efforts. It went on to counter-track the work of the Fascist League of North America, stationed in New York in the 1920s. This outfit, the FLNA, threatened and intimidated Italians of the left as it propagandized socialists, turning them into provocateurs. While the American press leaves some record of ambiguity in these matters, scholars today also provide varying accounts for which side was responsible for these July Fourth episodes of violence, murder, and intimidation.

Historian Nunzio Pernicone summarized 1932’s significance for greater New York City and wrote for the New-York Historical Society in 1999 stating:

Economic hardship did not blunt the militancy of the New York *sovversivi*. Anti-Fascism scored a notable victory in the “Battle of Staten Island” on July 4, 1932, when several hundred militants led by Tresca, Giovanetti, Valenti, and the Vacirca routed a superior number of Blackshirts, pro-fascist *prominenti*, and Sons of Italy officials who had assembled at the Garibaldi Memorial to claim the Risorgimento hero as their own. A Fascist was killed in the melee, and a young anti-Fascist, Clemente Lista, became the target of another frame up that ended in acquittal.⁹⁴

⁹³ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

⁹⁴ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 88.



FIGURE 3.4 The Battle for Staten Island on July 4, 1932. Fascists and anti-Fascists clashed at the Garibaldi Memorial. Here, the anti-Fascists disembark from the ferry. (New York Historical Society, Plate 89), Peter V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (The New York Historical Society, 1999), 86.

A mobster killed Carlo Tresca in New York in 1943. His death “symbolized the passing of an era for the Italian immigrant Left.”⁹⁵ Although the work of Phillip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer in *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism, Politics, Labor, and Culture* holds plenty of merit in explaining how Italian radicalism persisted well into the twentieth century with figures like Vito Marcantonio and Peter Cacchione, ultimately, “these men centrally belonged to the world of American politics, not of the old *soversivi*.”⁹⁶ The collection of July Fourth Garibaldi inspired incidents however were cases, not of both-siderism, but results of fascist provocation. Garibaldi’s legacy and the meaning behind it was obviously front and center. The ultimate irony of this intensity and memory around Garibaldi on Staten Island in proportion to his actual history is interesting. Garibaldi’s time on Staten Island, as Alfonso Scirocco outlined,

⁹⁵ Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement*, 88.

⁹⁶ Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement*, 88-89.

was a place “insufficient for a man of [his] energies.”⁹⁷ Garibaldi was a revolutionary in the context of nineteenth century European and South American internationalism, and as the cases of July Fourth, 1914, 1925 and 1932 respectively demonstrated, Garibaldi could be seen as a revolutionary for working class Italians resisting reactionary Italianism from a Mussolini perspective. The Garibaldi name, statue, and house was an identity worthy of a battle from the revolutionary side and vernacular and institutional forms of Garibaldi memory coalesced to stave off early forms of the ethno-Italian right wing.

It is true that Mussolini commonly targeted socialists with attempts to revoke their citizenship back home in Italy to deter them from right wing critiques and organizing. Even when anti-Fascists had no direct evidence of Mussolini and his henchmen sending over spies and intelligence gathering of anti-fascist demonstrations and activities in America, or Fascist killing other fascists or former Fascists, for political purposes and provocation, it nonetheless happened alongside verifiable local claims. For example, in 1927, anti-Fascists Calogero Greco and Donato Carillo were found not guilty for the murder of Fascists Nicholas Amorosso and Joseph Carisi.⁹⁸ They were both falsely and intentionally accused by Fascists who conducted these murders and others as a standard practice. Even though the *New York Times* and their favorable coverage of Italian patriots and allies of the great “Liberator” and “General,” never fully committed to overt criticism of Mussolini and the black shirts in the 1920s and 1930s, the FLNA’s extremism became self-evident as they were committed agents of distorting information. U.S. press coverage reflected a need to balance mild approval for up close mainstream anti-fascist local

⁹⁷ Alfonso Scirocco. *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World, A Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2007), 194.

⁹⁸ “Six Men Stabbed in Fascist Riot,” *New York Times*, August 17, 1925.

exercises near Garibaldi sites while maintaining an appreciation for Mussolini and the Corporate State from afar.



FIGURE 3.5 Italy’s politicization of the 1932 murder of Blackshirt Salvatore Arena at the Garibaldi house. The Italian Ambassador, Nobile como de Martino attended the funeral at St. Vincent Ferrer’s Church in New York (*Staten Island Advance*, July 8, 1932, Staten Island Historical Society).

On the one hand, political violence on Staten Island resulted from Fascists simply crashing the anti-Fascists’ parade of organized celebrations in pursuit of ‘pure’ Garibaldianism prompting a retaliation, thus reserving the right to be both instigators and victims simultaneously. Mussolini wanted his sympathizers and loyalists to see the anti-fascists as the privileged purveyors of violence, holding back Italian greatness. On the other hand, violence emanating from Garibaldi’s memory on behalf of the anti-fascist side, posed as a real possibility because anarchism and early forms of Italian American radicalism often resulted in violent political activity in the first place. Mussolini failed in

inserting the violence label anachronistically on the anti-fascist in 1920s and 1930s. Anti-fascist Carlo Tresca saw himself as an equal opportunity leftist, but one that would discredit institutions when fascists were absent in 1914 and be more careful in doing so when they were present in 1925 and 1932. It should be said that these violent patterns nonetheless continued with regularity in New York since both sides in general viewed themselves as extensions of their respective state. It is likely that the Staten Island Anti-Fascists initiated clashes with Fascists. Their position seemed to be that Fascists could not simply overtake the Garibaldi house and proceed with a fascist parade without a reaction. According to the local press the 1932 violence was “headed by Joseph A. Palma.”⁹⁹ “As the Sons of Italy approached the monument,” it stated:

An anti-Fascist threw a straw hat. It seemed to be a signal. A brick followed and one of the Sons of Italy was hurt. Other missiles were hurled. Then the police attacked. They drove into the anti-Fascists, using nightsticks and bare fists. And as they surged in, harmless looking packages carried by the “Red Shirts” suddenly disgorged brass knuckles, pieces of pipe, and lengths of heavy cable. The packages did not, as police supposed contain lunches.

This incident and the one later in the afternoon like it on the same day were noteworthy for three reasons. First, they showed how Fascists marchers expected seamless processions without backlash. Secondly, these instances of 1932 collective violence showed how the Fascists felt entitled to police protection from anti-Fascists. Thirdly, it demonstrated that Antifascism in the 1930s perceived itself as a legitimate reaction to the right wing and like the ways conducted by the twenty-first century antifa movement. The violence that culminated from the 1932 exercises, as well as the cumulative effect of 1914 and 1925, was enough to cancel July Fourth Garibaldi tributes on Staten Island in

⁹⁹ “Fascist Riot Ends in Murder: ‘Black Shirt’ Dies of Wound, 50 Hurt in Battle on Crowded Beach Train, Police Charge ‘Red Shirt’ Attackers, Paraders are Halted, Death Gun Missing in Fray.” *Staten Island Advance*, July 5, 1932.

1933.¹⁰⁰ Although the pilgrimages from Washington Square Park to Staten Island ended after 1932, Italian fascists continued to send delegations to Garibaldi's former home.¹⁰¹ In 1935, the *Staten Island Advance* would write, the Garibaldi monument in Rosebank was a picture of serenity yesterday, in marked contrast to the pandemonium which raged there three years ago when a parade broke up in riots that were climaxed by murder."¹⁰²



FIGURE 3.6 June 1, 1933, discontinuation of Garibaldi events honoring his birthday. Reported by the *Staten Island Advance* (Staten Island Historical Society).

1935 was perhaps the first time that a small group of anti-Fascist organizers on Staten Island began demonstrating apart from the Garibaldi house (See Figure 3.7). Communists entered as a new group claiming legitimacy. It was on May Day of that year

¹⁰⁰ "Fascist Murder Brings Ban on Garibaldi Fete, June 16, 1933.

¹⁰¹ Morris Gilbert, "Land of the Free, Hero Garibaldi Spent Two Years of His Exile In Staten Island Cottage," *New York World-Telegram*, December 7, 1940.

¹⁰² "All's Quiet at Scene of Riots in '32: Arena Murder Followed Demonstration at Shrine Three Years Ago," *Staten Island Advance*, July 4, 1935.

when demonstrators railed against fascism and joined thousands of marchers in Manhattan. They made a procession to the ferry with banners reading:

“Boycott Hearst Press – Fight Fascism”
“Viva Liberta – Down with Hitler and Mussolini”
“Workers Are Free in Soviet Union but Strikers Are Shot in the United States”
“Fight Against Wage Cuts and High Cost of Living”
“Workers on Staten Island, Negro and White, Unite and Fight Against Hunger and War”
Demand Freedom of the Scottsboro Boy”¹⁰³

Another considerable portion of the march was dedicated to a critique of the New Deal from the left which the protestors believed catered to “company unions” at the expense of rank-and-file union workers that experienced wage cuts and increases in food prices.¹⁰⁴ The protest gained the attention from local fascists and fellow travelers who defamed them in the local press, prompting the main organizer of the May Day march to respond in stating that, “Really I can't understand why these black shirts of three coats are still here in the land of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, instead of going to enjoy the fascist haven. Especially now that the governmental bandits need them to steal the country from the honest Ethiopians.”¹⁰⁵ This demonstration and these words perhaps marked the beginning of Garibaldi's depoliticization in the context of revolutionary speech and action in New York.

¹⁰³ “35 March from Island to Join May Day Parade, Banners Attack Fascism, War, Pay Cuts; One Policeman is Escort,” *Staten Island Advance*, May 1, 1935.

¹⁰⁴ “35 March from Island to Join May Day Parade,” *Staten Island Advance*, May 1, 1935.

¹⁰⁵ James Curatella, “Anti-Fascist Replies To a Critic,” *Staten Island Advance*, August 30, 1935.

MAY DAY PARADERS FROM ISLAND



THESE marchers, 35 strong, left Tompkinsville Park yesterday morning, the Staten Island delegation for the May Day Communist parade in Manhattan. The group included representatives of the Staten Island Anti-Fascist, Friends of the Soviet Union, Communist Party and International Workers Order. They carried signs condemning fascism, war, relief pay cuts and the New Deal.

FIGURE 3.7 1935 Italian anti-fascist protest. Photo showing James Curatella of New Brighton, Staten Island, and other marchers. By 1935, Italian anti-fascist protesting, more galvanized and robust with other leftist groups, away from the Garibaldi house, a place no longer permitted as a gathering space (*Staten Island Advance*, May 1935, Staten Island Historical Society).

Conclusion

Was Garibaldi a revolutionary? According to Lucy Riall, he was, albeit a failed one. He knew and we know now, given the considerations of Italy at the time, no one could have in fact done better.¹⁰⁶ Engaged in guerrilla tactics, Garibaldi led daring raids, incorporated eccentric dress, and was influenced by a creole spouse. His international persona and revolutionary politics he first encountered in South America, later associated him with popular radicalism in France, Britain, and the United States – all places where he had a significant public following.¹⁰⁷ “In 1948, Italian cartoonist and anti-communist, Giovanni Guareschi (1908-1968) attempted to discredit Italy’s Popular Front, a left wing Garibaldian coalition, with a caricature of Garibaldi as Joseph Stalin.”¹⁰⁸

Left wing appropriation of Garibaldi created jealousy and resentment from rival groups, like the Christian Democrats, who contested the notion that Garibaldi was a socialist.¹⁰⁹ Garibaldi’s daughter, Clelia, during the Italian National Election campaign of 1948, protested vigorously against use by the Italian Communist Party of her father’s name and portrait.¹¹⁰ She later ran as a candidate for Parliament on the ticket of the Anti-communist Republican Party. 1948 was a pivotal election year in Italy, as it would determine if the country would ally with the United States or the Soviet Union. The

¹⁰⁶ Lorenzo Veracini, “Postcolonial Garibaldi,” *Modern Italy*, 24 1: 2019, 103. 99-112

¹⁰⁷ Lorenzo Veracini, “Postcolonial Garibaldi,” *Modern Italy*, 24 1: 2019, 103-104.

¹⁰⁸ Andrea Mariuzzo, *Communism and Anti-Communism in Early Cold War Italy: Language, Symbols and Myths*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2018). See also: Frank Rosengarten who explains: “The principal reason why the Communist Party named their partisan units the ‘Garibaldi Assault Brigades’ was because Garibaldi had led a volunteer ‘people’s’ army whose aim was to defeat the Austrians in order to give Italy freedom and independence.” Frank Rosengarten, *The Italian Anti-Fascist Press 1919-1945* Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University, 1968), 156.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Ventresca, *From Fascism to Democracy: Culture and Politics in the Italian Election of 1948*, Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 200.

¹¹⁰ “Clelia Garibaldi Dies, Last of Italian National Hero’s Five Children Was 91, New York Times, February 3, 1959.

moderate U.S.-backed Christian Democrats won the election. This episode showed the universality of the revolutionary appropriation of Garibaldi's legacy. Likewise, revolutionary, political, and symbolic speech of twentieth century Italian Americans often co-opted Garibaldi's nineteenth century revolutionary activities.

New York City Councilman Peter Cacchione, New York Congressman Vito Marcantonio and New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, figures considered candidates from the left and outside of the status quo, all claimed that their grandfathers had marched with Garibaldi and the Redshirts. Howard Zinn's 1958 dissertation on LaGuardia was perhaps one of the earliest writings to point out the loose connection.¹¹¹ Historian Gerald Meyer wrote that "despite [Marcantonio's] boasting later in life that his grandfather had marched with Giuseppe Garibaldi, the origins of his radicalism are to be found outside of his family."¹¹² In writing about the LaGuardia years, historian Charles Garrett pointed out how LaGuardia's grandfather, "Don Raffaele LaGuardia, an Italian government employee, had served as one of Garibaldi's Red Shirts but this claim cannot be verified."¹¹³ In several cases, Italian American politicians wishing to be considered in the progressive tradition of Garibaldi relied mostly on conjecture to authenticate their family history with an imagined Garibaldian revolutionary past.

In New York, romanticizing Garibaldi at times also compensated for a lack of radicalism in the early 1930s that surfaced elsewhere. For example, Labor historians Paul C. Mishler and William Mello, in writing about the Garibaldi section of the International

¹¹¹ Howard Zinn, *LaGuardia in Congress*, Ph.D., diss., (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), 2.

¹¹² Gerald Meyer, *Vito Marcantonio: Radical Politician, 1902-1954* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), 9.

¹¹³ Charles Garrett, *The LaGuardia Years: Machine and Reform Politics in New York City* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 7.

Workers Order stated how “the Garibaldi section developed its strongest support among Italian-American workers in the smaller cities of the Northeast and Midwest—not in the Little Italies of New York, Boston or Chicago.”¹¹⁴ In essence, Garibaldi revolutionary appropriations were difficult to pin down across time and place.

Marcantonio would extend the Garibaldi connection to Sacco and Vanzetti in his *Labor's Martyrs*. As President of the International Labor Defense, Marcantonio referred to Bartolomeo Vanzetti's radicalism and testimony before he was sentenced to death on April 10, 1927. Marcantonio wrote: “[Vanzetti's] words are particularly poignant. For I am an Italian, and proud to be of the same people that produced such a great spirit as Vanzetti, the descendant of Garibaldi, the forerunner of those heroic anti-fascist brothers who are today fighting fascism and Mussolini in Italy and in Spain.”¹¹⁵

Public memorials generate disagreements, discord, and collective violence as much as they offer symbolic representations for harmony and agreements. Both New York City and Italy specifically exhibited a space for large scale collective violence and mass civil unrest. The notion of ‘true’ Garibaldian identity described and formed this political culture. While social, political, and economic issues are the usual culprits for prompting collective violence, this chapter discussed commemoration and memory as additional dimensions and catalysts for violence. The anti-fascist and fascist traditions and collective memories of New Yorkers and Italians were performed in pursuit of defining political identity and affiliation with powerful historical imagery. Public

¹¹⁴ Paul C. Mishler and William Mello, “The Lost World of Italian-American Radicalism: Labor, Politics, and Culture,” *International Labor and Working Class History*, Spring, 1998, No. 53, Patronage, Paternalism, and Company Welfare (Spring, 1998), 199.

¹¹⁵ Vito Marcantonio, *Labor's Martyrs: Haymarket, 1887, Sacco and Vanzetti, 1927*, Introduction by William Z. Foster (New York, NY: Workers Library Publishers, Inc. October 1937), 13.

monuments involving real and imagined Garibaldian allegiance brought specific feelings and meanings that devolved into collective violence and revolutionaries wanted it to happen.

The politics of appropriation of the legacy of Giuseppe Garibaldi and his commemoration helped spark a form of collective violence in the twentieth century in New York and Italy. Since Garibaldi's political identity changed over time and coincided with his revolutionary and reformist involvement, so did the political factions and mindsets that existed from 1914-1944. This writing attempted to demonstrate how statues, houses, and memorial sites of massacres are not fixed, but socially constructed just like the people they tend to appropriate. The meanings of independence, social democracy, revolution, rebel organizations, radicalism, and socialism were used to unify and divide.

Italian Americans in the twentieth century U.S. were far more homogeneous than the Italians of Italy in the nineteenth century, with geographic, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. The U.S. political culture invented identities for political purposes just like frontiers and borderlands. Garibaldi, born on the fourth of July, served as a convenient trope and communication device for emerging U.S. ideological sorting and memory projects around identity. Fascist and anti-fascists developed their politics around Garibaldi's memory. This memory represented and set forth the conditions for organized and unorganized cultural and political violence throughout the twentieth century in New York and Italy and informs the reader how local history should be thought of as world history.

This chapter and research also showed that Garibaldi's legacy and his most ardent followers saw him and what he represented: a leader with an ideology that could provide justification for their own actions. When people acted in what they viewed as a revolutionary mindset in the Garibaldian tradition, they drew comfort with insider vs. outsider framing. For example, eventually Tresca and the far-left anarchists combined with labor leaders and mainstream portions of the progressive left, as insiders, to resist Mussolini and rightwing fascism, and tried to portray them as outsiders, at least in terms of the appropriation of Giuseppe Garibaldi in New York.

The world of Italian radicalism, however short lived, won the custody battle over Garibaldi during this time. Garibaldi's memory clearly provided consolidations of competing elements within the establishment, and efforts to seek cultural, political, and social capital—and all served to expose Fascist Blackshirts aiming to misappropriate the revolutionary figure. Incidentally, the battles over Garibaldi on a local level brought observable damage, dualling perpetrators, and varying degrees of coordination and violence.

EPILOGUE

Garibaldi's America and Beyond

This work explained how Giuseppe Garibaldi's time in New York was appropriated by commemorators to advance their own standings in society. I used the documents found at the Staten Island Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, and New York Public Library to determine how Garibaldi's legacy was used. In addition, I figured out how a localized archive can transcend microhistory and inform the reader of a more broad and intellectual global history of Garibaldi, New York, and Italian Unification. I utilized the archives at Columbia and New York University as well as the Center for Migration Studies in New York. All the collected material taken together can be used to describe world historical events from a New York perspective.

This work also took into consideration the historiographies of local history, memory studies, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and the Italian Risorgimento to bolster the initial findings and general thesis. In Chapter One, I described the life of Garibaldi and included a longer section for 1850, the year he arrived in New York. This chapter aimed to explain how New York was not merely a place of "exile" or the "gray years," as historians like to note, but rather a place of vital continuity for Garibaldi's activities in the in the late 1850s and early 1860s.

In Chapter Two, (as well as Five) I broke down how the material culture in tribute of Garibaldi helped to shape collective memory. The politics of the Garibaldi house from 1914-1932 featured a battle between a strong and organized left wing in direct opposition to the mounting Fascist elements within New York. Starting in the 1940s and 1950s the politics of the Garibaldi house shifted to a more moderate and consensus building group

of Italian Americans begging the Fascist Order to let go of the historical site which needed major repairs. This all transpired as the Italian radicalism dissipated. The house, statue, red shirt, and illustrated press, all featuring Garibaldi in New York served as a conduit for both social cohesion and contentious politics but more importantly showed how middle-class professionals utilized Garibaldi symbols to construct the meaning of their own lives in New York. The Garibaldi statue and the Garibaldi house still capture the imagination of the average New Yorker in Washington Square Park and on Staten Island.

Although the Manhattan statue is for most, just another decorative piece in a sea of statues across the cityscape, it still carries a closeness to New York University in formal and informal ways. For example, a March 2022 augmented reality project recognized how little attention was given to women in public space. Using a combination of art, technology and philosophy, digital sculptures of women were juxtaposed alongside statues of men. One of the creations, carried out by New York University's Carla Gannis, shows the Garibaldi statue in the background and a female avatar drawing a sword, entitled, G@r1B@ldA!.



FIGURE 3.8 A digital sculpture by the Garibaldi statue (created by NYU Tandon Industry Professor Carla Gannis).

Even on a considerably basic, simple, and personal level, the statue has significance for me. In one instance, it was the place where I met the Italian historian Enrico Acciai to discuss Garibaldi's legacy at a nearby café. He was a visiting professor at NYU in April 2023 lecturing on transnational fighters from antifascist struggle through the Cold War. As a historian of war volunteering, he looked at this topic from a global perspective for the university's Remarque Institute' and its multi-disciplinary European comparative studies program. His expertise and insights on Garibaldi's radical legacy from 1861-1945 helped me to shape my own project but the meeting also showed how the statue served as the inevitable and logical place to gather close to the campus. The statue is now a part of my own memory and secures its own meaning.

As for Garibaldi's house on Staten Island, I also share in the life experience as a member of the Garibaldi-Meucci Museum, on Tomkins Avenue chaired by Carl J. Ciaccio. Their motto is "*Preserve the Past for the Future.*" The house today, as much as it serves as a museum of local history, also allows for programs, exhibitions, events, concerts, language classes, opera lectures and the sale of merchandise, all to preserve and maintain the space. Further, the exterior remains in decent shape and the grounds are quite beautiful. On the one hand, I would argue, it serves as a form of glocalism and in effect, exists as a world heritage site of sorts within the broader journey of the Risorgimento. On the other hand, the records located in the basement need an archivist or experienced curator to reorganize their document collection. As of 2023, the archival material is in a poor state analogous to the exterior Santoro complained about throughout the 1930s and 1950s. Also, most of the keepsakes located in the house are items that steer clear of the 1932 tragedy and the more dramatic political flare ups because of Garibaldi's name from 1914-1932. Embracing the house's full history, not just memories associated with it, would make it both more attractive to visitors and more rooted in historical reality. It should avoid, in my view "becoming a center of nostalgia, serving chiefly as an insecure and leaky bastion against change."¹¹⁶

In Chapter Three where I explain how Garibaldi was used as a patriotic symbol, I show the need to provincialize Garibaldi and as someone possessing an American character and appreciation for liberty. He was shaped in the image of George Washington. Garibaldi as patriot was also fueled by his convenient birthday of July

¹¹⁶ Walter Muir Whitehill, "Local History Makes Good – Sometimes" *American Heritage*, (August 1972): 41.

Fourth and Abraham Lincoln's and Frederick Douglass's admiration for him.

Subsequently, whenever New York wanted to associate American exceptionalism with both world wars, Garibaldi served as a popular backdrop to promote a love for liberty and appeals to patriotism, often in the form of nationalism.

In Chapter Four, I investigate all the ways that New York politicians utilized Garibaldi's reputation to elevate or promote their own. This of course was to attract voters, but it is allowed for politicians to claim public space and symbols as their own canvases to paint their own political philosophies in accord with other interest groups and mid-level reform and support networks. Garibaldi was a legend and a trusted, admired, and proven commodity on the world stage, so New York politicians obviously wanted to use that energy to preserve and maintain their own political frameworks, agendas, and projects.

In Chapter Five, I explained how Garibaldi was coopted into a revolutionary figure both to justify and assert left politics and opposition to the status quo. After providing world historical context for this chapter, I traced the most sizable portion of this story, which revolves around three custody battles over the meaning of Garibaldi's house in 1914, 1925 and 1932. These events respectively included activist and newspaper editor Carlo Treves playing a key role. Beyond New York, Garibaldi's legacy had an impact across North America as well.

In Bensonhurst Brooklyn there's Garibaldi Playground. In Vancouver, there's Garibaldi Park. In Providence, Rhode Island lies Garibaldi Square which includes a bust to recognize the city's Little Italy developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The bust was made in 1932, the fiftieth anniversary of Garibaldi's death that marked an

era of Italo American antifascism. In 1901, Chicago's Legione Garibaldi raised funds to build a Garibaldi statue at Lincoln Park. After being moved a couple of times it finally settled inside Garibaldi Park (initiated in 1979) and the playground area in 1982, incidentally, the one-hundredth anniversary of his death. The Garibaldi statue in Chicago was the scene of intense political activity over the years. According to documents at the University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections, as a part of the Black Metropolis Research Consortium, the Garibaldi statue was used as the meeting place for the Students for a Democratic Society founded in 1959.¹¹⁷ This intersectional extension of the Civil Rights Movement included demonstrations dedicated to social justice at home and abroad. People there, likened Garibaldi to Che Guevara for their shared legacies as revolutionaries.

When you consider both Garibaldi statues of New York and Chicago respectively in a general sense, a couple of things stand out. The former resides in a park named after Washington (1826) and the latter; a park named after Lincoln (1865). For some Americans, the distinctions between Washington and Lincoln are perhaps apparent and obvious enough in terms of the history of American slavery. With Garibaldi featured in both parks and contexts however it shows the complexities of American history and the attempts to associate and appropriate Garibaldi somewhere within it as a material and conceptual amalgamation of Italian American freedom.

Garibaldi's clear legacy as an international celebrity is well known throughout the world and his name and imagery is seen in statues, schools, souvenirs, lakes, parks, transportation stations, settlements, public squares, and mountains. He has been featured

¹¹⁷ University of Illinois at Chicago Special Collections, part of the Black Metropolis Research Consortium.

or referenced in the form of clubs, societies, fashion, comic books, games, food items, plays, musical acts, and advertisements.¹¹⁸ The Nottingham Forest Football Club, founded in 1865, team's nickname is The Garibaldi, and they wear of course, red shirts or jerseys. His name stretches from the 1908 Garibaldi Society in Milwaukee, Wisconsin to New Zealand, where Club Garibaldi was founded in 1882 by Italian settlers in Wellington to promote and preserve their native culture. The anti-Fascist and republican side of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 featured a Garibaldi Brigade as did the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia in 1943 during the Second World War. A coastal fishing town, today with under 1,000 people located in Oregon, was named Garibaldi in 1865 by Daniel Bayley. He was one of the first participants of the invading settlement. Bayley, on the one hand, admired Garibaldi for his unification efforts but failed to see that Garibaldi would be in support of the Tillamook people, the natural inhabitants of that land if his fetes in Europe and South America were any indications.

For this project, I am working as a scholar of local history to argue that Garibaldi in New York can be used, not solely for promotion, appropriation, and commemoration, but rather to study world history, thus globalizing and expanding the scope of local and microhistory. Garibaldi, in the past, was usually studied by Italian and British historians that focused on political, military, and diplomatic matters. More recent Garibaldi scholarship has come from professors of Italian studies, global history, and European

¹¹⁸ “*Garibaldi* is a board game for 2 to 6 players about Garibaldi’s escape from the Austrians during 1849. *Garibaldi* is a gripping bluffing game suitable for the entire family. *Garibaldi* is not only an exciting board game, but also an educational tool that will help players, especially young children, develop a passion for History in a new and fun way.” See: *Garibaldi: La Trafila*, 2007, games designed by Gabriele Mari.

history. They specialize on the specific areas of cult of personality, innovations in political communication, war volunteering, and medicine.¹¹⁹

It is not only historians of Garibaldi and the Risorgimento that participate in this type of work. Academics dedicated to literature, American Studies, philosophy, and journalism pay close attention to Garibaldi and his influence as a form of cultural production. Professor of landscape geography at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, and native Staten Islander Kenneth Olwig, mentioned that Garibaldi was supported in the new world by Italians from the old world in search of a symbol of common identity and heritage from one conceptual landscape and island culture to another.¹²⁰ At the same time, this process along the way undoubtedly contributed to the contestations over Garibaldi's memory on Staten Island from 1914-1932.

Furthermore, like academics and authors Kenneth T. Jackson (*Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 1985) and Kenneth M. Gold, (*The Forgotten Borough: Staten Island and the Subway*, 2023), Olwig also alluded to the evolution of Staten Island after New York City's white flight and the Verrazzano Bridge's completion in 1964. There are far more Italian Americans on Staten Island now than in the nineteenth and early twentieth century yet politically, the stakes were much higher back then when there were much fewer people. Long after the arrival of the indigenous Lenape "the naming in 1964 of the bridge connecting Staten Island and Brooklyn after Giovanni de Verrazzano commemorates the fact that Italians were among

¹¹⁹ Ornella Moscucci, "Garibaldi and the surgeons," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 94: May 2001, 248-252. (Garibaldi left Staten Island on August 4, 1850, to see his doctor in New York, V. Motto, who resided in Hastings, New York. See: The Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, Staten Island, NY, MS 59, Box 47).

¹²⁰ Hans Renes, "A vision of European landscapes: an interview with Kenneth Olwig, *Journal of European Landscapes*, 1 (2020): 6.

the first and earliest visitors to what was to become New York City.”¹²¹ In some ways, the 1964 bridge made the island more provincial and suburban and less worldly. For example, Italian Americans were key players in the development of The United Nations Committee of Staten Island that met in St. George as late as 1951. In other words, before the bridge’s construction, Staten Island’s Italian Americans still considered themselves Americans and New Yorkers but also as proud immigrants and part of a fraternity alongside additional affinity groups that included: the NAACP, Israelis, Greeks, Poles, Norwegians, Moroccans, Spanish, Swedish, and Irish. This is something that would be less common and visible with Italian Americans after 1964.

In any event, Staten Island felt the reverberations and the tensions produced by the transitions from the old world and new world in terms of Italian immigration all throughout the twentieth century. After Garibaldi’s memory became less politicized post 1950, and as Staten Island became more suburban, references to him would rarely bring controversy or forms of political rivalry, especially after 1964. In the case of Europe, it would reverse it seems. In 1973, plans to honor Garibaldi in Sicily ignited controversy in Marsala, one of the few places in the country without any visual reminder of Garibaldi.¹²² Later, as New York would ultimately celebrate Garibaldi in 2011 for the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Italian unification in diplomatic and bipartisan ways, Italians engaged in contentious politics. On June 11, 2011, *The Economist* stated:

Italy's unification is contentious because many people trace the country's current troubles back to the birth of a nation that, they say, was misconceived. In the run-up to the anniversary an effigy of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the great hero of unification, a sort of 19th-century Che Guevara but with better politics, was burned in the Veneto

¹²¹ Philip V. Cannistraro, ed., *The Italians of New York: Five Centuries of Struggle and Achievement* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1999), 3-4.

¹²² Paul Hofman, “Plan to Honor Garibaldi in Sicily Stirs a Furor: Communist Asks \$1 Million to Construct a Memorial in Depressed Marsala,” *New York Times*, April 14, 1973.

region. The Northern League, which governs in coalition with Silvio Berlusconi's People of Freedom Party in Rome, objected to having a public holiday dedicated to an event that it regards as a catastrophe. Unification, the party argues, yoked the poor, corrupt lazy south to the go-ahead north to the detriment of both. Garibaldi did not unite Italy; the Northern League is fond of saying; he divided Africa.¹²³

Related to these comments, in 2007, Giorgio Bettio, Northern Leaguer and city councilman of Treviso stated that, "with immigrants, we should use the same system the SS used, punish 10 of them for every slight against one of our citizens."¹²⁴ Journalist Philip Pulella wrote how "his comments revived memories of the 1944 Ardeatine Caves massacre, when Hitler ordered that 10 Italians be executed for each of the 33 German soldiers killed in a partisan attack against occupying forces on a Rome street."¹²⁵ Fast forward to Staten Island in August and September of 2023 where reactions to asylum seekers brought out rather large groups of nativist protestors including politicians revisiting historic calls for the Island's secession from New York City.¹²⁶ Previously, "in 1967 the borough president of Staten Island established a commission to study the possibility of secession from New York City, and in 1985 the separation proposal was given added impetus when Staten Island lost its co-equal status on the city's powerful Board of Estimate."¹²⁷

A stark departure from figures such as Carlo Tresca, Vito Marcantonio and Peter Cacchione, this type of thinking and behavior toward Garibaldi's legacy in Italy, in effect, resembles how Lost Cause of the Confederacy Americans still remember 1861-

¹²³ "Oh for a new risorgimento," *The Economist: Special Report: Italy*, June 11, 2011, 1.

¹²⁴ Philip Pulella, "Italy politician urges Nazi policies for immigrants," *Reuters*, December 5, 2007.

¹²⁵ Pulella, *Reuters*, December 5, 2007.

¹²⁶ Howard Husock, "Why Staten Island Seceding from NYC makes sense – for multiple reasons," *New York Post*, September 5, 2023.

¹²⁷ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985) 154.

1865. Eric Foner and David Blight have written about how the Civil War and Reconstruction have been distorted by the right. And in some ways, to understand Staten Island and parts of New York's political culture is to understand Italy's Sicily. There is a liberal north, a moderate center, and a conservative south. It is urban, suburban, and rural. Interestingly, Staten Island has one of the largest Italian American populations in the United States. Eight of its sixteen Borough Presidents have been Italian American and mostly Republican, spanning 1860-2023. Most of the island consists of Republican voters, with extremely high concentrations residing in the south featuring strong nativist tendencies. Rosebank, where Garibaldi briefly lived, is located just above Interstate 278 (the Staten Island Expressway), colloquially known as Staten Island's "Mason-Dixon Line." Even in this area of the island's proximity to the more centrist north shore, conservative voter turnout is high as indicated in recent elections for city, state, and federal government positions. Sicily mirrors Staten Island then and becomes an allegorical, geographical island sequestered from the rest of the world. It is largely content on existing as a symbolic space apart from the city that ideally wants to serve as an example of the entire nation.¹²⁸

Garibaldi was a revolutionary by the standards of the nineteenth century and won over the sentiments and admiration of progressives like Frederick Douglass and liberals such as Abraham Lincoln. It is little wonder therefore, that much of Staten Island does not feel especially compelled to promote or deny the memory of Garibaldi. He remains an especially important symbol of Italian heritage to some, but it's doubtful that the specific

¹²⁸ Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg, ed., *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001), 18. (Here the authors summarize Benjamin and Gentile's construction of nationhood).

policies he held and the precise actions he took, are being internalized. This type of indifference extends to the Garibaldi statue in Manhattan, as most statues in the city by now merely blend in with the trees.

At the same time, the hard right's appropriation, or lack of interest, in Garibaldi in the U.S., however, is nothing new. Most of the New York Italian language newspapers, and the *prominenti*, were pro-Fascist. Even as Garibaldi commemoration reached a fever pitch in New York in 1907 to celebrate his one-hundredth birthday, Italian representatives voted against honoring him on a secret ballot that same year to the chagrin of the citizens.¹²⁹ They suppressed the commemorative process the same way the Order did on Staten Island all throughout the 1930s-1950s. The paper that originally funded the Garibaldi statue, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, was one such example and they supported Mussolini with favorable coverage.¹³⁰ Both Carlo Barsotti and Italian businessperson Generoso Pope (1891-1950), who took over the paper in 1928, were supporters of Mussolini and fascism. It was Pope, that with support at the highest local level, was instrumental in organizing the 1932 Garibaldi event on Staten Island that resulted in violence and death.

Another issue with historicizing and remembering Garibaldi in New York is one of the difficult legacy taxonomy due to a varied life. In other words, where lies Garibaldi significance? What country can rightly claim him? Is he the property of the left, center, or right? Is he a figure of social, political, or military history? Is he a local, regional, national or world hero? Does he belong in the same category as Toussaint Louverture, Simon

¹²⁹ "Vote Against Plan to Honor Garibaldi, Intense Sensation Created by the Action of Ten of the Italian Deputies, Their Names are Unknown, Secret Ballot Prevents the Public from Learning Who are the Enemies of Italian Unity, *New York Times*, June 23, 1907, 1.

¹³⁰ "A Mussolini Might Help Solve Crisis," *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, February 5, 1933.

Bolivar, Jose Marti, Benito Juarez, and Che Guevara?¹³¹ If yes, where is the audience for such a comparison? If not, what makes their efforts any more romantic, liberating, heroic, or escape scrutiny? One reason for this is probably that race-first Marxists of the twenty-first century excuse the problematic and complex nature of historical figures associated with the Global South and reflexively dismiss European actors that are closer in actions and philosophies than presumed. European mercenaries, if Garibaldi was one, were not far off from the actions of other figures in early modern or modern world history. It could be argued then that the heroes of the Global South, which used peon labor and debt slavery while carrying out independence movements, required a reframing of their historical reputations for political purposes.¹³² Addressing this all would of course be the focus of additional studies. Further, this Garibaldi in New York project is also largely unfinished, like most works of history.

Certainly, more can be said about Garibaldi and the gendered nature of his life as well as the politics of his remembrance. Post-colonial studies of Garibaldi and examinations of him through literature and travel writing are also avenues ripe for further analyses within the context of the Risorgimento and his life. Further, more can be said for whiteness studies, how social class factored into the Garibaldi commemorative process, and the study of Italian identity formation overall. The identity of Staten Island's Italian Americans, for instance, has changed over time. Staten Island was a place for vacationing

¹³¹ Christopher Abel, *Jose Marti: Revolutionary Democrat* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), 133, (Marti wrote in 1898, "Liberty, human *patria*, had a son: Garibaldi.")

¹³² Peter Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 383n.6.

aristocrats in the late 1800s and Germans, Irish and Italians were “in-betweens” in terms of identity and members of the working classes.¹³³

In the late 1800s, Italians were largely considered outsiders in the New York press and written about as a separate race. In the 1930s, brochures for events at the Garibaldi house were written in Italian. By 1952 however, Daniel Santoro would be writing the New York City Board of Education requesting that Italian be taught in every local high school.¹³⁴ Also in 1952, Kenneth Scott, the head of Wagner College’s Modern Language Department would write, “few subjects can be more rewarding than Italian; for Italy has given us some of our greatest cultural treasures. For those of Italian descent the language is part of their rich heritage to be cherished.”¹³⁵ Santoro lamented as early as the 1930s and 40s that, “Today there is little interest in Italian organizations, such as social and political clubs, lodges and societies; the only associations that carry on are the mutual aid societies, held together by the sick and Mortuary benefit funds.”¹³⁶ Subsequent generations spoke English as their first language more and more and Italian social organizations and institutions saw limited memberships or folded outright. They included, the Staten Island Italian Historical Society, the Italian Club of Richmond County, the Gabriele d’Annunzio Social and Pleasure Club, and Italian Civic Center under Santoro associate, Michael Santangelo.¹³⁷ Original Italian Mazzinian groups that started in the late nineteenth and

¹³³ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

¹³⁴ Daniel Santoro, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, New-York Historical Society, (F, 128R.9.I8, c66, 1935, no. 1).

¹³⁵ Santoro, The Papers of Daniel Santoro, New-York Historical Society, (F, 128R.9.I8, c66, 1935, no. 1).

¹³⁶ Daniel Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

¹³⁷ Santoro, Papers of Daniel Santoro, Staten Island Historical Society, (MS 59, Box 47).

early twentieth centuries were long gone by World War II. Santoro's papers and notes show how he kept a running tally of groups in existence as well as discontinued groups.

I argued that Giuseppe Garibaldi and the invention of his legacy can be studied through the lens of New York and served as a microhistory to uncover the purposes of commemorators. It further argued that local history can be better explored and understood by discussing global events. After the George Floyd protests in 2020, statues of problematic political figures, like Robert E. Lee and Christopher Columbus, faced obvious contestation. The Garibaldi statue's base in Manhattan has been tagged by vandals a few times in the recent past. In the era of the Floyd protests the base was spray painted with graffiti on three sides in 2020 and 2021. In the first case, the graffiti read: "1312, FUCK TRUMP, ACAB," to indicate an obvious grievance of racial capitalism and law and order politicians that exacerbate it. In the second case, the message looked gratuitous, random, and unclear. In other words, the opposite of the local, regional, and international messaging in protest to police brutality. Garibaldi's statue and legacy in the present amounts to collateral damage for members of a greater movement that know oversized bronze figures are emblematic of something uncertain within the established order. Washington Square Park residents and merchants have expressed frustration over park goes out at all hours of the night in recent years. It's an argument over public space but also the consequences of over-development, housing crises, a suffering economy, and the politics of remembrance. As a result, we are left with the nineteenth century's most celebrated and famous figure unresolved.

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