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A MEETING OF TWO REMARKABLE MEN: GARIBALDI AT FARRINGFORD

Claudia Capancioni

In this essay I examine the meeting of Alfred, Lord Tennyson with the Italian General Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) while also, more personally, considering briefly the impact Tennyson's poetry has had on my own career as a scholar of English Literature. I would like to begin by reflecting on the initiatives I have developed to promote Tennyson's legacy more widely through teaching and learning activities. As the Programme Leader for English at Bishop Grosseteste University (BGU), Lincoln, I facilitate and promote ways to enthuse students with a passion for poetry together with an interest in studying it through Tennyson. This is an obvious partnership: the Victorian poet whose statue by the Chapter House of Lincoln Cathedral celebrates his poetry, fame and Lincolnshire roots. In the Tennyson Research Centre, students at undergraduate and postgraduate level have opportunities to learn about Tennyson's poetry, life, intellectual circles and publishers, reception, and reputation. Through his work, they learn about Victorian poetry, and more broadly about understanding and enjoying poetry both as readers and as writers. In the last four years, students have shown me how diverse the outcomes of these activities can be, expanding my understanding of Tennyson's current reception and legacy. In 2015, when I had the opportunity to establish the first MA in English Literature in BGU's history, I wrote the module, 'Author in Focus: Tennyson's Legacy and a Family's Archive', and believed it would become Tennyson's most significant presence in the curricula. I recognise now that it is another initiative that has had a deeper and more lasting impact on the students: 'The Tennyson Poetry Award'. Launched in collaboration with the Tennyson Society and the Tennyson Research Centre on National Poetry Day 2014, this is an annual poetry competition that invites students at all levels to write a poem in response to one written by Tennyson. It creates a forum for engaging with Tennyson's legacy by writing new poetry within the safe environment of workshops where it can be shared and performed, as well as in solitude. Taking part in the competition, one of the winners recently explained to me, is for them a way of enjoying a creative venue to appreciate poetry and also of developing a poetic voice of their own. 'The Tennyson Poetry Award' can be a transformative experience: as well as equipping readers of poetry with analytical tools, it is capable of empowering new poets.

Like the initiatives hitherto mentioned, the Tennysonian investigation this essay considers stems from the bond I have forged with material conserved in the Tennyson Research Centre. Although I was born in Italy, I adopted English Literature as my own from a very young age and,

as an academic, I have found my home in Lincolnshire, the county where Tennyson was born and in the city of the Tennyson Research Centre. Among the many stimulating documents and objects, Garibaldi's autograph made an immediate, indelible impression.¹ I knew of the meeting between two of the most extraordinary personalities of the Victorian era at Farringford on 8 April 1864. It is most famously commemorated by the Wellingtonia tree they planted together at Farringford,² and immortalised in a picture The *Illustrated London News* published on 23 April 1864, which remains a tender image of the whole Tennyson family welcoming Garibaldi. The eleven lines from *Dei sepolcri* (1807, *Of the Sepulchres*, 1820 ca.)³ by Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827) that precede Garibaldi's autograph amazed me. In 1864, Garibaldi was already 'the foremost hero of the Risorgimento' (Ferroni, 1996, 695) and these lines are from his favourite Risorgimento poem. They are especially significant because, as this essay posits, they resonate with his life and Tennyson's poetry. The autograph reveals some of the verses Garibaldi recited to his 'friend Alfred Tennyson',⁴ enabling a contextualisation of their 'long session up in Tennyson's study' (Batchelor, 2012, 259) through Italian nineteenth-century poetry. It unfolds transnational literary connections that illustrate how these two remarkable men might have disagreed on Dante Alighieri but shared a passion for poetry and Italy's independence. This essay explores some of these connections, revealing that they go beyond the historical political tensions and show stimulating affinities.

There are contradictions in the ways the encounter between Tennyson, the Poet Laureate who epitomised Victorian poetry beyond the limits of the British Empire, and Garibaldi, the revolutionary who embodied Italy's fight for freedom and whose fame as the 'hero of two worlds' was defined by his actions of international as well as national patriotism,⁵ has been reported. Biographical and historical studies appear to disregard the poetry they exchanged and favour a focus on the political context of their meeting highlighting that 'they talked on politics, and [Tennyson] advised the General not to talk politics in England.' (Emily Tennyson, 1981, 197) Many scholars refer to Emily Tennyson's journal, but only rarely do they include her complete summary of the meeting:

¹ In the Tennyson Research Centre (TRC), Garibaldi's autograph is catalogued as, Lines from 'L'urne dei forti...' by Ugo Foscolo written in the hand of, and signed by, Garibaldi, dated April 1864. The reference name is TRC/LETTERS/9045.

² Today there is still a Garibaldi tree on the Isle of Wight but it is a Wellingtonia that was planted in 1996 by the Tennyson Society to replace the original.

³ Today *Dei sepolcri* is more often translated as *Of the Graves*.

⁴ TRC/LETTERS/9045.

⁵ Before dedicating himself to the Risorgimento struggle for Italian independence, Garibaldi had fought in wars of liberation in Brazil and Uruguay.

[Tennyson and Garibaldi recited] Italian poetry to each other. A. T. said some of Manzoni's Cinque Maggio, and Garibaldi repeated and wrote out eleven lines of Ugo Foscolo for A. T. beginning "Il navigante che veleggio" and signed - to my friend Alfred Tennyson, G. Garibaldi.' (1981, 197)

Her account clearly refers to Garibaldi's autograph and specifies which Italian poem Tennyson recited. The autograph is not included in her journal but its published edition contains a footnote explaining that the lines are from *Dei Sepolcri*. In a letter dated May 1864, Tennyson too makes a clear reference to the autograph as he narrates the event to the Duke of Argyll:

I spouted to [Garibaldi] a bit of Manzoni's great ode, which Gladstone translated. I don't know whether he relished it but he began immediately to speak of Ugo Foscolo and quoted with great fervour a fragment of his *Carme sui Sepolcri* beginning with "Il navigatore che veleggio [sic]" etc. and ending with "delle Parche in canto", which verses he afterwards wrote out for me; and they certainly seem to be fine. (Lang & Shannon, 1987: 364)

Earlier in May, Tennyson had written to his nephew Julius Tennyson giving a briefer account in which he specified that Garibaldi 'quoted Ugo Foscolo and wrote out some of his (Ugo's) verses which he particularly admired - from *Dei Sepolcri*' (1987: 364). A month after Garibaldi's visit, in Tennyson's memory the poetry they recited to each other is still central to their meeting.

It does not seem so in the scholarly work on either of these two nineteenth-century celebrities. Garibaldi's autograph is not included in the scholarly editions of either Tennyson's letters or Emily's journal. Foscolo's name is cited only occasionally. The eleven lines from *Dei Sepolcri*, or Manzoni's 'Cinque Maggio' (1821, The Fifth of May) are not considered of relevance to understanding their conversation. For example, in his 1980 biography, Robert Bernard Martin summarises the event presuming that Garibaldi wondered 'what the purpose of the visit had been.' (1980, 450) He then adds that afterwards Tennyson 'said musingly that [Garibaldi] had the "divine stupidity of a hero"' (450), and concludes, 'as a meeting of heroes, it left something to be desired.' (450) Lucy Riall (2007) writes in brackets that 'they recited Italian romantic poetry to each other' (331), but she includes Emily Tennyson's impressions of him by quoting from her 'diary' (331). More recently, John Batchelor still doubts that 'the great Italian liberator was able to see any point in his encounter with the great English poet.' (2012, 259) He states that the 'conversation started in English, but [that] they struggled to understand each other' (259). Martin defines their conversation as 'inconclusive' (1980, 449), and describes them as talking 'at cross purposes' (449). Writing to Julius, Tennyson mentions issues of communication only when he adds that they also 'talked about Italy although I did not always understand [Garibaldi] nor he me' (1987: 364). To the Duke of Argyll he writes that they talked in English 'though I doubt whether he understood me perfectly and his meaning was often obscure to me' (1987: 364).

What follows though shows quite a suitable understanding of the reasons of Garibaldi's visit to England. If we accept that, even if Garibaldi spoke English,⁶ there might have been linguistic issues, what Martin rightly calls "this meeting of heroes", I maintain, was still a valuable event. Taken together with Emily's journal and Tennyson's correspondence, Garibaldi's autograph at the end of an extract of poetry is evidence that 'things went better when they quoted Italian poetry to each other.' (Martin, 1980, 449) By piecing together the poetic evidence they contain, this essay unravels the significance of the Italian poems Tennyson and Garibaldi declaimed.

Tennyson recited from Alessandro Manzoni's 'Cinque Maggio', a poem he considered to be a "great ode." Composed immediately after Napoleon Bonaparte's death to commemorate his life, 'Cinque Maggio' is also a meditation on the historical events the French General, then Emperor, initiated and on a man who seeks redemption at the end of his life. Manzoni envisages a defeated Napoleon as a hero who has misused his talent by pursuing self-interest but finds peace in a Christian death. This poem was censored but the manuscript circulated in Italy and abroad: for example, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) translated it into German in 1822. As Tennyson notes in his letter to the Duke of Argyll, W. E. Gladstone translated it into English with the title, 'Ode on the Death of Napoleon'. Today Manzoni's ode is more easily recognised by British readers, than Foscolo's *Dei sepolcri*. At the time, Manzoni and Foscolo were equally recognised as writers who contributed to the Risorgimento national-patriotic discourse by developing ideas of Italy and *italianità* (Italian-ness). They could not aspire to an official national status as a Poet Laureate, but they believed in poetry as a means of reflecting on current events, of voicing a nation's emotions. The nationalist leader and founder of the political movement *Giovane Italia* (Young Italy), Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), saw in them ideal poets capable of expressing the voice of multitudes. In an essay entitled, 'Ai poeti del secolo XX' ('To the Poets of the Twentieth Century', 1832), he argues that poetry should aim to give a voice to a community, to have a social purpose and contribute to the development of ideals of freedom, progress, and nationality. Tennyson's poetry was translated into Italian for the first time in 1868,⁷ but his status as the poet of the English nation was thought to epitomise the high standing to which, Mazzini maintained, all poets should aspire. In his letter, Tennyson shows admiration for Manzoni's ode and appreciation for the verses Garibaldi recites from *Dei Sepolcri*, even if he admits he does not know the whole poem. As a young poet, he experimented with political poetry, including 'a

⁶ Garibaldi 'read Italian and foreign newspapers carefully, and regularly received *The Times and Le Siècle*.' See Allan Cameron's translation of Alfonso Scirocco's *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* (2007, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 313).

⁷ See Giuliana Pieri's 'The Critical Reception of Tennyson in Italy', in *The Reception of Alfred Tennyson in Europe* edited by Leonee Ormond (2017, London: Bloomsbury, 85-104).

spirited sonnet about Napoleon’ (Batchelor, 2012, 47). In 1864, he was still interested in Italy’s quest for independence and still connected to intellectual and cultural networks that supported the Risorgimento cause and knew the activists who were in exile in Britain. Tricia Lootens reminds us that, ‘as a young man, Tennyson shared some of Barrett Browning’s idealistic internationalism’ (2000, 263). He wrote sonnets against Russia’s oppression of Hungary and Poland (1832), and participated directly in an abortive rebellion in Spain.⁸ Garibaldi’s involvement in the Risorgimento started with his reading of the works of Mazzini and Foscolo. He revealed to Tennyson, that Foscolo was ‘his favorite [sic] poet’ (E. Tennyson, 1981, 197) and how much he valued the verses he recited from *Dei sepolcri*. From London, Garibaldi sent a copy of Foscolo’s *Poesie (Poems)* to Tennyson with a letter of thanks, which, Emily notes, arrived on 19 April 1864 (1987, 198). To the Duke of Argyll, Tennyson admits he has ‘not yet read [Foscolo’s book] but mean[s] to do so’ (Lang & Shannon, 1987, 364). Garibaldi’s admiration for Foscolo was such that before leaving Britain, he visited his tomb in the Old Chiswick Cemetery.⁹ Like Mazzini, Foscolo lived an exile in London where he died in 1827.¹⁰ In the 1830s, Garibaldi too had been an exile because of his political activism. When he died, a volume of Foscolo’s poems was by his bed.¹¹

When the verses Garibaldi ‘wrote out’ for Tennyson are compared with Foscolo’s original poem, it is evident that the Italian General did not change their meaning but did not always remember them accurately, as the following table shows:

| <u>Lines as they were noted down by Garibaldi</u> | <u>Foscolo’s <i>Dei Sepolcri</i> lines 201-212¹²</u> |
|---|---|
| Il navigante che veleggiò quel mar sotto l’Eubea | [...] . Il navigante |
| Vedea nell’ampia oscurità scintille | che veleggiò quel mar sotto l’Eubea, |
| Balena d’elmi e di cozzanti brandi | vedea per l’ampia oscurità scintille |
| Fumar le pire – igneo vapor | balena d’elmi e di cozzanti brandi, |
| Corrusche d’armi ferree vedea larve guerriere | fumar le pire igneo vapor, corrusche |

⁸ See Eric W. Nye’s *John Kemble’s Gibraltar Journal: The Spanish Expedition of the Cambridge Apostles, 1830-1831*. (2015, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

⁹ In 1871, his remains were removed and placed in the church of Santa Croce in Florence. In *Dei sepolchi* he identified this church as the ideal memorial of dead heroes.

¹⁰ Ugo Foscolo’s most popular novel is entitled, *Ultime Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* (1802, *The Last letters of Jacopo Ortis*, 1970). He is also remembered for his translation into Italian of Laurence Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey*, entitled *Viaggio sentimentale lungo la Francia e l’Italia*. Traduzione di Didio Chierico (1805).

¹¹ See Lucy Riall’s *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (2007, New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

¹² And the sailor/ who coasted by the sea under the Euboea / saw in the vast obscurity of the night / the sparkles of helms and the clash of swords flashing, / the pyres’ smoke, and the sparkles / of iron weapons and saw many ghosts of warriors / going into battle; in the horror of nocturnal / silences heard across the fields / a turmoil of multitudes, and sounds of trumpets, / and urging of horses / trampling on / the helms of the dying, / and the lamentations, / and the hymns, and the song of the Fates. (my translation)

Cercar la pugna e all'orror de' notturni
Silenzi si spandea lungo ne' campi
Di falangi un tumulto e un suon di tube
E un scalpitar di cavalli accorenti
Calpestando sugli elmi ai moribondi
E pianti, ed inni, e delle parche il canto.
To my friend Alfred Tennyson
G. Garibaldi

d'armi ferree vedea larve guerriere
cercar la pugna; e all'orror de' notturni
silenzi si spandea lungo ne' campi
di falangi un tumulto e un suon di tube
e un incalzar di cavalli accorenti
scalpitanti sugli elmi a' moribondi
e pianto, ed inni, e delle Parche il
canto.

Dei Sepolcri is possibly Foscolo's most famous poem, and certainly his most important Risorgimento poem. Published in 1807 before his exile in London, it is an openly political poem conceived as a response to Ippolito Pindemonte after a discussion about the Saint-Cloud Napoleonic edict (1804), which regulated all burials dictating they had to be outside the city walls and regulating burial monuments, for example in terms of size and inscriptions. This long poem (295 hendecasyllables) is addressed to 'te, dolce amico' (l. 8, you, my sweet friend) and examines the entwining nature of death and life, nature, friendship, love, and illusions. Illusion is the term Foscolo uses to signify the need to believe one can survive after death through poetry. He concludes that, through noble values human beings give meaning to life; that values can survive, if those who are alive are committed to keeping their memory alive. Like poetry, the graves of heroes are important because they are a means of commemorating those who died selflessly for their country. In the excerpt Garibaldi transcribed, the speaker celebrates those who sacrificed their lives in defending Greece from the Persian invasion in 490 B.C. Unable to rely on an episode of Italian history, Foscolo chooses the classical Greek world as an ideal example of courage and commitment which Italians ought to emulate. These lines specifically commemorate those who sacrificed their lives to defend Marathon from invaders.

Garibaldi empathised with this noble sacrifice as he himself lived by similar noble values. He too could, in the silence of the night, recall his battles and those who died fighting with him. Among them, there was his first wife, Anita Garibaldi (Anna Maria De Jesus Riberio da Silva, 1821-1849), who defended the Roman Republic with him and died near San Marino, as they retreated. This moving episode in Garibaldi's life is commemorated in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Casa Guidi Windows' (1851), a poem that was simultaneously published in English

and Italian, and remains central to studying the Risorgimento in Britain and Italy.¹³ It commemorates Italy's fight for freedom and those who died fighting for Italy's independence. Similarly to Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri*, Barrett Browning's poem invites the living to remember the dead and transmit their ideals so that they stay alive by becoming 'seeds of life' (Part Two, XXII, l. 663). The tragic death of 'Garibaldi's wife' (l. 681) is immortalised in seventeen lines that begin by imagining her by his side, dying after their unborn child, and end by claiming a memorable grave for her because she cannot '[f]orlorn/Of thanks, be' (l. 676/7). The final verse expresses concern regarding Anita's grave. After her death, her dead body was entrusted to those who gave Garibaldi and Anita refuge but, buried with haste, it was found by the police. Garibaldi could give her a resting place in his native Nice only in 1859.¹⁴ The 'great fervour' (Lang & Shannon, 1987: 364) with which, Tennyson observes, Garibaldi recited his chosen verses from Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri*, displays how this stanza is of personal significance. These verses deeply resonate with the values he lived by. By reciting them, he keeps alive the memory of those who lost their lives in fighting for their country's independence, especially his wife Anita. In them, there are also echoes of Tennyson's own poetry and the ways in which he meditates on grief, and commemorates noble values such as the sacrifice of an individual for the common good. Since 1850, as Christopher Ricks suitably maintains, readers 'have found [*In Memoriam*] lasting consolation. (Ricks, 2007, xxvi) The success of 'Enoch Arden' in 1864 'established Tennyson as the "The Poet of the People"' (Hill, 1999, 347) by affirming the sacrifice of an husband for the happiness of his wife. Ten years previously, in 1854, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', patriotic poem, commemorated that ultimate sacrifice Garibaldi was ready to make.

In her examination of the cult of Garibaldi, Riall explains that, unlike 'most other Risorgimento leaders, he could be portrayed as "of the people": uneducated, unsophisticated, with a plain upbringing and modest demeanour' (2007, 12). His life story highlighted differences between him and the intellectual leaders of the Risorgimento who promoted his representation 'as a humble hero' (13). In 1860, Tennyson had said of Garibaldi that his 'life was one out of Plutarch, [...], so grand and simple' (Page, 1983, 77). In the same year, he wrote to the Duchess of Argyll defining Garibaldi as 'the brave and guileless' and sharing his belief that they would 'hear of him again.' (Lang & Shannon 1987, 269) He hoped that Garibaldi was 'more than a gleam of light from Italy but [...], a light for ever.' (269) In his correspondence with the Duke of

¹³ I quote Barrett Browning's verses from the 1995 collection, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Aurora Leigh and Other Poems*, edited by John Robert Glorney Bolton and Julia Bolton Holloway (London: Penguin).

¹⁴ In 1932, her remains were moved again to be buried in the base of a monument built in her memory on the Janiculum Hill, in Rome.

Argyll, though he had acknowledged Garibaldi was also a writer, he depicted him as an ideal knight:¹⁵

What a noble human being! I expected to see a hero and I was not disappointed. One cannot exactly say of him what Chaucer says of the ideal knight 'As meke he was of part as is a maid'; he is more majestic than meek, and his manners have a certain divine simplicity in them, such as I have never witnessed in a native of these islands, among men at least, and they are gentler than those of most young maidens whom I know. (Lang & Shannon 1987, 364)

This is an image of chivalry and simplicity recalling *Idylls of the King*; the collection he sent to the Italian General after his visit to Farringford.¹⁶ Emily too describes Garibaldi's manner as 'simple and kind' (1987, 196) but pictures him as an English Elizabethan champion: 'His face very noble powerful and sweet, his forehead high & square. Altogether he looks one of the great men of our Elizabethan age' (1987, 196). In 1864, Britain celebrated William Shakespeare's tercentenary and Emily appears to follow a trend in the press, associating Garibaldi's features with Englishness.¹⁷ These parallels might be the reasons why the Tennysons' portrayal of Garibaldi is often included in studies of the astounding reception the Italian General received in Britain. However, the domestic scenes contained in their autobiographical writing are also valuable in exploring connections between Alfred and Emily and their children and between the lives of Alfred Tennyson and Garibaldi. They record moments in the Tennysons' family life that create a sense of how the parents and children connected through their enthusiasm for the Risorgimento hero. Garibaldi's life is a topic of interest in the Tennyson household, which Emily finds 'very touching' (1981, 175). Hallam and Lionel 'read all about Garibaldi' (1981, 176) and, after meeting Garibaldi for the first time at Mottistone House, where the Italian General was a guest of the Seely family, Hallam read Garibaldi's *Life* to the family, including his father. Hallam and Lionel had dreamt of his visit for years. In 1862, Emily writes that 'Lionel wants to write to [Garibaldi] and ask him here' (1981, 176). When Lionel's dream comes true, she describes how Alfred Tennyson and 'the boys planted the flags, two at the front door, the rest opposite the drawing-room window' and adorned the rooms in the house with primroses (176). Emily and Alfred were impressed by Garibaldi's interaction with Hallam and Lionel. To the Duke of Argyll, Tennyson writes that Garibaldi 'seemed especially taken with [his] little boys' (Lang & Shannon

¹⁵ 'I had heard that he himself had made songs and hymns: and I asked him "Are you a poet?" "Yes" he said quite simply.' Tennyson's letter to the Duke of Argyll, dated May 1864, in *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson, vol. II, 1851-1870* edited by Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon (1987, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 364).

¹⁶ See Tennyson's letter to the Duke of Argyll dated May 1864, in *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson, vol. II, 1851-1870* edited by Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon (1987: 364).

¹⁷ See Lucy Riall's *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (2007).

1987, 365). Emily remembers he ‘kissed the boys’ (1981, 198) when he left. In these scenes Garibaldi seems at ease: he enjoys the company of Hallam and Lionel and also the Farringford garden. He associates the Isle of Wight with his island off Sardinia, Caprera, where he moved with his family after Anita’s death. Like Tennyson, he chose to live in a place where he could shelter from his celebrity status and live a private domestic life. Close in age, Tennyson and Garibaldi had become international celebrities and adopted similar strategies in trying to balance the public and private. These intimate memories are the ones that later inspired the Poet Laureate’s poetry.

Long after Garibaldi’s visit to Farringford the memories of the meeting between Tennyson and Garibaldi emerge in ‘To Ulysses’, a poem addressed to William Gifford Palgrave (1826-1888), the brother of Francis Turner Palgrave (1824-1897), editor of *The Golden Treasury of English Songs and Lyrics*, and written by Tennyson in 1889.¹⁸ The speaker compares his life to that of W. G. Palgrave, a traveller and diplomat who published an account of his journeys under the title, *Ulysses: or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands* (1887). The rhythm of the poet’s life is shaped by the images of the trees in the garden at Farringford, and one tree awakens his memory of another Ulysses who travelled the world and lived a heroic life. This Ulysses too becomes the subject of a stanza (VII):

Or watch the waving pine which here
 ...The warrior of Caprera set,
 ...A name that earth will not forget
 Till the earth has roll’d her latest year -

The Wellingtonia they planted at the front of the house on the occasion of Garibaldi’s visit to Farringford becomes a ‘waving pine’ (l. 25) and Garibaldi is commemorated as ‘the warrior of Caprera’ (l. 26). This poem, finished just after the death of Palgrave, was written seven years after the death of the Italian General. Tennyson’s memories surface as he watches Garibaldi’s tree. In this stanza he immortalises an image of Garibaldi that is personal to him as he appears to remember their conversation, in particular how much the Italian General admired the garden at Farringford. In her journal Emily recorded that Garibaldi said: ‘I wish I had your trees in Caprera’ (Emily Tennyson 1981, 197).¹⁹ In this stanza, importantly the Wellingtonia tree that sustains Tennyson’s memory of Garibaldi is reimagined through a generalising genus plant of many

¹⁸ It is included in the collection, *Demeter, and Other Poems*.

¹⁹ Scholarly editions are inclined to include this comment as it identifies the “warrior of Caprera”.

species of evergreen conifers, including the Californian redwood and giant sequoia also known as *Wellingtonia* since 1852 when John Lindley of the Horticultural Society of London named it in honour of the Duke of Wellington. The *Wellingtonia* was fashionable in Victorian time but what draws my attention is how, connecting lines 25 and 27, the pine can be associated with Foscolo's *Dei Sepolcri*, which begins with the image of another conifer that grows in warm temperatures and has long been planted in Italian graveyards because it is aromatic and evergreen: 'All'ombra dei cipressi' ('In the shade of cypresses', l. 1). In this political poem, as I explained earlier, the Italian poet argues against the Saint-Cloud Napoleonic edict imposed in Italian territories in 1806 and claims the right to honour the dead by identifying their names and their legacy through their graves. In lines 27 and 28 Tennyson states the immortality of Garibaldi's name and simultaneously demonstrates it by leaving out his name. Although he had given instructions to be cremated on a funeral pyre, Garibaldi was buried on his island, Caprera, by the tombs of his daughters Anita and Rosa. Given to the Italian nation as a gift by his descendants, Caprera became a national monument in 1907.²⁰ As Tennyson's stanza suggests in 'To Ulysses', Garibaldi and Caprera are almost synonymous.

The *Wellingtonia* tree that in Tennyson's poetry keeps the memory of the Italian General alive as a 'waving pine' remains a popular visual reminder of Garibaldi's 1864 visit to Tennyson's garden. Garibaldi's autograph too effectively commemorates the 1864 meeting between these two remarkable men of the nineteenth century. As a poetic clue, the autograph facilitates a deeper reading of the ways in which Tennyson and Garibaldi connected. It does not challenge the historical facts: Garibaldi's 1864 visit to England was certainly promoted by political activists and Garibaldi's staying on the Isle of Wight was due to the invitation of the Liberal parliamentarian and Risorgimento supporter, Charles Seely (1803-1887). Together with the details recorded in Emily Tennyson's journal, Tennyson's correspondence, and Garibaldi's autograph, Foscolo's verses unfold aspects of the poetic exchange between Tennyson and Garibaldi and a transnational Anglo-Italian contextualisation demonstrates its significance as it reveals how these two remarkable men shared more through poetry than through political conversation. In my study of Tennyson, Garibaldi's autograph has attained a distinctive position because it combines uniquely the personal and the historically important. It interweaves my research interests, the community I contribute to, and my own Anglo-Italian background.

The Tennysons travelled to Italy in 1851 and one poem, 'The Daisy', written in 1853, reimagines their time in the country where I was born, a land 'Emily would always speak of [...]

²⁰ See the 'Epilogue' in Allan Cameron's translation of Alfonso Scirocco's *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* (2007: 400-410).

with love' (Thwaite, 2009, 241). A daisy Tennyson had picked for Emily in the Alps because it reminded him of England inspired the poem, when he found it in a book in which Emily had pressed it as a memento of their European journey. This poem begins with impressions of their arrival to Italy, through French Provence.²¹ The Mediterranean landscape is painted through trees as 'lands of palm and southern pine;' (l. 2) 'lands of palm, or orange-blossom, / Of olive, aloe, and maze and wine!' (l. 3-4). This is Garibaldi's native land and it is evoked as a land of "southern pine". Through the Anglo-Italian connections outlined in this essay, the pine can claim an association with Italy in two of Tennyson's poems. For my part, Garibaldi's autograph is like the daisy picked by Tennyson: it does not simply take me back to Italian poetry and history but it is intricately connected to my British identity, to Tennyson, the Tennyson Research Centre, and Lincolnshire.

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²¹ See Ann Thwaite's 1996 biography of Emily Tennyson entitled, *Emily Tennyson: The Poet's Wife* (London: Faber and Faber).

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