Gaetano Salvemini's Exile in Great Britain and the Construction of a Transnational Anti-Fascist Network (1925-1934)

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SHORT ABSTRACT

Gaetano Salvemini was one of the most prominent intellectuals forced into exile during the Fascist period. The critical bibliography on Salvemini's biography and intellectual production is already substantial, but the period of his European exile (1925-1934) has remained largely unexplored. In-depth research carried out on archival sources in Britain, Italy, and the USA has allowed me to reappraise the importance of this period. Between 1925 and 1934, Salvemini benefitted from the support of a transnational network which had its headquarters in Britain. The network shared Salvemini's anti-Fascist views and helped him to disseminate his work as a counterbalance to the propaganda machine of the Fascist regime.

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first investigates Salvemini's decision to go into exile and his choice of London as his headquarters, and considers the vital role played by the Anglo-Florentine community in providing him with preliminary contacts in Britain between 1922 and 1925. British-Italian diplomatic relations are also taken into account as key factors influencing the importance Salvemini attributed to British public opinion in the anti-Fascist struggle.

The second part explores Salvemini's network in Britain. It focuses on the vital role played by a group of British anti-Fascist women who inspired and coordinated Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities, including the organisation of conferences and lectures, the publication of essays and articles, the creation of anti-Fascist committees, and clandestine trips to Italy. Analysis of these activities makes it possible to map the British and transnational ramifications of Salvemini's network.

This thesis fills a distinct gap in Salvemini's biography and contributes more broadly to research on political and cultural attitudes towards Fascism and anti-Fascism in Britain during the interwar period.

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LONG ABSTRACT

Gaetano Salvemini was one of the most prominent intellectuals forced into exile during the Fascist period. This research project is inspired by a passage from a letter in his correspondence, in which Salvemini acknowledged that Great Britain was key to the broader development of an efficient anti-Fascist campaign. Despite the significant number of studies on Salvemini's biography and intellectual production, the period of his anti-Fascist exile in Britain between 1925 and 1934 has thus far been neglected.

Amongst recent critical works, a collection of essays edited by Patrizia Audenino in 2009 mostly focuses on his American experience, an area further explored by Renato Camurri, the editor of Salvemini's *Lettere americane* (2015). Similarly, biographical studies published by Charles Killinger and Gaetano Quagliariello in the early 2000s have also neglected the British years. Killinger, however, has the merit of having begun the process – continued by Camurri – of dismantling the interpretation of Salvemini's American exile as that of a 'medieval monk' who spent his time working in the Widener Library of Harvard. Indeed, Killinger and Camurri show the significant intellectual relationships established by Salvemini whilst in the USA.

In 2009, Elisa Signori and Giovanni Grasso made some initial efforts to explore Salvemini's British experience. In addition to editing Salvemini's correspondence with Carlo Rosselli and Luigi Sturzo respectively, they outlined a network of British

intellectuals who contributed to Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle in Britain, appreciating the key role played by a group of British women. Drawing on Signori and Grasso's investigation, and inspired by Killinger and Camurri's new interpretation of Salvemini's exile from a relational perspective, I have conducted a reappraisal of Salvemini's life between 1925 and 1934, discussing the extent to which he managed to obtain the support of a British-based transnational network to counterbalance Fascist propaganda.

With this objective in mind, my work engages with the historiography on the anti-Fascist exile experience, especially with Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei fuorusciti* (1953) and the studies of Santi Fedele, including *Storia della concentrazione antifascista* (1976) and *Il retaggio dell'esilio* (2000). Salvemini's exile is considered in relation to a broader season of *fuoruscitismo*, and with a focus on its peculiarities, as it took place in a country, Britain, which represented an exception amongst other European nations. Indeed, the trajectory of Salvemini's exile differed from that followed by most anti-Fascist *fuorusciti*, who moved to nations geographically and culturally closer to Italy such as France and Switzerland.

Investigating anti-Fascism in Britain means facing substantial gaps in scholarly research, as the topic has remained almost entirely unexplored, especially compared to studies concerning other European countries. An initial study was published in 1997 by Alfio Bernabei, who shed light on the relationship between Fascism and anti-Fascism in London's Little Italy from 1920 to 1940. Although Salvemini was not a central character in Bernabei's work, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito* represents an essential starting point for understanding the context in which Salvemini moved, and to delineate his relationships with the Italian community in London. Except for studies on Luigi Sturzo – the 'other' prominent exile who chose Britain shortly before Salvemini – no

further works on anti-Fascism in Britain appeared until 2014, when Stefania Rampello published an essay in *Modern Italy*. Recently, attention has been devoted to the other side of the coin: the development of Fascist propaganda in Britain, especially through the work of Claudia Baldoli and, more recently, Tamara Colacicco.

The existing, though limited, critical bibliography on Salvemini's British experience and on anti-Fascism in Britain allowed me to identify a significant number of archival documents, most of them unpublished, located in Italy, Britain and the USA, on which this thesis is based. The identification of archival sources has been informed by two main aims: to contextualise Salvemini's anti-Fascist experience within the broader frame of diplomatic relations between Italy and Britain, and to map Salvemini's network. As a result, I carried out two kinds of archival research. The first focused on documents produced at governmental level, held in Italy by the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* and the *Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*. Similarly, I investigated British perspectives on Italian anti-Fascist exiles, and in particular Salvemini's case, through the papers of the Home and Foreign Office held by the National Archives. The second approach involved looking for personal documents produced by people and institutions involved in the anti-Fascist struggle in Britain. My main starting point was Salvemini's archive, including his manuscripts and correspondence, held at the *Istituto Storico Toscano per la Resistenza e l'Età Contemporanea,*. Beginning with the individuals identified by Grasso and Signori as Salvemini's British supporters, I completed a thorough investigation into Salvemini's letters, still largely unpublished, relating to the period between 1925 and 1934 which allowed me to identify other connected sources.

This approach presented significant challenges, as Salvemini's papers moved between different countries for over twenty years, and were subject to Fascist censorship. Though I could find important traces in Salvemini's archive, it was vital to expand the scope of my research and look for other sources. I identified archival collections across Italy, Britain and the USA which allowed me to explore the main activities carried out by Salvemini in Britain. An important step in my research was establishing contact with John Rawson, son of Marion Rawson, one of the main supporters of Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities in Britain between the 1920s and 1930s. A meeting with John Rawson resulted in a significant contribution to my work in the form of a copy of an unpublished account written by Marion Rawson in 1928, *Notes on a Journey to Italy under Fascism.* This represents a unique document for investigating the work carried out by Salvemini's anti-Fascist network.

As far as methodology is concerned, my work follows Hugo García's proposal to study anti-Fascism by focusing on transnational networks and David Kettler's paradigm for the study of exile, which highlights the work done to end the condition of exile. In line with these approaches, my study of Salvemini's network pays attention to the circulation of ideas and the process of mutual influence, originating from adaptation to a new cultural context and interaction with British intellectuals, and thus sheds light on the condition of anti-Fascist exile as a struggle against the Fascist dictatorship.

This thesis is divided into two main parts: the first addresses Salvemini's choice of Britain as key to the development of anti-Fascist strategies in Europe, whereas the second analyses the composition of, and the activities promoted by, Salvemini's British network.

The first part explores the origins of Salvemini's interest in Britain and focuses on the role played by his Anglo-Florentine acquaintances, showing how they facilitated his first trips to London in 1922 and 1923, and provided him with contacts which proved crucial to developing his British network once in exile. Furthermore, this research reveals that Salvemini's safety after the *Non Mollare* trial of July 1925 was achieved thanks to British diplomatic pressure on Mussolini. Drawing on this previously unknown episode, I bring into focus the economic, social, and political factors which convinced Salvemini of the possibility and importance of directing his anti-Fascist efforts towards Britain rather than France. Salvemini's relationship with the anti-Fascist *Concentrazione* in France is discussed, shedding light on the foundation of its British branch and revealing Salvemini's relationship with the Italian community in London. Aside from comparing Salvemini's approaches to Britain and France, this work considers some aspects of his parallel American experience from 1927 to 1934, showing the evolution of Salvemini's attitude towards the idea of moving to the USA and his attempts to establish an international anti-Fascist press bureau based in London and Washington.

The second part of this thesis makes a substantial contribution to the study of Salvemini's exile by providing the first comprehensive account of his British network. Following Killinger and Camurri's interpretations, I assess Salvemini's British experience from a network perspective, developing the preliminary work done by Signori and Grasso by analysing the connections shaping Salvemini's network. Here, I concentrate on the vital role played by a group of women, namely Alys Russell, Isabella Massey, Marion Rawson, and Virginia Crawford. Drawing on archival sources, the last five chapters offer, in my view, an original contribution to the study of Salvemini's British exile. They explore key moments of his anti-Fascist activities in Britain, revealing

different strategies adopted to oppose Fascist propaganda. Furthermore, through working on archival sources I have discovered new aspects of Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle, and reappraised other well-known episodes in the history of anti-Fascism from a new perspective, in light of the key role played by Salvemini's network. It has been equally important to investigate Salvemini's failures, taking into account some of the setbacks of his anti-Fascist militancy, including his unsuccessful attempts to obtain a professorship in Britain and his difficulties and doubts in involving British political parties in his anti-Fascist struggle.

Writing this thesis has allowed me to gauge the influence of the new social, political, and cultural context on Salvemini's anti-Fascist experience. The activities studied reveal a process of mutual influence. Despite a number of setbacks, Salvemini succeeded in creating a network of people willing to offer their help to oppose Fascist propaganda in Britain and actively contributing to the development of anti-Fascist strategies. Analysis of Salvemini's experience demonstrates the importance of researching anti-Fascism in Britain during the interwar period. In my view, it is only by investigating the wider area of collaboration between Italian exiles and intellectuals that the study of anti-Fascism in Britain can reach a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, a significant contribution to the history of anti-Fascism from a European perspective can be given by focusing on the dissemination of ideas and the development of strategies that resulted from the encounter between anti-Fascist exiles and intellectuals. Adopting a transnational approach, I have begun to delineate connections between Salvemini, anti-Fascist exiles settled in other European countries, and European intellectuals. A logical continuation of this work would be an analysis of how intellectuals close to Salvemini reacted to political events following his departure

for the USA in 1934, such as the evolution of Hitler's dictatorship, the Ethiopian War, and the Spanish Civil War, which radically changed the perception of Fascism in Britain and, more broadly, in Europe.

In conclusion, researching the trajectory of Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile has made it clear to me that one of the key features of anti-Fascism was the construction of intellectual networks which could cross national borders and withstand physical distance. Deprived of the right to live in their homeland, anti-Fascist exiles established networks based on intellectual exchange, political discussion, and human solidarity, aiming to restore democratic values in Italy and safeguard those elsewhere in Europe. Conducting new research on these networks makes it possible to trace a comprehensive map of anti-Fascist support, crossing the borders of single countries and covering a chronological span from the rise of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy until the Second World War.

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I had the privilege of sharing these four years with special people. Thank you, Valeria and Olmo, for being such lovely friends and colleagues from the first to the last second of my DPhil (and beyond). Thank you, Claudio, for being our rainbow of both happiness and despair. Thank you, Emily, for your friendship, your enthusiastic comments, and your generous help. The whole 'Pier-group' contributed in making my DPhil life happier.

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List of Abbreviations

ACIQ	Advisory Committee on International Questions
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato
ASMAE	Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri
BUF	British Union of Fascists
CPC	Casellario Politico Centrale
GL	Giustizia e Libertà
IRRC	Italian Refugees Relief Committee
LIDU	Lega Italiana per i Diritti dell'Uomo
LSI	Labour and Socialist International
UCL	University College London

For abbreviations referring to archival sources used in the footnotes of this work, see the bibliography. Archival references respect the codification adopted by each archive, indicating box or *busta* (b.), file or *fascicolo* (f.), the foliation (fol.) or paper codes, where possible, and adding the name of the writer, the recipient, and the date. Unless otherwise specified, archival documents are to be considered as letters.

In the footnotes, at first mention of published work, the full title is given; thereafter a shortened version is used. Salvemini's works and collections of letters are quoted in full at first mention, omitting Salvemini's first name, then quoted in abbreviated form, giving the title only.

Introduction

As he crossed the Italian border into France in August 1925, Gaetano Salvemini did not imagine that the Fascist dictatorship was going to be a decades-long political season, and that he therefore would be unable to return to his country for over twenty years. However, by the end of 1926 the Italian political situation had dramatically changed. Salvemini understood that his anti-Fascist exile would last for a long time, and that he would have to travel across Europe and the USA to oppose Fascist propaganda and to earn his living. It was with this awareness that, in December 1926, Salvemini addressed the following words to one of his fellow anti-Fascists who remained in Italy, Umberto Zanotti Bianco: 'La chiave della posizione non è in Italia, e non è in Francia. La chiave è in Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti. Su questi paesi dobbiamo concentrare gli sforzi'.[1]

This passage of Salvemini's correspondence inspired this research. Despite the significant number of studies on his biography and intellectual production, the period of his anti-Fascist exile in Britain has been largely neglected. In order to investigate Salvemini's British experience, it is necessary to adhere to three main fields of study: critical analysis of Salvemini's anti-Fascism, discussion of the role of exiles in the anti-Fascist struggle, and the historiography of Fascism and anti-Fascism in interwar Britain.

The critical bibliography on Salvemini is already substantial. After his death in 1957, his collected *Opere* were initially published; some of them have been reissued and

[1] Salvemini, *Carteggio 1921-1926*, ed. by Enzo Tagliacozzo (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1985), p. 113: Salvemini to Zanotti Bianco, 14 December 1926.

commented on in recent years.[2] The first biographies were published in the 1960s and 1970s, and in the 2000s Charles Killinger and Gaetano Quagliariello initiated a new generation of study.[3] Particular attention has been devoted to Salvemini's correspondence, which has been extensively published.[4] Even in the most recent years there remains an avid interest in Salvemini's life and intellectual production.[5] Since 2015 – when this research project took its first steps – four books have been published, covering wide-ranging aspects, including an essay on Salvemini's secular views about

[2] For a full list of publications by Salvemini and about him, at least until 1984, see Michele Cantarella, *Bibliografia salveminiana 1892-1984* (Rome: Bonacci, 1986). On the publication of Salvemini's *Opere* and a list of other works until 2007, see Sergio Bucchi, 'L'edizione delle Opere di Salvemini e una breve rassegna bibliografica sui principali scritti salveminiani degli ultimi anni', <http://www.fondazionerossisalvemini.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/GS-Le-opere.pdf> [accessed 8 October 2019]. Amongst the recent versions of Salvemini's *Opere*, see *Memorie e soliloqui. Diario 1922-1923*, ed. by Roberto Pertici (Bologna: il Mulino, 2001); *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito 1922-1933*, ed. by Mimmo Franzinelli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002); *Mussolini diplomatico,* ed. by Mirko Grasso (Rome: Donzelli, 2017).

[3] See, both by Enzo Tagliacozzo, *Gaetano Salvemini nel cinquantennio liberale* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1959) and *Gaetano Salvemini. Un profilo biografico* (Rome: Associazione italiana per la libertà della cultura, 1963); Massimo L. Salvadori, *Gaetano Salvemini* (Turin: Einaudi, 1963); Gaspare De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini* (Turin: UTET, 1970); Charles Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini: A Biography* (Westport: Praeger, 2002); Gaetano Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2007).

[4] The series of Salvemini's *carteggi* was inaugurated in the 1960s with the two volumes of *Lettere dall'America,* ed. by Alberto Merola (Bari: Laterza, 1967 and 1968). In the 1980s, Salvemini's letters between 1912 and 1926 were published by Laterza and edited by Enzo Tagliacozzo, including *Carteggio 1912-1914* (1984); *Carteggio 1914-1920* (1985); *Carteggio 1921-1926* (1985). Another series of Salvemini's letters was edited by Sergio Bucchi, including *Carteggio 1894-1902* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1988); then, all published by Laicata, *Carteggio 1903-1906* (1997); *Carteggio 1907-1909* (2001); *Carteggio 1910* (2003); *Carteggio 1911* (2004). Published collections of letters exchanged with other intellectuals, limited to those relevant for this research, include *Zanotti Bianco e Salvemini. Carteggio*, ed. by Alessandro Galante Garrone (Naples: Guida, 1983); Salvemini and Angelo Tasca, *Il dovere di testimoniare. Carteggio*, ed. by Elisa Signori (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1996); *Luigi Sturzo-Gaetano Salvemini. Carteggio (1925-1957)*, ed. by Giovanni Grasso (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2009); *Fra le righe. Carteggio fra Carlo Rosselli e Gaetano Salvemini,* ed. by Elisa Signori, 2nd edn (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2010).

[5] *Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957). Ancora un riferimento*, ed. by Giuseppe Pescosolido (Manduria: Laicata, 2010); Gaetano Pecora, *Socialismo come libertà. La storia lunga di Gaetano Salvemini* (Rome: Donzelli, 2012).

education, a collection of his *Lettere americane*, a new edition of *Mussolini diplomatico*, and a biographical work addressing his family relationships.[6]

Nevertheless, none of these publications have comprehensively addressed Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile in Europe between 1925 and 1934, when he lived in France and Britain, and travelled to the USA to deliver anti-Fascist conferences and university lectures. The years 1925 and 1934 mark key moments of Salvemini's life and form the two chronological boundaries of this research. In 1925, Salvemini left Italy and began his life in exile. In June of that year he was arrested for the publication of the clandestine paper *Non Mollare*; in July he was released on parole, then, his crime having been amnestied, he left for France. After nine years spent between Britain, France, and the USA, in 1934 Salvemini was appointed Professor of History of the Italian Civilization at the University of Harvard, and began a new exile experience in the USA.

Despite Salvemini's own admission in the aforementioned passage of the letter to Umberto Zanotti Bianco – that he considered Britain and the USA key places for developing the anti-Fascist struggle – he dedicated only a few significant pages of his published memoir, *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, to his British experience, merging the narration of his French, British, and American exile.[7] Even the most recent studies overlook the British aspect of this period: a collection of essays discussing Salvemini's exile, edited by Patrizia Audenino in 2009, mostly focuses on his experience in the USA, which has been further explored by Renato Camurri through the publication of

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[6] Gaetano Pecora, *La scuola laica. Gaetano Salvemini contro i clericali* (Rome: Donzelli, 2015); Salvemini, *Lettere americane 1927-1949*, ed. by Renato Camurri (Rome: Donzelli, 2015); Filomena Fantarella, *Un figlio per nemico. Gli affetti di Gaetano Salvemini alla prova dei fascismi* (Rome: Donzelli, 2018).

[7] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 42-55 and 86-93.

Salvemini's *Lettere americane*.[8] Equally, the aforementioned studies by Killinger and Quagliariello overlook the British years.[9] Nevertheless, Killinger has the merit of beginning the process – continued by Camurri – of dismantling the interpretation of Salvemini's American experience as that of a 'medieval monk' spending his time in the Widener Library of Harvard, as Enzo Tagliacozzo described it, and providing a new interpretation based on the analysis of significant intellectual relationships which shaped Salvemini's years in the USA.[10]

Although no studies exhaustively focus on Salvemini's British experience, in 2009 Elisa Signori and Giovanni Grasso, who edited Salvemini's correspondence with Carlo Rosselli and Luigi Sturzo respectively, made some initial efforts to explore the topic.[11] Focusing on the aforementioned passage of the letter from Salvemini to Zanotti Bianco – 'la chiave è in Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti' – Signori outlines a network of British intellectuals who contributed to Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle in Britain:

> Nel solco di precedenti rapporti di colleganza e simpatia, in Gran Bretagna strinse molti e significativi legami di solidarietà e collaborazione: basti citare qui i nomi di Wickham Steed, direttore tra il 1923 e il 1930 del *Review of Reviews*, che ospitò molti interventi dello studioso italiano, di Charles Prestwich Scott, proprietario e direttore di *The Manchester Guardian*, una testata liberale con aperture al laburismo, dove gli articoli e le lettere di Salvemini, firmate o siglate con pseudonimi, ottennero quasi sempre di essere pubblicate; tra gli storici Ramsay Muir dell'Università di Manchester, prefatore della prima edizione inglese di *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, Thomas Okey di Oxford, George Peabody Gooch, membro della British Academy, Bolton King, George Trevelyan, Robert William Seton-Watson dell'Università di Londra, furono prodighi di consigli e di presentazioni,

[8] *Il prezzo della libertà. Gaetano Salvemini in esilio (1925-1949)*, ed. by Patrizia Audenino (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2009).
[9] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 203-310; Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 167-176.
[10] Tagliacozzo, *Gaetano Salvemini. Un profilo biografico,* p. 50; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 241-265; Renato Camurri, 'Introduzione', in *Lettere americane*, pp. xxi-lxxvi.
[11] Giovanni Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio,* pp. vii-lxiv; Elisa Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe,* pp. 7-86.

> offrendo la loro firma per proteste pubbliche su specifici casi e temi; tra i politologi Harold Laski e Lionel Robbins, nonché lo psicologo sociale Graham Wallas, tutti e tre docenti alla London School of Economics, Ernest Barker, studioso di economia politica e *principal* del King's College di Cambridge, Bertrand Russell non gli fecero mancare il loro patrocinio e propiziarono inviti a tenere lezioni e conferenze; tra le istituzioni la Fabian Society e la London School of Economics furono punti di riferimento preziosi.[12]

Similarly, Grasso identifies the same people as being Salvemini's main supporters in his British exile. Furthermore, both Grasso and Signori appreciate the key role played by a group of British women. In particular, Grasso states the importance of 'dare risalto al ruolo fondamentale svolto da una vera e propria schiera di signore e signorine dell'alta società e dell'intellighenzia britannica, impegnate direttamente nei diversi comitati […] o a sostegno nel ruolo di dattilografe, traduttrici e consigliere', stressing that this 'universo femminile […] meriterebbe un approfondimento maggiore'.[13]

Drawing on what Signori and Grasso pinpoint, and inspired by Killinger and Camurri's new interpretation of Salvemini's exile not as that of a 'medieval monk' but from a relational perspective, this research aims to reappraise the period of Salvemini's life between 1925 and 1934, discussing the extent to which Salvemini managed to obtain the support of a British-based transnational network to counterbalance the Fascist propaganda machine. This means filling the gap in the critical bibliography on Salvemini by providing a detailed map of his transnational anti-Fascist network: investigating its origins, delving into the role played by a group of British anti-Fascist women, focusing on the kind of support they offered to Salvemini, and evaluating the evolution of Salvemini's strategies in view of this support.

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[12] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, pp. 29-30.
[13] Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, p. xi.

For this reason, it is essential that this thesis engages with the historiography on the anti-Fascist exile experience.[14] In 1953, Aldo Garosci was the first to acknowledge the role of the *fuorusciti* – the disparaging term used by Mussolini which the anti-Fascist exiles adopted to positively define themselves – and to describe the peculiarities of their exile, their achievements and, to some extent, their failures.[15] A more recent essay by Santi Fedele lucidly points out the importance of not overstating 'l'impatto del fuoruscitismo politico sull'emigrazione economica da un lato e sull'opinione pubblica dei paesi ospitanti dall'altro'.[16] However, Fedele provides a balanced analysis of the role played by *fuoruscitismo* in the struggle against Fascism:

> Il significato più profondo e reale dell'esilio, al di là dei suoi dati immediati ed esteriori, va a mio avviso ricercato nel travaglio politico e ideale che lo contraddistinse […]. L'esilio antifascista fu difatti un processo lungo, a tratti doloroso, sempre difficile ma nelle sue risultanze ultime fecondo, perché nel corso di esso uomini di diverse fedi politiche, andati esuli a continuare una lotta divenuta in patria non più praticabile, si interrogarono sulle cause della sconfitta, diedero vita a processi autocritici rigorosi, si aprirono al confronto col nuovo e col diverso, dialogarono tra loro e con militanti e dirigenti politici di altre nazionalità, pervenendo alla definizione di ipotesi e di proposte ricostruttive in cui la democrazia italiana si sarebbe avvalsa all'indomani della Liberazione in misura maggiore di quanto si sia soliti ritenere.[17]

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[14] Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei fuorusciti* (Bari: Laterza, 1953) remains the main starting point for analysis of the general framework of anti-Fascism in exile. Amongst the most interesting works, see those by Santi Fedele, *Storia della concentrazione antifascista 1927-1934* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976) and *Il retaggio dell'esilio. Saggi sul fuoruscitismo antifascista* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2000); Maurizio degl'Innocenti, 'L'esilio nella storia contemporanea', in *L'esilio nella storia del movimento operaio e l'emigrazione economica*, ed. by Maurizio degl'Innocenti (Manduria: Laicata, 1992), pp. 7-29; Giuseppe Galasso, 'Dall'antifascismo al fuoruscitismo', in *Svizzera e Italia negli anni Trenta. La presenza dei fuorusciti*, ed. by Riccardo Carazzetti and Rodolfo Huber (Locarno: Città di Locarno Musei e Cultura-Armando Dadò, 1993), pp. 19-53.

[15] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, pp. 237-260.

[16] Fedele, *Il retaggio dell'esilio*, p. 6.

[17] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

This research focuses on a limited span which cannot be considered as representative of the whole season of *fuoruscitismo*, but takes into account only a phase, and a country, Britain, which represented an exception to the broader European context. Indeed, Salvemini's trajectory of exile differed from that followed by most anti-Fascist exiles, who moved to nations geographically and culturally closer to Italy, such as France and Switzerland. This means that, as far as the critical bibliography is concerned, Britain has remained an almost unexplored field when compared to other European countries.[18]

A limited number of studies addressing Italian economic emigration have been published between the end of the 1980s and the 2000s, most notably by Lucio Sponza and Terri Colpi.[19] In 1997, Alfio Bernabei discussed the topic of anti-Fascist exile in Britain for the first time.[20] Bernabei's work, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, has the merit of shedding light on the relationships between Fascism and anti-Fascism in London's Little Italy between 1920 and 1940. Although Salvemini was not a central

[18] For a critical analysis on historiography of exile concerning different countries, see Leonardo Rapone, 'Emigrazione italiana e antifascismo in esilio', *Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana*, 4.1 (2008), 53-67. Amongst the most relevant works about France, see Archivio Centrale dello Stato, and others, *L'Italia in esilio. L'emigrazione italiana in Francia tra le due guerre* (Rome: Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dipartimento per l'informazione e l'editoria, 1984); *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, ed. by Pierre Milza (Rome: École Française, 1986); Simonetta Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia* (Milan: Mursia, 1988); Pierre Milza, Ralph Schor, and Éric Vial, *Italiani di Francia. L'emigrazione fra le due guerre* (Florence: Giunti, 1989). On Switzerland, aside from the aforementioned *Svizzera e Italia negli anni Trenta,* see Elisa Signori and Marina Tesoro, *Il verde e il rosso. Fernando Schiavetti e gli antifascisti nell'esilio fra repubblicanesimo e socialismo* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1987).

[19] Lucio Sponza, *Italian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Realities and Images* (Leicester: University Press, 1988); *A Century of Italian Emigration to Britain 1880-1990s. Five Essays*, ed. by Lucio Sponza and Arturo Tosi (Reading: Department of Italian Studies, University of Reading, 1993); Terri Colpi, *The Italian Factor. The Italian Community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991). See also Umberto Marin, *Italiani in Gran Bretagna* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1975). Colpi and Sponza also focused on Italian communities in Britain during the Second World War: Terri Colpi, 'The Impact of the Second World War on the British Italian Community', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 11.3 (1992), 167-187; Lucio Sponza, *Divided Loyalties. Italians in Britain during the Second World War* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000).

[20] Alfio Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito 1920-1940* (Milan: Mursia, 1997).

character in *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito,* it represents an essential starting point for understanding the context in which Salvemini moved and for delineating his relationships with the Italian community in London. No further research on anti-Fascism in Britain, except for studies on Luigi Sturzo, appeared until 2014, when Stefania Rampello published an essay in *Modern Italy*.[21] However, in 2003, Claudia Baldoli filled a substantial gap in the field of studies on Fascist propaganda abroad by researching the relationship between Fascism and the Italian community in Britain, focusing on the attempts of *fascistizzazione* during the 1930s.[22] More recently, Tamara Colacicco has followed Baldoli's path in investigating Fascist propaganda by studying the role of professors of Italian Studies in British universities.[23] While this has prompted interest in the impact of Fascism in Britain, the other side of the coin, anti-Fascism, is still to be explored.

In light of these considerations, through analysis of Salvemini's experience this research aims to contribute to the field of the political and cultural attitude towards Fascism and anti-Fascism in Britain during the interwar period. As far as methodological

[21] Stefania Rampello, 'Italian anti-Fascism in London, 1922–1934', *Modern Italy*, 20.4 (2015), 351-363. On Luigi Sturzo's exile in Britain, apart from the aforementioned *Carteggio* with Salvemini, see *Luigi Sturzo e i Rosselli tra Londra, Parigi e New York. Carteggio (1929-1945)*, ed. by Giovanni Grasso (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003); *Luigi Sturzo a Londra. Carteggi e documenti (1925-1946)*, ed. by Giovanna Farrell-Vinay (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003). By Farrell-Vinay, see also 'Sturzo e l'Inghilterra', in *Universalità e cultura nel pensiero di Luigi Sturzo*, ed. by Concetta Argiolas and Maria Grazia Spinedi (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2001), pp. 181-223; 'The London Exile of Don Luigi Sturzo', *Heythrop Journal*, 45.2 (2004), 158-177; 'Clio derisa. Sturzo sorvegliato dalla Polizia Politica', *Italia Contemporanea*, 249 (2007), 665-674; 'Il volto mutevole dell'esilio. Luigi Sturzo da Londra a New York', *Sociologia*, 44.2 (2010), 43-58.

[22] Claudia Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism. Italian Fascists and Britain's Italians in the 1930s* (Oxford-New York: Berg, 2003).

[23] Tamara Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi. La diplomazia culturale di Mussolini in Gran Bretagna (1921-1940)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2018).

aspects are concerned, this research is based on archival sources and adopts a transnational approach in order to appraise Salvemini's anti-Fascist network in exile.

Drawing on the existing, though limited, critical bibliography, it has been possible to identify a significant number of archival documents, most of them unpublished, located in Italy, Britain, and the USA. The strategy for locating archival sources has been informed by two main aims: to contextualise Salvemini's anti-Fascist experience within the broader frame of diplomatic relations between Italy and Britain, and to map Salvemini's network. For this reason, two complementary archival investigations have been carried out. The first concerned documents produced at a governmental level, held in Italy by the *Archivio Centrale dello Stato* and by the *Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri*. The British perspective on Italian anti-Fascist exiles, and in particular on Salvemini's case, has been investigated through the papers of the Home and Foreign Office, held by the National Archives. The second kind of archival research concerned personal documents produced by people and institutions involved in the anti-Fascist struggle in Britain. Salvemini's archive, including his manuscripts and correspondence, held in Florence at the *Istituto Storico Toscano per la Resistenza e l'Età Contemporanea*, represented the main starting point.[24] Within the collection of Salvemini's letters, still largely unpublished in relation to the period between 1925 and 1934, it was possible to identify the papers of British intellectuals mentioned by Grasso and Signori, and to single out other people potentially involved in Salvemini's anti-

[24] Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana, *Archivio Salvemini. Manoscritti e materiali di lavoro*, ed. by Stefano Vitali (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1998); Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Opere di Gaetano Salvemini - Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana, *Archivio Gaetano Salvemini. Inventario della corrispondenza*, ed. by Andrea Becherucci (Bologna: CLUEB, 2007).

Fascist struggle. From there, the investigation moved towards looking for papers belonging to those people, in order to determine if details of their collaboration with Salvemini could be found.

This approach presented significant challenges, namely, dealing with the 'vuoti e pieni' of Salvemini's archive, as described by Stefano Vitali.[25] Salvemini's papers, especially those related to his exile, endured over twenty years of moving across countries, Fascist censorship, and clandestine activities: therefore, one cannot expect to find therein a set of documents from which his British experience can be fully reconstructed. What have been found are traces and guidelines which allowed the research to branch out and examine other sources in Italy, Britain, and the USA. The complete list of the archival sources explored is given in the bibliography, but it is vital in this context to focus on the importance of the documents concerning anti-Fascist women, who played a leading role in Salvemini's network. These included Isabella Massey, Marion Rawson, and Alys Russell. Although it has been possible to identify collections of papers relating to or produced by each of these women, there are still significant gaps. For instance, Massey donated her correspondence concerning anti-Fascism to Salvemini's archive in Florence in the 1960s. Arguably, her substantial exchange of letters with Salvemini makes it possible to appreciate the extent of Massey's involvement in the anti-Fascist struggle. Nevertheless, it sheds no light on Massey's intellectual profile, nor on how she became interested in Italian political affairs. Similarly, the collection of Marion Rawson's papers, held at the University of Reading, is a vital source to investigate her anti-Fascist commitment and her relationship with

[25] Stefano Vitali, 'Introduzione', in *Archivio Salvemini. Manoscritti e materiali di lavoro*, p. 17.

Salvemini, especially thanks to an unpublished account, *Some notes on Salvemini's life in England*, which makes it possible to appreciate many aspects of his British experience.[26] Nevertheless, no traces of written correspondence between Rawson and Salvemini have been found within her papers. Amongst Salvemini's papers, there are no more than a couple of letters exchanged between them during the interwar period. Furthermore, during the arrangement of Salvemini's archive these letters were attributed to Marion Rosselli by mistake.[27] Even supposing that Salvemini and Rawson did not need to write letters, as they spent most of the time together while Salvemini was in London, this aspect had to be addressed carefully. The possibility of contacting Rawson's son, John, represented an important step in attempting to understand whether Rawson had kept her correspondence with Salvemini for herself, or where such correspondence could be found. Although John Rawson confirmed that he held no letters between his mother and Salvemini, he made a substantial and significant contribution to this thesis by providing me with a copy of an unpublished account, written by Marion Rawson in 1928, about a journey she took to Italy on Salvemini's behalf.[28] Rawson's 1928 account, *Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism*, represents an extraordinary document and proves some details which could only be inferred from other sources. Another important set of archival documents, equally neglected thus far in relation to Salvemini, was Alys Russell's correspondence, held amongst the papers of her mother, Hannah Whitall

[26] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Marion Rawson, *Some Notes on Salvemini's Life in England,* 19 November 1965 (from now onwards Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965).
[27] ISTREC, GS, b. 68 and 95, f. Marion Rosselli.
[28] JR, Marion Rawson, *Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism*, 1928, typewritten copy, property of John Rawson (from now onwards, JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928). I would like to express my gratitude to John Rawson for having allowed me to work on his mother's account and to include quotations from it in this thesis.

Pearsall Smith, at the University of Indiana, Bloomington. Once again, no correspondence between Salvemini and Russell could be found there. Nevertheless, the letters that Russell addressed almost every day to her sister, Mary Berenson – one of Salvemini's closest friends in Florence and, as will be shown, one of the people responsible for shaping Salvemini's interest towards Britain – represent a unique source for investigating the support given by Russell to Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle and reconstructing Salvemini's experience in Britain, especially during the first years of his exile.

The location of the sources on which this work is based – Italy, Britain, and the USA – reflects Salvemini's experience of exile. Following a transnational perspective, this research investigates Salvemini's anti-Fascist network in exile focusing on the circulation of ideas and the process of mutual influence, originating from adaptation to a new cultural context and interaction with British intellectuals. Methodological suggestions originating from the study of history from a transnational perspective are combined with aspects concerning anti-Fascism and the condition of exile.[29] As Pierre-Yves Saunier explains, the transnational approach is 'an additional lens for the

[29] The debate concerning transnational history is wide-ranging. See at least Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14.4 (2005), 421-439 and 'Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts', *European History Quarterly*, 40.4 (2010), 624-640. By Pierre-Yves Saunier, see *Transnational History* (Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); 'Circulations, connexions et espaces transnationaux', *Genèses*, 57.4 (2004), 110-126; 'È pericoloso sporgersi? Attrazioni e limiti dell'approccio transnazionale', *Contemporanea*, 7.1 (2004), 114-122. See also *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Christopher A. Bayly, and others, 'AHR Conversation: On Transnational History', *American Historical Review*, 111.5 (2006), 1441-1464. On transnational anti-Fascism, see Hugo García, 'Transnational History: A New Paradigm for Anti-Fascist Studies?', *Contemporary European History*, 25.4 (2016), 563-572; Hugo García and others, 'Beyond Revisionism. Rethinking Antifascism in the Twenty-First Century', in *Rethinking Antifascism. History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present*, ed. by Hugo García and others (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp. 1-19.

historian's spectacles', which enriches the analysis of historical phenomena.[30] This research adopts this perspective following Patricia Clavin's suggestions: she defines the potential of a transnational approach by explaining that 'unearthing connections and networks […] within and across Europe's border, determining where they break or peter out, will recast our understanding of the modern world'.[31]

The theoretical framework for analysing anti-Fascism from a transnational perspective is given by Hugo García, who argues that 'anti-Fascism was largely made by the thinkers and activists […] who tried to check the spread of Fascism by establishing networks and organizations capable of bridging national and ideological boundaries'.[32] However, analysis of Salvemini's anti-Fascist network must take into account the condition of exile in which he found himself. Proposing 'ten issues for a reconsideration of the exile experience', Renato Camurri underlines that

> during the study of the experience of a single person or of a group it is necessary to consider the cultural conditioning stemming from the new environment in which they were welcomed, and of the "contaminations" which percolated through the relations among exiles of different nationalities.[33]

Bearing this in mind, investigating Salvemini's network means considering the extent to which the British social and political context and relationships with British intellectuals, with Italians living in Italy, and with those living in exile, influenced the evolution of Salvemini's anti-Fascist strategies. David Kettler reflects on the concept of political exile

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[30] Saunier, *Transnational History*, p. 135.
[31] Clavin, 'Time, Manner, Place', p. 636.
[32] García, 'Transnational History', p. 567.
[33] Renato Camurri, 'The Exile Experience Reconsidered: A Comparative Perspective in European Cultural Migration during the Interwar Period', *Transatlantica*, 1 (2014), <http://transatlantica.revues.org/6920> [accessed 8 October 2019].

as 'the displacement and exclusion of individuals or group from their familiar scenes of public action by purposive acts, their actions and circumstances elsewhere in consequence of this condition, and their relationships to the prospect of return'.[34] Kettler's paradigm places emphasis on the work done to end the condition of exile, and indeed Salvemini's own definition of his exile reflects this idea:

> Non facevo 'l'esule'. L'esule 'persona sacra', l'esule sopito nella notte oscura con gli agnelli alla pastura, mi seccava a morte, negato come sono alle romanticherie e alla retorica. Neanche il termine 'rifugiato' mi andava a fagiolo: esso faceva pensare a un derelitto, che fosse fuggito nudo e scalzo innanzi a chissà quale cataclisma, e chiedesse pietà e ricovero. […] Io ho sempre preferito dirmi 'fuoruscito', facendo mio un termine che i fascisti usavano per obbrobrio: fuoruscito, cioè uscito fuori dal mio paese per continuare con i miei mezzi, di cui potevo disporre, la resistenza che mi era divenuta impossibile nel paese.[35]

In line with Salvemini's words, this study of his network aims to analyse the condition of anti-Fascist exile as a struggle to oppose the Fascist dictatorship by adopting strategies which were shaped on the new political and social context in which the experience of exile took place.

Finally, in view of the fields of study included in this thesis, its aims, and the methodological approaches adopted, it seems appropriate to introduce the content of each main section. This thesis is formed of two main parts: the first part aims to understand why Salvemini considered Britain as the key place for developing anti-Fascist strategies in Europe, and the second part analyses the composition and the activities promoted by Salvemini's British network.

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[34] David Kettler, *The Liquidation of Exile. Studies in the Intellectual Emigration of the 1930s* (London: Anthem, 2011), p. 14.
[35] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 70.

As far as the first part is concerned, Chapter One investigates the reasons for Salvemini's interest towards Britain, elucidating the link between his Anglo-Florentine and his future British networks and evaluating the importance of two journeys to Britain that Salvemini made in 1922 and 1923, before the beginning of his exile. The evolution of his interest towards Britain is explored in connection with the development of his anti-Fascist stance from 1922 to 1925, from the rise of the Fascist dictatorship to his arrest for the publication of the clandestine paper *Non Mollare.* The episode of his arrest and release is read under new light: archival papers show that Salvemini's British supporters played a key role in promoting a diplomatic intervention against Mussolini which guaranteed his safety after his release. This episode, in connection with his 1922 and 1923 experiences, is discussed as a factor influencing Salvemini's decision to establish his anti-Fascist headquarters in Britain. Chapter Two continues this discussion, taking into account other aspects influencing Salvemini's interests towards Britain: a financial factor, related to the possibility of earning a living there; a comparison between the policies adopted by Britain and France towards anti-Fascism, focusing on matters of international diplomacy; and contextualisation of the Italian anti-Fascist community in London, including the foundation of a British branch of the *Concentrazione antifascista*. As Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile experience encompassed Europe and the USA, Chapter Three discusses the relationship between Salvemini and other Italian exiles in Italy and in other European countries, his attempts to create an international press bureau for collecting and disseminating reliable information on Fascist Italy, and the difficulties which emerged in dealing with anti-Fascist exiles in France and the *Concentrazione*.

The second part of this work maps Salvemini's anti-Fascist network in Britain through the narration of significant episodes of his exile experience. It reveals some

undiscovered details and reappraises other important episodes of the history of anti-Fascism from a new perspective, in view of the contribution made by Salvemini's British supporters. Chapter Four opens with an overview of British anti-Fascist women who played a key role in Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle, focusing in particular on Alys Russell, Marion Rawson, Virginia Crawford, and Isabella Massey. It elucidates details of their personal biographies, their intellectual backgrounds, and political stances, describing the influence that they had in shaping Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle. This chapter serves as a necessary introduction to the episodes recounted in Chapters Five to Ten, in which the significant role played by anti-Fascist women can be appreciated in connection with other intellectuals involved in Salvemini's network. Chapter Five examines Salvemini's substantial efforts to undermine the Fascist propaganda machine through lectures, conferences, and anti-Fascist publications. The role played by British patrons and by Italian exiles able to influence British public opinion is discussed in order to assess the extent to which Salvemini was able to oppose Luigi Villari, the main Fascist propagandist in Britain. Chapter Six reveals other strategies adopted to influence British public opinion, investigating the experience of the Italian Refugees Relief Committee, a charity organisation founded in France and Britain, which collected funds in London to give financial support to anti-Fascist exiles living in Paris. The debate on how the committee balanced its humanitarian, non-political, aims with his intrinsically political stance makes it possible to understand the differences between the French and British anti-Fascist milieus, and to explore the approach followed for raising awareness on the use of violence by – or with the indirect complicity of – the Fascist regime. The fact that some members of the IRRC remained incognito, in order not to attract the attention of the Fascist police, provides an opportunity to assess the way in which the network

managed to maintain contact with anti-Fascists living in Italy. Focusing in particular on the content of Rawson's *Notes on a Journey to Italy under Fascism*, Chapter Seven acknowledges the key role played by Rawson, who travelled to Italy on Salvemini's behalf to meet anti-Fascists and exchange information with them. A closely related aspect is addressed in Chapter Eight, which analyses the arrests and internment of Carlo, Nello and Marion Rosselli, paying attention to the work done from Britain to free them. The chapter examines the diplomatic intervention sponsored by British intellectuals and politicians, the clandestine work undertaken to organise Carlo Rosselli's escape from *confino*, and press campaigns. The crucial importance of the press in Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle is discussed in Chapter Nine. The episode of the protests organised by Salvemini between 1930 and 1931 against the *processo degli intellettuali,* following the arrest of members of *Giustizia e Libertà*, makes it possible to appreciate the ability of Salvemini's network to stimulate a press debate on Fascist methods of justice, especially thanks to the support given by the *Manchester Guardian*. In relation to the role of the press, this chapter evaluates the impact of the *Italy To-day* collection of pamphlets, a publication addressed to a foreign audience with the aim of providing information on the real conditions of life in Italy under the dictatorship by contradicting the image given by Fascist propaganda. It is equally important to consider the limitations and less successful episodes in Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile. For this reason, the last chapter tackles Salvemini's failed attempts to obtain a professorship in Britain, despite the support of his British academic network. The chapter evaluates the role played by a group of Fascist *Italianisti*, who occupied key positions in British universities, to prevent Salvemini from obtaining a professorship of Italian Studies, and the extent to which the impossibility of getting a permanent job in Britain pushed him towards the USA. The

last aspect investigated by this chapter deals with Salvemini's relationship with British politics and the analysis of the stances adopted by the main British political parties towards the Fascist dictatorship, before the foundation of the British Union of Fascists and the rise of Hitler in the 1930s. The evolution of Salvemini's attitude is discussed, considering his initial hope for support and his subsequent disenchantment, contextualising his stances within the frame of diplomatic relations, and assessing the limits of Salvemini's approach.

In conclusion, this research aims to fill the gaps in Salvemini's biography and to appraise the role played by his British network in developing anti-Fascist strategies in exile. In so doing, it also seeks to contribute to the research field on the political and cultural attitude towards Fascism and anti-Fascism in Britain during the interwar period.

Part I

1. From Florence to London: The Origins of Salvemini's British Network

In a passage of *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini admitted that he began feeling like a *fuoruscito* during the summer of 1923, though he permanently left Italy two years later, in August 1925.[1] Killinger's biographical account investigates this point, shedding light on the evolution of Salvemini's attitude towards the idea of going into exile between 1922 and 1925.[2] However, a central aspect which influenced Salvemini's life in exile still needs to be discussed: the roots of his interest in Great Britain.

This chapter reassesses the importance of Florence as the place where Salvemini was involved in an Anglo-Florentine network at the end of the nineteenth century. The analysis then moves to the 1920s, taking into account the two journeys Salvemini took to London during the summer of 1922 and 1923, his arrest and release after the *Non Mollare* trial in July 1925, and the beginning of his exile in August 1925. This chapter relates Salvemini's life experiences, his relationships with the Anglo-Florentine community, and political episodes, in order to understand how these aspects affected the decision to establish his anti-Fascist headquarters in Britain.

1.1 Florentine Britishness

When he was seventeen years old, during the autumn of 1890, Salvemini moved from Molfetta, a small town near Bari, to Florence, to study at the *Istituto di Studi*

[1] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 4.
[2] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 173-206.

Superiori.[3] As Killinger notes, in Florence Salvemini learned the importance of being a militant intellectual from his *maestro* Pasquale Villari.[4] The Florentine experience impacted so greatly on his life that, after he graduated and left Florence to teach in other Italian cities, Salvemini continued to hope to return there and get a job with Villari's help.[5]

Although Salvemini's life in Florence has been largely explored, it is important to consider this period from a different perspective. Florence should be considered not only the city of Salvemini's intellectual maturity, but also, crucially, the place where he discovered British and American culture. Since the period of the Grand Tour, Florence

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[3] Pasquale Villari (1827-1917) was an eminent historian with an international reputation, devoted to the study of history and its methodology in relation to Positivism. He was also politically involved, not only through appointments to the Chamber, Senate, and Ministry of Education, but especially as an observer and discussant of political questions and international affairs. See Mauro Moretti, *Pasquale Villari storico e politico* (Naples: Liguori, 2005). On Salvemini's early life, see Ettore Rota, 'Una pagina di storia contemporanea: Gaetano Salvemini', *Nuova rivista storica,* 3 (1919), 311-395 (pp. 324-327); Salvemini, 'Una pagina di storia antica', *Il Ponte,* 6.2 (1950), 116-131; Tagliacozzo, *Gaetano Salvemini nel cinquantennio liberale*, pp. 3-9; De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 3-7; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 5-50.

[4] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 13; Salvadori, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 18; De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini,* pp. 11-17.

[5] *Carteggio 1894-1902*, pp. 69-71: Salvemini to Villari, 12 April 1896; SC, MS Vernon Lee, b. XIII: Salvemini to Vernon Lee, 23 July 1902. Salvemini's life between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1920s was very intense and dramatic. At the end of the 1890s he published his first studies on medieval history, *La dignità cavalleresca nel comune di Firenze* and *Magnati e popolani in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295*; then, he devoted himself to the study of the French Revolution and Mazzini. Salvemini taught in high schools in Palermo, Faenza, Lodi, and Florence until 1901, when he was appointed as a Professor of Modern History in the University of Messina. December 1908 marked the greatest tragedy of his life: during the Messina earthquake, his wife Maria Minervini, his sister and his five children died. He then moved to the University of Pisa. Over the following years he became increasingly involved in politics, despite a conflictual relationship with the Socialist party, which he would later abandon. In 1911 he founded *L'Unità* and continued his political struggles as a *meridionalista* and against Giolitti's politics. In 1915, supporting the reasons of *interventismo democratico* for Italian participation in the war, Salvemini briefly joined the army, only to abandon due to health reasons. In 1916 he returned to Florence, having obtained a professorship at the University, and married his second wife Fernande Dauriac (1873-1954), ex-wife of the French intellectual Julien Luchaire. After the war, he sat in Parliament between 1919 and 1921, and was a protagonist of the debate on the Adriatic question, supporting the idea that Italy should renounce Dalmatia, and that Zadar and Rijeka (Fiume) should be declared free cities. For this reason, he was harshly criticised by the nationalists and later by the Fascists. See Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 55-140.

had attracted many educated British and American people who formed a lively colony.[6] Salvemini's interactions with the so-called 'Anglo-Florentines' can be assumed from his published *carteggi* related to the years 1894 to 1925.[7] Nevertheless, we still lack a detailed picture of Salvemini's Anglo-Florentine connections, which influenced his Anglophilia and played a role in his British exile.

At the end of the nineteenth century, two of the most important Anglo-Florentine headquarters were Vernon Lee's *villa Il Palmerino* and Carlo Placci's *villino*.[8] Villari introduced Salvemini to Lee and Placci in July 1894; Placci, in particular, became one of Salvemini's most generous friends.[9] In 1895, Placci had the crucial role of introducing Salvemini to two of the most important people he would met in his life: Mary and Bernard Berenson.[10] As Iris Origo revealed, Mary Berenson was initially suspicious of

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[6] See Giuliana Artom Treves, *The Golden Ring. The Anglo-Florentines, 1847-1862* (London: Longmans, 1956).

[7] See *Carteggio 1894-1902*, *Carteggio 1921-1926*, and *Carteggio 1914-1920*.

[8] The writer and art critic Vernon Lee (1856-1935) settled in Florence in 1873. On her Italian experience, see *Violet del Palmerino. Aspetti della cultura cosmopolita nel salotto di Vernon Lee 1889-1935*, ed. by Serena Cenni, Sophie Geoffroy, and Elisa Bizzotto (Firenze: Consiglio Regionale della Toscana, 2014). Carlo Placci (1861-1941) was born in London to an Italian father and a Mexican mother. In Florence, he devoted himself to promoting English literature. See Marie-José Cambieri Tosi, *Carlo Placci. Maestro di cosmopoli nella Firenze fra Otto e Novecento* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1984); Marie-Pierre Strowel, 'Carlo Placci between Italy and Britain in the 1880s: His Friends, His Essays and the Role of Enrico Nencioni', *Modern Language Review*, 89.1 (1984), 71-87. On the relationship between Placci and Vernon Lee, see Sybil Pantazzi, 'Carlo Placci and Vernon Lee. Their Letters and their Friends', *English Miscellany*, 12 (1961), 97-122; Francesca Billiani and Stefano Evangelista, 'Carlo Placci and Vernon Lee: The Aesthetics and Ethics of Cosmopolitanism in Florence', *Comparative Critical Studies*, 10.2 (2013), 141-161.

[9] Salvadori, *Gaetano Salvemini,* p. 20; *Carteggio 1894-1902*, pp. 8-9.

[10] Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) was a prominent art historian and critic. An American of Lithuanian origin, he graduated from Harvard. During a journey to Britain, he met Mary Costelloe (1864-1945), born to an American Quaker family, the Pearsall Smiths. At the time, Mary was married to Frank Costelloe, a barrister, and had two daughters, Ray and Karin. Having fallen in love with Berenson, in 1891 Mary left her husband and daughters, moved to Florence and married Berenson in 1899. See Barbara Strachey, *Remarkable Relations. The Story of the Pearsall Smith Family* (London: Gollancz, 1981), pp. 112-126; *Mary Berenson. A Self-Portrait from her Letters and Diaries*, ed. by Barbara Strachey and Jayne Samuels (London: Gollancz, 1983); Sylvia Sprigge, *Berenson. A Biography* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960); Rachel Cohen, *Bernard Berenson. A Life in the Picture Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

Salvemini, describing him as a 'rabid Socialist'.[11] Despite this early setback, Salvemini's friendship with the Berensons soon became solid. As their correspondence shows, Salvemini often asked their advice, and they represented a source of help throughout his life.[12] Furthermore, the following chapters will demonstrate that it was thanks to the Berensons that Salvemini obtained the vital support of Alys Russell, Mary Berenson's sister, during his British exile.[13] For now, the role of the Berensons in the construction of Salvemini's British network deserves attention as it allowed Salvemini to meet other prominent intellectuals frequenting Berenson's house, *villa I Tatti*, another important Anglo-Florentine headquarters.

The memoir of Nicky Mariano, Bernard Berenson's secretary, provides an account of the social life of the Anglo-Florentine community, of which Lina Waterfield was an important member.[14] Waterfield, *née* Duff Gordon, moved to Florence in 1890. Her autobiography, *Castle in Italy*, is an important source for understanding her interactions with the Berensons, and hence with Salvemini.[15] Waterfield lived in *Poggio Gherardo*, a villa not far from *I Tatti*, with her aunt, the writer Janet Ross, and became one of the Berensons' closest friends.[16] In 1902, Lina married the painter Aubrey Waterfield and left Florence. Her relationship with Salvemini developed in the 1910s when she returned to Tuscany and contributed to the foundation of the British Institute of Florence in 1917.

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[11] Iris Origo, 'Gaetano Salvemini', in *A Need to Testify. Portraits of Lauro de Bosis, Ruth Draper, Gaetano Salvemini, Ignazio Silone and an Essay on Biography* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), p. 143.
[12] Iris Origo, 'Lettere inedite di Gaetano Salvemini a Bernard e Mary Berenson', *Nuova Antologia*, 550 (1982), 166-215, and 551 (1982), 146-170.
[13] See Chapter Four.
[14] Nicky Mariano, *Forty Years with Berenson* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966).
[15] Lina Waterfield, *Castle in Italy. An Autobiography* (London: John Murray, 1961).
[16] Janet Ann Ross (1842-1927) moved to Florence in 1870. She wrote a series of book on life in Tuscany and on the history of Tuscan cities. See Waterfield, *Castle in Italy*, pp. 29-45.

During the Fascist period, Waterfield became the Italian correspondent for the *Observer* and developed a strong anti-Fascist stance, as a result of which she was watched by the Fascist police and suspected of espionage.[17]

Salvemini's involvement in the activities of the British Institute should be seen as an opportunity which allowed him to strengthen his bond with Waterfield and overall with the Anglo-Florentine community.[18] In her autobiography, Waterfield confirmed that Salvemini delivered lectures at the Institute and participated in public debates.[19] It was through the British Institute that Salvemini met another important person for shaping his interest in Britain: Marion Cave, who at the time was assisting Professor Guido Ferrando – another of Salvemini's acquaintances – as an English language teacher.[20] In 1926, Marion Cave would marry Carlo Rosselli. Although the course of her life was influenced by her husband's political engagement, her role deserves an analysis which goes beyond her marriage. Isabelle Richet studied Cave's biography. Born in Berkshire in 1896, Cave obtained a scholarship from the British-Italian League and in 1918 moved to Florence to study for her master's degree. Once there, she began teaching English at the British Institute. In her youth, under the influence of her father – a member of the Independent Labour Party – she had developed an interest in Socialism and in

[17] ACS, PS, A4, b. 386, f. Waterfield.
[18] On the foundation of the British Institute, see Harold Goad, *History of the British Institute of Florence* (Florence: Giannini & Giovannelli, 1939); Ian Greenless, *The British Institute. Its Origin and History* (Florence: Giuntina, 1979).
[19] Waterfield, *Castle in Italy*, p. 169.
[20] Guido Ferrando (1883-1969) was Professor of English at the British Institute and at Florence University. He met Salvemini in 1908, at Placci's house. During the Fascist dictatorship, Ferrando was suspected of anti-Fascist propaganda amongst his students, and his relationship with Salvemini was watched by the police (ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: letter n. 10058, 5 July 1928). Ferrando and Salvemini would share the experience of exile in the USA: in 1932, Ferrando was appointed at Vassar College, NY. Part of their correspondence during the American period is published in *Lettere americane*. On their relationship, see Guido Ferrando, 'Ritratto di Salvemini', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 4.2 (1958), 197-204.

workers' movements. When Cave met Salvemini, she found in him a political mentor. She helped Salvemini to learn English, frequented the anti-Fascist *Circolo di Cultura* of Florence, and worked as a secretary for the clandestine paper *Non Mollare.* [21]

The following excerpt, taken from a document that the Italian Consul in London sent to the *Ministero degli Esteri* in 1929, highlights the early origins of Cave's anti-Fascism:

> Il Direttore dell'Istituto Britannico di Firenze, Signor H. Goad, che si trova attualmente a Londra e che conosce la Rosselli da quando era Miss Cave, insegnante nel predetto istituto, la descrive come un'esaltata che anche prima del suo matrimonio aveva clamorosamente dato prove dei suoi sentimenti antifascisti col recarsi appositamente da Firenze a Roma per deporre una corona di fiori sul luogo dove era stato rapito Matteotti.[22]

This passage concerns Carlo Rosselli's escape from Lipari, after which Marion, by then Rosselli's wife, was arrested as a reprisal. The following chapters will investigate the episode to show how Salvemini was able to use Marion Rosselli's British origins as a means to trigger protest in Britain.[23] For now, it is sufficient to note that the comments on Cave's anti-Fascism came from Harold Goad, who directed the British Institute from 1922 to 1938. This is not surprising, since Goad was deliberately pro-Fascist and his attitude allowed the Florentine Institute to survive during the dictatorship.[24] On the

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[21] Isabelle Richet, *Women, Antifascism and Mussolini's Italy* (London: Tauris, 2018). By the same author, see 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks', *Journal of Women's History*, 24.3 (2012), 117-139. See also Salvemini, 'Il Non Mollare', in Piero Calamandrei, Ernesto Rossi, and Salvemini, *Non Mollare* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1955), pp. 3-42; Salvemini, 'Marion Rosselli', *Il Ponte*, 5.11 (1949), 1443.

[22] ACS, PS, confino, b. 883, f. Marion Rosselli: Bordonaro to Ministero degli Esteri, 18 August 1929.

[23] See 8.2.

[24] During his directorship of the British Institute, Harold Elsdale Goad (1878-1956) devoted a series of books to Fascist propaganda, including *What is Fascism? An Explanation of its Essential Principles* (Florence: Italian Mail and Tribune, 1929) and *The Making of the Corporate State. A Study of Fascist Development* (London: Christophers, 1931). On the direction of the British Institute, see

other hand, as the archival papers from the British Institute show, the Institute's secretary Janet Trevelyan repeatedly asked Goad to limit his public expressions in support of Fascism.[25]

In conclusion, in Florence Salvemini had the opportunity to develop his interest in Britain thanks to his acquaintance with Carlo Placci, Vernon Lee, the Berensons, and the intellectuals revolving around the British Institute, including Lina Waterfield and Marion Cave. His decision to visit Britain in summer 1922 can therefore be considered as having been inspired by his involvement in the Anglo-Florentine milieu.

1.2 Networking for a British Future

In August 1922, a few months before the march on Rome, Salvemini set foot on British soil for the first time. Analysis of his first British experience makes it possible to assess the extent to which the people he met and places he visited had an impact on the decisions he would take in 1925.

The Berensons played a key role in arranging Salvemini's journey to Britain, as they covered his travel expenses and offered him accommodation. Mary Berenson met Salvemini on his arrival and took him to her family home in Chilling, near Southampton. As Salvemini wrote to his wife, without Mary Berenson's help he would never have

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Chiara Chini, 'Il British Institute of Florence, Harold Goad e il Fascismo (1917-1940)', *Rassegna Storica Toscana*, 55.1 (2009), 153-175; Tamara Colacicco, 'The British Institute of Florence and the British Council in Fascist Italy: from Harold E. Goad to Ian G. Greenless, 1922-1940', *Modern Italy*, 23.3 (2018), 315-329.

[25] Janet Trevelyan (1879-1956), wife of the historian George Macaulay Trevelyan, gave a vital contribution for the foundation of the Institute. See Waterfield, *Castle in Italy*, pp. 162-178. About the quarrel concerning Goad's Fascist propaganda in British newspapers, see BRI:I:A:i:46 fols 5-6: Trevelyan to Goad, 8 May 1924; fols 8-9: Trevelyan to Goad, 13 May 1924. BRI:I:A:i:47, fols 4, 6-7, and 9-10: Trevelyan to Goad, 2 January 1935, 16 January 1936, and 29 February 1936.

reached the house because of his difficulties in understanding the English language.[26] In Chilling, Salvemini was welcomed by Alys Russell and Ray Strachey, Mary Berenson's sister and daughter. Alys, ex-wife of Bertrand Russell, was involved in charitable work in support of women's rights and social conditions; Ray, her niece, devoted her life to women's suffrage.[27] In a letter to Mary Berenson, Salvemini underlined the importance of being welcomed by such a friendly family: 'Conserverò il ricordo delle ore passate al mio primo metter piede in Inghilterra, come di ore tra le più belle della mia vita', he wrote.[28] Being welcomed by kind people who helped him to adjust to a new experience – and a foreign language he had not mastered – made a positive impact on the first moments of Salvemini's British experience.

In his biographical account on Salvemini, written in 1970, Gaspare De Caro underestimated the importance that the experience of 1922 played in Salvemini's life. De Caro claims that Salvemini was interested only in 'l'Inghilterra folcloristica di Hyde Park, i tè intellettuali, i piccoli fatti di costume'[29]. Although it is true that Salvemini spent some time in Hyde Park listening to preachers' sermons, it is sufficient to read one of the letters he sent to his wife to appreciate that he considered this a means to learn spoken English.[30] In reality, Salvemini was far more interested in understanding political and

[26] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 62-63 and 67-68: Salvemini to Fernande, 20 and 29 August 1922.
[27] An in-depth analysis of Alys Russell's profile is given in 4.3. Ray Strachey (1887-1940) began her activism for women's suffrage during her university years; in 1909 she met Pippa Strachey and soon after married Strachey's brother, Oliver. With Pippa Strachey, she worked for the London Society of Women Suffrage; in 1915, working with Millicent Garrett Fawcett, she became Parliamentary Secretary of the National Union of Women Suffrage Society and chair of the Women's Service Employment Committee. Between 1918 and 1923 she devoted herself to politics, acting as Nancy Astor's Parliamentary Secretary. See Brian Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries. Portraits of British Feminists between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 151-183.
[28] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 65: Salvemini to Berenson, end of August 1922.
[29] De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 328-329.
[30] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 27: Salvemini to Fernande, 27 August 1922.

social aspects of Britain. As a historian and political observer, he wanted to know more about trade unionism: thanks to Isabella Ormston Ford, a suffragist member of the Independent Labour Party and friend of Vernon Lee, Salvemini visited some factories in Leeds.[31] Furthermore, archival letters found amongst Vernon Lee's papers show that Salvemini wanted to spend three weeks near Oxford to experience British culture: 'fare tre settimane di coltura intensa, sistematica, maniaca', he wrote.[32] However, after having stayed at Alys Russell's house, Salvemini eventually managed to find accommodation in Brighton with Edith Peters, a war widow who helped him practise English. This arrangement had been made by Angelo Crespi, an Italian journalist living in London, who had known Salvemini since the time of *L'Unità*, and would play a significant role later in his anti-Fascist British experience.[33]

Contrary to De Caro's assertion, Salvemini's first trip to Great Britain must be reassessed as an opportunity to approach cultural organisations and foster academic relationships. For instance, Salvemini lectured on 'Mazzini and the Europe of To-day' at the British Italian League. The lecture had been arranged by Janet Trevelyan, who was the secretary at the British Italian League and the British Institute of Florence. In fact, Salvemini's *carteggi* reveal that the League had already asked him to lecture in London in 1917, an offer that he had declined at the time because he could not speak English.[34]

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[31] Ibid., pp. 80-82: Salvemini to Fernande, 22 September 1922, and Salvemini to Rossi, 24 September 1922. See June Hannam, 'Ford, Isabella Ormston (1855–1924), Socialist propagandist and suffragist', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39084> [accessed 8 October 2019].
[32] SC, MS Vernon Lee, b. XIII: Salvemini to Vernon Lee, 1 September 1922.
[33] Angelo Crespi (1877-1949) moved to London in 1904 where he worked as a correspondent for *Il Tempo.* After a period at the University of Basilea, in 1916 he returned to London and worked for *Il Corriere della Sera, Il Popolo* and *Il Messaggero*. See Giovanni Bonomi, *Angelo Crespi* (Cremona: Padus, 1961); Maria L. Frosio, 'Angelo Crespi', in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia, 1860-1980*, ed. by Francesco Traniello and Giorgio Campanini, 3 vols (Turin: Marietti, 1981), III-1 (1990), pp. 267-268. His role in Salvemini's anti-Fascist network is described in 5.3.
[34] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 321-322: Salvemini to Silva, 16 August 1917.

Conversely, in 1922, Salvemini's lecture at the British Italian League was such a success that he was invited to deliver another the following year, as Trevelyan wrote.[35] Indeed, during the 1922 trip, Salvemini succeeded in arranging other academic commitments, planning to deliver lectures about the Triple Alliance in Cambridge, Manchester, and at King's College London in 1923.[36] In a letter to Ugo Ojetti, Salvemini explained how he secured these appointments: when he discussed the matter of the Triple Alliance in London with Francis Hirst, former director of the *Economist*, and George Peabody Gooch, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, he was so persuasive in his arguments that Gooch and Hirst urged him to arrange a series of lectures with the help of Ernest Barker, principal of King's College.[37]

The 1922 British experience resulted in a series of further commitments which allowed Salvemini to speculate about his future: 'Quando Mussolini mi destituirà da professore', he wrote, 'me ne verrò in Inghilterra a far discorsi a 5 ghinee l'uno. […] Bisogna che mi prepari un altro modo di guadagnare la vita: e sapendo l'inglese, lo troverei in Inghilterra o in America.'[38] Contrary to what one might assume, these words were written on 14 October 1922, the week before the march on Rome. As Quagliariello

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[35] ISTREC, GS, b. 90, f. Janet Trevelyan: Trevelyan to Salvemini, 14 October 1922.
[36] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 80-81: Salvemini to Fernande, 22 September 1922.
[37] Ibid., pp. 230-233: Salvemini to Ojetti, 28 July 1923. The historian George Peabody Gooch (1873-1968) became co-editor of the *Contemporary Review* in 1911 and in 1931 he obtained the full editorship which he kept until 1960. Close to the left wing of the Liberal Party, Gooch would support anti-Fascism, and also oppose Hitler by helping German refugees in the 1930s. On his relationship with Salvemini, see Frank Eyck, *G. P. Gooch. A Study in History and Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 319-320. The political theorist Ernest Barker (1874-1960) was the Principal of King's College from 1920 to 1927. Afterwards, he obtained a post in political science at Cambridge, where he became a fellow of Peterhouse and member of the History Faculty until his retirement in 1939. On his political stance in the 1930s, see Andrzej Olechnowicz, 'Liberal Anti-Fascism in the 1930s: The Case of Sir Ernest Barker', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36.4 (2004), 636-660.
[38] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 91: Salvemini to Fernande, 14 October 1922.

explains, although Salvemini, like many other political observers, could not anticipate the real consequences of Fascism, his political stance had already made him unpopular with Fascists, especially concerning the solution of the Adriatic question.[39] Despite its hyperbole, the quoted statement proves that Salvemini anticipated that life in Italy would become difficult for him if Fascism rose to power, so he began considering alternative arrangements.

In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini wrote that on 28 October 1922 he had just left Britain for Paris and was on his way back to Florence. The news of the march on Rome made him consider the idea of staying abroad instead of returning to Italy. The letters Salvemini wrote to his Italian friends, in particular to Ernesto Rossi, between 29 October and the first half of November reveal the internal struggle he faced. Initially, he was convinced that he should stay abroad to finish his study of the Triple Alliance, avoiding any political commitment or comment: 'Non mi darò le arie né dell'*emigré*, né dell'esule; questa gente mi fa orrore', he wrote to Rossi. 'Aspetterò in silenzio gli avvenimenti. […] Quando comincerà il lavoro della ricostruzione, allora ci sarà posto anche per me.'[40]

Salvemini wanted to go to Florence, collect his papers, ask the University for permission to stay abroad, and then leave again at least until summer 1923. Killinger analyses the evolution of Salvemini's attitude, arguing that 'the return to Italy quickly brought Salvemini to his senses' and that for this reason he decided to remain in

[39] Salvemini supported Wilsonian views on self-determination: for this reason, the Italian Nationalists gave him the disparaging nickname 'Slavemini'. Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 147-157; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 116-134.

[40] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 103-108: Salvemini to Rossi, 3 November 1922; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 3; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 167-174.

Florence.[41] Killinger does not stress that Salvemini's choice was due to external circumstances and mainly influenced by his friends' opinions: Salvemini's request for leave was not officially submitted to the University, and his colleagues had advised him not to leave his post. Other friends had warned him that his absence from the University would damage him, and would expose him to the criticism that he was posing as an exile and becoming fearful.[42] What he did instead was to remain in his post, in a sort of self-exile, waiting for Mussolini's downfall, which he thought was imminent. This self-imposed condition left him free to continue his academic life in Florence, waiting for his second trip to Britain in 1923:

> Nessuna previsione da me fatta in vita mia fu mai tanto sballata quanto questa del prossimo fallimento del Duce. […] Mussolini deve essere stato informato chissà per quali vie sul mio modo di pensare nel novembre 1922, e deve aver dato in Firenze ordine che il can che dormiva fosse lasciato dormire. […] E debbo ammettere che meritai quella tranquillità con una totale inerzia politica, prodotta dalla mia sfiducia nella opposizione antifascista, sfiducia eguale e contraria alla repugnanza per i fascisti. Mi trovavo solamente con amici come Ernesto Rossi, Carlo e Nello Rosselli, Piero Jahier, Carlo Celasco, Piero Calamandrei nel 'Circolo di Cultura'.[43]

Salvemini's participation in the *Circolo di cultura* was the only political gesture he allowed himself in his self-exiled condition. This condition that can be described with recourse to Leonardo Rapone's definition of 'fuoruscitismo dall'interno': though publicly concealed, his opposition to Fascism was expressed within a safe area, amongst trustworthy people.[44]

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[41] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 174-177 (p. 176).
[42] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 148-149: Salvemini to Mosca, 22 November 1922, and to Fernande, 22 November 1922.
[43] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 3-4.
[44] Leonardo Rapone, *Antifascismo e società italiana 1926-1940* (Milan: Unicopli, 1999), pp. 20-21.

Salvemini's 1923 trip to Britain – which was planned in light of the academic commitments he had secured in 1922 – must be analysed as another opportunity which allowed him to expand his British acquaintances. It is equally important to examine the extent to which the idea of starting an anti-Fascist campaign in exile evolved in connection to the opportunities that he had been given. Initially, Mussolini personally denied Salvemini a passport to go to Britain to lecture on the Triple Alliance.[45] Mussolini's decision can be interpreted as an indication that he was already aware that Salvemini's stance could have an impact on British public opinion, if he were to express his views on Fascism. But Salvemini was still living in his self-exiled condition, as he declared in another letter to Ugo Ojetti: 'Me ne vado in Inghilterra proprio per pensare ai fascisti il meno possibile. Figurati se vado col proposito di "dirne male"'.[46] Nevertheless, Salvemini crossed the Italian border at Modane and reached London with an unauthorised passport.[47] In October 1923, a daily despatch issued by the *Direttorio del Fascio* of Florence accused him of having left Italy without permission.[48] In that respect, Salvemini wrote that he began feeling like a *fuoruscito* during the summer of 1923.[49]

Despite the difficulties, the journey to Britain resulted in the opportunity for Salvemini to expand his intellectual network. It allowed him to attend the Fabian Society's summer school, during which he established preliminary contacts with the

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[45] ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: Ministero dell'Interno to Prefetto di Firenze, 1 July 1923.
[46] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 230-233: Salvemini to Ojetti, 28 July 1923.
[47] Modane was a strategic point as it was the first French railway station outside Italy. During the First World War, France had agreed to establish a permanent office there to identify suspicious persons and report back to the Italian police, but in 1921 it was dismantled. Italian control was restored only in 1926, when the Chief of Police Arturo Bocchini sent Mario Vitiello to guard the border. Mauro Canali, *Le spie del regime* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2004), p. 58.
[48] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 263-264: 'Direttorio del Fascio di Firenze', 4 October 1923.
[49] *Zanotti Bianco e Salvemini. Carteggio*, p. 98: Salvemini to Zanotti Bianco, 15 July 1923; *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 225-226: Salvemini to Ugo Ojetti, 15 July 1923, and to Ernesto Rossi, 19 July 1923; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito,* pp. 4-5; *Memorie e soliloqui*, p. 396.

British left-wing political milieu.[50] A letter dated 9 November 1923 reveals that Henry Noel Brailsford, the editor of the *New Leader,* the Independent Labour Party's newspaper, had invited the Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald to have lunch with him and Salvemini, stressing that Salvemini had 'many interesting things to say about Italian Fascism'.[51] Equally important was the success of Salvemini's lecture series on Italian foreign policy from 1871 to 1914, delivered at King's College London, in Manchester, and at the British Italian League. The *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* published several articles showing their interest in Salvemini as a historian.[52] In the case of the *Manchester Guardian*, this attention was influenced by Lina Waterfield and Geoffrey Scott: the latter interacted with Berenson's intellectual circle in Florence and was the nephew of Charles Prestwich Scott, the newspaper's editor.[53] Two letters held in the *Manchester Guardian* archive reveal that Geoffrey Scott and Lina Waterfield urged him to meet Salvemini during his stay in Britain in 1923. This meeting marked the beginning of a long-lasting collaboration which continued throughout Salvemini's exile, when the

[50] *Memorie e soliloqui,* pp. 399-400. Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli managed to attend the summer school thanks to the historian Richard Tawney (1880-1962) who had lectured in Florence in June of the same year. Tawney's help is confirmed by a letter from Carlo Rosselli to his mother Amelia, written from Britain in July 1923: 'La stanza mi fu fissata da Mrs. Tawney, la moglie di un professore inglese che venne al nostro circolo a Firenze', in *I Rosselli. Epistolario familiare di Carlo, Nello, Amelia Rosselli 1914-1937*, ed. by Zeffiro Ciuffoletti (Milan: Mondadori, 1997), p. 158.

[51] LSE, ILP/4/1923/74: Brailsford to MacDonald, 9 November 1923.

[52] See the articles, all published in 1923, in *The Times*: 'Public Lectures at King's College', 29 September, p. 8; 'Italian Foreign Policy. Origin of the Triple Alliance', 17 October, p. 10; 'Italian Foreign Policy. The Triple Alliance', 24 October, p. 13. In the *Manchester Guardian*: 'Italy since 1871. Ambiguities in Foreign Policy. Professor Salvemini's Lectures', 1 October, p. 10; 'Demonstrative Habits of Italy. Clamours that Often Means Nothing', 17 October, p. 10; 'The Renewal of the Triple Alliance. An Italian Diplomatic Defeat in 1902', 8 November, p. 5; 'Manchester University. The New Session', 14 November, p. 12; 'England and Italy: Professor Salvemini on their Relation', 24 November, p. 6.

[53] On the relationship between Geoffrey Scott (1884-1929) and the Berensons, see Richard M. Dunn, *Geoffrey Scott and the Berenson Circle. Literary and Aesthetic Life in the Early 20th Century* (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1998).

Manchester Guardian would play a leading role in expressing anti-Fascist sentiment in Britain.[54]

The intellectual relationships that Salvemini built during his British trips were the key factors that made him realise that there was a possibility of staying abroad instead of going back to Italy. The difficulties he had faced in obtaining his passport and the accusation of the Florentine *Fascio* made him consider two main options. The first was to remain in Italy, provided that he was free to work at the University.[55] The second was to live abroad, but not in a self-exiled condition, as he anticipated arranging anti-Fascist campaigns by making use of his intellectual network: 'Stando all'estero, organizzerei in Inghilterra, in America e in Europa la propaganda antifascista: se io prendo un abbonamento per una questione divento un uomo intollerabile', he wrote.[56]

In 1923 Salvemini already had a clear view that Britain would become the main headquarters of his political activity. Nevertheless, as the University of Florence granted him permission to lecture abroad and then to return to his post, he decided to ignore the Fascist menace, and to postpone his anti-Fascist activities abroad.[57]

1.3 British Mediation in the *Non Mollare* Trial

As Salvemini wrote in his memoires, the assassination of Matteotti in June 1924 prompted him to take an active role in the anti-Fascist struggle.[58] The events which followed are well known: the anniversary of Cesare Battisti's death, on 12 July 1924,

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[54] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/1: G. Scott to C. P. Scott, 10 November 1923; GB 133 GDN/A/S8/12: Waterfield to C. P. Scott, 10 November 1923. See also 9.1.
[55] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 239-240: Salvemini to Rossi, 28 August 1923.
[56] Ibid., p. 258: Salvemini to Sforza, 21 September 1923.
[57] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 184-186.
[58] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 7.

during which Florentine anti-Fascists (including Marion Cave) commemorated Matteotti, became Salvemini's first act of militant anti-Fascism. After the Fascist escalation of January 1925, Salvemini, along with Ernesto Rossi, the Rosselli brothers, and others, published the clandestine paper *Non Mollare*. For this reason, in June 1925 he was arrested and then released a month later, when his trial was postponed. In fact, the trial never took place, as the amnesty of August 1925 revoked the charge against Salvemini.[59]

This section focuses on the role played by British intellectuals and politicians in granting Salvemini safe release in July 1925. Salvemini's published correspondence and heretofore undiscovered archival documents make it possible to reinterpret the episode in a new light. Most of the letters Salvemini received from his British friends following his arrest are published in *Carteggio 1921-1926.* A letter by Ray Strachey confirms that Salvemini's British friends were shocked by his arrest.[60] Letters came also from a group of academics, including Bolton King, John Maynard Keynes, George Macaulay Trevelyan, and Thomas Okey.[61] Some of them expressed their indignation by writing to Piero Gobetti's *Rivoluzione Liberale*, which published letters sent by the Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald, Bolton King and Thomas Okey.[62] Articles on the trial were printed in British newspapers such as the *Manchester Guardian, The Times,* the *Daily Herald*, and the *Daily News*.[63] A document found amongst the papers of the LSI reveals that the *Daily*

[59] Ernesto Rossi, 'L'"Italia Libera"', in Calamandrei, Rossi, and Salvemini, *Non Mollare*, pp. 43-67; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 21.
[60] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 335: Strachey to Salvemini, 17 June 1925.
[61] Ibid., pp. 340-341.
[62] 'Per Gaetano Salvemini', *Rivoluzione Liberale*, 4.27 (1925), p. 112.
[63] In the *Manchester Guardian*, all referring to 1925: 'University Professor Arrested', 10 June, p. 10; 'Professor Salvemini', 18 June, p. 12; 'Professor Salvemini', 24 June, p. 12; 'Professor Salvemini:

Herald received news of Salvemini's arrest from Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, formerly Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in MacDonald's 1924 Cabinet, who had been informed by Gina Lombroso Ferrero that Salvemini 'was anxious that his English friends should know his fate and watch his trial'.[64] Similarly, Lina and Aubrey Waterfield had contributed to spreading the news abroad by sending two articles to the *Observer* and *Foreign Affairs.* [65]

Henry Wickham Steed's campaign in support of Salvemini was the most successful. Steed was the editor of the *Review of Reviews*; he had met Salvemini for the first time in 1918 in Rome, during the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities.[66] By mid-1925, Steed had developed a political aversion to Fascism and had also met another prominent exile, Luigi Sturzo, in London.[67] When Salvemini was arrested, Steed devoted himself to fighting his penal case. In the *Review of Reviews,* Steed issued an appeal including signatures from Thomas Okey, Bolton King, George Peabody Gooch, Ernest Barker, and Francis Hirst, among others.[68] A letter from Steed to Barker reveals that Steed

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Trial at Florence in Fascist Charges', 27 June, p. 12*;* 'Professor Salvemini Released', 14 July, p. 14; 'Italian Professor's Trial', 17 July, p. 9. In *The Times*: 'Political Notes', 24 June, p. 16; 'Secret Newspaper in Italy. The Salvemini Case', 14 July, p. 16. 'Salvemini', *Daily News,* 14 July, p. 9; 'Fascist Gag', *Daily Herald*, 17 June, p. 8.

[64] IISH, ARCH1368, 1786/53. Gina Lombroso Ferrero (1872-1944) was a scientist, daughter of the criminologist Cesare Lombroso. With her husband, the historian Guglielmo Ferrero, she was watched by the Fascist police for her anti-Fascism, and for this reason they left Italy in the 1930s.

[65] 'The Florence Trial and the Sequel', *Observer*, 19 July 1925, p. 8*;* An Onlooker in Italy, '*Fascismo* and the Historian', *Foreign Affairs*, 7.2 (1925), 43-44.

[66] Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956), journalist and newspaper editor, started his career as Paris correspondent for the *New York World*. In 1897, after having been appointed as a Berlin correspondent for *The Times*, he then moved to the Rome office, where he remained until 1902. In 1913 became Head of the Foreign Department and in 1919 editor of *The Times*. In 1923, he acquired and edited the *Review of Reviews*. See Andrew J. A. Morris, 'Steed, Henry Wickham (1871–1956)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36260> [accessed 8 October 2019]; Giovanna Farrell-Vinay, 'Profilo biografico di Henry Wickham Steed', in *Luigi Sturzo a Londra*, pp. 115-134. On his first meeting with Salvemini, see *Carteggio 1914-1920*, pp. 378-380.

[67] On the relationship between Steed and Sturzo, see Giovanna Farrell-Vinay, 'Introduzione', in *Luigi Sturzo a Londra*, pp. 3-28.

[68] 'The Arrest of Professor Salvemini', *Review of Reviews*, 72 (1925), 43-44.

asked British newspapers to apply to the Italian Embassy to attend Salvemini's trial. Eventually permission was denied, but the request made Mussolini realise that the British press was taking the affair seriously.[69]

More important, and as yet unexplored, was the diplomatic action that Steed promoted through the Foreign Office. Investigation into archival papers held by the National Archives, the British Library, the Bodleian Library and the ASMAE makes it possible to claim that the British Foreign Office played a leading role in persuading Mussolini to safely release Salvemini from prison in July 1925. The papers show that Steed approached the former Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur Ponsonby, to discuss the strategy to help Salvemini. Their correspondence reveals that a friend of Ponsonby at the Foreign Office – whose name is not given – suggested that they convince Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary in Baldwin's Conservative government, to involve the British Ambassador in Rome, Ronald William Graham, in the matter: Chamberlain was to ask Graham to arrange a meeting with Mussolini to discuss Salvemini's situation. Steed feared the plan would fail because of Graham's reluctance to displease Mussolini, and because Salvemini was used to criticising the British Embassy for its pro-Fascist stance. Meanwhile, Steed considered it equally useful to persuade the historian and member of Parliament Herbert Fisher to raise the question of Salvemini's arrest in Parliament, in order to garner the support of the Labour Party. Steed's plan aimed to show Mussolini that British public opinion stood against his methods. At the same time, Steed was aware of Mussolini's strategies and he did not want to allow him to claim that Britain was interfering in Italian's affairs and thus

[69] BL, Steed, Add MS 74123, fols 89-90: Steed to Barker, 24 August 1925.

damaging Italy's 'honour or pride'.[70] Indeed, a telegram Mussolini received from the Italian Ambassador in London, Pietro Tomasi Della Torretta, shows that the question was not raised during parliamentary debates, but was discussed during a private meeting in the House of Commons. A few days later, Tomasi della Torretta informed Mussolini that the Foreign Office had prevented discussion of Salvemini's arrest in the House of Commons.[71]

Although this statement is factual it is equally important to investigate the reasoning behind it. The parliamentary question was stopped because the matter was being handled by Graham, who had approached Mussolini privately at Chamberlain's suggestion. Documents from the Foreign Office prove that Ponsonby had prepared the question to be raised in Parliament. According to the correspondence between the Foreign Office and Ponsonby, the Foreign Office wanted to avoid worsening Salvemini's position, as the following passage explains: 'At present Mussolini is not interfering in this case but if public attention is drawn to it here, he might consider it as a question affecting his *amour-propre* and this might induce him to weight the scales against the Professor'.[72]

The papers from the Foreign Office make it possible to provide a full reconstruction of the events following Salvemini's arrest and the strategy adopted in Britain to solve the question. A report written on 23 June states that Ponsonby informed the Foreign Office that he had chaired a non-party meeting called to discuss Salvemini's

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[70] BL, Steed, Add MS 74123, fol. 83: Steed to Ponsonby, 24 June 1925.
[71] Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Commissione per la Pubblicazione dei Documenti diplomatici, *I Documenti diplomatici italiani, Settima serie 1922-1935*, ed. by Ruggero Moscati and Giampiero Carocci, 16 vols (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1953-1990), IV, p. 36 and 45.
[72] TNA, FO 371/10790, C8626/8556/22: Howard Smith to Ponsonby, 3 July 1925.

arrest, attended by politicians and professors, including Luigi Sturzo – the meeting to which Tomasi della Torretta referred in his telegram to Mussolini. The report said that the participants of the meeting protested indignantly, as Salvemini was 'very well-known and respected' in Britain.[73] Some of the participants suggested that a campaign attacking Mussolini's decision had to be launched; others, including Ponsonby, feared that this would trigger Mussolini's reaction and endanger Salvemini. The Foreign Office opted to have Graham speak to Mussolini personally, clearly pointing out the purpose of his intervention:

> While explaining that His Majesty's Government have no intention of interfering in the matter, tell His Excellency that he may like to know that considerable indignation has been caused in intellectual circles in this country […] and that feeling will become much stronger if he is hardly dealt with for an offence gravity of which is not understood here on evidence which appears to be weak.[74]

In order to understand how the issue was discussed between Graham and Mussolini, it is interesting to compare a passage of Mussolini's notes with Graham's report:

> Graham è venuto a dirmi di aver ricevuto un tel. da Chamberlain, chiedente notizie su Salvemini, dato che elementi di sinistra inglesi vogliono agitarsi in favore di lui. Il passo doveva essere considerato non ufficiale, ma assolutamente amichevole, a scopo semplicemente informativo. Gli ho risposto che l'ordine di arresto di Salvemini era partito dall'autorità giudiziaria di Firenze in seguito a regolare istruttoria; che il processo si farà il 18 luglio; che ogni parvenza di intromissione straniera farebbe più male che bene all'arrestato; che se le leggi della Rivoluzione ci fossero, il prof. Salvemini sarebbe in postura più difficile; che l'Italia si disinteressa della sorte di Salvemini etc.[75]

[73] TNA, FO 371/10790, C8556/8556/22: report 23 June 1925.
[74] Ibid.
[75] ASMAE, Gabinetto, b. 1, f. Colloqui di Mussolini: note 26 June 1925.

> I must say Signor Mussolini could not have taken my representation better. […] No one could be more desirous to avoid press polemics than he was […] In present instance he could not possibly interfere with ordinary process of Italian law or action of the judge. He could assure me that neither he nor any member of his government had had anything to do with the arrest and had first seen of it in the papers. […] he must admit that he would in any case have been reluctant to intervene on behalf of an individual who spent his time abusing the government of his country at home and abroad, and whom he believed in present instance to be guilty. […] His Excellency's personal impression was that evidence would not be sufficient to secure Professor's conviction. If it were he would benefit by an amnesty which government intended to introduce. In the meantime Professor would be liberated provisionally or maintained under arrest in comfortable quarters and treated with every consideration. […] I thanked Signor Mussolini saying I was glad he had so thoroughly understood the motive of my action. Certainly the leniency and the consideration shown to Professor would be appreciated by his many friends and admirers in England. His Excellency replied that Professor had earned more appreciation abroad than in Italy and that his arrest had been taken by the public here with calm bordering on indifference.[76]

According to Mussolini's notes, he rejected any interference and dismissed the question. Conversely, Graham's report demonstrates that Mussolini wanted to preserve a positive image in British public opinion, and a friendly relationship with British diplomacy. At the same time, he did not want to subordinate himself to any foreign complaint on Italian matters. By reassuring Graham that Salvemini's safety would be preserved – and that, in any case, he would be granted amnesty – Mussolini responded to the need to demonstrate his resolute and uncompromising attitude while indirectly fulfilling Graham's request.

More details concerning British diplomatic actions in favour of Salvemini are given in Austen Chamberlain's papers.[77] These attest to an intervention urged by Steed two years later, in 1927, in favour of Carlo Rosselli and Ferruccio Parri, arrested for having

[76] TNA, FO 371/10790, C8625/8556/22: Graham to Foreign Office, 27 June 1925.
[77] TNA, FO 800/260.

helped Filippo Turati leave Italy.[78] In discussing the events of 1927, the papers refer to Salvemini's liberation in 1925, revealing further information about Graham's attitude in approaching Mussolini. Steed attributed Salvemini's safety in 1925 to 'British diplomatic intervention'.[79] By contrast, Graham did not consider his intervention as decisive for saving Salvemini's life. He admitted he had played a role in the affair, though he believed that Salvemini's 'life was never in danger'.[80] Salvemini's opinion was sharply different: the day that the trial was postponed and Salvemini was released, a group of Fascists attacked those anti-Fascists waiting outside the tribunal, including Raffaele Rossetti, who would later become one of Salvemini's closest collaborators in Britain.[81] Salvemini gave the following reconstruction of the events in writing to Steed: Mussolini 'dette ordini severissimi che a me non fosse torto un capello: pare forse spaventato da alcune osservazioni fattegli dall'ambasciatore britannico'.[82]

It is important to highlight that Salvemini attributed his safety to his British supporters, as confirmed by a letter he addressed to Ponsonby: 'Je dois à la protection de mes amis anglais et à votre initiative après votre Ministre des affaires étrangères, si j'ai été épargné dans le violences, qui tombaient le 13 juillet à Florence sur mes avocats at sur mes amis'.[83] Furthermore, this letter reveals that Ponsonby and Steed interceded with the British border authorities to allow Salvemini to reach Britain from France, where he had been staying, having left Italy at the beginning of August. Indeed, the

[78] See 8.1.
[79] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 155-158: Steed to MacDonald, 26 January 1927.
[80] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 217-221: Graham to Selby, 11 February 1927.
[81] See 5.3.
[82] BL, Steed, Add MS 74123, fol. 84: Salvemini to Steed, 13 August 1925. See Salvemini, 'Il Non Mollare', p. 8.
[83] BLO, MS Eng. Hist. c. 669, fol. 62: Salvemini to Ponsonby, 3 November 1925.

Chief Inspector of the Alien Branch at the Home Office, Haldane Porter, gave instructions to let Salvemini enter the country.[84] It is possible to investigate this episode through documents from the Foreign Office, as the eventuality of providing Salvemini with a passport to reach Britain was widely discussed with the British Embassy in Rome. The matter was handled as a diplomatic question, and as such it was carefully addressed in order not to jeopardise British-Italian relations. At the beginning of October 1925 Ponsonby applied to the Foreign Office to grant Salvemini permission to enter Britain, since Italy had refused to issue him a valid passport. The main concern of the Foreign Office was to avoid a clash with the Italian authorities. In this regard, the Head of the Communication Department, Charles Howard Smith, wrote: 'the Italians did not wish him to leave Italy and I do not think that it would be right for us to go out our way to give him this certificate unless the Italian authorities agreed'.[85] Another possibility which the Foreign Office considered was to allow Salvemini entry on the condition that he refrain from delivering lectures on or writing articles about Fascism. Conversely, Graham's opinion was to refuse Salvemini entry, and he justified his views as follows: 'The Italian government are taking up seriously the question of Italian anti-Fascist propagandists abroad and shortly they intend to introduce legislation declaring such persons outlaw and confiscating their properties', he stated, anticipating that 'there was sure to be trouble if the Professor should come here'.[86] Eventually the problem was bypassed by letting Salvemini into Britain with the same passport he had used in 1923,

[84] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 526: Steed to Salvemini, 24 December 1925.
[85] TNA, FO 371/10790, C12757/8556/22: minutes of 6 October 1925.
[86] Ibid.

when Mussolini had refused him permission to leave Italy to lecture at King's College London.[87]

1.4 Free Amongst Free People

The episodes analysed thus far prove that Salvemini's case was handled as a diplomatic matter. The intervention of the Foreign Office was decisive in granting Salvemini's safety; his awareness that British supporters had played a leading role in the positive resolution of his situation should be seen as a factor influencing his decision to settle in Britain.

Before arriving in Britain through the efforts of Steed and Ponsonby, Salvemini stayed in France, where his French wife, Fernande Dauriac, was living with her children.[88] According to Quagliariello, at the end of August 1925, Salvemini had already decided to take the path of exile. In reality, as Killinger notes, Salvemini initially planned to return to Italy, provided that he could keep his university post – as he had done during the summer of 1923. As Salvemini explained in many letters to his friends, if the University removed him from his chair, he would look for a job in Britain and continue his anti-Fascist struggle from abroad.[89] His correspondence with Steed helps to clarify this point. On 13 August 1925 Salvemini informed Steed that he had wasted the money he had saved to fund a trip to Britain, as he had been forced to cover the expenses for his trial. Consequently he had to stay in France, which he described as a second choice.

[87] BLO, MS Eng. Hist. c. 669, fol. 62: Salvemini to Ponsonby, 3 November 1925.
[88] See 2.1.
[89] Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 159; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 203-204. See Salvemini's letters in *Carteggio 1921-1926*: to Ernesto Rossi, 3 August 1925, p. 365 and to Piero Calamandrei, 17 August 1925, pp. 380-381. See also Origo, 'Lettere inedite', *Nuova Antologia*, 550 (1982), p. 210: Salvemini to Lina and Aubrey Waterfield, 3 August 1925.

Furthermore, Salvemini confessed to Steed that although the amnesty had pardoned his crime, he was sure that Mussolini still planned to get rid of him. Therefore, Salvemini believed that if the University permitted him to return to his Florentine post, the pressure of British public opinion would be vital to assure his safety in Italy once again. The following excerpt explains Salvemini's view:

> Credo che Mussolini e i suoi seguaci rimarrebbero pensierosi dinanzi a nuovi atti di violenza, se nella prima quindicina di ottobre io potessi far dire dai giornali amici in Italia la informazione che qualche università inglese mi ha invitato a fare un corso di lezioni nel periodo fra Natale e Pasqua. Magari le lezioni non saranno fatte. Ma il mio dolce duce è così *provinciale*, che è capace di proibire la rottura della mia testa, solamente perché essa continua ad essere più apprezzata in Inghilterra che in Italia![90]

For this reason, Salvemini asked Steed to approach some academics about the matter; similarly, Ray Strachey wrote to some of her acquaintances: Herbert Fisher in Oxford and Ernest Barker in London, who already knew Salvemini, and the economist John Maynard Keynes in Cambridge. As Strachey explained, she was also keen to involve her sister-in-law, the Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge.[91] Eventually, Barker offered to help Salvemini by appointing him for a series of lectures the following year, though it was too late to apply for funding, as he explained to Strachey: 'If Professor Salvemini would care to deliver any lectures without remuneration (the suggestion sounds churlish, but it is forced upon me), I should be delighted to announce a course'.[92] However, at the beginning of October the *Rettore* of Florence informed Salvemini that he could return to his Italian chair.[93] Despite this, Salvemini remained abroad. The episode

[90] BL, Steed, Add MS 74123, fol. 84: Salvemini to Steed, 13 August 1925.
[91] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 389-390: Strachey to Salvemini, 24 August 1925.
[92] ISTREC, GS, b. 77, f. Ernest Barker: Barker to Strachey, 14 September 1925.
[93] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 425: Rettore dell'Università di Firenze to Salvemini, 2 October 1925.

which prevented him from returning to Florence was related to Fascist violence happening there. On 3 October, a punitive Fascist expedition against Florentine freemasonry led by the Vice-Secretary of the local *Fascio*, Giovanni Luporini, resulted in a night of terror during which Luporini himself was killed. Luporini's death caused a reprisal during which anti-Fascists were assaulted; two of them were killed, Gustavo Consolo and Gaetano Pilati, this latter involved in the distribution of Salvemini's clandestine paper *Non Mollare*.

The way in which Mussolini handled the situation demonstrates that he paid particular attention to British public opinion. On 5 October, he called for a meeting of the *Gran Consiglio*. During the meeting, fearing the impact of the events on international public opinion, he furiously condemned the use of violence in a city in which many British and American citizens lived.[94] Indeed, the affair echoed through the British press, including the *Manchester Guardian*, *The Times,* and the *Review of Reviews*; this latter published an article on the matter written by Salvemini.[95] As Killinger notes, the Florentine violence served as a 'catalyst' for Salvemini's decision to stay abroad and marked the beginning of his life in exile.[96] One of the letters that Salvemini received from Florence during those days stated: 'La vita a Firenze per molti di noi è diventata addirittura impossibile. Continuamente sorvegliati e ormai bene individuati per ogni

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[94] See Guido Bonsaver, *Vita e omicidio di Gaetano Pilati, 1881-1925* (Florence: Cesati, 2010), pp. 145-168. On Mussolini's reaction, see also Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista*, 4th edn, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 2008), II, pp. 134-138.

[95] 'The Disorders in Florence', *The Times*, 8 October 1925, p. 14. In the *Manchester Guardian*, all referring to 1925: 'The Partisan Affray in Florence', 6 October, p. 10; 'The Attacks on Freemasons', 14 October, p. 12; 'Florence under the Fascist Terror', 17 October, p. 11; An Observer, 'The Fascist Reprisals in Florence', 29 October, p. 20; 'The Terror in Florence', 23 November, p. 6. Salvemini, 'The Terror in Florence', *Review of Reviews,* 72 (1925), 402-206; reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian* as 'The Terror in Florence', 17 November, p. 5.

[96] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 205.

nostra attività'.[97] Arguably, letters of this kind influenced his decision, as he lucidly explained to Berenson's secretary, Nicky Mariano:

> Prima che avvenissero queste infamie, io ero giunto alla conclusione di tornare a Firenze ai primi di novembre, fare lezione (se mi fosse stato possibile) fino a quando non fosse passata la legge sulla burocrazia, e allora dichiarare che non posso fare il professore in quelle condizioni, e venirmene via. Potrei fare lo stesso anche ora: perché la mia casa, durante i disordini, è stata sempre presidiata da molti soldati: si vede che io non ero nelle liste nere. Ma la vita in quelle condizioni mi sarebbe intollerabile. Mi parrebbe di dovere la vita ogni ora all'arbitrio dei miei padroni, e degli assassini dei miei amici. Preferirei essere ammazzato come un cane a dovere la vita al beneplacito di quella gente là. Ho quindi deciso di non tornare più. Ai primi di novembre manderò una lettera per spiegare che la mia repugnanza per un governo di assassini è più forte del mio attaccamento ai miei alunni, e che intendo vivere all'estero, a fare qui la lotta che non è possibile in Italia.[98]

Salvemini's letter of resignation from the University was published in the *Manchester Guardian* and mentioned in *The Times*: interest in his case was constantly increasing.[99] Aware of this situation, Salvemini was ready to move to a new stage in his life which, for the aforementioned reasons – the influence of his Anglo-Florentine connections in creating a British network and the support raised by British intellectuals to preserve his safety – could only take place in Britain. As Salvemini lucidly put it in a letter to Mary Berenson on the eve of his exile:

> Caro B.B. e cara Mary, non vi addolorate pensando al mio «esilio». Mi sentirei assai più esule in Italia. Quando sono a Londra, non sono esule: sono in casa mia, sono nella patria del mio cuore, libero fra liberi, uomo fra uomini.[100]

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[97] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: [illegible] to Salvemini, 8 October 1925.
[98] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 430-432: Salvemini to Mariano, 11 October 1925.
[99] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 206. 'Signor Salvemini: Resolution by Florence University Senate', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 November 1925, p. 10; 'Signor Salvemini: Dismissed from Florence University', *Manchester Guardian*, 2 December 1925, p. 9. 'Italian Professor dismissed', *The Times*, 2 December 1925, p. 14.
[100] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 481-482: Salvemini to M. Berenson, 11 November 1925, also in Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 206.

2. Choosing Britain as Anti-Fascist Headquarters in Exile

The previous chapter demonstrated that Salvemini's 1922 and 1923 British experiences and the help received from Britain during the *Non Mollare* trial influenced his decision to settle in Britain after the Fascist escalation of October 1925. Nevertheless, Salvemini's trajectory of exile was not linear: between 1925 and 1934 he lived in France, Britain, and the USA. It is therefore vital to highlight the features of Salvemini's British experience, compared with his time spent in France, before considering the reasons which pushed him to move to the USA permanently. The following sections will take into account the main factors affecting Salvemini's attitude towards the idea of living in Britain and France, including the possibility of earning a living in one country rather than in another, and the difference between British and French political and diplomatic approaches towards Italian *fuoruscitismo*. It will be equally important to contextualise Salvemini's exile within the Italian community in London and in Paris, considering him in relation to existing anti-Fascist groups, including the *Concentrazione antifascista*.

2.1 The Centrality of the Financial Issue

As Leonardo Rapone has observed, although it is vital to distinguish between economic migration and political exile, it would be a mistake to underestimate the centrality of the financial factor in both cases: by abandoning their homeland, most exiles also lost their jobs. The possibility of earning a living in one country rather than in another must therefore be considered as crucial in the decision-making process.[1]

[1] See Rapone, 'Emigrazione italiana e antifascismo in esilio', p. 53.

This was the case for Salvemini. By the end of 1925, he could neither count on income, as he had left his job at the University of Florence, nor on a large estate. Moreover, had Salvemini still owned properties in Italy, these would have been confiscated according to the law which deprived him of Italian citizenship in 1926.[2] The search for financial stability deeply influenced Salvemini's life in exile: it led him at first to choose Britain, where he was presented with opportunities to work, then to begin conference tours in the USA in 1927, and eventually to move to the USA when he secured a lectureship at Harvard in 1934.[3]

The most logical decision for Salvemini would have been to live in France: first, because his wife, Fernande Dauriac, already lived there, and second, because life in Paris was cheaper than in London.[4] However, as he wrote in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, he soon realised that he could not earn a living in France, whereas in Britain he had more

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[2] Law 31 January 1926 n. 108, 'Modificazioni ed aggiunte alla legge 13.6.1912 n. 555 sulla cittadinanza': 'Alla perdita della cittadinanza può essere aggiunto […] il sequestro e nei casi più gravi la confisca dei beni. La perdita della cittadinanza importa perdita dei titoli, assegni e dignità spettanti all'ex cittadino'. See *Gazzetta Ufficiale,* 4 February 1926. On Salvemini's case, see Regio Decreto 30 September 1926, n. 1753, 'Inflizione della Perdita della cittadinanza italiana con confisca dei beni al Prof. Salvemini Gaetano', *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, 19 October 1926. Salvemini regained possession of his Italian citizenship in 1932, thanks to the amnesty promoted for the tenth anniversary of the march on Rome.

[3] See 3.4.

[4] It is difficult to determine the role that Fernande Dauriac occupied in Salvemini's life in exile. In *Un figlio per nemico*, Fantarella focused on how the relationship between Salvemini and Dauriac was influenced by the fact that her son, Jean, supported Vichy France. However, Fantarella does not shed light on the years of Salvemini's British exile. Although Salvemini and his wife remained close during his exile, they rarely lived together. An explanation of this unusual situation is given by Rawson, in a supplementary note of the account she wrote on Salvemini's life in Britain, held amongst her archival papers: 'Throughout his time here, he [Salvemini] was always in touch with his wife, who was living in Paris. […] Gaetano used to say that she was very intelligent, but that they could not live together: and he would describe his fury, when they were first married, at the way in which she would interrupt his work. Shaking his fist at her he would shout: "Even my wife I do not want to see, when I am working!" Madame Salvemini used to say that the reason for their living apart was that she hated London: but there were certainly stronger reasons than that. […] He continued, I know, to send his wife what financial help he could afford after the War, until her death'. RUL, MS1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

opportunities thanks to his British friends: 'In Francia sovrabbondavano gli intellettuali indigeni, e non c'era che fame per l'intellettuale immigrato. In Inghilterra, dove avevo amici, la cui generosità mi era già nota, potevo risolvere meno difficilmente il problema economico'.[5] In 1926 Salvemini spent several months in Britain delivering lectures, and when he was unoccupied he returned to France to save money, as he explained: 'Nell'estate del 1926, tornai a Parigi, perché in Inghilterra l'estate è stagione morta per chi si guadagna il pane col sudore della…lingua, e a Parigi la vita era più a buon mercato.'[6] Similarly, when he had to work on his books, and could not engage in lectures or public debates, he remained in France, as he noted in a letter to one of his closest British supporters, Isabella Massey, in 1929:

> This new pension is cheaper than the preceding. It costs me not more than 50 francs per day, i.e. 20 francs less than what I should spend in London. Thus untill [*sic*] the moment my books are not over, and I do not ask for occasional lectures, the best thing to do is to stay here. It is not pleasant, but it is wise.[7]

Salvemini understood that the British public took an interest in Italian politics and that he could take advantage of his first-hand knowledge of the matter: 'La curiosità era allora assai viva sulle cose italiane in Inghilterra', he wrote. 'Perciò la gente voleva sentire e la campana fascista e la campana antifascista'.[8] Salvemini's words do not mean that the French were not interested in the topic, but they highlight the fact that in Britain he was one of few people with direct knowledge of the subject. Furthermore, the basic language skills he had developed thanks to his Anglo-Florentine friends and his

[5] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 42.
[6] Ibid., p. 46.
[7] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 8 November 1929.
[8] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 34.

previous experiences – English was not the main foreign language spoken by Italian intellectuals of the time – allowed him to become a reference point for those who wanted to learn about the Italian political situation. In this way, he could turn public interest into a paying job, and earn money which would serve both his subsistence and the anti-Fascist struggle.

2.2 Being a *Fuoruscito* in France and in Britain

Since the trajectory of Salvemini's exile veered between France and Britain, it is necessary to examine the political implications of being a *fuoruscito* in each of these two countries. This means considering *fuoruscitismo* as a matter of foreign policy, influencing the diplomatic relationships between the countries, as Leonardo Rapone and Simone Duranti have noted.[9] The issue of *fuoruscitismo* needs to be contextualised within the open diplomatic questions existing between Italy and France in the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s: Italian claims for expansion and supremacy in the Balkans and unresolved colonial tensions in North Africa meant that Franco-Italian diplomacy hung in a fragile balance.[10]

The year 1926 saw the beginning of what Garosci defined as 'l'emigrazione dei partiti': the leaders of outlawed parties sought refuge predominantly in France and

[9] Simone Duranti, 'La politica estera fascista. Fra storia politica e storia diplomatica', *Studi Storici*, 55.1 (2014), 257-270. See also Leonardo Rapone, 'L'emigrazione come problema di politica estera. La questione degli italiani in Francia nella crisi dei rapporti italo-francesi, 1938-1947', *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica*, 1 (1993), 151-196.

[10] Diplomatic questions concerned the colonial policy applied to the Italian community living in Tunis and Tangier, and the claim for an extension of the Libyan border. France and Italy also clashed over supremacy in the Balkans, where the French support offered to Yugoslavia in 1927 was immediately counterbalanced by an Italo-Albanian treaty of alliance. See Enzo Collotti, *Fascismo e politica di potenza. Politica estera 1922-1939* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 2000).

Switzerland, where they organised foreign sections of their parties.[11] Italian diplomatic documents make it possible to appreciate that from 1926 the Fascist government considered French immigration policy – which did not prevent the *fuorusciti* from coming to France – detrimental to Franco-Italian relations.[12] As Mussolini wrote to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, Romano Avezzana, in March 1926: 'Finché Governo francese accorderà sua ospitalità peggiori fuorusciti mancherà uno fra i molti elementi per quella politica di riavvicinamento di cui parla Briand'.[13] Another statement from the same period allows us to understand that the lack of control over *fuoruscitismo* was considered as an obstacle to a peaceful relationship between Italy and France:

> È necessario che semplici misure di polizia frenino azione fuorusciti che mentre non scalfisce nemmeno la solidità incrollabile del regime può creare degli episodi spiacevoli e gravidi di conseguenze. […] La libertà di stampa può benissimo in Francia essere considerata come un tabù intangibile, ma anche la pace fra due popoli può avere un inestimabile pregio. […] è perlomeno stupido compromettere le relazioni e forse le sorti di 80 milioni di uomini per la licenza concessa a una dozzina di ricattatori.[14]

The following excerpt further emphasises that, on a diplomatic level, *fuoruscitismo* was considered as a matter of foreign policy, since Mussolini attempted to use this as a bargaining chip to resolve, or leave unresolved, diplomatic issues that brought Italy and France into opposition:

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[11] Garosci, *Storia dei fuorusciti*, pp. 26-54; Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, pp. 50-56.

[12] On this aspect, see Pierre Guillen, 'Le rôle politique de l'immigration italienne en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres', in *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, pp. 323-341.

[13] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* IV, p. 204: 24 March 1926.

[14] Ibid., pp. 208-209: 28 March 1926.

> Tutti i fuorusciti del mondo non riusciranno a nulla nella loro azione contro il regime fascista […] io non mi preoccupo minimamente della loro attività da questo punto di vista interno. [15]

> […] esiste da parte della Francia una generale incomprensione della politica italiana ed una pregiudiziale antifascista ad uso interno che si risolve praticamente in una pregiudiziale anti-italiana in politica estera.[16]

Arguably, the Italian community in France was far greater than in any other European country due to its geographical proximity to Italy, cultural similarities, and linguistic affinities. Pierre Milza's studies on Italian emigration to France during the interwar period offer a detailed overview of the matter, including statistical details.[17] The numbers given by the *Censimento degli Italiani all'estero alla metà del 1927* aid us in comparing the situation in France and in Britain: out of around 1,250,000 Italians in Europe, about one million resided in France, whereas fewer than 30,000 were based in Britain, half of whom were in London and its surrounding area.[18] Indeed, the British Aliens Act imposed limitations for undesirable immigrants and adopted a protectionist policy to cope with unemployment.[19]

Despite the limited impact of economic and political migration to Britain, within the frame of European diplomacy *fuoruscitismo* also indirectly affected British-Italian relations. From a privileged position, the British government carefully watched Franco-Italian disputes over this matter, as documents from the Foreign Office reveal.

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[15] Ibid., p. 332: 16 September 1926.
[16] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, V, p. 573: 26 November 1927.
[17] Pierre Milza, 'L'immigration italienne en France d'une guerre à l'autre : interrogations, directions de recherche et premier bilan', in *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, pp. 2-42.
[18] Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *Censimento degli Italiani all'estero alla metà del 1927* (Rome: Provveditorato generale dello stato, Libreria, 1928), pp. lxvii-lxviii and lxxvii. See also Marin, *Italiani in Gran Bretagna*, pp. 77-80; Colpi, *The Italian Factor*, pp. 71-97.
[19] Colpi, *The Italian Factor*, p. 72; Marin, *Italiani in Gran Bretagna*, pp. 78-79; Sponza, *Italian Immigrants*, pp. 13-14.

Sometimes the Foreign Office became involved in the question, as in December 1927, when the British Ambassador Graham and the then Italian Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dino Grandi, discussed the alleged support that the *fuorusciti* were obtaining in France. Graham reported his conversation with Grandi as follows:

> I interposed with the remark that […] it was impossible to ask the French government to infringe the laws of international hospitality by taking action against those people any more than you could not against Nitti or Salvemini in London. Signor Grandi replied that this was perfectly true, but that it did not present the case in its proper light. The Italian government had never complained, nor would they never complain, of the presence of such persons as Nitti or Salvemini in London, or as to our attitude towards them. The British accepted their presence, but they received no official encouragement. […] As regards Paris, the same could not be said. […] They were in close touch with members of the government […] and the French made political use of them as a weapon against Italy. So long as such things continued it was difficult to bring an improvement in Franco-Italian relations.[20]

As the Fascist government blamed France for supporting *fuoruscitismo*, Britain's diplomatic response to the issue – including Salvemini's 1925 case – was based on safeguarding rights of hospitality and free speech, albeit in a non-supportive way, in order not to compromise friendly relations with Fascist Italy. During his time in Britain, Salvemini witnessed three different governments take power: between 1925 and 1929, the Conservative Stanley Baldwin was Prime Minister; then, after a two-year Labour government, in 1931 Ramsay MacDonald led a National coalition between the Conservatives and Liberals lasting until 1935.[21] Irrespective of their political stance, each government carefully discussed the issue of *fuoruscitismo* through diplomatic channels, warning Mussolini that the mistreatment of the exiles could jeopardise his foreign

[20] TNA, FO 371/12203, C10088/167/22: Graham to Foreign Office, 9 December 1927.
[21] A detailed analysis of the British political situation will follow in 10.2.

reputation, and trying to mediate between Italy and France. For instance, archival papers reveal that in 1926 the Foreign Office informed the French Ambassador in London, Aimé-Joseph de Fleuriau, that Mussolini was complaining about 'very prominent Italian adversaries of his' who 'not only found refuge in France but had access to prominent French statesmen both in and out office and also had at their disposal such a prominent Paris paper as *Quotidien*'.[22] The Labour government of 1929 did not adopt a different position: soon after his election, Ramsay MacDonald reassured Mussolini that members of his government would not interfere with Italian domestic affairs by taking sides in favour of or against Fascism:

> [MacDonald] Mi ha in seguito affermato che nessun membro del partito laburista è stato autorizzato o incoraggiato dal governo a partecipare a riunioni antifasciste a Parigi o altrove […] il governo laburista, conscio dei suoi doveri e delle sue responsabilità, intende mantenere la linea di condotta la più corretta verso tutti gli stati stranieri amici, astenendosi da qualsiasi atto che possa essere interpretato come un intervento nei loro affari interni.[23]

Friendly British-Italian relations, even with a Labour government in power, allowed Mussolini to overlook suggestions of British support for anti-Fascism, including the highly improbable tip-off he received from Ottavio Dinale: 'Si afferma […] che il Premier inglese, per far dispetto al fascismo e a te, abbia preso nel suo gabinetto…Salvemini'.[24]

Analysis of the diplomatic reactions following two attacks on Mussolini in 1926 reveals the extent to which the Fascist government blamed France and Britain for their alleged responsibility. In April 1926, an Irish woman living in Rome, Violet Gibson, shot Mussolini, superficially injuring his nose. Five months later, Mussolini escaped unhurt

[22] TNA, FO 371/11385, C11774/77/22: French Ambassador, report 4 November 1926.
[23] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, VII, pp. 559-560: 31 July 1929.
[24] ACS, SPD, riservato, b. 48, f. Salvemini: Dinale to Mussolini, 7 October 1929.

when Gino Lucetti, an Italian anarchist *fuoruscito* living in France, threw a bomb at his car.[25] Gibson's attack was addressed with caution by both the British and Italian governments: in May, amidst the investigation, the British Ambassador reported that British-Italian relations were 'perfectly friendly' in spite of Gibson's attack.[26] In analysing the episode, Frances Stonor Saunders notes that details which would have incriminated Gibson – above all, her presumed affiliation with subversive organisations, including Italian anarchists living in London – were still unclear after the investigation. Nevertheless, the Italian government preferred to expel Gibson from Italy without trial or charge, acknowledging her mental illness.[27]

Conversely, the safeguarding of Franco-Italian relations was not the main concern when the September attack was attributed to Gino Lucetti, who was sentenced to thirty years in prison and used as a scapegoat to accuse France of supporting *fuorusciti* conspiracies. Mussolini considered France to be indirectly responsible for the attack, since the French government had never tracked Lucetti's subversive activity, nor that of the *fuorusciti* in general. The day after the episode, Mussolini gave a furious anti-French speech which was further amplified by Fascist newspapers. Friction between Italy and France over Lucetti was carefully watched by British diplomats. According to the papers from the Foreign Office, their concern was twofold: they were worried both about the embitterment of Franco-Italian relations and the possibility that if France adopted a restrictive policy following Lucetti's attack Italian *fuourusciti* would seek asylum in

[25] On Gibson's attempt, see Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Woman Who Shot Mussolini* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010); on Lucetti's, see Lorenzo del Boca, *Il dito dell'anarchico. Storia dell'uomo che voleva uccidere Mussolini* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 2000).
[26] TNA, FO 371/11384, C5536/77/22: Graham to Foreign Office, 7 May 1926.
[27] Stonor Saunders, *The Woman Who Shot Mussolini*, p. 149.

Britain instead. With regard to this second point, a document proves that the Head of the Central Department, Orme Sargent, asked the Home Office's advice on the matter, as he considered it 'very undesirable that such Italians should be allowed to establish themselves in this country'.[28] The Home Office reply was as follows:

> Sir William Joynson-Hicks does not think that the possibility of increased activity on the part of the French Government against anti-Fascist Italians in France need cause anxiety lest there should be an influx of undesirable refugees into the United Kingdom. If Italians of known anti-Fascist views have not been able to provide themselves with passports or other satisfactory papers before leaving Italy, they seem unlikely now to obtain them. Special care would normally be taken in the examination of Italians not in possession of passports, or whose passports may have expired; but Sir Austen Chamberlain will appreciate that the provisions of the Aliens Order could not properly be used to exclude an Italian from this country merely on the ground that he was persona non grata to his own Government and Sir William Joynson-Hicks presumes that it is not intended to suggest such a course.[29]

The Home Office's views prove that the British government aimed to safeguard both liberty of expression and diplomatic friendship with the Fascist government by maintaining non-political surveillance. Documents from the Foreign Office and from the ASMAE prove that British diplomats kept a watchful eye on anti-Fascist propaganda, for the sake of security and in order to prevent diplomatic clashes with Italy: in May 1929 the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires in London asked the Foreign Office to advise on their approach to anti-Fascist demonstrations.[30] The Home Office's answer makes it possible to appreciate the British guidelines on the matter:

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[28] TNA, FO 371/11384, C9969/77/22: Foreign Office to Home Office, 15 September 1926.
[29] TNA, FO 371/11385: C11571/77/22: Home Office to Foreign Office, 2 November 1926.
[30] TNA, FO 371/13692: C3582/3009/22: Swiss Chargé d'Affaires to Sargent, 16 May 1929; Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, p. 115.

> As long as anti-Fascists in this country confine themselves to legitimate criticism of the Fascist regime this is no reason for any interference with their activities, distasteful as they may be to the Italian government. […] An incitement to murder the King of Italy or the Head of the State could be dealt with by way of proceedings under section 4 of the Offences against the Person Act, 1861 […] and even if the publication did not go so far as to advocate assassination, proceedings could be taken on indictment under the common law for printing and publishing a libel tending to disturb the peaceable relations between this country and Italy. […] Apart from incitement to murder of violence, there will usually be good reasons for not undertaking proceedings for libel and the practice is not to take action for adverse comments on a Foreign Sovereign. The possibility of a jury refusing to convict and the bad effect of an unsuccessful prosecution are important considerations underlying this policy. […] Apart from legal proceedings certain administrative measures are possible […] Steps are taken to afford protection to the Embassy and Consulate General whenever such action is called for. […] Publications […] attempted to import into this country may be intercepted in the post.[31]

These guidelines confirm the balanced stance maintained by the British diplomatic service. Conversely, it is interesting to note that the Italian Ambassador in London, Antonio Chiaramonte Bordonaro, who read the exchange thanks to the Swiss Attaché, interpreted these guidelines as evidence of the British government's strict surveillance of anti-Fascism: 'Si rileva come questo governo, pur mantenendosi nei limiti delle leggi vigenti, esercita una rigorosa vigilanza sulla propaganda antifascista, ne riconosce la gravità, se ne preoccupa'.[32]

Having demonstrated that the Fascist government perceived France as a place where anti-Fascism was tolerated, if not supported, compared to the neutral approach adopted by Britain, it is possible to argue that, paradoxically, Britain became a safer place for anti-Fascism than France. Fascist espionage, extremely ramified in France, was less present in Britain, where the Fascist government trusted the surveillance of foreigners

[31] TNA, FO 371/13692, C4581/3009/22: memorandum 22 June 1929.
[32] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, VII, p. 559: 31 July 1929.

carried out by the Home Office and the London Metropolitan Police. Undoubtedly, the fact that the anti-Fascist community in London was significantly smaller than that in Paris can be considered another reason that spies were seen to be unnecessary, to a certain extent, in Britain. Mauro Canali's thorough research on Fascist espionage does not mention spy networks in Britain, although he identifies some *fiduciari diretti* of the political police. One of them was Leonardo Conchin, who shadowed Sturzo from 1929 to 1930. Another spy following Sturzo was the former *Popolare* Alfredo Montuschi. By cross-checking the papers of the *polizia politica* with the list of *fiduciari* provided by Canali in the appendix of his book, it is possible to identify a further fascist agent, Giuseppe Moraschi.[33] Moraschi collaborated for a short period in 1927, but was not very effective in his role, since he provided inaccurate information concerning London's Little Italy. Moreover, in his book, Bernabei reveals the espionage activity of Alessandro Consani: although he was based in Marseille until 1937, in 1929 Consani provided information about the foundation of the British branch of the anti-Fascist *Concentrazione*; yet his report was copied from the anti-Fascist paper *La Libertà*.[34] Furthermore, according to documents from political police, a *fiduciario* was sent to follow people connected to the *Concentrazione* in London, including Alessandro Magri, whose role will be addressed in the following section.[35]

Despite the limited number of spies, it would be inaccurate to state that the Fascist police completely abandoned surveillance of anti-Fascists in Britain. This task was

[33] Canali, *Le spie del regime*, pp. 97, p. 417, 562, and 689-690n. The name of Moraschi is penned in the margin of a report in ACS, PP, materia, b. 12, f. Inghilterra fuorusciti: 16 August 1927.
[34] Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 44-158; ACS, PS, 1930-1931, b. 393: telespresso n. 12615, 11 March 1929.
[35] ACS, CPC, b. 2934, f. Alessandro Magri: telespresso n. 3774, 23 January 1929. See 2.4.

delegated to the Embassy, and the *polizia politica* counted on the help of the British police. In *I tentacoli dell'Ovra*, Mimmo Franzinelli argues that in 1923 the Italian government reached an agreement with Colonel Carter of Scotland Yard to obtain information on anti-Fascist activities.[36] More details on this matter are provided by Bernabei, who reveals that Mussolini indeed signed a document in which he referred to a secret arrangement in light of which Scotland Yard and the Fascist police would exchange information on subversives, and above all anarchists.[37] This agreement reassured the Fascist government that any plots would be prevented, although the kind of collaboration that Britain was willing to offer was probably overestimated. In fact, according to documents from the Foreign Office, in 1931 the Italian Ambassador Bordonaro tried to involve the Foreign Office in the investigations that Scotland Yard usually carried out. However, the Foreign Office preferred to keep the settlement between the Italian Embassy and Scotland Yard on an informal level.[38]

The episode in question concerned Angelo Sbardellotto's plot to assassinate Mussolini: a conspiracy which took place between 1931 and 1932, involving Emidio Recchioni, an Italian anarchist who obtained British citizenship in 1930.[39] As the Foreign

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[36] On Recchioni, see 2.3.

[37] Mimmo Franzinelli, *I tentacoli dell'Ovra. Agenti, collaboratori e vittime della polizia politica fascista*, 3rd edn (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2000), pp. 201-202; Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito,* pp. 75-76.

[38] TNA, FO 371/15252, C8065/87/22: memorandum 30 October 1931.

[39] The anarchist Emidio Recchioni (1864-1934) left Italy in 1899, after three years of compulsory residence for having been involved in subversive plots, including the failed attempt on Francesco Crispi's life in 1894. In 1909 he opened the 'King Bomba' delicatessen in Soho, which became a political meeting point for the Italian community. In 1915, he risked expulsion for his anarchist views and supporting anti-war propaganda, but in 1930 he managed to obtain British naturalisation. According to the Home Office, he financed Camillo Berneri's activities in 1929, and contributed to Michele Schirru and Angelo Sbardellotto's plans to assassinate Mussolini in 1931. Schirru and Sbardellotto were arrested before they could make an attempt on Mussolini's life and were executed in 1931 and 1932 respectively. For an overview of anarchism in London

Office reported, 'the Italian Consulate General and Scotland Yard [had] been in the closest touch for this subject for many months'.[40] Sbardellotto himself confessed that a certain 'Nemo', then identified with Recchioni, gave him money, a revolver and two bombs, although Salvemini considered this confession to have been coerced by the Fascist police.[41] Even though Recchioni's involvement was eventually proven, the Home Office preferred to declare that they 'ha[d] never had a scrap of conclusive evidence' against him and decided to reject the claim made by the Italian General Consul, who asked for revocation of his naturalisation, aiming for his extradition to Italy. In agreement with Scotland Yard, the Home Office then concluded that the Italian Consul would have to apply through the usual diplomatic channels – that is, through the Foreign Office – thus maintaining their cautious attitude in handling the matter of *fuoruscitismo*.[42]

However, the aforementioned documents focusing on Italian aliens and their anti-Fascist activity reveal that British surveillance of them – and the collaboration offered by

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before 1917, including Recchioni's activity, see Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy. London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)* (Liverpool: University Press, 2013). See also Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 46-47; TNA, HO 144/18949, and ACS, CPC, b. 4260, f. Emidio Recchioni. On Sbardellotto's and Schirru's failed attacks, see Giuseppe Fiori, *L'anarchico Schirru. Condannato a morte per l'intenzione di aver ucciso Mussolini* (Milan: Mondadori, 1983); Giuseppe Galzerano, 'Attentati anarchici a Mussolini', in Biblioteca Franco Serantini, *Atti della giornata di studi su L'antifascismo rivoluzionario tra passato e presente* (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 1993), pp. 77-98; Alfio Bernabei, 'The London Plot to Kill Mussolini', *History Today,* 49.4 (1999), 2.

[40] TNA, FO 371/15252, C8065/87/22: memorandum 30 October 1931.

[41] See *Fra le righe,* p. 119: Salvemini to Rosselli, 1 September 1932. There is much evidence confirming that 'Nemo' was Recchioni: firstly, he used to write for Italian anarchist papers under that pseudonym; and secondly, the personal archive of his son, Vero Recchioni, contains a book, *Wonders of Italy*, that Recchioni received from Michele Schirru, with the inscription: 'To my dear Nemo, as a souvenir for my travel in Italy'; see IISH, ARCH01182, f. 318: Schirru to Recchioni, 17 October 1930.

[42] TNA, HO 144/18949: Metropolitan Police, special report 24 June 1932; Home Office to Metropolitan Police, 10 August 1932.

the police to the Italian Embassy – was limited to people detected for disturbances or crimes, and was not extended to ordinary anti-Fascist propaganda. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account an episode involving Salvemini which might suggest a different scenario. In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini wrote that, in 1948, he saw the pages of one of the London Embassy registers, which listed people liable for arrest during the 1920s. The register featured a picture of Salvemini's passport which had been taken by a British border officer in 1927, upon his return from his first trip to the USA. This meant that the British police had forwarded the picture to the Italian Embassy. Salvemini described the episode as 'piccoli servigi che il ministro degli esteri, Sir Austen Chamberlain, faceva rendere dal governo conservatore inglese al suo grande amico italiano'.[43] Given the caution with which the British diplomatic service had handled Salvemini's case in 1925, it seems unlikely that restrictive measures were applied to him; but the border office certainly cooperated in providing the Embassy with a recent picture of Salvemini in order to facilitate his identification.

Despite this episode, overall Salvemini had valid reasons for preferring to stay in London rather than in Paris. The neutral British approach to Italian political questions meant that both Fascist and anti-Fascist propagandists were free to disseminate their views in the country equally. Although Salvemini's activities in Britain were watched by the Italian Embassy, the *fiduciari* were less active, and his adversaries were out in the open. In Britain, Salvemini had to deal with Italian diplomats, the members of the London *Fascio*, and the Fascist propagandist Luigi Villari – ironically, the son of his *maestro*, Pasquale Villari.[44]

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[43] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 72-73.
[44] See 5.2.

2.3 Fascism and Anti-Fascism in London

Although Italian economic and political emigration to Britain was less prevalent than in other countries, Mussolini paid considerable attention to the nation: for instance, one of the first *Fasci* abroad was founded in London in 1921.[45] Nevertheless, studies investigating Fascism and anti-Fascism in Britain have focused mainly on the 1930s.[46] For this reason, it is vital to return to the papers of the *polizia politica* to outline the general features of anti-Fascism in London during the 1920s. In 1927, the anti-Fascist community was described as 'apparentemente divisa in gruppi autonomi per evitare il contatto di individui troppo diversi di opinioni, o di condizione sociale o forse per sfuggire più facilmente al nostro controllo'. One important group, defined as Socialist-Communist, encompassed Giuseppe Sinicco, Francesco Galasso, Emidio Recchioni, and Pietro Gualducci.[47] Most of these had left Italy at the turn of the century, long before the eve of Fascism, on account of their investigation for anarchic activities; for this reason, Recchioni, Gualducci, and Galasso were watched by Scotland Yard.[48] According to the

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[45] On the London *Fascio*, see Emilio Gentile, 'La politica estera del partito fascista. Ideologia e organizzazione dei Fasci italiani all'estero', *Storia Contemporanea*, 26.6 (1995), 897-956; Roberta Suzzi Valli, 'Il Fascio italiano a Londra. L'attività politica di Camillo Pellizzi', ibid., 957-1001; Claudia Baldoli, 'Ho cambiato il cielo ma non l'animo... I Fasci Italiani all'Estero e l'educazione degli italiani in Gran Bretagna (1932-1934)', *Studi Emigrazione. International Journal of Migration Studies*, 134 (1999), 243-281; Claudia Baldoli, 'I Fasci in Gran Bretagna', in *Il fascismo e gli emigrati. La parabola dei Fasci italiani all'estero*, ed. by Emilio Franzina and Matteo Sanfilippo (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003), pp. 53-74.

[46] Besides the aforementioned works by Baldoli, Bernabei, and Rampello, see also Bernabei's documentary *Dangerous Characters* (Arandora Productions, 1987).

[47] ACS, PP, materia, b. 12, f. Inghilterra fuorusciti: report 16 July 1927; see also Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, p. 91.

[48] Pietro Gualducci (1871-1937) left Italy in 1888 and settled in London in 1905. Francesco Maria Galasso (1878-1940) was a freemason; he reached Britain in 1912. Between 1922 and 1925, the pair founded the anti-Fascist newspaper *Il Comento*. Giuseppe Sinicco (1870-1957) was a shoemaker and member of the Socialist party; he obtained British citizenship in 1931 (TNA, HO 334/126/198). See Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 47-48 and 61-71; Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy*, pp. 216-217; Rampello, *Italian anti-Fascism in London*, pp. 352-357; Santi Fedele, 'La diaspora massonica e l'antifascismo', in *Il retaggio dell'esilio*, pp. 47-77.

Fascist police, they were seen as a threat as they carried out 'propaganda spicciola antifascista tra i dipendenti degli alberghi e ristoranti […] infiammando pericolosamente la testa di molti'.[49] Conversely, another anti-Fascist group, identified as Liberal-Catholic, disseminated anti-Fascist ideas through lectures, articles and publications. Its members were Professor Angelo Crespi, his wife Margherita, and Luigi Sturzo, who were assisted by those whom the *fiduciario* contemptuously identified as a group of British 'signore isteriche'. [50]

It is possible to investigate Salvemini's relationship with these two groups. The smaller size of the Italian community in London, compared to that in Paris, along with the absence of any Italian political leader or party – except for Sturzo – can be considered a factor influencing Salvemini's decision to establish his headquarters there. Salvemini had no party allegiance: in Quagliariello's words, he had been consolidating 'un'invincibile avversione nei riguardi dei partiti della stagione liberale', even during his exile.[51] It is therefore not surprising that he preferred to keep his distance from Paris, the main centre of Italian political emigration, while also keeping his connection with Italian anti-Fascists in London to a minimum.

Salvemini collaborated with the so-called Liberal-Catholic group, and namely with Sturzo and Crespi. As the previous chapter has mentioned, Crespi had known Salvemini since the period of *L'Unità*, and had offered him accommodation during his first trip to Britain in 1922.[52] As Giovanni Grasso points out, Salvemini and Sturzo became acquainted during their British exile – Sturzo moved to London in 1924 – and shared the

[49] ACS, PP, materia, b. 12, f. Inghilterra fuorusciti: note 13 October 1927.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 158.
[52] See 1.2.

support of the aforementioned group of British women rudely identified by the Fascist *fiduciario*.[53] As the second part of this study will show, this group of anti-Fascist women, including Alys Russell, Virginia Crawford, Marion Rawson, and Isabella Massey, represented the linchpin of Salvemini's British network, which intertwined with that of Sturzo and made a crucial contribution to the dissemination of anti-Fascist activities.[54]

Salvemini's correspondence also makes it possible to investigate his relations with the so-called Socialist-Communist group. Salvemini knew most of the anti-Fascists revolving around London's Little Italy, but he rarely took part in their activities. He was introduced to Emidio Recchioni by the anarchist Camillo Berneri, who had been one of Salvemini's pupils in Florence.[55] Indeed, Recchioni's son, Vero (alias Vernon Richards), who married Berneri's daughter in 1937, met Salvemini in London, as a letter reveals.[56] A passage from *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* clarifies the relationship between Salvemini and Recchioni: 'Non ebbi mai bisogno di essere soccorso da lui' – alluding to the financial assistance that Recchioni gave to the anti-Fascist cause – 'Ma diventammo buoni amici, e tali rimanemmo fino alla sua morte'.[57] Nevertheless, Fascist reports mention that

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[53] Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, pp. vii-lxiv.
[54] See Chapter Four.
[55] Camillo Berneri (1897-1937) graduated in Philosophy from Florence, where he met Salvemini and contributed to the *Circolo di Cultura* and the group of the *Non Mollare*. In 1926 he left Italy and lived between France and Belgium, where he fell into the net of the Fascist agent provocateur Ermanno Menapace, who succeeded in provoking his arrest. Between 1930 and 1936, he was arrested, released, and expelled from France and Belgium several times, until he reached Spain in 1936. One year later, he died fighting in the Spanish Civil War as a member of the column of Italian fighters, which he had organised. On Berneri, see Carlo De Maria, *Camillo Berneri. Tra anarchismo e liberalismo* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2004). Berneri's relationship with Salvemini and *fuorusciti* in France will be discussed in 6.5.
[56] ISTREC, GS, b. 105, f. Emidio Recchioni: Vernon Richards to Salvemini, 15 March 1952. Salvemini's relationship with Italian anarchists, especially in the USA, has been investigated by Oreste Veronesi, 'Nostra legge è la libertà. Gaetano Salvemini e gli anarchici italiani tra totalitarismo e democrazia', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, 1 (2019), 31-55.
[57] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 45.

Salvemini allegedly collaborated with anti-Fascists frequenting Little Italy. For instance, on November 1927 the Italian General Consul in London affirmed that Galasso was in 'intimo e continuo contatto col professor Salvemini', and that they were planning to publish an anti-Fascist paper together, though a letter that Galasso addressed to Salvemini on 15 February 1928 proves the Consul's statement to be inaccurate.[58] Galasso began his letter with the formula 'Illustre Prof.', an unusually formal salutation for allegedly close friends. Galasso then explained to Salvemini that he had never been able to approach him before, adding that he did not know any of Salvemini's friends: 'Se mi sono permesso di omettere la formalità di una presentazione', he wrote, 'è stato perché, non disponendo di alcun mezzo per identificare i Suoi amici, non avrei saputo a chi rivolgermi'. [59] Galasso wanted to discuss 'la situazione degli antifascisti all'estero, e più specialmente a Londra', but Salvemini declined his invitation. The conclusion of the letter – 'Scusi tanto se La ho disturbata' – leaves no doubt about Salvemini's distance from Galasso's activities.[60]

A similar archival search makes it possible to investigate Salvemini's relationship with Gualducci and Sinicco. Information is given in an exchange of correspondence between Salvemini and Gualducci dated 1926. These letters clearly show that Salvemini was not acquainted with Gualducci, but had met Sinicco, who had been introduced to him as a 'uomo onesto da persone che io conosco come persone oneste'.[61] One of those 'honest people' who introduced Sinicco to Salvemini was the Socialist exile Dino

[58] ACS, PP, materia, b. 12, f. Inghilterra fuorusciti: note 21 November 1927.
[59] ISTREC, GS, b. 100, f. Francesco Galasso: Galasso to Salvemini, 15 February 1928.
[60] Ibid.
[61] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Gualducci to Salvemini, 24 November and 2 December 1926; b. 72, f. Pietro Gualducci: Salvemini to Gualducci, 30 November 1926.

Rondani, who knew them both.[62] The aforementioned letter also explains Salvemini's attitude towards anti-Fascist activities sponsored by Italians in London. He declared: 'Non faccio parte di nessuna organizzazione, non ho la pretesa di patronare [*sic*] nessun movimento; sarei lieto di aiutare qualunque iniziativa potesse riuscire utile agl'italiani all'estero senza chiedere niente in compenso mai a nessuno'.[63] It would therefore be inaccurate to suggest that Salvemini was in close contact with the anti-Fascists of Little Italy, although he was aware of their activities and interested in them. His acquaintance with Recchioni – along with another controversial and still obscure character, Abele Giandolini, whom Salvemini mentioned in his memoirs – proves that he sometimes frequented them, although they did not represent his primary intellectual circle.[64]

2.4 Salvemini and the Anti-Fascist *Concentrazione* in Britain and France

When dealing with anti-Fascism in Britain up to 1934, it is necessary to identify two different phases, with the turning point being the foundation of the British branch of the anti-Fascist *Concentrazione* in 1929, marking an attempt to institutionalise anti-Fascism in London by appointing political representatives there. The French

[62] Dino Rondani (1865-1951) was a Socialist MP from 1900 to 1924; in 1926, he left Italy. Although he lived in France, he made an outstanding contribution to the foundation of both the London branch of the anti-Fascist Concentration and the Italian Labour delegation. See Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 99-105.

[63] ISTREC, GS, b. 72, f. Pietro Gualducci: Salvemini to Gualducci, 30 November 1926.

[64] Abele Giandolini was the owner of The Ivy, a restaurant in Soho. He was registered on the *Rubrica di frontiera* in 1938 for the financial support he gave to anti-Fascist groups; for the same reason Salvemini remembered him as 'sempre pronto a sussidiare largamente il movimento antifascista'. (*Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 44). His restaurant was frequented by British politicians and other influential people, and this contributed to creating an air of mystery surrounding his acquaintances. In a letter about the formation of the Free Italy Committee in London, Salvemini wrote him: 'Sento l'obbligo di informarti di questa situazione perché tu ne informi gli amici e magari anche le autorità, se tu lo credi opportuno'. ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/4: Salvemini to Giandolini, 21 May 1941. See also Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 154-155.

Concentrazione was founded in April 1927 as a union of anti-Fascist forces, including the Socialist Party in their reformist and maximalist wings, the Republican Party, the *Lega Italiana per i Diritti dell'Uomo*, and the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro d'Italia*.[65] Salvemini did not join any political party, nor the *Concentrazione*, though he supported it from an external position. As Santi Fedele underlined, had Salvemini wished to become a member without a party affiliation he could have joined the LIDU, but he never did so.[66] This peculiar position is explained by Simonetta Tombaccini as an 'isolation':

> La categoria degli isolati era ricca di rappresentanti qualificati ed eterogenea per le posizioni che racchiudeva. Alcuni, infatti, tutt'altro che oppositori della concentrazione, ne apprezzavano l'apparizione e talora partecipavano alle sue gesta, benché si tenessero in disparte, liberi del proprio giudizio e della propria azione e in fondo sospettosi dei partiti e dell'antifascismo organizzato.[67]

Although Tombaccini used this definition to describe Salvemini's experience in France, it is also valid for analysing Salvemini's British experience in relation to political organisations. Salvemini was not concerned about the absence of anti-Fascist parties in Britain until the foundation of the British branch of the Concentration. This is not surprising if one considers that democratic elitism was as an essential aspect of Salvemini's intellectual background. As Massimo L. Salvadori noted, Salvemini's

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[65] Fedele, *Storia della concentrazione antifascista*, pp. 22-27.
[66] Santi Fedele, 'Dalla concentrazione antifascista a Giustizia e Libertà', in *Il prezzo della libertà*, pp. 55-64. On the LIDU, see Éric Vial, 'La Ligue italienne des droits de l'homme (LIDU) de sa fondation à 1934', in *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940,* pp. 407-430; Antonio Baglio, 'Campolonghi, la LIDU e la lotta per la pace', in Antonio Baglio, Santi Fedele, and Vincenzo Schirripa, *Per la pace in Europa. Istanze internazionaliste e impegno antifascista* (Messina: Università degli Studi, Dipartimento di Studi sulla Civiltà Moderna, 2007), pp. 141-227. On Salvemini's position within the *Concentrazione*, see also Roberto Vivarelli, 'Salvemini e il fascismo', in *Atti del Convegno su Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 139-156.
[67] Tombaccini, *Storia dei fuorusciti italiani in Francia*, p. 107.

political approach privileged 'l'iniziativa delle poche decine di uomini illuminati e competenti cui affidava il compito di rinnovare e guidare la politica italiana'.[68] Nevertheless, Salvemini understood the importance of a common anti-Fascist strategy which could go beyond party policies, as he wrote in *Libertà*, the paper of the anti-Fascist Concentration, on the eve of its foundation:

> Nessuno pretende che i partiti tradizionali facciano abiura delle loro formule sull'altare di una nuova formula. Nessuno pretende che essi si sciolgano per rimescolarsi tutti insieme in un unico calderone indifferenziato. Ognuno conservi i suoi quadri. Ognuno conservi il suo catechismo. Ma tutti si impegnino e ci impegnino ad un'azione positiva comune. […] Se la maggioranza del nostro partito non vorrà abbandonare le sue abitudini mentali, noi ce ne strainfischieremo del nostro partito, e ci concentreremo per conto nostro intorno alla coalizione di quei soli partiti o gruppi, o intorno a quel solo gruppo di uomini fuori partito, o magari intorno a quel solo uomo, che ci dirà quella parola positiva, a cui noi possiamo credere.[69]

Salvemini remained in a peculiar position even when the British branch of the Concentration was founded at the beginning of 1929.[70] The papers of Filippo Turati allow us to investigate the episode, which remains unexplored. The British Concentration was a local delegation linked to the main organisation in Paris. Giuseppe Sinicco and Carlo Capella were appointed as Socialist representatives; Florindo Lilla and Luigi Cima stood for the Workers' Union. The principal duty of the London branch was to run a press office with the following tasks: 'segnalare al Comitato Centrale della concentrazione le

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[68] Massimo L. Salvadori, 'Salvemini tra politica e storia', in *Il prezzo della libertà*, pp. 405-414. On Salvemini's elitism, see also Norberto Bobbio, 'Salvemini e la democrazia', in Gabinetto Scientifico Letterario G. P. Viesseux, *Atti del Convegno su Gaetano Salvemini. Firenze 8-10 Novembre 1975*, ed. by Ernesto Sestan (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1977), pp. 113-138, Giulio Azzolini, 'Gaetano Salvemini e la teoria delle élites', *Storia del pensiero politico*, 6.2 (2017), 243-260; Pecora, *Socialismo come libertà*, pp. 162-165.

[69] Salvemini, 'Per una più forte concentrazione', *La Libertà,* 5 June 1927, in Salvemini, *Scritti sul fascismo*, ed. by Nino Valeri e Alberto Merola, 3 vols (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1966), II, pp. 285-289.

[70] 'Per la costituzione della concentrazione a Londra', *La Libertà,* 20 January 1929, p. 4.

pubblicazioni della stampa britannica ed in generale le manifestazioni della vita politica, sindacale, culturale inglese' and 'trasmettere alla stampa e alle organizzazioni britanniche articoli, notizie, comunicati, informazioni provenienti dalla concentrazione antifascista o comunque riguardanti la situazione italiana'.[71] The foundation of the London branch came after that of the Italian Labour delegation, which represented the reformist wing of the Socialist party. In fact, their tasks overlapped with those of the *Concentrazione*, as Dino Rondani explained to Filippo Turati in December 1928:

> Collect, translate and communicate to the Press Associations or persons […] short notices which will give a correctly informed opinion on the Italian situation. Do the same with the news and publications in English, and transmit them […] to the Central Committee of the Concentration […]. Mention […] all meetings, congresses and manifestations of every kind […] to the C.C. of the Concentration, so as to enable it to participate to them [*sic*], either directly or through the Labour Delegation. Participate to [*sic*] these manifestations in the name of the C.C., or accompany and help as interpreter its direct representatives. Supply and transmit […] all information that the C.C. in Paris, or the Executive of the Labour Party or of the Associations that it includes, may need for their work. Give moral and judicial assistance to Italians persecuted […]. Remind Italians resident in Britain […] of the noble tradition of the Italian emigration in England for the defence of the principles of human progress and democracy.[72]

Salvemini's role in the foundation of the British branch of the Concentration consisted mainly in the appointment of Alessandro Magri as its secretary. It remains difficult to locate Magri amongst the members of the Italian community in London during the interwar period. Biographical information about Magri can be gathered from his personal files in the CPC and in those of the *polizia politica*, as he was followed by a

[71] IISH, ARCH01488, IV/6: memorandum 16 December 1928.
[72] IISH, ARCH01488, IV/6: 'Italian Labour Delegation', [n.d.].

Fascist *fiduciario*.[73] Magri was half Italian and half Irish; in 1927 he moved to London, where he worked as a teacher. Salvemini's correspondence allows us to understand that he met Magri thanks to the journalist Luigi Emery, who described Magri as an 'amico di amici fidatissimi e antifascisti di Milano, […] giovane serio e senza pretese'.[74] Shortly after Emery's introduction, Salvemini involved Magri in his anti-Fascist activities, although it has been possible to find only one letter between them, written in 1941, in Salvemini's archives. Salvemini's correspondence with Massey reveals that Magri was constantly in contact with Salvemini, as he was entrusted with checking the British press, informing Salvemini about the publication of articles concerning the Fascist regime, and collecting information to be used for Salvemini's writings.[75] Such duties were similar to those he carried out for the *Concentrazione*. Excerpts of correspondence between Sinicco and the syndicalist Bruno Buozzi demonstrate that Salvemini was influential in appointing Magri as the Secretary of the British Concentration. As Buozzi admitted to Sinicco: 'Di fronte ad una […] dichiarazione calorosissima di Salvemini, non ti nascondo che mi trovai disarmato'[76]. Salvemini's endorsement of Magri should be interpreted as a demonstration of his interest in the work of the *Concentrazione* in Britain. Nevertheless,

[73]Alessandro Magri MacMahon (1895-1981) was born in Crema, son of Antonio Magri, an Italian barrister, and Ethel MacMahon, of Irish origin. In 1923 Magri married an Englishwoman, Violet Winter, whom he divorced a few years later. In 1940 he was arrested as an enemy alien and later released. Between 1940 and 1943 he collaborated with the BBC's Italian service. In 1941, he contributed to funding the Free Italy Committee and played a key role in the British Italian Society. See his personal files in ACS, CPC, b. 2934 and ACS, PP, personali, b. 754; Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, 'The Origins: Friends of Free Italy', in *40 Years: The British-Italian Society 1941-1981* (London: The Society, 1981), pp. 3-10; Sponza, *Divided Loyalties*, pp. 101-117; Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 98-229.

[74] ISTREC, GS, b. 99, f. Luigi Emery: Emery to Salvemini, 5 July 1927.

[75] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 29 January, 28 May, 18 and 23 November 1929; 17 January and 18 November 1930; 13 June 1931.

[76] IISH, ARCH01488, IV/6: Rondani to Sinicco, 31 October 1928; see also Sinicco to Rondani, 10 October 1928; Sinicco to Buozzi, 8 November 1928.

it would be inaccurate to state that, from the end of 1929 onwards, Salvemini actively collaborated with the British branch of the Concentration. Conversely, the second part of this study will show that Salvemini preferred to involve British intellectuals in his anti-Fascist activities, distancing himself from Italian political parties. In 1931, when Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu, and Alberto Tarchiani decided to make *Giustizia e Libertà* part of the *Concentrazione*, Salvemini strongly opposed their idea:

> […] è ridicolo che voi vi sottomettiate al controllo altrui, il cui ufficio sarà rompervi le scatole. Chi ha fede in voi, lavori con voi, come amico, assistendovi dove può e dove lo richiedete, senza pretendere di far parte di nessun comitato, contentandosi di sapere solo ciò che voi credete di comunicargli. […] Chi non ha fiducia in voi, chi non si contenta di darvi i suoi consigli nelle convocazioni amichevoli, che pretende istituire un comitato, con regolamenti, controlli, eccetera, se ne vada al diavolo. […] Ma che persone che pretendono di essere vostri amici, vi domandino garenzie [*sic*], regolamenti, statuti, e che vi ci contentiate, è da parte vostra debolezza deplorevole, e sarà causa di infinita perdita di tempo, e vi porterà a funesti errori. […] Per quanto mi riguarda, io dichiaro che non intendo far parte di nessun comitato e che non intendo partecipare più a nessuna riunione che abbia carattere di comitato regolare, che parteciperò solo a riunioni amichevoli per lo scambio di idee. Io ho fede in Tarchiani, Rosselli, Lussu. Io li autorizzo a rivolgersi a me ogni volta che mi credano utile al loro lavoro per il mio consiglio o per la mia collaborazione pratica. Io non pretendo di sapere quel che essi si propongono di fare. Io cercherò di raccogliere quel denaro che potrò e lo consegnerò ad essi senza voler sapere quel che ne faranno. […] Insomma, io intendo continuare ad essere quel che sono sempre stato dal 1925 al 1929 con Tarchiani, e dal 1929 al 1931 con Tarchiani, Rosselli e Lussu: un amico, che non pretende nulla, e che offre tutto quello che può.[77]

[77] ISTREC, GL, II/1.55: Salvemini to Tarchiani, 14 July 1931. See Fedele, *Storia della concentrazione antifascista*, pp. 87-116. In October 1929, from Paris, Rosselli, Lussu and Tarchiani founded the anti-Fascist movement *Giustizia e Libertà*, inspired by Salvemini. GL had its main headquarters in Paris, Milan and Turin and aimed to bring together Socialists, Liberals and Republicans to promote the dissemination of anti-Fascist literature and organise demonstrative action in Italy. In 1931 GL joined the *Concentrazione* and claimed to coordinate anti-Fascist action in Italy, provoking a dispute which gradually brought about the dissolution of the Concentration. The assassination of the Rosselli brothers in 1937 proved a setback to GL, which nevertheless continued its work until the 1940s when its members merged into the *Partito D'Azione*. For an analysis of GL's anti-Fascist stance and its transnational network, see Marco Bresciani, *Quale antifascismo? Storia di Giustizia e Libertà* (Rome: Carocci, 2017).

Salvemini's distrust of anti-Fascism expressed in the form of political committees can be analysed further through a passage of his correspondence dated 1937: a bitter remark, written after the assassination of the Rosselli brothers, in which Salvemini defined 'le concentrazioni' as 'mistificazioni reciproche, in cui tutti parlano di concordia e ciascuno pensa solo a salire sulle spalle del suo alleato'.[78]

In conclusion, the fact that Salvemini wanted to establish his anti-Fascist headquarters in London seems perfectly logical. There, he could earn a living by delivering anti-Fascist lectures, enjoy a safer milieu where Fascist spies were less active than in Paris, and stay away from political quarrels to plan an anti-Fascist campaign involving British intellectuals.

[78] ISTREC, GS, b. 101, f. Emilio Lussu: Salvemini to Lussu, 5 August 1937.

3. Salvemini's Anti-Fascism across Europe and the USA

Before delving into an analysis of Salvemini's British experience, it is equally important to investigate the international aspects of his anti-Fascist activity. According to the bibliography of Salvemini's work compiled by Cantarella, between 1927 and 1931 his first book on Fascism, *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, was published in English, French, Spanish and Chinese.[1] Salvemini's correspondence proves that the book also reached Australia through Walter Murdoch, Professor of English at the University of Western Australia, who was in touch with Omero Schiassi, a Socialist exile and anti-Fascist activist.[2] Such an international dissemination was supported by people who provided Salvemini with useful contacts which allowed him to expand his network. For instance, an important role in the diffusion of Salvemini's writings was played by the Belgian Foreign Minister, the Socialist Émile Vandervelde, whose anti-Fascism clearly emerged when he refused to shake hands with Mussolini during the Locarno conference in 1925.[3] Salvemini already knew Vandervelde's wife, Lalla, who frequented the Anglo-Florentine circle through Vernon Lee and the Berensons. Correspondence between Vandervelde and Salvemini reveals that in 1925 Vandervelde sent Salvemini a list of newspapers and journals to which he could send his writings. In the same period, Vandervelde suggested that Salvemini should deliver a series of lectures at the Belgian

[1] Cantarella, *Bibliografia salveminiana*, pp. 174-176. On the publication of Salvemini's *The Fascist Dictatorship* in Britain and its reception, see 5.3.
[2] ISTREC, GS, b. 103, f. Walter Murdoch: Murdoch to Salvemini, 17 June 1928; b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Schiassi to Salvemini, 10 October 1928. Omero Schiassi (1877-1956), a Socialist, was a victim of Fascist violent attacks in Italy, and for this reason in 1924 he left for Australia. For his anti-Fascist activities, see Gianfranco Cresciani, 'Omero Schiassi', in *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian University Press, 1980), pp. 223-243.
[3] *Mussolini diplomatico*, p. 68.

Institut des Hautes Études, although the course never came about due to financial reasons.[4] It is equally important to note that Salvemini had contacts in the Netherlands, too, thanks to Lolo Breman (*née* Ethel Yeats-Brown), the English-born wife of the Consul of Genoa, Leendert Johannes Breman. Salvemini's correspondence proves that Lolo Breman helped the anti-Fascist cause by putting Salvemini in contact with Dutch newspaper editors, and also offering to bring and send messages to Italy, despite being watched by the Fascist police.[5] Breman had been introduced to Salvemini by Raffaele Rossetti, a naval engineer based in Rapallo, one of those anti-Fascists who had been assaulted outside the tribunal after the *Non Mollare* trial, and who would then join Salvemini in exile.[6] As Rossetti wrote to Salvemini:

> [Breman] Mi dice che, come suddita olandese, non è soggetta a sospetto, per ciò che riguarda la formalità di passaggio del confine. Per la conoscenza che ho di lei – specialmente poi pel tramite delle mie sorelle, delle quali è intima da molti anni – posso garantire della serietà assoluta e del disinteresse della persona, che obbedisce al caratteristico spirito inglese che riduce questa gente alla lotta contro ciò che giudicano *unfair*. Essa mi afferma che, a differenza di ciò che si dice delle donne, sa tenere un segreto. Parla bene l'italiano.[7]

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[4] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Vandervelde to Salvemini, 25 November and 21 December 1925; EV/IV/527-528: Salvemini to Vandervelde, 12 and 23 December 1925.

[5] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: 'Laura' to Salvemini, 14 January 1926. It is clear that 'Laura' was Lolo Breman, as in one of her letters Salvemini noted down her real name close to her signature. Leendert Breman's personal file was opened by the *polizia politica* only in 1936; nevertheless, one of the documents states that between 1925 and 1926, his house was 'frequentata dagli intellettuali antifascisti di Genova, alcuni dei quali sarebbero poi stati arrestati perché in relazione con elementi dell'Italia Libera arrestati a Milano'. This suggests that informal control was already exercised on them. See ACS, PP, personali, b. 187, f. Leendert Breman: note 18 August 1936.

[6] On Rossetti, see 5.3.

[7] *Carteggio 1921-1926*, pp. 499-500: Rossetti to Salvemini, 30 November 1925. Another link between the Bremans and Salvemini was Donatello Gigliucci, Marion Rawson's cousin, who settled in Sori Ligure, as the following archival excerpts show: 'La ringrazio di cuore per i saluti affettuosi e l'abbraccio che Ella mi ha inviati a mezzo della Sig.ra Lolo Breman qualche tempo fa' (ISTREC, GS, b. 101, f. Donatello Gigliucci: Gigliucci to Salvemini, 14 May 1926). 'We saw the Bremans, of course. Lolo still passionately anti-Fascist, but somewhat unreliable in her statements and imprudent in her actions' (JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928).

Having seen some examples which demonstrate the European interconnections of Salvemini's network, it is important to analyse the main channels through which Salvemini collected information on the real conditions of Fascist Italy, and the extent to which he was able to involve anti-Fascists living in European countries. It is equally vital to take into account the evolution of Salvemini's attitude towards the USA and to explore the steps which brought him to move to Harvard in 1934, despite his preference for Britain.

3.1 Italian Sources

The state of the Italian press at the end of 1925 made it impossible to trust the news given by the newspapers.[8] Therefore, it was vital to obtain information from first-hand sources; in other words, from anti-Fascists living in Italy. Salvemini's correspondence from the beginning of his exile proves that he could count on his Florentine base. In November 1925, Marion Cave wrote: 'Gli amici mi pregano di dirle [che] hanno sentito dire che Ella cerca elementi sicuri, non sanno se per qui o per costà. In ogni modo le ricordano che Ella può disporre assolutamente di loro, tanto per qui quanto per l'estero.'[9] Besides the Florentine group, another close to Salvemini was that formed in Milan and involved in the publication of the anti-Fascist papers *Il Caffé* and *Quarto Stato*, encompassing Riccardo Bauer, Ferruccio Parri, Carlo Rosselli, and Ernesto Rossi. According to Mario Giovana, this group was the forerunner of GL in Italy: Giovana describes it as 'un manipolo di antifascisti variamente collocati sotto il profilo politico,

[8] Law 31 December 1925 n. 2307 imposed the *fascistizzazione* of the Italian press. See Alberto Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario*, 2nd edn (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), pp. 90-94.
[9] ISTREC, GS, b. 79, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Cave Rosselli to Salvemini, 26 November 1925.

ma per lo più compresi sotto il profilo democratico-liberale e a contatto con elementi socialisti.'[10]

However, the activity of the *Milanesi*, as they used to sign some of their letters to Salvemini, has thus far been neglected. Giovana's work does not elucidate details about their activities; amongst the members of the group, only Ferruccio Parri made glancing references to the *Milanesi*.[11] Arguably, the *Milanesi* had a limited impact on the history of anti-Fascism, if compared to GL and to their precursor, *Italia Libera*; furthermore, the group lasted only for one year, collapsing at the end of 1926, due to increasing clampdowns and the arrest of Parri and Rosselli for having helped Filippo Turati to leave Italy.[12] Another reason for which the role played by the *Milanesi* has been neglected is that there are only fragmentary traces of their activities. In Salvemini's archive, pieces of correspondence have been identified within an unnamed file, *lettere con firme da decifrare*.[13] The names of the senders were covered by pseudonyms which it has been possible to decipher: Riccardo Bauer was 'Bohemien', 'Baubau' or 'Accipicchia'; Ferruccio Parri was called 'Mainstee', or 'Pautasso cav. Chiaffredo'; 'Palloncino' and' Burattino' were Carlo Rosselli and Ernesto Rossi respectively, while Salvemini was 'Barbaro'.[14]

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[10] Mario Giovana, *Giustizia e Libertà in Italia. Storia di una cospirazione antifascista* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2005), p. 60.
[11] Ferruccio Parri, *Scritti 1915/1975*, ed. by Enzo Collotti and others (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976), pp. 16-21; Ferruccio Parri, 'Dopo Matteotti', *L'Astrolabio*, 5.25 (1967), 24-27.
[12] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. Alberto Tarchiani: Tarchiani to Salvemini, 31 January 1927. On Turati's escape, see 8.1.
[13] ISTREC, GS, b. 110 f. firme da decifrare.
[14] Julien Luchaire's memoires confirm that Barbaro was Salvemini. See Bénédicte Deschamps, 'Salvemini e gli intellettuali fuorusciti francesi negli Stati Uniti (1940-1944)', in *Il prezzo della libertà*, pp. 75-89 (p. 82).

These archival documents prove that during this period the *Milanesi* learned how to send and receive coded messages, to plan secret escapes, and to keep anti-Fascists in Italy in contact with those abroad. They also explain the system of collecting and sending information abroad, which allowed anti-Fascists to bypass Fascist control. Letters were marked with a number and sent abroad through Switzerland, where the papers were given to trusted middlemen, nicknamed 'Guglielmo Tell'. Correspondence was then forwarded to Salvemini in London at Isabella Massey's address, since she was one of Salvemini's closest supporters, and her name was not known by the Fascist police.[15]

The activity of the *Milanesi* was expanded to other cities, as a draft programme found amongst Salvemini's paper explains.[16] They considered it vital to involve other trustworthy people: where possible, people who could give financial support, except political leaders, who were closely watched by the Fascists. However, political leaders could recommend someone else to represent them. Every other affiliation request was carefully assessed in order to prevent infiltration, as a small group of people was safer and easier to manage than a large one. Local groups were coordinated by a *capo-zona*, in contact with the main *nucleo ordinatore*, who kept a coded membership list. This organisation was shaped on that of *Italia Libera* and had a similar mission: to print clandestine bulletins and leaflets, to spread propaganda through university faculties, to contact anti-Fascists in the army to raise support in the barracks, to enrol lawyers willing to help in case of arrests, and to help those who needed to leave Italy.[17] The main obstacle

[15] On Massey, see Chapter Four.
[16] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: draft programme, [n.d.].
[17] Rossi, 'L'"Italia Libera"'. See also Luciano Zani, *Italia Libera. Il primo movimento antifascista clandestino (1923-1925)* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1975); ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: draft program, [n.d.].

to such activities was the absence of a workforce, as Parri wrote to Salvemini at the beginning of 1926:

> […] un certo numero di gente a chiacchierare, quattro a lavorare. Di questi quattro due occupati in visite, sopralluoghi, steccate, collegamenti esterni: due a raccogliere, scribacchiare, copiare, spedire: Bohemien [Bauer] per l'interno, Mainstee [Parri] per l'estero. […] I progettisti sono molti, ma quelli che fanno, a cominciare dalle necessità più modeste, sono pochi […] Aggiunga gli inconvenienti di vario ordine per i corrieri, gli impicci per la riproduzione, altri piccoli guai, e tiri le somme. Nelle quali metta pure anche le nostre o meglio le mie deficienze e insufficienze. […] Dopo di che della nostra costanza e buona volontà Barbaro [Salvemini] può essere sicuro. Finché avremo la materiale possibilità di vivere in Italia, Barbaro, Silvana [Tarchiani] e chiunque lavorasse fuori avrà sempre una base milanese.[18]

The most important activity carried out by the *Milanesi* in support of Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign was that of collecting information. This activity was based on a network of people willing to 'fare qualche cosa, anche pochissimo, anche solo leggere'.[19] Any information gathered in Italy was forwarded to the *Milanesi*; they went through it, collected the most interesting facts, and prepared it to be sent abroad, as Parri wrote to Salvemini: 'Sappiamo bene che in mani sue tutto il materiale viene utilizzato a suo tempo e suo modo con l'efficacia migliore'; 'Noi tutti siamo ammirati dal suo lavoro, caro Barbaro: ci aspettiamo tra poco di leggere una catilinaria su una rivista finlandese'; 'Lo spettacolo del suo lavoro fervidissimo e insonne ci dà maggior senso del dover nostro'.[20]

A document from the beginning of 1926 proves that the *Milanesi* and Salvemini were considering the possibility of publishing a review to maintain contact between anti-Fascists in Italy and abroad:

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[18] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926.
[19] Ibid.
[20] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Milanesi to Salvemini, 23 November 1925; Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926; Stee [Parri] to Salvemini, [n.d.].

> Mainstee [Parri] e Bohemien [Bauer] propugnano la rivista ma a dire il vero la pensano a differenza a quanto pare da Barbaro [Salvemini] più per gli Italiani che per gli stranieri; e almeno che possa servire per gli uni e per gli altri, non essendo difficile a loro veduta pensare un tipo di pubblicazione dosato in modo da essere commestibile per tutti. [...] Ed in larga e piccola parte il materiale potrebbe venire di qui pur mantenendo Barbaro [Salvemini] la direzione. Noi si farebbe come da redazione interna.[21]

The quoted excerpt proves that Salvemini was more interested in addressing an international audience than the Italian one. Indeed, the *Milanesi* agreed that it was important to expand the reach of anti-Fascism abroad:

> Il campo della Germania dovrebbe essere da noi più coltivato […] Ci sembrerebbe anche di […] estendere la sfera di influenza nei paesi di nostra grande emigrazione americana. […] Si può sapere se avete allacciamenti col Belgio? [….] Forse troverete eccessiva e frettolosa questa smania di estendere il nostro raggio d'influenza all'estero: lì è che sentiamo che la partita supera la frontiera del fatto politico italiano.[22]

For instance, in March 1926, on the occasion of the trial for the assassination of Matteotti, the *Milanesi* considered two different strategies for disseminating information in Italy and abroad:

> Noi pensiamo che […] si debba aver fatto all'interno e all'estero un'ampia distribuzione di pubblicazioni adatte; che per l'estero avrebbero carattere di manovra politica e per l'interno ricadrebbero nel quadro del nostro programma di seminazione. Per l'estero ci pare che andrebbe benissimo lo scritto dell'*Europe* che però dovrebbe essere tradotto in inglese e in tedesco e dovrebbe essere inviato in forma di opuscolo […] alle redazioni di tutti i giornali, partiti, associazioni, uomini politici ecc. […] Per l'interno, per una certa sfera di amici e per gli avversari va bene lo scritto su citato e provvederemo noi alla diramazione, ma per uso di svegliarino e di diffusione anche popolare, andrebbe bene qualche cosa di più succinto,

[21] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926.
[22] Ibid.

> meno documentario ma insieme molto caldo che potesse stare in un piccolo foglio.[23]

This analysis of the interaction between the *Milanesi* and Salvemini highlights that they both considered the dissemination of information on the real conditions of Fascist Italy amongst a foreign public opinion to be urgent. Therefore, the Milan group should be seen as a ground-breaking organisation which contributed to shaping the anti-Fascist strategies adopted by Salvemini in the years that followed.

3.2 A European Press Bureau

In view of what has been described, the work of the *Milanesi* arguably inspired Salvemini's idea to create an international press bureau. Archival papers reveal that Salvemini began developing this project shortly after his return from the USA in May 1927, when he approached Romain Rolland on the matter:

> Les expériences de ces deux années en Angleterre, aux États-Unis et en France m'ont conduit à la conclusion qu'il y a bien des choses à faire pour mener une lutte ouverte et efficace contre le fascisme non seulement en Italie mais aussi à l'étranger, où le fascisme exerce une grande influence grâce à une formidable campagne de propagande organisée par Mussolini.[24]

Salvemini mentioned three main activities which required support: helping anti-Fascists to escape from confinement, giving relief to those in need both in Italy and abroad, and

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[23] 'Lo scritto dell'Europe' refers to Salvemini, 'L'Affaire Matteotti', *Europe*, 10.37 (1926), 76-98; ISTREC, GS, b. 107, f. Stee Baubau: Stee Baubau [Parri and Bauer] to Salvemini, 1 February 1926.
[24] Romain Rolland (1866-1944) was deeply concerned by the rise of Fascism. Founder of the review *Europe*, to which Salvemini contributed, in 1915 he also won the Nobel Prize for Literature for the pamphlet *Au-dessus de la mêlée*, which strongly condemned the use of violence. On his anti-Fascist stance, see David James Fisher, *Romain Rolland and the Politics of Intellectual Engagement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 147-204. The quotation is from ISTREC, GS, b. 73, f. Romain Rolland: Salvemini to Rolland, 24 May 1927.

financing a press bureau, based in London and Washington. The press bureau's main duties would be the following:

> Ils doivent suivre tout ce que les journaux et les revues du pays publient sur l'Italie, surtout sur les miracles économiques du fascisme, noter les mensonges, documenter ces mensonges avec des documents, sources, références, etc., envoyer les lettres aux journaux pour démentir et rectifier ; si les journaux ne publient pas, envoyer la lettre aux journaux concurrents de la même ville ; interpréter les nouvelles télégraphiques qui arrivent d'Italie.[25]

Salvemini's anti-Fascist strategy was influenced by the idea that Mussolini would provoke an international crisis: the work of the press bureau would prepare international public opinion to stand against Mussolini.[26] Salvemini's letter to Rolland reveals a detailed plan for financing the project: he believed that a committee of well-known intellectuals should ask for subscriptions by constituting the 'Union du Ligue Démocratique Internationale des Amis de la Liberté Italienne'. Salvemini devised a central committee, formed by six prominent intellectuals – including Rolland, Albert Einstein, and Rabindranath Tagore – who would supervise other national committees that should collect money, organise public debates, and issue bulletins. Salvemini and two English scholars would be the secretaries of the executive committee.[27] The desire to appoint pacifist intellectuals such as Rolland, Einstein, and Tagore can be interpreted as an attempt to shed light on the warmongering attitude of Fascism. It is equally important to note that Salvemini did not mention the involvement of political parties and counted on the support of intellectuals who could influence public opinion.

[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

Eventually, the project was abandoned, as Rolland was concerned about the unclear nature of the committee, which merged political and humanitarian aims.[28] Nevertheless, archival papers prove that Salvemini did not renounce the project, and searched for people able to work as press officers. One of these was Luigi Emery, who had contributed to the *Non Mollare* in 1925, and in 1927 was working in Berlin as a correspondent for the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*. Salvemini wrote to him:

> Tu sai che i giornali italiani riproducono solamente quel che fa loro comodo. Bisogna dare settimana per settimana quel che si stampa sui più importanti giornali e riviste. I documenti circoleranno, poi, in Italia. Potresti tu impegnarti a fare gratis *et amor dei* il servizio per i giornali e riviste più importanti della Germania? Leggere, tradurre i passi più caratteristici, considerare il resto, mandare qui alla persona che farebbe la cucina generale. […] Se troviamo il denaro per organizzare a Washington e a Londra un ufficio informazioni, molto serio, saresti disposto a venire a lavorare con noi?[29]

Emery accepted the request to work on the German press, but had to decline the offer to leave for Britain or the USA, due to family reasons. An excerpt of Emery's reply to Salvemini makes it possible to consider the living conditions under the Fascist dictatorship. Those who wanted to avoid exile had to strike a balance between their political commitment and safeguarding their family relationships:

> Disgraziatamente […] rimango, coi miei 34 anni suonati, figlio di famiglia, nel senso che non emigro lontano, non posso rendermi autonomo. Esiliarmi volontariamente dall'Italia, sin che vive mia mamma, non posso. Faccio il possibile – nei limiti dell'onesto – per non essere espulso: taccio. […] Sinora mi sono salvato la possibilità di vivere all'estero facendo ogni anno una

[28] ISTREC, GS, b. 73, f. Romain Rolland: Salvemini to Rolland, 4 June 1927.

[29] Luigi Emery (1893-1979) was a close friend of Piero Gobetti and wrote for 'Rivoluzione Liberale'. When the Fascist dictatorship arose, he moved to Paris, where he worked as a correspondent for *Il Corriere della Sera*, and then in Berlin for *La Stampa*; in 1927 he was expelled from the National Association of journalists since he refused to join the Fascist Party. ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 4 June 1927.

> scappata a casa, che è tutto il conforto della mia vecchia. Alla *Stampa* ho detto chiaro e netto che non mi chiedano alcuna professione di fede, alcuna adesione o rinunzia: me ne andrei immediatamente. […] Sino che si contentano di ricevere un diligente servizio informazioni da Berlino, mi terranno. […] Ora sono *sub judice*, e da mesi mi è stato annunciato da amici che sarò escluso […] dall'albo professionale. […] Intanto, ogni mese che passa è un mese guadagnato e un risparmio che mi prometterà di vivere un altro mese, dopo silurato. Tutto ciò non è epico né romantico, lo riconosco. Soltanto, non è disonesto, non è ipocrita. Sono in pace con la mia coscienza, e faccio il possibile per non avvelenare la vecchiaia di quella mia povera mamma che ha tanto sofferto negli anni andati.[30]

Salvemini sympathised with Emery's reasoning.[31] A letter written by Salvemini in November 1925 allows us to confirm that he would have done the same to safeguard his family: 'Avessi dei figli, mi lascerei piegare', he had written. 'Ma io non ho figli. Mia moglie è pronta ad affrontare ogni rischio'.[32]

3.3 French Difficulties

Salvemini's project aimed to collect information from as many countries as possible. This international work was supervised from France by Luigia Nitti, who read the Italian press available in Paris, and collated the information with other sources coming from abroad.[33] Salvemini's correspondence shows that it was difficult to find

[30] ISTREC, GS, b. 99, f. Luigi Emery: Emery to Salvemini, 8 June 1927.
[31] ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 10 June 1927.
[32] *Carteggio 1921-1926,* p. 489: Salvemini to Fiore, 22 November 1925.
[33] Maria Luigia Nitti (1903-1939) daughter of the former Prime Minister Francesco Saverio Nitti, exiled in France, was devoted to the anti-Fascist cause. Vera Modigliani, wife of the Socialist leader Giuseppe Emanuele Modigliani, whose house became one of the main centres of anti-Fascism in exile in France, described Nitti as follows: 'Luigia Nitti era il vanto del nostro gruppo di emigrati: apparteneva veramente, ad un tipo di umanità superiore. Antifascista convinta, esplicava soprattutto la sua azione con estrema solidarietà verso i profughi del suo paese. Non c'è profugo italiano che non si sia rivolto a lei – e mai invano! – per aiuto o consiglio. Per qualunque cosa: 'C'è la Luigia'! […] Dopo la sua morte mi sono domandata se, veramente, certe creature […] non brucino, in un breve giro di anni, tutta la somma di energia destinata ad una vita intiera [*sic*].' Vera Modigliani, *Esilio* (Milan: Garzanti, 1946), pp. 98-99.

people willing to support Nitti's work in France: the Socialist Francesco Buffoni had discussed the matter with his fellow exiles in France without success, as he wrote to Salvemini: 'L'idea è stata riconosciuta buona da tutti; […] per l'attuazione pratica dell'idea buona […] non la si è potuta raggiungere. […] Si pensa solo ai giornali, giornaletti, riviste sugli italiani'.[34] Eventually Buffoni did the job by himself, with Salvemini's financial support:

> Ho ricevuto la sua lettera con l'assegno di trenta sterline. La ringrazio molto per il gentile interessamento che ha preso per la mia iniziativa […] Già numerosi giornali […] pubblicano con piacere le mie informazioni e le minute e mi hanno richiesto la continuazione del servizio, versando o dichiarandosi disposti a versare un contributo mensile. […] Comunicherò regolarmente anche a Lei i miei fogli.[35]

This difficulty in trying to involve people in anti-Fascist activities oriented towards foreign public opinion – rather than those designed for Italians abroad – was one of the factors affecting Salvemini's trust in the French anti-Fascist milieu. Indeed, towards the middle of 1929, the *Concentrazione* acknowledged the importance of issuing a bulletin – *Italia*, edited by Filippo Turati – which collected and translated into French reliable information concerning the Fascist dictatorship: a project that Salvemini had already begun in Britain with the help of Virginia Crawford, who edited *Italy To-day*.[36]

An important episode which further compromised Salvemini's trust in exiles living in France was the organisation of an anti-Fascist section to be displayed during

[34] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Francesco Buffoni to Salvemini, 10 April [1928]. Francesco Buffoni (1882-1951) left Italy in 1926 to escape a five-year-long confinement due to his anti-Fascist commitments. In France, he collaborated with the Concentration and contributed to the organisation of the anti-Fascist press.
[35] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Francesco Buffoni to Salvemini, [n.d.].
[36] See 9.2.

the 1928 International Press Exhibition of Cologne. 'Questa esperienza mi ha definitivamente persuaso che bisogna lavorare sempre da sé, senza avere da fare mai con comitati e partiti, che Dio li mandi tutti all'inferno', he wrote at the end of an extremely complex project.[37] Details about the making of arrangements are given in Salvemini and Filippo Turati's correspondence.[38] According to a letter from Luigia Nitti to Salvemini, the idea came from Salvemini, who, despite his isolated position within the *Concentrazione*, suggested that it should participate in the exhibition.[39] Indeed, in Salvemini's view, the organisation of the anti-Fascist exhibition should be supported by a non-political committee – the *Unione Giornalisti Italiani Giovanni Amendola* – which would coordinate the collection of 'qualunque foglio, opuscolo, testo dattilografato […] i fogli che hanno già circolato e che sono sgualciti, riparati, riappiccicati […] copie di giornali sequestrate quando questi uscivano ancora, fotografie di giornalisti ammazzati e mandate a domicilio, fotografie di tipografie bruciate, ecc.'[40] Salvemini appointed trusted people to work in Britain, France, and Switzerland: 'Io sto facendo fare lo spoglio a Londra, a Parigi, a Ginevra di parecchie collezioni di giornali', he wrote to Francesco Luigi Ferrari, a *Popolare* in exile in Belgium, who was going through Sturzo's papers; for this reason, he was in contact with Alessandro Magri, who coordinated the British part

[37] Francesco Luigi Ferrari, *Lettere e documenti inediti*, ed. by Giuseppe Rossini, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1986), I, p. 133: Salvemini to Ferrari, 30 April 1928.
[38] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. Filippo Turati; ASFC, Turati, b. 39-40; *Exposition de la presse antifasciste italienne. Cologne 10 Juin 1928* (Paris: Union des Journalistes Antifascistes Italiens G. Amendola, 1928). See also Santi Fedele, *Filippo Turati e i corrispondenti italiani nell'esilio, 1927-1932* (Manduria: Laicata, 1998); Alessandro Schiavi, *Esilio e morte di Filippo Turati, 1926-1932* (Rome: Opere Nuove, 1956).
[39] ISTREC, GS, b. 103, f. Luigia Nitti: Nitti to Salvemini, 27 June 1927.
[40] ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 11 August 1927.

of the work.[41] A central committee was formed in Paris under the supervision of Filippo Turati: Luigia Nitti collected the material gathered in each country and passed it to those in charge of composing the posters for the exhibition. Although such an approach allowed the anti-Fascist pavilion to be ready to be displayed in June, it faced many obstacles, including Fascist infiltration. Ermanno Menapace, one of the most active spies, had gained the trust of the keeper of the posters, Guido Miglioli, and succeeded in stealing some of them.[42] Furthermore, Salvemini, who wrote the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, was so dissatisfied with the material prepared – which, according to him, included an excessive amount of Communist publications – that he decided to resign from his role. Eventually Turati persuaded Salvemini to remain, although this experience marked the last episode of a series of events that convinced him of the impossibility of working efficiently in France:

> Purtroppo io vedo ora l'enorme errore che commisi accettando di presiedere una commissione che doveva lavorare a Parigi mentre io dovevo essere a Londra. L'errore fu, anzi, più profondo: accettare di lavorare in comune insieme con altre persone, della cui capacità e obiettività non avevo nessuna prova. Se fossi vissuto a Parigi avrei dovuto leticare [*sic*] ogni ora per obbligare i compagni di lavoro a capire che una esposizione senza partito *non* è un'agenzia di propaganda a servizio di questo o di quel partito. Io mi illudevo che fosse possibile trovare a Parigi gente capace di capire il valore

[41] Francesco Luigi Ferrari (1889-1933) was part of the left wing of the *Partito Popolare*. Editor of the anti-Fascist paper *Il domani d'Italia*, at the end of 1926 he was assaulted by Fascists, and left Italy for Belgium. In exile, he published *Le régime fasciste italien* (Paris: Spes, 1928) with the financial help of the IRRC (see Chapter Six). He contributed to the anti-Fascist struggle, editing the reviews *L'Observateur* and *Res Publica*, and trying to launch *Rinnovamento*, a review which would have been edited by Sturzo, Salvemini and Sforza. On his relationship with Salvemini and Sturzo, see Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, pp. xviii-xxi. The quotation is in Francesco Luigi Ferrari, *Lettere e documenti inediti*, I, pp. 127-128.

[42] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 83; Ermanno Menapace, *Tra i 'fuorusciti'* (Paris: Les Imprimeries générales, [1932(?)]), p. 82. On Miglioli's political path in exile, see Claudia Baldoli, '"With Rome and with Moscow": Italian Catholic Communism and Anti-Fascist Exile', *Contemporary European History*, 25.4 (2016), 619-643.

> *morale* di una mostra *obiettiva*. Mi ero ingannato. Non si può lavorare insieme con persone di cui non ci si fida. Allora il lavoro raddoppia. [43]

3.4 American Impressions

Despite the ramifications of his European network, Salvemini's correspondence shows that in 1927 he considered it vital to establish a British and American press bureau: 'Occorre un italiano in gamba per Londra […] e uno in gamba per Washington', he wrote to Emery. 'Lavorerà con l'aiuto di un'inglese traduttrice, dattilografa, segretaria. A Londra io dirigerò il lavoro. Contatti continui anche telegrafici con Washington'.[44] Eventually, the British press bureau would be run by Alessandro Magri in collaboration with Isabella Massey. Conversely, Salvemini struggled to find a suitable person for taking the job in the USA, as he wrote to Massey at the end of 1927: 'We got the money already, I hope, but we now need the man'.[45]

The absence of a workforce willing to join the anti-Fascist cause abroad remained a constant issue in the following years, as Salvemini wrote in a letter to Carlo Rosselli in 1933:

> Siamo in pochi. Parri, Rossi, Bauer hanno preferito fare gli eroi in Italia, anzi che persone attive all'estero. Se non ci fosse stata la fuga da Lipari, anche tu saresti in Italia a fare l'eroe. Accidenti agli eroi. […] Bisogna dire a nostro onore, che anche quei pochi lavorano male. I francesi non sanno nulla di noi. Eppure Parigi trabocca di gente capace di lavorare. Ma tutti pensano solo a tener su la propria bottega italiana in concorrenza con le altre botteghe.[46]

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[43] Fedele, *Filippo Turati e i corrispondenti italiani nell'esilio*, pp. 198-201: Salvemini to Turati, 12 May 1928.
[44] ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 31 October 1927.
[45] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 6 December 1927.
[46] *Fra le righe*, p. 163: Salvemini to Rosselli, 22 April 1933.

Nevertheless, the lack of people able to run an American press bureau cannot be considered as a reason which pushed Salvemini to move to the USA: Salvemini's decision was the result of an evolving attitude towards the American experience influenced by several factors. Salvemini's correspondence proves that until the beginning of the 1930s he did not wish to leave Europe permanently, although it is true that Salvemini had undertaken conference tours in the USA since 1927. Scholars addressing Salvemini's American exile have provided significant contributions to assessment of his experience; however, none have mentioned his reluctance to live in the USA during the early stages of his exile, which will be proved below by quoting some extracts of his correspondence from that time.[47]

When the New York promoter William Feakins appointed Salvemini for his first American tour in 1927, Salvemini's acceptance was motivated by financial reasons, as he explained to Ernesto Rossi:

> Io mi sono messo a contare i giorni che ci dividono dal luglio 1927, quando sarò tornato 'ricco' dall'America, e ti potrò pagare il viaggio per venire a stare con me un paio di mesi. […] Io mi convinco sempre più della necessità di una rivista […] Se faccio soldi in America e se trovo gente disposta ad aiutarmi, mi ci metterò di buzzo buono. Ma occorrerà che tu venga a lavorare con me. Non c'è nessuno con cui io riesca a lavorare come con te, perché tu capisci subito quello che voglio, e non mi fai perdere la pazienza.[48]

[47] The reference is to Killinger, Quagliariello, Audenino and Camurri; see the Introduction.
[48] On Salvemini's appointment, see Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 209, and *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 539: Salvemini to Rossi, 14 September 1926. In the end, Ernesto Rossi (1897-1967) did not move abroad: he was one of the most active anti-Fascists in Italy until 1931, when he was arrested due to the Fascist infiltration of Carlo Del Re within GL (see 9.1). On his relationship with Salvemini, see the introduction to Ernesto Rossi and Salvemini, *Dall'esilio alla Repubblica. Lettere 1944-1957*, ed. by Mimmo Franzinelli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2004).

Salvemini wanted to earn a sum that would allow him to survive and invest some money into anti-Fascist activities, including the enrolment of people able to work with him. Despite this financial necessity, the letters he addressed to Massey from the USA show a constant feeling of sorrow, exhaustion, and discouragement. The relationships Salvemini had fostered with his British friends by 1926, especially with Massey, must not be underestimated: 'I was rather depressed in leaving London and England, where I had been so happy during a whole year', he wrote to Massey while he was sailing across the Atlantic Ocean. 'Six months are not slow to pass. And after I shall come back to my actual country, where friends are so good and […] life so easy'.[49] The letters between Salvemini and Massey witness Salvemini's frustration during his American experience. The description he gave of his American conference tour sounds like a second exile: an exile from his adoptive country, Britain, within his main experience of exile from Italy. Indeed, Salvemini dedicated *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, published in the USA in 1927, to his 'English friends, who had caused [him] to realize that [he had] two countries – [his] own and England'.[50]

In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito,* Salvemini made no mystery of the great psychological and physical stress he experienced during his 1927 tour: 'come sopravvissi, non lo so', he wrote.[51] Nevertheless, other unpublished letters express an even greater suffering: 'No danger I become a Yankee. Rather than live in this country I should commit suicide. And I am counting one by one the days which divide me from that of sailing. […] I am so tired. Life in this country is absurd.'[52] Such an assertion, written only one month after

[49] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 5 January 1926 [1927].
[50] Salvemini, *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1927).
[51] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 52.
[52] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 5 February 1927.

the beginning of his American experience, was followed by other expressions of concern, suggesting that he kept a similar state of mind throughout his sojourn in the USA: 'King Alfred [Salvemini] is homesick for 106 Beaufort Street, SW3, London. How many hours of strong work and dear friendship and good meals had we *both three* [*sic*] there', he wrote on 12 February.[53] Again, on 26 April, a few days before his return to Europe: 'I do not know how I managed to escape from becoming lunatic'.[54] The 1929 correspondence – the year of Salvemini's second American trip, when he delivered a series of lectures at the New York New School of Social Research and a conference tour across the USA – provides an equally stressful picture of Salvemini's experience. The contacts he had established during his earlier journey allowed him to turn down a manager: by organising his conferences himself, he could set a more sustainable pace. Nevertheless, the feeling of detachment from his second homeland, Britain, persisted: 'This country [the USA] makes me sick, though it gives money. Rather than come back again here to earn my livelihood, I will commit suicide', he wrote in January, repeating the hyperbolic suicidal ideation he had expressed in 1927.[55] Many of the letters from the following months confirm the same frustration: 'I am reconing [*sic*] the days, one after the other, which divide me from March 29th', and again, 'I shall be happy when I come back to my world'.[56] Salvemini distinguished his own world – London, his British friends and his European activities – from the other to which he did not feel he belonged, the USA:

[53] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 12 February 1927. Beaufort Street was Massey's address in London; 'King Alfred' was one of the pseudonyms that Salvemini used to sign his letters to Massey: see 4.3.
[54] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 April 1927.
[55] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 11 January 1929.
[56] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 29 January and 1 February 1929.

> This is one of the facts which contribute to my unhappiness here. I feel so far from any person and anything. […] I feel to be like an uprooted tree. Yet people are kind and responsive. My success is great everywhere; even greater than two years ago. But what is the use of all that?[57]

This powerful passage summarises the condition of exile, which made Salvemini exacerbate his self-criticism: 'There is no end of intellectual and moral degradation', he wrote, explaining to Massey that he had agreed to deliver another series of lectures in California. 'But since I am here, I shall do accept all disgusting job in order to make money [*sic*]'.[58]

Given the financial necessity, it is not surprising that, when academic opportunities opened up in the USA, Salvemini decided to move there permanently. Indeed, between 1926 and 1933 Salvemini failed at every attempt to obtain a professorship in Britain.[59] Archival papers allow us to delineate the path which gradually led him to accept the possibility of moving away from Britain, despite his desire to remain there:

> If I find a job of 400 pounds in London, which allows me not to come back to America, I shall not give up my political activities, but postpone them to the job which gives me a livelihood. Of course if I had to work eight hours daily in order to get 400 pounds, then I should prefer to go to America for six months in order to conquer 18 months of free work. But if I could work in England for no more than two or three hours daily, then things would become different.[60]

Eventually, in 1930, financial urgency pushed Salvemini to return to the USA, where he was appointed for a six-month course in Italian History at Harvard. The 1930

[57] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 23 February 1929.
[58] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 18 February 1929.
[59] See 10.1.
[60] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 23 November 1929.

experience must be considered the turning point which changed Salvemini's attitude towards the USA. On this occasion, Salvemini did not have to travel across the country to deliver lectures, but remained at Harvard.[61] This stable arrangement allowed him to begin creating his own American network, which was facilitated by his British acquaintances, such as Graham Wallas and Alys Russell, who provided him with contacts and letters of introduction to influential people.[62] In the letters Salvemini addressed to Massey in March 1930, he wrote: 'I am beginning to find that life here isn't bad. It [is] travelling which made American [*sic*] hateful in 1927 and 1929. When you do not travel, life becomes bearable'.[63] And again, a few days later:

> Yes, I am all right. That is to say, I enjoy my lectures, I am on very friendly terms with my pupils; I find that they are not at all stupid; my colleagues are kind and generous; Harvard University, being organized on English lines, is what I should like to be my own University. […] In the whole I begin to appreciate under a more favourable light American life. When you are no longer under the strain of their industrial civilisation (or un-civilisation), and you live in a quiet spot like Cambridge among cultured people, you see that America has many fine features.[64]

Nevertheless, the letter quoted above proves that Salvemini continued to feel that he was in exile. It continues as follows: 'But I feel to be an exile here. My world is too far. Letters

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[61] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/3.a: postcard, Salvemini to Russell, 22 January 1930.
[62] LSE, WALLAS/1/69/53: Salvemini to Wallas, 19 November 1926; ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Alys Russell: Russell to Salvemini, 28 December 1926; b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Wallas to Fosdick, to Flexner, and to Bacon, all 18 December 1926. Graham Wallas (1858-1932), with Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw, was one of the first members of the Fabian Society, which he joined in 1886. Wallas' political position stood between Socialism and Liberalism; in 1904, as the Fabians were gradually distancing themselves from Liberalism, he left the Society, and continued his career as an educationist and political scientist. In 1895 he obtained a lectureship at the London School of Economics. Between 1897 and 1928 he lectured in the USA: for this reason, he was able to provide Salvemini with contacts for his American experience. On his intellectual profile, see Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge: University Press, 1978).
[63] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 1 March 1930.
[64] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 8 March 1930.

and papers, when they arrive here, are corpses and no longer living beings'.[65] Again, towards the middle of April, in a letter to Alys Russell, he repeated the idea of hovering between two different worlds: 'As more as I am far from England as more I want to come back there. I am having here a good time […]. But America is so far away from the land of my heart'.[66]

The representation of Salvemini's 1930s American experience differs between *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* and his correspondence. In his memoirs – written in the 1950s – Salvemini did not mention the struggle he faced when he agreed to spend six months at Yale in 1932, and another term at Harvard, in 1933. Salvemini simply stated that at Yale he enjoyed 'felicità completa, in una stupenda biblioteca, fra colleghi cortesi e generosi, e alunni volenterosi e riconoscenti', and that soon afterwards, he decided to settle in Cambridge: 'Il denaro guadagnato a Yale mi sarebbe bastato per due anni, durante i quali avrei potuto lavorare comodamente per me, e nello stesso tempo fare conferenze'.[67] A letter he wrote to Carlo Rosselli in August 1933 offers an opposing point of view:

> Quanto all'America, credi pure, caro Carlo, che io ci vado come se andassi in galera […] Ma come fare altrimenti? Debbo o non debbo guadagnarmi il pane per me e per mia moglie? E dove guadagnarlo, se non lì? […] Tu ragioni sempre, a questo proposito, come se io avessi delle miniere di mercurio o come se potessi fare continuamente debiti con te e con Nello senza pagarli mai! Aggiungi che il lavoro scientifico in Parigi […] frutta 1/3 di quello che frutta a Cambridge. Lì ho uno studio nella biblioteca; in due minuti vado a cercarmi i libri che mi occorrono. […] Dove troverei a Parigi i mezzi di studio e le comodità che troverei a Cambridge? […] Io ho esaminato il problema con spirito sgombro da illusioni e sentimentalismi. E più l'ho esaminato e più mi sono convinto che non esiste per me altra via per risolvere il problema del pane e di quel tanto di lavoro scientifico indipendente, che è la sola ragione che mi tiene legato alla vita.[68]

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[65] Ibid.
[66] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/3.a: Salvemini to Russell, 15 April 1930.
[67] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 135 and 138.
[68] *Fra le righe*, p. 169: Salvemini to Rosselli, 31 August 1933.

It is necessary to underline that Salvemini wrote this letter only a couple of months after he failed in his last attempt to obtain a professorship in Britain, at the University of Cambridge.[69] Although this aspect will be examined in depth in the second part of this work, it is important to mention it here, as it explains why Salvemini did not consider London to be a place where he could work. At the end of 1933, when Britain had closed all its doors, Harvard offered him the opportunity of not being forced to live in Paris, especially thanks to Professor Giorgio La Piana, and to Ruth Draper, who promoted and financed the Chair of History of the Italian Civilization which Salvemini would keep until 1949.[70]

This digression on Salvemini's American experience is not intended to understate the importance of Salvemini's exile in the USA, nor to go back to the image of a 'medieval monk' who never adapted to the American way of life.[71] This analysis has served to explore the complex trajectory followed by Salvemini's life and intellectual activity in exile. After 1934, the USA became Salvemini's third homeland, especially from 1940,

[69] See 10.1.

[70] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 241-245. Giorgio La Piana (1879-1971) moved to the USA in 1913; from 1926 to 1948 he taught Church History at Harvard, where he met Salvemini. Salvemini's relationship with La Piana was one of the most significant ones he established in the USA; it has been investigated by Francesco Torchiani, *L'oltretevere da oltreoceano. L'esilio americano di Giorgio La Piana* (Rome: Donzelli, 2015). Salvemini and La Piana also wrote a volume together, *What to Do with Italy* (London: Gollancz, 1943) which discusses the issue of post-war political reconstruction. Ruth Draper (1884-1956) was an American actress. In 1928, during an Italian tour, she met Lauro De Bosis, an Italian poet and later anti-Fascist activist. At the end of 1928, De Bosis moved to the USA as the Secretary of the Italy-America Society, and consolidated his relationship with Draper. In the 1930s De Bosis founded the anti-Fascist group *Alleanza Nazionale* in Italy, and in 1931 he died in a plane crash after having thrown leaflets against Fascism over Rome. To honour his memory, in 1934 Draper sponsored the Chair of History of the Italian Civilization in Harvard, which would be occupied by Salvemini until 1949, and still exists. On Draper, see Origo, *A Need to Testify*, pp. 79-127; *The Letters of Ruth Draper 1920-1956. A Self-Portrait of a Great Actress*, ed. by Neilla Warren (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979). On De Bosis, see 9.2.

[71] See the Introduction.

when he obtained American citizenship.[72] Furthermore, the USA became Salvemini's new homeland because he succeeded in creating an intellectual circle around himself with which he interacted. In introducing Salvemini's *Lettere Americane*, Renato Camurri described a circle of friends encompassing people who became a sort of second family to Salvemini including politicians and academics, young scholars who were influenced by Salvemini's *magistero*, and anti-Fascist supporters.[73] This was a network that catered for many intellectual necessities, similar to that which Salvemini successfully created during his British exile, and it will be the subject of the second part of this study.

[72] *Lettere americane*, pp. 212-213: Salvemini to Frankfurter, 15 December 1940.
[73] See Camurri, 'Introduzione', in *Lettere americane*, pp. lii-liii.

Part II

4. Anti-Fascist Women: The Linchpin of Salvemini's Network

The first part of this thesis analysed the trajectory of Salvemini's exile, investigating his gradual departure from Italy, the political, social and economic factors which influenced a different approach to Britain and France, the European features of his exile, and the reasons which eventually led him to leave Europe and move the USA permanently.

The next step in this research consists in focusing on Britain and investigating the network revolving around Salvemini and the role it played in his anti-Fascist activities. Opposition to Fascist ideals is considered the main value around which mutual relationships were fostered and strengthened, producing different forms of endorsement, evident from the analysis of episodes involving the members of the network. These episodes make it possible to appreciate the strategies for the diffusion of anti-Fascism within Britain and to evaluate their impact.

Before delving into analysis of these episodes, which will be the object of the following chapters, it is essential to pinpoint a central aspect for the definition of Salvemini's network, which emerged from the investigation of archival papers: the leading role played by women intellectuals. When one approaches Salvemini's correspondence concerning the period of his exile in Britain and beyond, one can see that a good number of letters were sent and received by women.[1] It is sufficient to look at Stefano Vitali's inventory of Salvemini's manuscripts to note that amongst them there are four sections made up of papers that were collected, and then donated to the archive,

[1] See *Archivio Gaetano Salvemini. Inventario della corrispondenza*.

by influential women in Salvemini's life.[2] Amongst the papers from 1926 to 1934, those written by British women intellectuals, or papers which talk about their activities, cover most of the episodes of Salvemini's British exile. Therefore, this chapter analyses the central role played by a group of anti-Fascist women in Salvemini's network by introducing and describing the interactions between them. This description is vital for understanding the interconnections taking place within the whole network: other people – intellectuals, academics, journalists, politicians – will be introduced within the narration of the events in which they took part, and their anti-Fascist contribution will be seen as mediated by Salvemini's women supporters.

4.1 Women and Anti-Fascism: Some Premises

In 2011, Isabelle Richet described a series of 'transnational women's anti-Fascist networks', based between Britain and Italy, which helped Marion Cave, wife of Carlo Rosselli, to plan Rosselli's escape from Lipari.[3] Drawing on Richet's definition, it is possible to investigate the interaction between women who supported Salvemini's exile in Britain as a 'women's anti-Fascist group'. An easy objection which may be raised against this categorisation is that of confining the role of women to a separate and less relevant space. In fact, the definition of a women's anti-Fascist group is not based on gender, and it aims at stressing the opposite point of view: because of the leading role

[2] In particular, the papers donated by Elsa Dall'Olio, Isabella Massey, Iris Origo, and the joint collection of Giuliana Benzoni and her husband Carlo Ruffino, listed in *Archivio Salvemini. Manoscritti e materiali di lavoro.*

[3] Isabelle Richet, 'Marion Rosselli, la fuga da Lipari e lo sviluppo dei circuiti antifascisti in Gran Bretagna', in *I fratelli Rosselli. L'antifascismo e l'esilio*, ed. by Alessandro Giacone and Éric Vial (Rome: Carocci, 2011), pp. 74-89; see also, by the same author, the aforementioned article 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks', and 'Women and Antifascism', in *Rethinking Antifascism*, pp. 153-166.

they played in Salvemini's network, anti-Fascist women deserve to be introduced separately, as they intervened in every activity promoted by Salvemini in Britain. Therefore, they must be considered as the linchpin of his network.

This interpretation has a historiographical background in Patrizia Gabrielli and Giovanni De Luna's ground-breaking approaches to the study of anti-Fascist women. Gabrielli's studies on anti-Fascism and *resistenza* proposed a new approach to the topic which merged women's history, gender history and the history of anti-Fascism.[4] Giovanni De Luna stressed the necessity of considering the 'subjects' and the 'objects' of the anti-Fascist struggle: 'Nelle reti della macchina giudiziario-repressiva del fascismo,' he wrote, 'oltre alle "cospiratrici", restarono impigliate centinaia di sorelle, mogli, madri, fidanzate di detenuti politici, di militanti clandestine'.[5] Similarly, Francesca Fanciullacci investigated anti-Fascism and resistance through the archival papers of women, including Mary Berenson and Ruth Draper, in relation to Salvemini:

> La maggior parte delle donne di cui mi sono occupata scelse, in politica, di seguire il sentiero tracciato da un *altro*. Alcune appoggiarono la *sua* battaglia offrendo*gli* un sostegno economico, come fece Mary Berenson nei confronti del fuoruscito Gaetano Salvemini; altre dedicarono la vita alla causa antifascista per onorare il proprio uomo morto per quella stessa causa, come ad esempio Ruth Draper, compagna di Lauro De Bosis; altre ancora si

[4] By Patrizia Gabrielli, see: 'Biografie femminili e storia politica delle donne', *Italia Contemporanea,* 200 (1995), 493-509; 'Donne nell'antifascismo', *Italia Contemporanea,* 202 (1996), 99-112; *Fenicotteri in volo. Donne comuniste nel ventennio fascista* (Rome: Carocci, 1999); *Col freddo nel cuore. Uomini e donne nell'emigrazione antifascista* (Rome: Donzelli, 2004); 'Identità mutabili: donne nell'antifascismo', in *Forme della diversità. Genere, precarietà e intercultura*, ed. by Clotilde Barbarulli and Liana Borghi (Cagliari: CUEC, 2006), pp. 97-110; 'Antifascisti e antifasciste all'estero', in *Sotto il regime. Problemi, metodi e strumenti per lo studio dell'antifascismo*, ed. by Giuliano Albarani, Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, and Giovanni Taurasi (Milan: Unicopli, 2006), pp. 100-110; *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2008); 'Présence et absence des femmes dans l'émigration antifasciste italienne en France', *Sextant,* 26 (2009), 45-57.

[5] Giovanni De Luna, *Donne in oggetto. L'antifascismo nella società italiana 1922-1939* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1995), p. 10.

impegnarono come staffette, infermiere ecc. per l'amore che le legava al padre, al figlio, al marito, ad un amico.[6]

4.2 British Anti-Fascist Women and Salvemini: An Overview

As Fanciullacci pointed out, Salvemini influenced the anti-Fascist stances of those British anti-Fascist women who supported his activities. Therefore, it is vital to begin the analysis by examining the origins of their acquaintance with Salvemini, but it is equally important to investigate their commitment by focusing on their own political stances and shedding light on their personal biographies.

Salvemini met those women who would form the core of his British network in two main ways: through his Anglo-Florentine connections, especially the Berensons, and through Luigi Sturzo's acquaintances. The first category includes Mary Berenson's sister, Alys Russell, and her daughter, Ray Strachey. The second group encompasses Isabella Massey and Virginia Crawford, who met Luigi Sturzo at the beginning of his exile in London and then offered their help to Salvemini, as Giovanni Grasso mentioned, and as will be analysed in the subsequent sections.[7]

Nevertheless, this categorisation poses some challenges. Firstly, in some cases it is difficult to understand the precise origins of these women's acquaintance with Salvemini. Secondly, there is a risk of emphasising similarities between people while minimising their differences. It is therefore vital to individually introduce those aforementioned women who played key roles in Salvemini's British network: Alys

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[6] Francesca Fanciullacci, 'Nelle carte d'archivio: immagini di donne tra fascismo, antifascismo e resistenza', in *Carte di donne. Per un censimento regionale della scrittura delle donne dal XVI al XX secolo*, ed. by Alessandra Contini and Anna Scattigno, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2005-2007), I, pp. 211-217.
[7] Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio,* p. xi.

Russell, Marion Rawson, Virginia Crawford and Isabella Massey. The following sections will shed light on their biographies, clarifying how their personal backgrounds differed, the way in which they joined Salvemini's struggle, and the kind of contribution they offered to anti-Fascism.

4.3 Salvemini's Most Resourceful Sponsor: Alys Russell

An archival account written by Marion Rawson in 1965, describing Salvemini's life in Britain, offers essential information for investigation of Salvemini's relationship with British anti-Fascist women. Rawson stated that Salvemini 'started off here [in London] with the advantage of being "launched" by Alys Russell. She introduced him to her own circle of liberal and socialist intellectuals, who were quickly impressed by him'.[8] In order to investigate the origins of Russell's human and intellectual relationship with Salvemini, it is vital to linger over the gaps in her biography. Her unfortunate marriage to the prominent philosopher Bertrand Russell – which, though it lasted from 1894 to 1911, was a relatively short stretch of her eighty-year life – is one of the few aspects of Russell's life which her biographers have addressed so far, along with her family background.[9] Alys Russell (1867-1951) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Pearsall Smith were a Quaker family of American origin, who moved to Britain at the beginning of the 1900s and were in contact with prominent intellectuals and politicians, as described by Barbara Strachey in a book published in 1980.[10] Even in this work, Russell's intellectual profile is outshone by those of her husband, her mother Hannah

[8] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[9] Sheila Turcon, 'A Quaker Wedding: The Marriage of Bertrand Russell and Alys Pearsall Smith', *Russell*, 3.2 (1983-1984), 103-128.
[10] Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*.

Whitall Smith, a Quaker Evangelical preacher devoted to the struggle for women's education, and her niece, Ray Strachey, who became one of the most important figures of British feminism at the beginning of the twentieth century.[11] The Pearsall Smith family had a strong feminist stance, as explained in a memoir written by Mary Worthington, one of Russell's American cousins: '[The family] was a real matriarchate in which the men […] played a very minor role. The general idea was "anything a man could do a woman could do better". Uncle Logan, Uncle Bertie [Bertrand Russell] and, later, BB [Bernard Berenson] had little, if any, influence on our lives'.[12] Despite this feminist awareness, Barbara Strachey's biographical account left Alys Russell in the shadow of her husband, her mother and her niece, providing little information about Alys' intellectual activities. Strachey mentioned that Russell graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1886, that she was involved in philanthropic projects at the end of the nineteenth century, that she ran a working club for girls in London, and that she was the youth branch organiser for the British Women's Temperance Association. However, her devotion to social work emerges from an episode mentioned by Strachey. Shortly after their wedding, Bertrand Russell asked her to give up her own political activities to help him with his work: a proposition she refused, in order to keep advocating for her own struggles.[13]

Despite these gaps, it is possible to explore her social commitment thanks to a biographical note compiled for the *Journal of Bertrand Russell Studies*, the obituaries

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[11] For a biographical profile of Hannah Whitall Smith, see Melvin E. Dieter, 'Smith, Hannah Whitall', in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. by Lindsay Jones, 2nd ed., 15 vols (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), XII, pp. 8445-8446.
[12] IULL, ARm, b. 17, f. 12.
[13] Strachey, *Remarkable Relations*, p. 127 and 143-152.

published upon her death, and Russell's archival papers, included in the collection of Hannah Whitall Smith's papers.[14] These sources reveal that in the early 1900s Russell promoted the foundation of the Saint Pancras School for Mothers in London. It was a welfare centre where mothers could seek medical assistance and attend lectures: a ground-breaking project which inspired the foundation of other similar centres in London.[15] Although it would be hazardous to associate Salvemini with the feminist struggle, it is important to stress that in 1910 Salvemini stood in favour of women's suffrage, supporting Anna Kuliscioff during the *Polemica in famiglia* against Filippo Turati.[16] Thus, it may be possible – though it is not proved by documents – that Salvemini's responsiveness to the suffragist movement and to stances supporting women's education contributed to building an intellectual bond with Russell during the years that followed.

Another important activity championed by Russell was relief for refugees. In a short unpublished memoir written in 1948, Russell admitted that after separation from her husband in 1911, and divorce in 1921, she tried to compensate for her unhappiness by devoting herself 'to the happiness of others'.[17] During the First World War, with her

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[14] An essay by Marion Kearns, 'Alys Russell. A Bibliography', *Russell*, 10 (1973), 17-19, lists a number of publications on women's education, including 'A Women's College in the United States' (1888); 'L'éducation des femmes' (1903); others were devoted to women's movements, including an essay published as an appendix to Bertrand Russell's *German Social Democracy* (London: Longmans Green, 1896), 'Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany', although it was omitted from subsequent editions of the book. See also, in *The Times,* 'The Hon Mrs Russell', 23 January 1951; J. S. Middleton, 'Early Fabians', 26 January 1951, p. 7; Marguerite Bowie, 'Hon Mrs Russell', 29 January 1951, p. 6.

[15] Jane Read, 'Transformation and Regulation: A Century of Continuity in Nursery School and Welfare Policy Rhetoric', *Journal of Education Policy*, 30.1 (2015), 39-61.

[16] On 8 May 1910, Filippo Turati wrote to Anna Kuliscioff: 'Ti dirò per consolarti che Salvemini è conquistato al tuo voto alle donne e comincierà [*sic*] a parlarne anche lui. Mi strappo i capelli decisamente!'. *Filippo Turati e Anna Kuliscioff*. *Carteggio*, ed. by Alessandro Schiavi and Franco Pedone, 6 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), III-1, p. 141.

[17] IULL, ARm, b. 17 f. 12.

brother, Logan Pearsall Smith, she helped Belgian refugees who had arrived in Britain.[18] In 1927 she played a leading role in organising and chairing the Italian Refugees Relief Committee, an activity in which Salvemini was also involved, and which the following chapters will describe.[19] After the rise of Hitler, she transformed Crosby Hall – the Residence of the British Federation of University Women in Chelsea – into a shelter for refugee scholars.[20]

The exploration of Russell's biography also makes it possible to evaluate her anti-Fascist stance. Although her interest in anti-Fascism developed after her acquaintance with Salvemini, it is important to stress that Russell was already involved in political affairs before meeting him. As she recalled in a series of speeches given for the BBC's Home Service in the second half of the 1940s, she was amongst the early members of the Fabian Society, close to Liberal and Labour intellectuals and politicians.[21] In the 1920s Fabianism was not necessarily synonymous with anti-Fascism – see, for instance, George Bernard Shaw's ideas about Mussolini's policies, which resulted in a controversy with Salvemini.[22] However, Russell consistently supported Salvemini: she represented an endless source of political, academic and intellectual connections, both in Britain and in the USA. This is what Marion Rawson meant in her 1965 account mentioned at the beginning of this section, stating that Salvemini had been 'launched' by Alys Russell into

[18] Logan Pearsall Smith (1865-1946) was a writer, interested particularly in the study of languages. See Sayoni Basu, 'Smith, (Lloyd) Logan Pearsall (1865–1946)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/36150> [accessed 8 October 2019].
[19] See Chapter Six.
[20] Carol Dyhouse, 'The British Federation of University Women and the Status of Women in Universities, 1907-1939', *Women's History Review*, 4.4 (1995), 465-485; Susan Cohen, 'Crossing Borders: Academic Refugee Women, Education and the British Federation of University Women during the Nazi Era', *History of Education*, 39.2 (2010), 175-182.
[21] Alys Russell, 'In my Experience', BBC Home Service, 18 October 1948.
[22] See 10.2.

the British intellectual milieu. Indeed, it was exactly during a private gathering, probably organised by Russell, that Salvemini met Rawson, who would become one of his most active supporters and an affectionate friend throughout his life. With Massey and Crawford, they formed the core of Salvemini's network in Britain.

4.4 The Core of Salvemini's Network: Rawson, Massey and Crawford

Alys Russell provided Salvemini with access to the British intellectual and Liberal-Labour milieu. However, her support would have been wasted had she not been aided by the work of Marion Rawson (1899-1979), Isabella Massey (1886-1960) and Virginia Crawford (1863-1948), who granted Salvemini their help in planning, promoting and developing anti-Fascist activities. In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini wrote of Rawson and Massey:

> Quelle due mie giovani amiche ritenevano loro dovere aiutarmi nella lotta per una causa buona; e lo fecero senza misurare né intelligenza né tempo. Senza quelle amicizie generose, di cui serberò riconoscenza finché vivo, non so se me la sarei cavata, sprovvisto di risorse com'ero.[23]

A preliminary note concerning Marion Rawson is needed. *Née* Enthoven, she took the surname Rawson in 1930 when she married Graham Rawson, author of historical dramas.[24] Her full name was Ivy Marion: until 1930, the majority of her letters were signed as Ivy; after that date, the signature Marion appears more frequently. It is interesting to note that this change of name was not only based on her marriage: until 1930, Ivy Enthoven was a young lady who would risk her freedom for the anti-Fascist

[23] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 45.
[24] Timothy P. Wiseman, 'Elizabeth Donata Rawson', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 84 (1994), 445-477.

cause by travelling to Italy on behalf of the *fuorusciti*. When she became Marion Rawson, a married woman, and soon after a mother – in 1930s society – she could no longer risk her safety and adapted her support of the anti-Fascist cause to include less dangerous activities, as will be shown.[25]

As Rawson wrote in the aforementioned account from 1965, she met Salvemini in London towards the beginning of 1926 at a private event during which he was lecturing on Fascism. This was not an accidental meeting: in fact, she remembered that she and her brother Roderick went to the lecture because they were 'thrilled at having an opportunity of meeting [Salvemini]'.[26] Biographical accounts reveal that she had moved from Kent to London with her brother: he was attending the Architectural Association School, after which he became an Associate and later a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, while she was studying drawing and painting at the Slade School of Art.[27] It is likely that in the same period they were in contact with Fabian and Labour intellectuals thanks to their aunt Virginia Crawford, active in Labourism, close to Luigi Sturzo and then to Salvemini, as will be explained shortly, and that for this reason they developed an interest in anti-Fascism. Indeed, in her 1965 account, Rawson recalled that during the aforementioned lecture W.S. Kennedy introduced her to Salvemini. Kennedy was a lawyer of Labour sympathies, close to Russell, who was actively involved in Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities, as the following chapters will show. He introduced

[25] For clarity's sake, this work will univocally use the name Marion Rawson including when referring to the years prior to 1930, except in footnotes, where both the surnames Enthoven and Rawson will be used according to the descriptions given in inventories to which the quoted archival sources belong.

[26] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

[27] 'Roderick Eustace Enthoven (1900-1985)', <http://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/the-heroes/the-monuments-men/enthoven-capt.-roderick-e> [accessed 8 October 2019]; Vittorio Gabrieli, 'Marion Rawson', *La Cultura*, 18.2-3 (1980), 303-306.

Rawson to Salvemini 'as a young lover of Italy but not of Fascism'.[28] This statement suggests, although documents do not prove this, that she had developed an anti-Fascist stance well before her first meeting with Salvemini. Archival sources reveal that she was interested in international affairs, but do not provide details on her primary interest in Italian politics.[29] However, the source of her general interest in Italy can be linked to her family origins. Both her great aunts, Charlotte Sophia and Edith Margaret Mozley, married Italian counts, Giovanni and Mario Gigliucci, in the 1870s. Rawson always remained close to her Italian cousins Nerina, Bona and especially to Donatello Gigliucci, whom she often visited, at least until 1930. Although the Gigliuccis were members of the so-called Anglo-Florentine community – since 1892 they had been living in the *Villa Rossa* in piazza Savonarola – it would be inaccurate to consider this a factor in encouraging Salvemini's friendship with Rawson, as Salvemini knew Mario Gigliucci was a Fascist supporter. In her 1965 account, Rawson reflected on how her Italian relatives' political stances did not affect her relationship with Salvemini:

> I have sometimes wondered at his [Salvemini's] immediate and unquestioning confidence in me during those early days, given that so many members of my own Florentine background, well-known to him, were Fascist and openly hostile to him; but he never seemed to doubt my good faith.[30]

Indeed, Rawson remembered that immediately after their first meeting, Salvemini 'promptly asked [her] to help him'; her artistic studies went 'by the board, more or less', and she became 'increasingly involved in his anti-Fascist activities'.[31]

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[28] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[29] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928.
[30] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[31] Ibid.

The papers Rawson donated to the University of Reading and the *Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism* – the unpublished account written in 1928, held by her son John Rawson – represent a remarkable source for analysing both her relationship with Salvemini and her anti-Fascist involvement.[32] These papers reveal that between 1926 and 1930 Rawson helped Salvemini to type up his lectures and translate them into English; she worked, with Russell, as a secretary for the IRRC; she contributed to organising Rosselli, Lussu and Nitti's escape from the *confino* in Lipari; and until 1930 she travelled to Italy to deliver and send clandestine messages on behalf of the anti-Fascists. From 1930 onwards her commitment to the cause changed: she devoted most of her efforts to translating Emilio Lussu's books, such as *Enter Mussolini* and *Sardinian Brigade*, and to assisting Jewish refugees.[33]

It has been mentioned before that Rawson's aunt, Virginia Crawford, who frequented the Labour Party milieu, may have played a role in shaping Rawson's interest in anti-Fascism. Indeed, before she met Salvemini, Crawford became acquainted with Luigi Sturzo: since their network intertwined, it is likely that her acquaintance with this latter led to her meeting Salvemini, too. Amongst the women mentioned thus far, Crawford is the only one to have earned an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, although her biographical record is dependent on the famous divorce case in which she was involved: she is described as 'party in the Dilke divorce case and social

[32] RUL, MS 943; MS 1244; JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928.
[33] Her activity as a translator of Italian literature into English continued until the end of the 1960s. Amongst her works: Ettore Janni, *Machiavelli* (London: Harrap, 1930); two books by Emilio Lussu, *Enter Mussolini* (London: Methuen, 1936) and *Sardinian Brigade* (New York: Knopf, 1939); two works by Salvemini, *The French Revolution 1788-92* (London: Cape, 1954) and *Mazzini* (London: Cape 1956).

worker'.[34] In order to explore her political and social engagement, it is more interesting to focus on her activities, partly described in her biographical record, which can be expounded upon thanks to her personal papers and publications, held within the larger collection of the Dilke-Crawford-Roskill Papers in Cambridge.[35] During her life, Crawford wrote more than one hundred articles and a dozen books on subjects ranging from Italian art and literature to Labour policy and Catholic social doctrine. From 1919 to 1930 she was Councillor of Marylebone for the Labour Party. Her main interests were women's suffrage and education, charity, and social movements. Her social activities were influenced by Catholicism, to which she converted in 1889: in 1909 she co-founded the Catholic Social Guild and in 1921 she was a member of the Catholic Worker's College of Oxford. Therefore, it is not surprising that Crawford became part of both Sturzo's and Salvemini's intellectual circles, especially if one considers that in December 1923 she wrote an essay entitled *The Rise of Fascism and What It Stands for*, in which she rhetorically asked: 'can his [Mussolini's] talents and his force of character enable him to triumph permanently over the inherent weakness of position won for himself by force and violence and illegality?'.[36]

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[34] Robin M. Gard, 'Crawford [*née* Smith], Virginia Mary (1862–1948)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38881> [accessed 8 October 2019]. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Crawford-Dilke divorce caused a sensation in Britain. Virginia married Donald Crawford in 1881; four years later, Captain Henry Foster became her lover. Suspecting her infidelity, Donald Crawford filed for divorce, but Virginia named the politician Charles Dilke as her lover. In reality, Dilke, who was Virginia's brother-in-law's brother, had had an affair with Virginia's mother, as it emerged during the second stage of the divorce case, when Virginia admitted that Foster was her real lover.

[35] See REND 12 and REND 13.

[36] According to Farrell-Vinay, Sturzo met Crawford for the first time in Rome, in 1923, during the Congress of the International Women Suffrage Alliance. See Giovanna Farrell-Vinay, 'Viaggio nell'Italia del 1946: Quattro lettere di Barbara Barclay Carter a Luigi Sturzo', *Contemporanea*, 13.1 (2010), 79-102 (p. 85). Virginia Crawford, 'The Rise of Fascism and What It Stands For', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 12.48 (1923), 539-552.

Although there are no traces of written correspondence between Crawford and Salvemini – whose communications were probably mediated by Rawson – the main evidence of their collaboration is the publication of a series of anti-Fascist pamphlets, *Italy Today*, edited by Crawford, between 1929 and 1932.[37] Rawson's 1965 account stated that Salvemini 'often stayed at her [Crawford's] cottage in the country', and that, with Rawson, Massey and Russell, Crawford was one of Salvemini's closest friends in Britain.[38] Indeed, her proximity to Salvemini and her anti-Fascist activities made her *persona non grata* in Italy, as her personal file amongst the papers of the Fascist *polizia politica* and Rawson's 1965 account demonstrates:

> On one occasion, the National Art Collections Fund, which had arranged a visit to the Italian Embassy to see the pictures which Grandi had collected from the Italian galleries, was informed by the Embassy Secretary that one of the Society's members, Mrs Crawford, would not be admitted […]. In the spring of 1934 she was on board a Hellenic Societies' cruise-ship which called at Palermo on the way to Greece. No sooner had it entered to the port than a Police motor-boat dashed out to inform the Captain […] that Mrs Crawford was not to be allowed to land.[39]

However, Fascist intimidations did not affect her political involvement, which continued even after Salvemini's departure for the USA: indeed, after the outburst of the Spanish Civil War, she founded, along with Sturzo and Barbara Barclay Carter, the 'People and Freedom' group, which merged with the Christian Democratic Union in the 1940s.[40]

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[37] See 9.2.

[38] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

[39] Ibid. See also Marion Rawson, *Notes on Virginia's Character*, August 1973, REND 13/3; ACS, PS, J5, b. 88, f. Crawford: Ambasciata di Londra to Ministero dell'Interno, 14 January 1932; ACS, PP, personali, b. 628, f. Grawford [*sic*]: telegram n. 20228, 9 April 1934.

[40] See Farrell-Vinay, 'Sturzo e l'Inghilterra', in *Universalità e cultura nel pensiero di Luigi Sturzo*, pp. 181-223 (pp. 207-212).

The same intellectual circle revolving around Sturzo was frequented by Isabella Massey, the last of Salvemini's supporters mentioned in this section. Massey was more than a friend or an assistant to Salvemini: she was a human and intellectual guide, to the point that Salvemini called her 'mother Massey', even though she was thirteen years his junior, and he signed his letters to her as 'your old boy'.[41] If one compares the bond between Salvemini and Russell to those which linked Salvemini with both Massey and Rawson, one can see that his relationship with Russell was friendly and respectful, whereas those with Massey and Rawson were more intimate. A letter from October 1934 is emblematic of Salvemini's feelings towards Massey. Concerned about her health, Salvemini wrote to the woman who lived with Massey, Miss Kemble, asking for updates:

> I am so unhappy about Miss Massey's health. She tells me that I must not takes [*sic*] this *too* tragically. That means that this *is* tragic. […] I do not know what Miss Massey has been for me since the end of 1925. Everything I have been able to do since then, I owe to her. Without her, I should have committed suicide since 1926. We loved one another as brother and sister. […] I should be made of stone if I did not take tragically this disease. I am weeping like a child. I cannot think that she may leave me.[42]

Massey was one of the few British friends to whom Salvemini kept writing regularly after he moved to the USA: she represented Salvemini's main link with Britain, with whom he discussed political events, asked for information concerning the British attitude before and during the Second World War, planned British anti-Fascist strategies, and expressed political doubts and concerns about the democratic reconstruction following the fall of Mussolini. The letters Salvemini sent to Massey between 1934 and

[41] See 3.4: sometimes Salvemini signed his letters 'King Alfred', but thus far no explanation can be given to this pseudonym.
[42] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/3.b: Salvemini to Kemble, 27 October 1934.

1949 have been partially published in *Lettere americane*, most of them dealing with international politics.[43] Nevertheless, most of their correspondence, which was donated by Massey to Salvemini's archive in the late 1950s, is still unpublished.[44] These letters represent an essential source for investigating Massey's involvement in anti-Fascist activities: besides being a political advisor, Massey worked as a sort of press officer collecting information published on Fascism by British newspapers. She translated and typed the texts of Salvemini's lectures and searched for sources for his books and articles.[45] Salvemini's correspondence with her also proves that, especially in the 1930s, Massey substituted Rawson in making clandestine journeys to Italy, meeting Italian anti-Fascists, collating and disseminating information. Moreover, Massey helped Salvemini personally in his search for a job, as she coordinated his applications for professorships in British universities. As Salvemini wrote in a letter to Ruth Draper, Massey devoted 'almeno tre anni della sua vita' in helping him.[46] Nevertheless, her correspondence does not shed light on the origins of her interest in Italian political affairs. Biographical information about her has been gathered thanks to her staff record file held at London Royal Holloway archives, as she was reader in German at Bedford College from 1921 to 1952. Massey completed her undergraduate degree in Modern Languages (German and French) at Girton College, Cambridge. As a graduate, she attended Bryn Mawr College – which Alys Russell had also attended, though not in the same period – before developing her interest in German Studies at Berlin and Marburg Universities, where

[43] *Lettere americane*, pp. 107-202.
[44] Although the inventory of Salvemini's archive states that the papers were donated by Isabella Massey in 1961, this is in fact impossible, as she died in 1960. See *Archivio Salvemini. Manoscritti e materiali di lavoro,* p. 532.
[45] See 3.4.
[46] *Lettere americane*, p. 103: Salvemini to Draper, 21 January 1934.

she obtained her PhD in 1913. From 1915 to 1918 she was assistant lecturer in German at Royal Holloway, and from 1918 to 1920 at Newnham College, Cambridge, before being appointed at Bedford.[47] In the 1940s, she published essays on Italian affairs, translated Luigi Albertini's *The Origin of War*, and founded the 'Friends of Italian Freedom', which then became the British-Italian Society.[48]

In conclusion, it would be difficult to comprehend Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities without introducing Alys Russell, Marion Rawson, Virginia Crawford and Isabella Massey as the linchpin of Salvemini's interwoven network. In order to sort out the complex system of relationships that originated from the interaction between these women and Salvemini, it is necessary to find an interpretative key. An analysis based on the description of mutual relationships would be limited to researching the structure of the network. It is equally important to investigate Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities from a perspective which allows the structure of the network to be appreciated. In other words, the picture of the complex system of relationships will be the result of the analysis of episodes and activities in which Salvemini's British supporters were involved.

[47] RHUL, BC AR/200/6: Dr Isabella Mellis Massey's Bedford College staff record.

[48] Amongst her publications: 'Recent Books on Germany and Her Neighbours', *International Affairs Review Supplement*, 1 (1940), 22-27; *The Question of Trieste* (London: The British-Italian Society, 1945); 'The Diplomatic Origins of the First World War', *International Affairs*, 2 (1949), 182-191, and the translation of Luigi Albertini's *The Origins of the War of 1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952-1957).

5. An Anti-Fascist Propagandist in Britain between Support and Opposition

In 1961, introducing the first volume of Salvemini's *Scritti sul fascismo*, Roberto Vivarelli stressed that during his British period Salvemini had one primary target: 'Illuminare attraverso articoli e conferenze il pubblico inglese sulla vera realtà italiana e fascista'.[1] Similarly, Elisa Signori described the aims and the methods of Salvemini's propaganda as follows:

> Scrivere, pubblicare, far circolare idee nuove, discutere, controbattere punto per punto gli stereotipi attraverso i quali l'opinione pubblica internazionale percepiva e giudicava la situazione italiana, smontare le lusinghiere autorappresentazioni che il fascismo dava di sé, questa era la scelta di metodo, illuminista e razionalista, che Salvemini aveva adottato e che infaticabilmente perseguì in quegli anni muovendosi sui registri multipli e paralleli della collaborazione giornalistica, della divulgazione storico-politica attraverso conferenze, *debates* e interventi d'occasione, nonché dell'approfondimento storico nella dimensione accidentata della contemporaneità.[2]

Salvemini's most interesting articles published in the British, French and American press are collected in the second volume of *Scritti sul fascismo*.[3] In order to broaden the perspective on Salvemini's activity, it is vital to investigate the personal connections and the circumstances that made the dissemination of anti-Fascist articles possible, and let him join the political and intellectual debate in Britain in order to counterbalance the Fascist propaganda machine.

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[1] Roberto Vivarelli, 'Introduzione', in *Scritti sul fascismo*, I, p. vii.
[2] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, p. 29.
[3] *Scritti sul fascismo*, II.

5.1 A 'Great Lecturer'

The previous chapter introduced the role played by Alys Russell in support of Salvemini's anti-Fascism. Russell's contribution especially consisted in allowing Salvemini to enter a circle of prominent Labour and Liberal intellectuals, and organising public lectures for him. The most important source for investigating this aspect is the archival collection of Russell's letters, in particular those addressed to her sister Mary Berenson between October 1925 and January 1934.[4] Those letters, sent from Britain to anti-Fascists in Florence, risked interception by the Fascist police: therefore, from the end of October 1925 Russell adopted the basic strategy of referring to Salvemini as 'Georgie', often abbreviated as 'G.'.[5] In this way, Russell succeeded in sending detailed letters about Salvemini's life in Britain, letters which nowadays represent the main source for investigating his steps into the Liberal and Labour intellectual milieu.

A letter dated 22 October 1925 proves that, after having decided not to return to Italy, Salvemini spent some months living at Russell's. With her, he discussed the possibility of giving a series of lectures in London, as she reported to the Berensons:

> I suggested a course on 1. How Fascism came to power 2. How a Fascist Dictatorship Works in Daily Life and 3. The Struggle against *Fascismo*. He would give these 3 for £25, and I shall try to get the Sch.[ool] of Economics or the Fabian Society to arrange for them. […] I have also suggested one lecture on 'The *Fascisti* and the League of Nations' for our local union.[6]

[4] IULL, ARc, b. 6-7.
[5] IULL, ARc, b. 6, f. October-November 1925: 30 October 1925, Alys Russell to Mary Berenson. From now onwards, when not specified, all the letters quoted from ARc are from Alys Russell to Mary Berenson. The nickname used for Salvemini is confirmed by Rawson's 1928 account, in which she stated that the Berensons and Lina Waterfield 'wanted news of "Georgie" (Salvemini)'. JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 13. On Fascist control of the Berensons, see 7.1.
[6] IULL, ARc, b. 6, f. October-November 1925: 22 October 1925.

According to Russell's correspondence, this discussion led she and Salvemini to decide to organise a 'Great Lecture' on 23 March 1926: a promotional event which would provide Salvemini with contacts with which he could expand his audience. In order to organise the event, Russell formed a committee, and began selling tickets to raise funds for Salvemini's remuneration. Furthermore, to promote the 'Great Lecture', Russell and her niece, Ray Strachey, compiled a biographical note about Salvemini and nominated twenty patrons sponsoring the event. Although the final version of the prospectus cannot be found, amongst Russell's papers there is a draft copy. The prospectus described Salvemini's intellectual and political activities in Italy, focusing on his imprisonment and the aggression directed towards his friends after the *Non Mollare* trial, and culminated in the following words, stressing the support he had received from British intellectuals: 'He is, therefore, an exile, simply because of his opinions which, based as they are on a love of liberty, honesty and reasonableness, are shared by thinking people of all parties in this country'.[7]

As mentioned above, the draft copy of the prospectus also lists patrons who sponsored the event. Henry Wickham Steed – who had promoted the diplomatic action to free Salvemini from prison in 1925 – was designated to chair the lecture. There were other intellectuals, involved in the event thanks to their acquaintance with Russell, who were connected to the London School of Economics and the Fabian Society, such as the political scientists Graham Wallas, Harold Laski and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson; the Fabian Society founder Sydney Webb and his wife Beatrice, a social reformer; and the writer and Labour social activist Naomi Mitchison. The list included the historians

[7] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 5 January 1926; f. August-December 1927: draft of Salvemini's prospectus.

George Peabody Gooch and Philip Guedalla, the suffragist leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and the Liberal politician Augustine Birrell. Russell's letters prove that the historian George Macaulay Trevelyan chose not to patronise the lecture. Trevelyan – though he had, in June 1925, expressed his solidarity with Salvemini – claimed that he could not join the list of patrons in view of the position occupied by his wife Janet, Secretary of the British Italian League and member of the committee of the British Institute of Florence. Trevelyan explained that the British Italian League had to 'promote good relations between the English and Italians and it has to be neutral or split and disappear'.[8] This can be interpreted as an example of how institutional roles made it difficult to support anti-Fascism publicly, in order not to jeopardise diplomatic relationships between Italy and Britain. However, despite Trevelyan's refusal, Russell's papers confirm that the 'Great Lecture' enlisted twenty patrons as expected.[9]

Russell's ability to arrange committees and get support was what most impressed Salvemini and influenced his anti-Fascist activity in Britain. This is confirmed by Rawson who, in her account on Salvemini's life in Britain, stated that Salvemini admired 'the enthusiastic and responsible way in which ordinary citizens would form themselves into Committees and set about working in support of any cause in which they believed, voluntarily and without thought of personal gain'.[10] Indeed, commenting on the organisation of Salvemini's lecture, Russell admitted that she loved 'to organise, and for once not be begging for causes, but giving people good value for their money'.[11]

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[8] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 15 January 1926. Janet Trevelyan's role is described in Chapter One.
[9] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 26 January 1926.
[10] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[11] IULL, ARc, b. 6, f. October-November 1925: 29 October 1925.

Russell and Salvemini understood that the support of British intellectuals was essential in order to raise interest in the anti-Fascist cause and to put pressure on Mussolini, as had happened with Salvemini's trial in 1925. The nomination of patrons had the desired effect, as Luigi Villari, the main Fascist propagandist in London, reported back to Mussolini about the 'Great Lecture', focusing especially on the intellectuals supporting the event.[12]. Although Villari began his report by belittling the importance of the lecture – 'La conferenza del Salvemini non era un fatto da richiamare grande attenzione' – he then admitted that 'la lista di nomi dei patroni poteva sembrare cosa abbastanza grave, specialmente per il pubblico italiano'. In order to denigrate the prominence of the patrons, he then outlined his disparaging views on each of them:

> […] lo Steed, notoriamente italofobo e oggi del tutto screditato come uomo senza scrupoli né serietà. […] Effettivamente Lord Haldane, pur essendo ex Lord-Chancellor, è un rammollito che non conta più nulla nella vita pubblica inglese […] Augustine Birrell, che è stato Ministro per l'Irlanda, dove certo non si fece onore, oggi non ha più alcuna autorità. Sidney Webb […] è ancora una personalità, ma, data la sua appartenenza al Labour Party, la sua adesione al comitato non può destare sorpresa. L'adesione invece dell'on. H. A. L. Fisher, ex-Ministro dell'Istruzione, potrebbe invece sorprendere, trattandosi di un eminente storico e uomo di vasta cultura e anche di buon senso, privo di idee estremiste; è probabile però che egli abbia aderito senza pensare alle conseguenze, solo per esprimere la sua simpatia per un collega negli studi storici […] Gli altri membri del comitato erano per lo più scrittori e 'cranks' di ambo i sessi. Fra i primi vi sono H. G. Wells, noto romanziere, ora divenuto filosofo politico e simpatizzante colle idee laburiste anzi estremiste e fautore fino a un certo punto del Bolscevismo russo […] e Lytton Strachey, brillantissimo letterato […] ma che ha la riputazione di essere omosessuale. […] Tutte le persone con cui ho parlato hanno trovato assai sconveniente la partecipazione dei predetti uomini politici, e mi hanno confermato che, salvo il laburista Sidney Webb, sono persone che oggi non contano più nulla.[13]

[12] Mussolini appointed Villari at the beginning of 1926, shortly after Salvemini's arrival in Britain. See Luigi Villari, 'Un conferenziere italiano nei paesi anglosassoni', *Nuova Antologia*, 1530 (1935), 446-456; Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism*, p. 10.

[13] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Mussolini, 24 March 1926.

Villari's slanderous statements about the intellectuals supporting Salvemini aimed to discredit anti-Fascism before Mussolini: an attitude common to many of Villari's reports from London, as will be shown.[14]

Before delving into the analysis of the 'Great Lecture', it is important to underline that between November 1925 and March 1926 Salvemini delivered other conferences. At the beginning of February he lectured at the Parliamentary Labour Club, then at the Oxford branch of the League of Nations Union, with Gilbert Murray, one of Russell's closest friends, acting as chair.[15] The lecture on 19 January 1926, 'The Origins, Meaning, and Results of Italian Fascism' at the National Liberal Club, is known for having provoked the violent reaction of Fascist newspaper *Impero*, which openly called for Salvemini's assassination: 'ci auguriamo che la mano benedetta di un santo pazzo trovi all'estero la maniera di chiudere la più vergognosa bottega di tradimento. Ferro freddo!'. A few days later, *Impero* applauded the Fascist measure which would deprive Salvemini of his Italian citizenship.[16] A heretofore unexplored implication of this episode is that

[14] See 5.2.

[15] 'Professor Salvemini on Rise of Fascism', *Manchester Guardian,* 19 February 1926, p. 7. Gilbert Murray (1866-1957) was a Classics scholar of Liberal views, interested in international affairs. In 1905 he was appointed Professor of Greek at New College, Oxford, a post that he kept until his retirement in 1936. Murray became involved in politics after the outbreak of the First World War: in 1916 he became Vice-President of the League of Nations Society, in 1918 he contributed in founding the League of Nations Union, and in 1922 he joined the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, of which he became President in 1928. In 1934, with William Beveridge, Murray founded the Society for Protection of Science and Learning, which aimed to support refugee scholars. After the Second World War, his political allegiance turned to the Conservative Party. As far as his friendship with the Russells is concerned, Bertrand Russell was Mary Murray's cousin: they had met in Cambridge in 1902. One of the episodes in which Murray supported Russell was when he was denied a lectureship in Cambridge and then imprisoned in 1918 for campaigning against military service. See William Bruneau, 'Gilbert Murray, Bertrand Russell, and the Theory and Practice of Politics' in *Gilbert Murray Reassessed. Hellenism, Theatre, and International Politics*, ed. by Christopher Stray (Oxford: University Press, 2007), pp. 201-216.

[16] 'Italy's Perpetual Night', *Manchester Guardian,* 20 January 1926, p. 12; 'Come si deve colpire Slavemini [*sic*]', *Impero*, 24-25 January 1926, p. 1; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito,* pp. 34-41.

Impero's threats, which were reported by *The Time*s, alarmed Salvemini's supporters in Britain – especially Ernest Barker – and risked jeopardising the arrangements made for the 'Great Lecture'.[17] According to Russell, Barker was concerned for Salvemini's safety and therefore asked the Home Office to protect him. This is confirmed by a letter from Barker found amongst Salvemini's papers:

> I hear from Mrs Russell that you are troubled about the 'cold steel' article. It is an abominable thing, and gives me to think of Camorra and Mafia. I was bothered by the article, and wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Police of Scotland Yard for your sake. I have only had a formal reply and I suppose he is consulting the Home Office.[18]

The chief of police then visited Russell and Salvemini but, according to Russell's correspondence, he told him that nothing could be done. Nevertheless, Russell was sure that her house was under surveillance: in writing to her sister, she mentioned an episode in which a guest of hers knocked at the door with a hockey stick, and a person who looked like a plain-clothes policeman 'watched her very suspiciously until Mary [the governess] opened the front door and welcomed her'.[19] Although no evidence has been found to confirm that a security service was granted to Salvemini, it is possible that the London police watched the house, since this behaviour would have allowed the police to informally observe the anti-Fascist supporters that used to visit Salvemini at Russell's house. Indeed, in her letters she wrote: 'The house is just swarming with exiles and

[17] 'Abuse of Professor Salvemini', *The Times*, 26 January 1926, p. 13.
[18] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Barker to Salvemini, 29 January 1929.
[19] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 31 January 1926. See also BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 50, fol. 207: Russell to Murray, 18 February 1926; BMCL, MS Carey Thomas, incoming correspondence, b. 74: Russell to Carey Thomas, 4 February 1926.

translators and secretaries' and 'The house buzzes with Italian Patriots. We carry on the Mazzini-in-Chelsea tradition'.[20]

Salvemini's perseverance in delivering lectures provoked other violent reactions in the Italian press. On the day of the aforementioned lecture in Oxford, *Impero* renewed its hopes for Salvemini's death: 'Non vi sarebbe da sorprendersi se qualche fascista […] perdesse davvero la pazienza, e lo spedisse a riflettere ai casi suoi in un mondo più pacifico e più tranquillo di questo'[21]. Archival papers reveal other hidden details about the episode. The threats by *Impero* made Salvemini's supporters fear that the 'Great Lecture' would be cancelled by the Home Office, so they began making alternative arrangements: 'Wickham Steed is now consulting the Home Secretary Jix [Joynson-Hicks] but if the lecture is stopped, we shall arrange a great complimentary dinner to G. and make money over the tickets'. [22] In the end, the 'Great Lecture' took place at Essex Hall, with two policemen stationed at the entrance.[23] Despite Villari's discredit, Russell's correspondence proves that the lecture was a success, in terms of audience and for Salvemini's finances: 'I shall give him his cheque of £5[0] or £60 tomorrow and it will keep him going till the autumn with another £40 he expects to earn here in May', she wrote to Mary Berenson, who in several cases took care of Salvemini's finances.[24] However, the greatest success of the 'Great Lecture' was that it allowed Salvemini to

[20] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 31 January 1926; BMCL, MS Carey Thomas, b. 74: Russell to Carey Thomas: 21 January 1926. In May 1926, *Time and Tide* published an article about Russell's house in Chelsea, which was 'repeating history […] sheltering a group of exiles from Italy'. See 'Personalities and powers', *Time and Tide*, 19 (1926), 450-451.
[21] 'La voce della disfatta', *Impero*, 17-18 February 1926, p. 1.
[22] 'Italian Exiles Warned', *Manchester Guardian,* 18 February 1926, p. 12; 'Fascist Press and its Opponents', *The Times,* 18 February 1926, p. 13. The quotation is in IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 6 February 1926.
[23] 'Prof. Salvemini on Fascism', *Manchester Guardian,* 24 March 1926, p. 14.
[24] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 24 March 1926.

strengthen his relationships with British intellectuals. Archival papers reveal that Russell's efforts in this sense were constant, as she was used to organising parties at which Salvemini could meet influential intellectuals, such as the one she arranged for his return from the USA in summer 1927: 'We had an enchanting party for Georgie yesterday,' she reported to Berenson, 'about 35 of us asking him questions about USA and he was most witty and delightful and at his very best'.[25] Indeed, Russell's house was a space where Salvemini could comfortably live and work; an intellectual headquarters where Russell's prominent friends could meet with Salvemini, discuss the Italian political situation with him, and strengthen intellectual relationships that would often result in arrangements for lectures, conferences or articles. According to Rawson's memoirs:

> […] although he met a large number of English people, many of whom went out of their way to help him, his closest friends, I think, remained only the following: dear Alys, of course (and Logan); Professor and Mrs Graham Wallas […], Wickham Steed […]; Professor G.P. Gooch the historian […] Mr. Kennedy; my aunt, Mrs Crawford, and Miss Massey and myself.[26]

Salvemini's British acquaintances allowed him to deliver sixty-five paid lectures throughout 1926.[27] This intensive activity involved not only the organisation of lectures, but also the painstaking work of gathering and verifying information, as a letter written by Marion Cave from Florence in March 1926 proves: 'La Campodacqua [Lina Waterfield] mi ha descritto il suo sistema di lavoro: le sei signore inglesi che l'aiutano, la dattilografa che vien portata via ogni sera mezza svenuta…!'[28]. These efforts were

[25] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. June-July 1927: 24 June 1927.
[26] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[27] *Carteggio 1921-1926,* p. 109: Salvemini to Zanotti Bianco, 14 December 1926.
[28] ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Cave Rosselli to Salvemini, 13 March 1926.

essential to provide Salvemini with the instruments which allowed him to counterbalance the work done by Luigi Villari, the central Fascist propagandist in Britain. Rawson's 1965 account adds more details on this point:

> His lectures, the articles he wrote in English periodicals, and his many letters to the Press countering misleading statements by both English and Italians admirers of Fascism, involved a great deal of work checking and verifying facts and figures, for which he would allow no statement of his to be printed until he was satisfied as to his accuracy.[29]

5.2 Salvemini *vs* Villari

A comprehensive investigation of Salvemini's activities in Britain must also take into account the difficulties he met in opposing Fascist propaganda. Especially as far as the press was concerned, it is important to note that not every newspaper was willing to accept Salvemini's articles, as Rawson explained in a letter to Umberto Zanotti Bianco in 1927: 'Gran parte della stampa ci è chiusa, perché questo nostro governo si è messo d'accordo con quello fascista, e perciò i giornali come il *Times* temono di compromettere i nostri rapporti con l'Italia'.[30]

The way in which Salvemini and his supporters coped with this issue will be discussed in the following chapters. Before addressing this matter, it is vital to focus on

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[29] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

[30] Umberto Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio*, ed. by Valeriana Carinci and Antonio Jannazzo, 2 vols (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1987-1989), II (1989), p. 652: Enthoven to Zanotti Bianco, 3 April 1927. Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963) was a philanthropist and *meridionalista* who met Salvemini in 1909 in Messina, where he joined the rescue group to help the victims of the earthquake that killed Salvemini's family. In 1910 he founded the *Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno*, of which he became President in the 1950s. Known for his anti-Fascist stance, he was watched by the Fascist police and arrested in 1941, but never left Italy, despite Salvemini asking him to join him abroad. Zanotti Bianco's correspondence with Salvemini was mediated by Rawson, who became one of his closest friends: she met him during her trips to Italy in the 1920s, and remained in contact even after the Second World War (see 7.3). See *Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889-1963)*, ed. by Giulio Ielardi (Rome: Italia Nostra, 1996).

the fact that Salvemini had one main rival, Luigi Villari, who was equally active in the press, and often attended Salvemini's speeches in order to undermine his statements in a public setting.[31] The impact of Fascist propaganda in Britain cannot be underestimated: in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini stated that 'la "propaganda fascista" era rimasta negli anni precedenti padrona delle acque'.[32] Claudia Baldoli investigated the dissemination of Fascist ideas in Britain during the 1930s, focusing on the role played, amongst others, by Villari. Baldoli states that during the summer of 1925, Villari, at the time employed by the *Regio Commissariato dell'Emigrazione,* informed Mussolini of increasing anti-Fascist propaganda in Britain. For that reason, Mussolini appointed him Fascist propagandist in London, asking him to report on his activity.[33] The fact that Villari depended on Mussolini is confirmed by a letter held in the Bodleian Library, written by Villari to his half-sister Costanza Masini: 'Mussolini […] wants me to go to England in January on a special mission connected with the British and Italian press', he stated in October 1925.[34]

Looking at Villari's background, it is vital to highlight that he was a native speaker of English, and had a personal network of British acquaintances, as he had British origins: his mother was Linda White, a British writer, and his father was the prominent

[31] Luigi Villari (1876 - 1959) started his diplomatic career in 1906, working as Vice-Consul in New Orleans, Philadelphia and then as Consul in Boston. After a period at the League of Nations Union in Geneva, in 1923 he returned to Rome, at the *Commissariato Generale per l'Emigrazione*. From 1926 he was employed as a propagandist in Britain and USA. According to his personal files in the ACS, in view of his British origins, in 1942 he was suspected of espionage and dismissed from his role. The collection of Linda Villari's papers in the Bodleian Library (MS Eng. Lett. d. 501-503) reveals that he joined the *Repubblica di Salò*; in 1945 he was arrested, sent to Procida and released in 1946. See ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8; ACS, PP, personali, b. 1436, f. Luigi Villari.

[32] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 34.

[33] Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism*, p. 10.

[34] BLO, MS Eng. Lett. d. 501, fol. 127: Villari to Masini, 12 October 1925.

historian Pasquale Villari, Salvemini's *maestro* at the University of Florence, who had introduced Salvemini to the Anglo-Florentine milieu. Salvemini described his contempt for the Fascist commitment of his *maestro*'s son in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*: 'Sentivo una certa ripugnanza a maltrattare il figlio di un uomo che mi era stato maestro affettuoso […] E sono sempre stato convinto che Pasquale Villari, che era un galantuomo, se fosse stato vivo, avrebbe dato ragione a me, e non a quel figlio là'.[35]

Archival papers allow us to compare how Salvemini and Villari organised and carried out their activities. As far as their method is concerned, there are no striking differences between Villari's and Salvemini's means of disseminating ideas. It is interesting to quote a passage from Baldoli's work in which she mentions a report written by the Secretary of *Fasci* abroad, Giuseppe Bastianini, who gave indications about the Fascist methods of propaganda:

> Fascists abroad had to create social links with local citizens, especially journalists, politicians, industrialists and intellectuals in order to convince them that Fascist 'style and thought' was the one that could better fit their aspirations. Social and public diplomacy of this kind was exactly what Luigi Villari tried to conduct in London between 1926 and 1934.[36]

Villari's Fascist propaganda had the same target as the anti-Fascist propaganda produced by Salvemini: the creation of links with local intellectuals. In a report sent to Mussolini at the end of the first term he spent in Britain, Villari explained: 'Quasi tutti i giorni poi avevo occasione di fare della propaganda spicciola nei varii [*sic*] ambienti che frequentavo – clubs, redazioni di giornali e riviste, uffici governativi e commerciali, case

[35] See Chapter One; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 87.
[36] Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism,* pp. 9-10.

private, ecc. – spiegando ed illustrando gli avvenimenti italiani'.[37] Indeed, Salvemini conceived *The Fascist Dictatorship* to respond to Villari's *The Fascist Experiment*, as he explained in his *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*. Furthermore, as Vivarelli stressed, Salvemini's anti-Fascist production from that period has to be seen 'in chiave di contraddittorio alla propaganda fascista in genere, e in particolare all'opera di Villari'.[38] Villari and Salvemini's debates took place on the pages of the *Review of Reviews, Manchester Guardian, Observer, Scotsman, Time and Tide,* and *Economist* until 1932.[39] Furthermore, Salvemini reprinted some of these debates within the series of anti-Fascist pamphlets edited by Virginia Crawford, *Italy To-Day*.[40]

Although analysis of Salvemini's and Villari's activities in Britain is based on potentially biased sources, including Villari's reports and the notes written by people involved in Salvemini's activities, it is possible to evaluate the perception they had of their own achievements. In his reports, similar to his comments on the 'Great Lecture', Villari deliberately belittled Salvemini's results:

> [Salvemini] non ha che una sola conferenza, che presenta e ripresenta in tutte le salse nei vari circoli dove è invitato a parlare. Non è però preso sul serio che da gente che oggi non esercita influenza sull'opinione pubblica – sono uomini politici esauriti, sentimentali di ambo i sessi e cranks. […] Il Salvemini riesce a cattivarsi delle simpatie più per la sua attitudine di 'martire per le sue idee' che non per le cose che dice. Egli comincia già a venire a noia in molti ambienti, e ho sentito parlare dell''eterno Salvemini'. Egli conta ora sulla eventuale privazione della sua nazionalità, per ravvivare il declinante interessamento del pubblico inglese, nelle sue vicende; altrimenti è probabile che finirà per essere completamente dimenticato.[41]

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[37] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Mussolini, 27 April 1926.
[38] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 86; Vivarelli, 'Introduzione', in *Scritti sul fascismo*, I, p. ix.
[39] Cantarella, *Bibliografia salveminiana*, pp. 164-176.
[40] *Italy To-day* 1.4 (1929) and 3.9-10 (1932). See 9.2.
[41] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Mussolini, 27 April 1926.

An opposing point of view is given by Rawson's account of Salvemini's British life. Rawson had first-hand experience of Salvemini's lectures, which she attended and helped to prepare. In her opinion, Salvemini always succeeded in convincing the audience thanks to his mastery of the topic and his sense of humour. Rawson described Salvemini's technique for discrediting Villari's statements, as he often abruptly interrupted his lectures with objections, as follows:

> Gaetano always pretended that he did not know who Gino [Luigi Villari] was: 'Will ze [*sic*] Italian gentle-man in ze [*sic*] back row kindly explain why he thinks…' etc., thus giving the audience an indication that the interrupter was not the Englishman for which – with his blond colouring and perfect command of the language – Gino could easily be mistaken.[42]

According to Rawson, Salvemini usually succeeded in contradicting Villari by drawing on data, facts, and evidence, which he carefully checked with the help of his British supporters. Salvemini's ability in this sense is proved by the fact that Villari often needed to consult his own data providers – the Fascist press office – to obtain 'materiale informativo e d'altro genere di cui avrebbe bisogno il Comm. Luigi Villari per la sua opera in Inghilterra' to respond to Salvemini's attacks.[43] Referring to a series of letters on the Fascist economy that appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* during the summer of 1926, Villari asked the *Ministero delle Finanze* for help:

> Per il caso probabile che il Salvemini pubblichi una controrisposta, sarei grato a codesto Ministero se volesse compiacersi mettermi in grado di replicare all'accenno fatto dal Salvemini nella quinta colonna, terzo capoverso […] Così pure desidererei avere qualche altro dato relativo alle

[42] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[43] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Capasso Torre, 26 September 1926.

> asserzioni contenute nelle due lettere del Salvemini alle quali non ho accennato nella mia risposta […][44]

As Salvemini admitted in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*:

> Debbo confessare che più volte mi sentii disarmato innanzi alla fecondità di quello sciagurato [Villari] che non aveva bisogno di documentare le sue frottole: bastava che le inventasse, e la sua fantasia era onnipotente. Io invece dovevo procedere cauto e lento.[45]

Salvemini's caution is evident in a series of letters published in the *Economist* in 1931. Salvemini replied to an article written by an anonymous 'Historicus', who commented on the political and economic situation in Italy, drawing on the impressions he had gathered while travelling there. 'Historicus' claimed that he had not experienced the dictatorship and that Italian people appeared 'remarkably unoppressed', describing people in Turin '*en promenade*' despite the bad weather.[46] Salvemini replied to these flimsy impressions by providing a detailed list of violent episodes which had occurred in Turin since the beginning of the dictatorship, adding information on the economic situation in the city, including data concerning unemployment and the drop in salaries.[47] Villari responded to Salvemini's factual statements by resorting to the general idea that there was 'a little thing called world economic crisis going on' and that the number of unemployed people was 'very favourable' if compared to that of Germany, Britain and the USA.[48] Salvemini's second reply added further data concerning unemployment, and

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[44] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Mussolini, 4 August 1926. The articles in the *Westminster Gazette* are 'Fascist Claims Examined', 30 July 1926, and 'Is Italy Prosperous?', 2 August 1926.
[45] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 86.
[46] Historicus, 'Fascism at Home', *Economist*, 13 June 1931, p. 396.
[47] Salvemini, 'Fascism at Home', *Economist*, 17 July 1931, p. 72.
[48] Luigi Villari, 'Fascism at Home', *Economist*, 25 July 1931, p. 176.

included excerpts of Mussolini's speeches confirming that the Italian economic crisis had begun before the Wall Street Crash.[49] Villari opposed Salvemini again, basing his statements on generalisations: 'Apart from figures' – he wrote – 'anyone who compares the conditions of the Italian workers today with those of a decade or two ago cannot fail to be struck by the great improvement attained in food, clothes, housing and general well-being'.[50] Finally, in the September-October 1932 issue of *Italy To-day*, which reprinted the quarrel, Salvemini provided even more figures to confute Villari's assertions.[51]

The aforementioned episodes make it possible to evaluate the judgement provided by Rawson on the results of Salvemini's debates with Villari. She frankly stated:

> I think it is fair to say that Gino Villari […] had little success here in upholding the Fascist cause. In the end, he was inevitably discredited by having his statements in the Press and his book on Fascism disproved by Salvemini. But had he not been met here by so formidable an adversary, his propaganda might have had much greater influence.[52]

Although it should not be ignored that Rawson's opinion on Salvemini's anti-Fascist activity was influenced by her own commitment and political stance, it is important to note that Rawson admitted that Villari's attempts to contradict Salvemini were substantial and significant. Indeed, they were factors urging Salvemini to reinforce his anti-Fascist activities in Britain, while also recruiting other Italian people who could join him abroad to fight the anti-Fascist struggle.

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[49] Salvemini, 'Fascism at Home', *Economist,* 29 August 1931, p. 396.
[50] Luigi Villari, 'Fascism at Home', *Economist,* 24 October 1931, p. 764.
[51] *Italy Today*, 3.9-10 (1932). See 9.2.
[52] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

5.3 An Inner Italian Circle in Contact with British Supporters

Salvemini's correspondence reveals that, especially during the first years of exile, he wanted other – especially younger – Italian intellectuals to move to Britain and the USA to help the anti-Fascist struggle, particularly with a view to establishing an anti-Fascist press bureau.[53] Rawson wrote:

> He [Salvemini] was tormented by […] the thought that the exiles were not only so impotent but so lacking in constructive ideas and organization for the take-over of power in the future. […] For his part, he had plenty of ideas and plans: but he longed for more of the younger men to join him.[54]

Rawson remembered that in 1927 Salvemini asked Umberto Zanotti Bianco to move abroad, but he refused the offer because 'he felt his duty to stay in Italy', despite Salvemini's disappointment.[55] A passage from a letter to Ernesto Rossi, mentioned in Chapter Three, reveals that Salvemini was planning to earn enough money in the USA to allow Rossi to leave Italy and work with him in late 1927.[56] Indeed, in 1925 Salvemini had already convinced another Italian anti-Fascist, Raffaele Rossetti, to join him abroad. As a biography by Romain H. Rainero explains, Rossetti was a naval engineer and former captain of the Italian Navy, internationally known for having sunk the Austro-Hungarian ship *Viribus Unitis* during the First World War: an act for which he had been awarded the military gold medal. In the early 1920s, Rossetti renounced his military role in protest against the Fascist regime, and actively joined the anti-Fascist struggle, publishing articles in *Giustizia* and *Voce Repubblicana*. In 1925 he moved to Britain

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[53] See 3.4.
[54] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[55] Ibid.
[56] See 3.4; *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 539: Salvemini to Rossi, 14 September 1926.

following Salvemini's invitation; then, in April 1927 he left for the USA, where he delivered anti-Fascist lectures, returning to Europe, in France, at the end of 1928.[57]

The relationship between Salvemini and Rossetti has been neglected thus far. Their acquaintance went back to June 1925, during the *Non Mollare* trial, when Rossetti was assaulted by Fascist supporters outside the tribunal; in July, he and his wife Maria hosted Salvemini – who was waiting to go to France – in Rapallo, where they lived.[58] The correspondence between Salvemini and the Rossettis confirms that, at least from the end of 1925 to the first half of 1928, Salvemini valued Rossetti greatly, and counted on him to support his anti-Fascist activities in Britain and in the USA. The trust Salvemini had in Rossetti during that period is proved by a letter from Salvemini to Massey from April 1927. Salvemini was in the USA for his first conference tour and Rossetti had just arrived from Britain. In describing his feelings about Rossetti's arrival, he described him as one of his closest friends:

> Nino […] is already in the circle of my friends, who are all crazy about him. […] I shall be rather sad when I come back to London and I do not find them longer. I know: Mother Massey, Jeannette are very good friends. And so many other people are kind to me. But Rossettis are for me Italy: the best Italy; *my* Italy.[59]

This excerpt needs clarification. In the introduction to the correspondence between Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli, Elisa Signori quoted this passage reading 'Rossellis' instead of 'Rossettis'.[60] Salvemini's handwriting is indeed ambiguous, particularly in this

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[57] Romain H. Rainero, *Raffaele Rossetti dall'affondamento della 'Viribus Unitis' all'impegno antifascista* (Settimo Milanese: Marzorati, 1989).
[58] See 1.3.
[59] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 April 1927.
[60] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, p. 19.

passage. Nevertheless, the content of the letter leaves no doubt: 'Nino' was Rossetti's nickname, and in April 1927, when the letter was written, he was moving to the USA, whereas Carlo Rosselli was in Italy, in prison for having helped Filippo Turati escape to France.[61]

Some of the letters Rossetti addressed to Salvemini are held amongst Salvemini's papers. Those written in 1927, in particular, prove Rossetti's commitment to the anti-Fascist cause, his efforts as a propagandist in the USA, and the help given to Salvemini to publish articles.[62] Moreover, those letters reveal that Rossetti planned an insurrection in Ustica to free the *confinati*.[63] From their correspondence, it is not possible to know Salvemini's opinion about the plan, as his replies have been lost. What is certain is that Salvemini gave Rossetti command of the first, unsuccessful, attempt to free Carlo Rosselli, Francesco Fausto Nitti, and Emilio Lussu from *confino* in Lipari in 1928.[64] According to Alberto Tarchiani, who organised the escape, Salvemini insisted that Rossetti lead the operation:

> Ma Salvemini opinò […] che Raffaele Rossetti, l'eroe di Pola, in quel momento rifugiato in America, avrebbe costituito una migliore scelta, sia perché ingegnere navale, sia come grande nome di fama nazionale e internazionale. […] Rossetti aveva sacrificato, opponendosi al fascismo per ragioni politiche e morali, la sua splendida posizione in patria, e andava ramingo all'estero in mezzo alle solite amarissime difficoltà dei fuorusciti. Oltre che un uomo di eccezionali meriti, era un simbolo ed una bandiera.[65]

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[61] See 8.1.

[62] See ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Raffaele Rossetti. Especially during his American period, Rossetti was watched by the Fascist police, as shown by the documents in ACS, CPC, b. 4426, f. Raffaele Rossetti.

[63] ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Raffaele Rossetti: Rossetti to Salvemini, 29 November 1927.

[64] See 8.2.

[65] Alberto Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', in *No al fascismo*, pp. 72-126 (p. 79).

Rossetti's failure to facilitate the escape contributed to the deterioration of his relationship with Salvemini, which was further compromised by Rossetti's political stance: after standing for the Republicans within the *Concentrazione*, in the second half of the 1930s he joined the Communist Party.[66] Indeed, Salvemini rarely mentions Rossetti in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*.[67] The reason for this neglect can be found in a letter from Salvemini to Rosselli of 1933, in which Salvemini commented on Rossetti's political stance:

> Di Rossetti non mi meraviglio. Mi meraviglia che io abbia messo tanto tempo ad avvedermi che era un vanitoso cretino con un certo ramo di mascalzone, come ben si addice ad uno che è vissuto per tanti anni nella Regia Marina.[68]

Nevertheless, archival papers show that, at least until 1928, Salvemini believed that Rossetti could play a leading role in the anti-Fascist struggle in Britain and in the USA. For that reason he urged Rossetti to move abroad, as a letter from Maria Rossetti to Salvemini proves.[69] Salvemini's correspondence also reveals that Marion Cave, who spent some time at the Rossetti household in 1925, was not convinced about this latter's ability as a propagandist.[70] In fact, the main reason for which Salvemini counted on Rossetti was not his communication skills, but his fame as a hero of the First World War, whose anti-Fascist stances could influence Anglo-American public opinion.

When Rossetti reached Britain at the end of 1925, he joined Salvemini's network with the main task of coordinating anti-Fascist publications. The following passage,

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[66] Rainero, *Raffaele Rossetti*, p. 127.
[67] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 17, 21, 73 and 94.
[68] *Fra le righe,* p. 172: Salvemini to Rosselli, 9 November 1933.
[69] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Maria Rossetti to Salvemini, 27 October 1925.
[70] ISTREC, GS, b. 79, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Cave Rosselli to Salvemini, 20 November 1925.

taken from one of his letters to Salvemini, provides an example of his duties: 'La sua risposta a Villari non è ancora comparsa sul *Manchester G.*[uardian]', he wrote in April 1926. 'Gliene manderemo copia appena possibile. Intanto accludo il testo italiano completo.'[71] Rossetti was in contact especially with Steed, Rawson and Russell.[72] In her account of Salvemini's British experience, Rawson stated that the Rossettis were 'among those whom [she] came to know best'.[73] Russell's correspondence proves that Maria Rossetti became part of her intellectual circle, as she delivered Italian language classes at Russell's house, and played an active role in the foundation of the IRRC.[74]

Furthermore, Rossetti contributed to the expansion of Salvemini's network. It has been mentioned that Rossetti introduced Salvemini to Lolo Breman, the wife of the Dutch Consul in Genoa, who was willing to help the anti-Fascist cause.[75] As the following passage explains, Breman provided Rossetti with further contacts in Britain:

> Per di lei [Breman] tramite sono stato messo in rapporto con un avvocato, W.S. Kennedy, figlio di Sir Alexander Kennedy; questo avvocato (laburista) offre a Lei, per mio tramite, di collaborare nella traduzione dei sui articoli destinati alla stampa di qui […] Quanto a me, *relata refero*, ma le sarei grato se dicesse quale interesse hanno ai suoi occhi queste offerte ancora un poco in aria, e se desidera che io coltivi queste buone volontà nascenti, o se le pare il caso di consultare il Sig. Steed, che conosce qui mezzo mondo, prima di sviluppare queste relazioni. […] In relazione a quanto le dico sopra, io mi offro a mia volta […] per quello che le può occorrere qui, fin dove arriva la mia buona volontà – cioè lontano – e il mio potere – cioè vicino.[76]

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[71] ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Raffaele Rossetti: Rossetti to Salvemini, 10 April 1926.
[72] *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio,* pp. 7-9: Salvemini to Sturzo, 19 October, and Sturzo to Salvemini, 7 December 1926; ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Raffaele Rossetti: Rossetti to Salvemini, 8 April 1926.
[73] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[74] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. January-March 1926: 17 January and 12 February 1926. On the IRRC, see 6.1.
[75] See 3.1.
[76] *Carteggio 1922-1926*, pp. 499-500: Rossetti to Salvemini, 30 November 1925.

Despite these indications, no biographical information on W.S. Kennedy has been found thus far, although Rawson – who had been introduced to Salvemini by Kennedy – stated that Kennedy was amongst those who remained close to Salvemini throughout his British exile.[77] Indeed, as the following chapters will show, his name would frequently be mentioned in connection with Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities.

Besides being in contact with Salvemini's British supporters and providing him with further connections, Rossetti was close to the 'Liberal-Catholic' anti-Fascist group that included Luigi Sturzo and Angelo Crespi.[78] Little attention has been paid so far to Crespi's relationship with Salvemini, mainly due to a lack of sources, which are limited to a small amount of letters they exchanged in 1925, held in Salvemini's archive, and to some mentions found within Salvemini's correspondence.[79] Nevertheless, according to the documents held in the CPC, Crespi was considered one of the most formidable anti-Fascists in Britain, as active as Salvemini and Sturzo.[80] An analysis of his biography shows that Crespi was not an exile: he moved to Britain in 1904, where he worked as a foreign correspondent for Italian newspapers, and then as lecturer at Birkbeck College.[81] Listed in the CPC as a former Socialist, then as a Republican, in the 1920s Crespi maintained Liberal stances influenced by Catholicism, which brought him closer to Luigi Sturzo and his British intellectual circle. As a member of the National Liberal Club – where he organised Salvemini's lecture in January 1926, which provoked the violent reaction of *Impero* – Crespi was in contact with Liberal intellectuals.

[77] See 5.1.
[78] See 2.3.
[79] ISTREC, GS, b. 79 and b. 96, f. Angelo Crespi.
[80] ACS, CPC, b. 1530, f. Angelo Crespi.
[81] See the biographical profile given in 2.1.

In view of his journalistic background, Crespi used to comment on the Italian political situation by publishing articles and sending letters to British newspapers; he also contributed to Italian anti-Fascist papers in France, Belgium, and Switzerland.[82] A significant episode which makes it possible to appreciate his support of Salvemini concerns the publication, in Britain, of *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*. The first edition was published in the USA in 1927, whereas the British edition appeared in 1928, as Salvemini, who was not satisfied of his work, had felt the need to revise its content.[83] The book, defined by Vivarelli as 'un atto d'accusa inoppugnabile contro la brutalità del metodo fascista', described the origins and the development of the dictatorship, also accusing Mussolini of being responsible for the murder of Matteotti.[84] The reviewers from the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *Spectator* did not fully appreciate the book and, unpredictably, the usually sympathetic *Manchester Guardian* also criticised the book, to Salvemini's disappointment.[85] The *Times Literary Supplement* accused Salvemini that 'the bitterness of exile has affected [his] appraisement of facts, and the conclusions drawn from the evidence which he so carefully marshals are so unconvincing at the end of the book as they are at the beginning'.[86] Similarly, the *Spectator* claimed that Salvemini

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[82] Crespi's letters and articles were published by the French *Pungolo* and *Corriere degli Italiani,* the Swiss *Libera Stampa* and the Belgian *Observateur*.

[83] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 86. As Nicola Tranfaglia noted: 'Un confronto tra le due edizioni mostra in realtà un lavoro minuzioso di limatura, di eliminazioni di frasi polemiche e di affermazioni che non avessero un preciso riscontro nella documentazione citata e portata a conferma di ipotesi e interpretazioni'. Nicola Tranfaglia, 'Gaetano Salvemini storico del fascismo', *Studi Storici*, 29.4 (1988), 903-923 (p. 904).

[84] Vivarelli, 'Introduzione', in *Scritti sul Fascismo,* I, p. x.

[85] 'Fascism in Italy', *Manchester Guardian*, 19 July 1928, p. 7. After having read the *Manchester Guardian*'s review, Salvemini wrote to Massey: '"On n'est trahi que par ses propres amis". This is the only possible commentary on the Manch.[ester] Guard.[ian]'s review. […] [It] has been the worst which was published in Europe and in America!'. ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 3 August 1928.

[86] 'An Indictment of Fascism', *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 March 1928, p. 203.

was biased in his judgement. Although the reviewer admitted that Salvemini had 'marshal[led] his facts in a lucid and orderly narrative', he confessed that he remained 'reluctant […] to condemn Signor Mussolini on the case presented by a bitter political opponent'.[87] Crespi intervened in support of Salvemini both in the *Times Literary Supplement* and in the *Spectator*. The brief reply Crespi sent to the *Spectator* aimed to emphasise the groundlessness of the accusation against him: Crespi accused the reviewer of not having informed the readers about the content of the book and having limited his comments to judging Salvemini's anti-Fascist stance.[88] Equally, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Crespi stressed the success that Salvemini was having in Britain thanks to his knowledge of the Italian political situation, highlighting that he had gained the trust of many British intellectuals: 'I am sure they will all be very much surprised at your reviewer […] suggesting that he is capable of reckless interpretation of his facts and embittered by exile', he wrote.[89] The support from British intellectuals was used by Crespi as proof of Salvemini's reliability: an idea that he confirmed in the Italo-Swiss socialist paper *Libera Stampa*, in which he commented on the reception of Salvemini's book in Britain. Although he admitted that the first reviews in Britain were negative – 'fin qui non ne hanno parlato che i recensitori [*sic*] dei giornali conservatori, naturalmente portati ad essere ostili' – Crespi emphasised that Salvemini's reputation amongst British intellectuals was great.[90]

The description of Crespi and Rossetti's support makes it possible to shed light on the importance that Salvemini attributed to the international legitimisation of his anti-

[87] 'Problems of Government', *Spectator*, 17 March 1928, p. 24.
[88] Angelo Crespi, 'The Fascist Dictatorship', *Spectator*, 5 May 1928.
[89] Angelo Crespi, 'An Indictment of Fascism', *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 April 1928, p. 257.
[90] Angelo Crespi, 'Il libro di Salvemini sulla dittatura fascista', *Libera Stampa*, 30 March 1928, p. 1.

Fascist action. Crespi and Rossetti were not simply Italian intellectuals living abroad but were amongst those Italians living in Britain whom Salvemini considered able to influence British public opinion. Crespi had been living abroad for more than twenty years and had a perfect knowledge of the British intellectual milieu, to the point where, in 1936, he obtained British naturalisation.[91] Salvemini pushed Rossetti to become a propagandist abroad not for his abilities, but for his fame as a war hero which allowed him to influence public opinion.

Furthermore, Rossetti and Crespi are two examples of how Salvemini and Luigi Sturzo's networks intertwined, as seen with Crawford and Massey.[92] An essential contribution to the study of the relationship between Salvemini and Sturzo was given by Giovanni Grasso, who edited their correspondence, which began in Britain, continued when they both moved to the USA, and lasted until Salvemini's death in 1957. During their exile in London, Salvemini's and Sturzo's political positions clashed over the ratification of the Lateran Pacts, which eventually made it impossible for them to bring to fruition the project of an anti-Fascist journal directed by them, called *Rinnovamento*.[93] Nevertheless, in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* Salvemini described his friendship with Sturzo as follows:

> uno dei più begli acquisti della mia vita. […] Frequentandolo a Londra, divenni ammiratore dell'uomo – lui al suo posto, io al mio. […] Non discutemmo mai. […] Quando arrivavamo alla zona contestabile, accertavamo istintivamente che lì non si passava né di qua né di là, e scantonavamo amichevolmente, ognuno per la sua strada.[94]

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[91] TNA, HO 334/141/7823.
[92] See 4.4.
[93] See Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, pp. xii-xv.
[94] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito,* p. 43; Salvemini, 'Saluto a don Sturzo', in Salvemini, *Stato e Chiesa in Italia,* ed. by Elio Conti (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1969), pp. 440-441.

Rawson's account of Salvemini's life, in which she commented on the aforementioned passage from *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, allows us to elucidate further details of the nature of their friendship and collaboration in exile:

> I have often found Italians sceptical about any real friendship between those two, despite what Salvemini says himself in his reminiscences: but I saw too much of them together ever to doubt the genuine trust and friendship that existed between them. Of course, they did not always agree […] And mostly my memories of them together were of evenings spent by my fire in amicable discussions.[95]

However, the most significant episode from which the overlap between Sturzo and Salvemini's networks emerges is that of the organisation of the IRRC, in which their British supporters joined their efforts to help Italians in need living in Paris. This aimed at a broader diffusion of anti-Fascism through humanitarian ideals, as the next chapter will show.

[95] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

6. Sensitising Public Opinion: The Italian Refugees Relief Committee

Analysis of the Italian Refugees Relief Committee – a solidarity group founded in London to help Italian exiles struggling to survive in Paris – makes it possible to appreciate the extent to which Salvemini and Sturzo's networks intertwined. Furthermore, the activity of the IRRC is a significant, and thus far neglected, example of the methods adopted by Salvemini's British supporters to express anti-Fascist positions.

The work and aims of the IRRC can be investigated thanks to archival documents donated by Rawson to the University of Reading.[1] Exploration of this collection made it possible to find related sources in the archive of Luigi Sturzo and within Salvemini's papers.[2] Further references to the activities of the committee have been found amongst the papers of Alys Russell and Gilbert Murray.[3] The following sections will draw on these archival sources to examine the political and humanitarian nature of the committee, considering advantages and drawbacks of this strategy in sensitising public opinion on the conditions of life under the Fascist dictatorship. Debate about the IRRC's political stance will be a central thread leading to the analysis of its foundation, its international developments, and its dissolution.

6.1 The Foundation

The IRRC was founded in 1927 in London by a group of British intellectuals close to Salvemini and Sturzo, following an appeal to the latter from Giuseppe Stragliati, a representative of the *Partito Popolare* in France. Indeed, the IRRC was originally

[1] RUL, MS 943, MS 1244; Stuart Woolf, 'The Centre for Advanced Study of Italian Society at Reading', *Modern Italy*, 16.4 (2011), 473-478.
[2] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448; ISTREC, GS, Massey, 1/1.
[3] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. April-May 1927; BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 542.

conceived as the British branch of the French *Comité de Secours aux Refugies Politiques Italiens*, founded by Stragliati, which provided basic assistance to Italians escaping the Fascist dictatorship and seeking refuge in France.[4]

In order to understand the reasoning behind the foundation of the British IRRC, it is vital to explain the origins of the French *Comité de Secours*, mentioned in Franco Rizzi and Jean-Luc Pouthier's works on the *Popolari* in exile.[5] Before founding the *Comité de Secours,* Stragliati had promoted *Primo Soccorso*, an association providing basic assistance and shelter to Italians arriving in France without documents and funds. Marc Sangnier, the editor of the progressive Catholic paper *La Démocratie*, helped the cause by providing accommodation for refugees in the paper's headquarters.[6] *Primo Soccorso* was a charity funded through donations, without political affiliation, though it was willing to cooperate with political charities including the Communist Red Aid (*Soccorso Rosso*) and the anti-Fascist Concentration in order to be more efficient.[7] Nevertheless, as Jean-Luc

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[4] Luigi Sturzo, *Scritti inediti*, ed. by Francesco Piva, Franco Rizzi, and Francesco Malgeri, 3 vols (Rome: Cinque Lune, 1974-1976), II (1924-1940), pp. 159-161: Stragliati to Sturzo, 7 January 1927. Giuseppe Stragliati (1880-1962) moved to Paris in 1905. There, he founded a foreign section of the *Partito Popolare*, becoming in the 1920s a reference point for the *Popolari* in exile. For his biographical profile, see Giuseppe Ignesti, *Francesco Ferrari e l'Observateur* (Rome: Ebe, 1975), pp. 18-21.

[5] Jean-Luc Pouthier, 'Émigrés catholiques et antifascisme : Luigi Sturzo et l'Internationale Blanche', in *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, pp. 481-497; Franco Rizzi, 'Sturzo in esilio. Popolari e forze antifasciste dal 1924 al 1940', in *Luigi Sturzo nella storia d'Italia. Atti del convegno internazionale promosso dall'Assemblea Regionale siciliana. Palermo-Caltagirone, 26-28 novembre 1971*, 2 vols (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1973), II, pp. 499-567.

[6] Marc Sangnier (1873-1950) was a French Christian democrat, editor of *Le Sillon* and then of *La Démocratie*, engaged in pacifism. For his activities between the 1920s and the 1930s, see Gearóid Barry, *The Disarmament of Hatred. Marc Sangnier, French Catholicism and the Legacy of the First World War, 1914-45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 128-174.

[7] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 29: 'Scopi e funzionamento dell'istituzione benefica il Primo Soccorso'. On the *Soccorso Rosso*, see J. Martin Ryle, 'International Red Aid and Comintern Strategy 1922-1926', *International Review of Social History*, 15.1 (1970), 43-68; Stefano Bellezza and Claudio Paletto, 'Documenti sul Soccorso rosso in Italia', *Rivista di Storia Contemporanea*, 14.2 (1985), 289-320; Claudio Natoli, 'Pour une histoire comparée des organisations communistes de solidarité : Secours ouvrier international et Secours rouge international', in *Les Solidarités Internationales. Histoire & perspectives*, ed. by José Gotovitch and Anne Morelli (Brussels: Labor, 2003), pp. 17-42.

Pouthier explains, any attempt to cooperate with the *Soccorso Rosso* and the *Concentrazione* failed. As Stragliati wrote to Sturzo: 'Loro [the members of the Concentration] fanno discussioni dottrinarie, e noi modestamente, all'infuori di ogni preoccupazione di colore politico, ci siamo messi all'opera'.[8] Considering the internal factions existing within the *Concentrazione*, it is not surprising that a common agreement to cooperate with the *Primo Soccorso* could not be reached. Conversely, it seemed that the *Soccorso Rosso* was initially keen to cooperate, as it offered a monthly donation and allowed one of its members to join the committee of the *Primo Soccorso*. The main setback which caused the end of their collaboration was the idea of creating a new committee, the *Comité de Secours aux Refugies Politiques Italiens*, which the *Soccorso Rosso* refused to join. The new committee was founded on 21 May 1927 and chaired by Marc Sangnier, with Stragliati as Secretary. Although the *Comité* claimed to be non-political, it counted amongst its members politicians such as the Republican-Democrat deputy Pierre Trémintin and the President of the Chamber, the Socialist Ferdinande Buisson.[9]

Although scholars researching Sturzo and the *Popolari* in exile have neglected analysis of the British committee, archival papers make it possible to reappraise its importance. Indeed, the IRRC was formed a month before the launch of the French committee, thanks to the efforts of Sturzo and Salvemini's supporters. In particular, Maria Rossetti, in contact with Alys Russell, followed up the appeal that Sturzo received from Stragliati at the beginning of 1927. Archival documents prove that Rossetti promptly discussed the matter with Russell, Rawson, and Crawford, and with them

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[8] Pouthier, 'Émigrés catholiques et antifascisme', p. 485; Sturzo, *Scritti inediti*, II, pp. 165-166: Stragliati to Sturzo, 16 January 1927.

[9] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 72: Stragliati to Sturzo, 26 May 1927; RUL, MS 943, CF.5: Stragliati to Kennedy, 25 May 1927.

decided to form 'un comitato di signore per la raccolta di denari e oggetti', counting especially on Russell's experience as a fundraiser and her contacts with the Liberal and Socialist milieus.[10] The inaugural meeting of the IRRC took place in April 1927.[11]

A comparison between the foundation of the committees in France and Britain brings to light two main differences. Firstly, in France it was difficult to adhere to the non-political nature of the committee, since several politicians were part of the membership. By contrast, the founders of the IRRC were more careful in this respect. This attitude, seeking to avoid political affiliation, was related to the perception of *fuoruscitismo* as a matter influencing international diplomatic relations. Anti-Fascist support expressed by French left-wing politicians was already impacting on Franco-Italian diplomacy. Conversely, British politicians, including Labour when in power, adopted neutral stances to preserve friendly relationships with Fascist Italy.[12] As a consequence, the British IRRC did not involve politicians, though one can suppose most of them would not have offered their support in any case.

6.2 'A Committee of Ghosts' to Escape the Fascists' Notice

The IRRC organisation chart proves that prominent positions were occupied by W.S. Kennedy and Francis R. Muir, both Labour-sympathetic barristers, who were nominated Secretary and Treasurer respectively. Margaret Slesser, member of the Fabian

[10] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 7: Maria Rossetti to Sturzo, 19 January 1927.
[11] RUL, MS 943, C.11: Muir to Enthoven, 10 April 1927; LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 30: 'Scheda di sottoscrizione per il Primo Soccorso'. Amongst the members were Barbara Barclay Carter, Angelo Crespi, George Peabody Gooch, Marie-Louise Peacop, Marion Rawson, Luigi Sturzo, and Graham Wallas.
[12] See 2.2 and 10.2.

Society and active philanthropist, acted as Chair.[13] Conversely, the names of people who actively worked for the committee – Marion Rawson, Alys Russell, and Maria Rossetti – did not appear. This strategic omission of names was based on the need to avoid drawing attention from the Fascist police, in order for the committee to be free to work and to not jeopardise the safety of anti-Fascists in Italy. Archival documents show that Alys Russell had been originally appointed to chair the committee, but when the American Consul in Florence informed her that her association with the IRRC could endanger the Berensons in Florence, she decided to support the committee anonymously.[14] Similarly, Marion Rawson's name never appeared on the IRRC's public documents, although she was the main workforce of the committee. She explained the reason for her behaviour in her notes on Salvemini's British life: 'I was careful to let my name appear as little as possible, because Salvemini wanted to keep suspicion away from me in order that I might continue to visit Italy and maintain contact with his friends and collaborators there'.[15] Rawson's correspondence proves that Maria Rossetti made a similar request to another person in Salvemini and Sturzo's network, Marie-Louise Peacop, who used to travel to Italy on the Rossettis' behalf to visit Maria's elderly father.[16] Indeed, the IRRC papers show that both the Rossettis and the Crespis decided to keep their own engagement anonymous in order to facilitate the work of the

[13] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 70: report of meeting, 4 May 1927. Margaret Slesser, *née* Grant (1887/8–1979) was a member of the Fabian Society. Her husband was Sir Henry Herman Slesser, a judge and Labour politician who served as Solicitor-General and then Lord Justice in MacDonald's 1924 and 1929 governments. See Stephen M. Cretney, 'Slesser [formerly Schloesser], Sir Henry Herman (1883-1979)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/65525> [accessed 8 October 2019].

[14] RUL, MS 943, C.18: Russell to Enthoven, 28 April 1927; C.20: Enthoven to Kennedy, 30 April 1927; LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 66: Enthoven to Sturzo, 29 April [1927]; IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. April-May 1927: 26 April 1927.

[15] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965; RUL, MS 943, C.1: Enthoven to Kennedy, [n.d.]. Rawson's activity in Italy will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

[16] RUL, MS 943, C.33: Peacop to Enthoven, 6 May 1927. On Peacop, see 8.2.

committee.[17] The behaviour of Salvemini, the Crespis and the Rossettis resulted from awareness that the work of the committee would be watched by the Fascist police: had the IRRC listed anti-Fascist activists amongst their members, this would have complicated their work. Moreover, Italian anti-Fascists believed that it would be easier to collect subscriptions if the committee was formed of British people seeking a philanthropic aim.

As far as Salvemini's involvement in the IRRC is concerned, it is important to remember that during the first half of 1927 he was in the USA for his first tour of lectures; his role in arranging the committee was therefore marginal. However, as Rawson's papers describe, he was 'quick to collaborate […] to organize help for the growing number of Italian refugees in France', helping especially with fundraising and giving advice to manage political issues.[18] The IRRC papers often mention Salvemini's support, such as the following excerpts of correspondence between Virginia Crawford and the coordinator of the French committee, Giovanna Caleffi Berneri:

> Nous avons mardi prochain à Oxford organisé un grand meeting auquel le Prof. Salvemini et moi nous devons prendre la parole et nous en espérons un bon nombre de suscriptions. […] Le Prof. Salvemini adresse plusieurs autre [*sic*] réunions ce mois-ci et partout on fera une collecte pour les réfugiés.[19]

> Graditissima mi è stata la sua lettera, nella quale accenna al lavoro suo e del prof. Salvemini in favore dei profughi italiani. […] Non dubito dell'efficacia della propaganda che hanno iniziata e della riuscita dei comizi diretti dal prof. Salvemini […].[20]

[17] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 70: report of meeting, 4 May 1927.
[18] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[19] BER, Cassetta VII: Crawford to Caleffi Berneri, 4 November 1927.
[20] RUL, MS 943, CF.21: according to the archive handlist, Caleffi Berneri to Larwill, 6 November 1927, but it seems more likely that this letter was addressed to Crawford.

Archival documents make it possible to analyse the organisation of the event mentioned by Crawford: a lecture delivered by Salvemini in Oxford in November 1927. The historian Mary Coate, Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, organised a fundraising lecture supported by the League of Nations Union. Originally, the lecturer should have been Sturzo, but according to the correspondence between Coate and Rawson Salvemini was eventually preferred in view of Sturzo's difficulties in speaking English.[21] The meeting was presided over by the Master of Balliol College, Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, with the participation of Mary Murray, herself a member of the IRRC and wife of Gilbert Murray, Chairman of the League, who Salvemini had met thanks to Russell.[22] However, it is important to note that the lecture could not take place in Balliol College – it was held in Hennington Hall – because, according to Coate's letters, Balliol had 'a strong rule against political meetings'.[23] This episode suggests that it was difficult to circumvent the intrinsically political nature of the committee when Salvemini and other Italian anti-Fascists were involved directly.

This point can be investigated further by analysing a discussion involving Luigi Sturzo and the publication of his name as a member of the committee. According to archival sources, Sturzo's name was printed only in a private appeal sent to a limited

[21] Indeed, Rawson revealed: '[Sturzo] never succeeded in speaking adequate English, and his lectures were not a success, being given in incomprehensible French'. RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

[22] See 5.1. Alexander Dunlop Lindsay (1879-1952) was a philosopher and Labour intellectual, Master of Balliol College from 1924 to 1949, and University Vice-Chancellor from 1935 to 1938. On his anti-Fascist stance, see Andrzej Olechnowicz, 'Labour Theorises Fascism: A. D. Lindsay and Harold Laski', in *Varieties of Anti-Fascism. Britain in the Inter-War period*, ed. by Nigel Copsey and Andrzej Olechnowicz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 202-223.

[23] RUL, MS 943, C.53: Coate to Russell, 26 May 1927; C.59, C.66, C.73, C.80, C.86: Coate to Enthoven, 5 June, 4 July, 12 September, 10 October, 26 October 1927.

number of potential subscribers. A letter from Rawson to Kennedy explains the ambiguous situation involving Sturzo:

> It is really very annoying about Don Sturzo, but I suppose we'd better take as little notice as possible. How does he imagine we can print an appeal embodying an appeal from him without being ourselves open to all Villari's attacks? And apart from dear Gino [Villari], most English people would be suspicious of his name – it is too political. And if we print it anonymously, it loses a great deal of effect. […] I'm sorry Maria [Rossetti] thinks we are treating Don Sturzo badly…a little time ago he was insisting that we ought to act without him![24]

Rawson also mentioned the difficulties in dealing with Sturzo in her 1928 *Notes,* in which she described his 'super-sensitiveness, always taking offence where none existed, and his conviction that because the majority of us were not Catholics, we must be anti-Catholic. And how by dint of much patience we […] had won him round'.[25]

Nevertheless, in some cases, hiding political names was not enough to prove the committee's humanitarian nature. This is evident from the reaction of Janet Trevelyan, whose careful attitude has already been analysed in connection to her role as Secretary of the British Institute of Florence and the British-Italian League.[26] When Rawson asked her to contribute to help the Italian refugees, she agreed, provided that her donation remained anonymous.[27] Her reply to Rawson makes it possible to appreciate her reasonings, based on her opinion on the nature of the committee:

> Of course I hope very much that whatever committee is formed for sending relief to these exiles, it will not come out with a manifesto in the newspapers. I do not see how this could do anything but harm in Italy, for it would merely

[24] RUL, MS 943, C.2: Enthoven to Kennedy, [n.d.]. For the inclusion of Sturzo's name, see also C.12: Russell to Kennedy, 15 April 1927, and C.14: Kennedy to Russell, 17 April 1927.
[25] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 19.
[26] See 5.1.
[27] RUL, MS 1244, CE.15: Janet Trevelyan to Enthoven, 26 January 1927.

> exasperate the Fascists and probably increase their zeal for persecution. It is all very well to say that you would keep it humanitarian, but in the nature of things it is bound to be political! I expect that most of your sympathisers would see this, but probably there are some who would prefer publicity. I hope that the former will win the day.[28]

Indeed, 'bound to be political' represents the most suitable interpretative key for the activity of the IRRC, since it was difficult to trace a boundary between philanthropic aims and an anti-Fascist stance. For instance, the non-political precondition was the reason which prevented Henry Wickham Steed from giving his name to the committee, as he admitted that he was being 'looked upon as a strong partisan' and that this was not 'in keeping' with the IRRC's humanitarian aims.[29]

The 'bound to be political' connotation risked transforming the IRRC into a 'committee of ghosts', as more than once Rawson stressed in her letters, since many of its members had to remain anonymous.[30] The decision to involve the Quakers, traditionally devoted to non-political charity work, was informed by the necessity to prevent political attacks and safeguard the work of the IRRC, as Rawson explained:

> Abbiamo ottenuto l'aiuto dei Quacqueri, i quali riceveranno i nostri denari e il cui rappresentante a Parigi parteciperà al comitato di lì, quell'aiuto ci è prezioso perché così i nostri avversari non possono dire che mandiamo denaro ciecamente alla colonia di Parigi per fini politici, i Quacqueri sono stimati dappertutto e si occupano solamente delle opere di carità.[31]

It is likely that Alys Russell's Quaker origins facilitated this collaboration, although this is not confirmed by documents. What archival papers prove, however, is that the Quaker

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[28] Ibid.
[29] RUL, MS 943, C.28: Steed to Enthoven, 6 May 1927.
[30] LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 66: Enthoven to Sturzo, 29 April [1927]; RUL, MS 943, C.20: Enthoven to Kennedy, 30 April 1927.
[31] Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio*, II, pp. 652-655: Enthoven to Zanotti Bianco, 3 April 1927.

representative collaborating with the committee in London was Edith Pye, who devoted her time to relief work, especially supporting children and women.[32] In Paris, the Quaker delegate was Daphne Larwill, who reported the needs of the refugees living in Paris to the British committee. Larwill's role was central to coordinating the work between London and Paris, although she realised that this meant carefully addressing the 'bound to be political' question:

> I daresay there are Socialist and Communist elements amongst the refugees and it seems to me that it would be very difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances leading to their troubles and plight. […] In the particular difficulties of these Italian Refugees the source of their misfortune is almost invariably political – and it is no wonder if they are intensely bitter and possibly harbour desires of vengeance…In this respect I have certain misgivings.[33]

Indeed, it is sufficient to investigate the documents of the *polizia politica* in the ACS to note that the strategy of concealing the names of the most politically active members and cooperating with the Quakers allowed the committee to remain above suspicion. The political police described the IRRC as a philanthropic group without paying much attention to it, only mentioning Kennedy and Slesser amongst its members without considering them politically dangerous.[34] When a subscription appeal – the one in which Sturzo's name appeared – was intercepted by the Italian Embassy in London, the reaction was the following: 'Lo scopo […] non sembra essere quello di fare della

[32] Sybil Oldfield, 'Pye, Edith Mary (1876-1965)', *ODNB*, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37871> [accessed 8 October 2019].
[33] LS, f. CB 448, fol. 71: Larwill to Enthoven, 13 May 1927.
[34] ACS, PS, 1927, b. 147: telespresso n. 233677, 2 July 1927; note 3 July 1927.

propaganda anti-Fascista, ma soprattutto quella di far conoscere l'esistenza del Comitato in parola'. Nevertheless, Sturzo's name was underlined in red.[35]

6.3 The Key Role of the British Committee

The reasoning behind the foundation of the London and Paris committees has brought to light substantial differences in the management of the non-political precondition. Another central difference concerns the efficiency of the two committees after their founding. Documents show that, compared to the IRRC, the Paris committee remained almost inactive: 'We, I frankly admit to you, are counting much on the kind hearts of the English, from whom we have already had tangible proofs of interest and sympathy', Stragliati admitted in May 1927.[36] Six months later, the situation was the same: 'Noi qui abbiamo fatto pochissimo. Gli ambienti francesi sono piuttosto refrattari alle sottoscrizioni. La carità qui va generalmente unita al divertimento', Stragliati reported.[37] Indeed, in January 1928, Rawson, Crawford and Peacop visited Paris to verify how British funds were being used. Their negative impression was confirmed by Larwill, who explained: 'The Italians continue their party politics amongst each other even in their present precarious situation so that they cannot be considered as a unit, each member of whatever committee is formed, being anxious to have his friends assisted first'.[38] Indeed, the activity of the French committee was limited to the work of two people: Daphne Larwill, and Giovanna Caleffi, wife of Camillo Berneri, one of

[35] ACS, PS, F4, b. 46, f. Italian Refugees Relief Committee: 5 March 1928.
[36] RUL, MS 943, C.52: Stragliati to IRRC, 10 May 1927.
[37] RUL, MS 943, CF.25: Stragliati to Enthoven, 5 December 1927.
[38] RUL, MS 943, CF.28: Larwill to Enthoven, 25 January 1928.

Salvemini's closest friends.[39] Larwill and Caleffi Berneri were the main link between France and the IRRC. Although it was born as the British branch of the *Comité*, the London committee coordinated the relief activities, whereas the French committee became a shadow organisation with merely representative roles. As Caleffi Berneri wrote to Rawson at the beginning of 1928: 'Giacché qui il comitato non funziona è naturale attenersi ai consigli di Londra'.[40]

Moreover, the British committee expanded its fundraising activities to Italy and the USA. The IRRC succeeded in crossing the Italian border without risking being intercepted by the Fascist police, thanks especially to Rawson's Italian relatives. Rawson's correspondence with her anti-Fascist cousin Donatello Gigliucci proves that he promptly joined the cause and collected money amongst his anti-Fascist acquaintances, including the Bremans.[41] Similarly, Salvemini developed the IRRC's connection with the USA, in view of his frequent visits. Maria and Raffaele Rossetti, who had moved to the USA in the second half of 1927, soon after the foundation of the committee, further contributed to developing American fundraising activities. It is equally important to underline that in 1929 Larwill moved to the USA for personal

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[39] In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini described Giovanna Caleffi Berneri (1897-1962) as 'donna di eccezionale intelligenza e fermissimo carattere' (p. 103). She was a teacher and educationist; in her early life she had developed socialist and, later, anarchist stances. In 1926 she followed her husband Camillo into exile in Paris, and coped with difficulties following the Fascist infiltration of Ermanno Menapace which caused Camillo's legal troubles (see 2.3). When her husband died in the Spanish Civil War, she continued his anti-Fascist struggle by founding the clandestine papers *La Rivoluzione Libertaria* and *Volontà*. See Carlo De Maria's works, including '"In un mondo che è sceso all'ultimo gradino della barbarie". Riflessioni sul percorso di Giovanna Caleffi Berneri', *Parolechiave*, 40 (2008), 153-170; *Una famiglia anarchica. La vita dei Berneri tra affetti, impegno ed esilio nell'Europa del Novecento* (Rome: Viella, 2019). De Maria also edited her correspondence and writings from 1937 to 1962: *Giovanna Caleffi Berneri. Un seme sotto la neve* (Reggio Emilia: Biblioteca Panizzi, Archivio Famiglia Berneri-Aurelio Chessa, 2010).

[40] RUL, MS 943, CF. 27: Caleffi Berneri to Enthoven, 17 January 1928.

[41] RUL, MS 1244, CE.28: Gigliucci to Enthoven, 26 August 1927; CE.33: Gigliucci to Enthoven, 17 February 1928. On the Bremans, see Chapter Three.

reasons, leaving the duty of managing the situation in Paris to Caleffi Berneri, though she gave a decisive impulse to American fundraising efforts.[42] Larwill and Rossetti succeeded in collecting a significant sum of money, as confirmed in July 1929 by Giovanna Caleffi Berneri: 'Sono lieta di poter comunicare che la signora Larwill, il colonnello Rossetti e degli amici americani stanno raccogliendo danaro negli Stati Uniti'.[43]

However, the main fundraising activity took place in London, where conferences, debates, concerts, private book sales, and small parties were organised particularly by Russell. Some extracts of Russell's letters to Mary Berenson describe these activities: 'We had a most lovely concert at Crosby Hall on May 1st, 65 people to tea and 120 at the concert, and took a collection of nearly £30 for the refugees'; 'We took up a collection for the Xmas boxes for our refugees in Paris, and actually got £12 […] Mrs Crawford was in the chair, and made a touching appeal'.[44] The money collected allowed the committee to provide the families of the refugees with a monthly sum and medical assistance. Archival reports of the IRRC activities show that during the summers of 1927 and 1928 the committee organised a holiday camp for children in the Parisian countryside, at La Varenne Saint-Hilaire.[45] However, according to the content of these reports, the committee was consistently concerned with justifying their work through humanitarian reasons in order to avoid political accusations: the debate on political and humanitarian

[42] RUL, MS 943, CF.61: Larwill to Enthoven, 8 October 1928.
[43] RUL, MS 943, C.172: Caleffi Berneri to IRRC, 5 July 1929.
[44] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. March-May 1929: 4 May 1929; f. November-December 1929: 8 December 1929.
[45] RUL, MS 943, R.6: report 15 August 1927; CF.50 and CF.57: Caleffi Berneri to Enthoven, 5 August and 3 September 1928.

aims was central, leaving comment on what was being done at the margins of the committee's correspondence.

6.4 Public Humanitarian Help *vs* Private Anti-Fascist Support

The IRRC worked as a proper charity, although its work combined philanthropic aims with an anti-Fascist stance which made its activity intrinsically political. Arguably, being a refugee was a condition imposed by political stances. Details given in private reports show that most of those assisted by the IRRC had been victims of Fascist aggression in Italy: Angelo Anguissola, for instance, had been assaulted for having covered for his anti-Fascist brother, and Umberto Ceccotti was seriously injured after a Fascist attack and a bout of tuberculosis. Amongst them were also anti-Fascists who, after having escaped from Fascist violence, would later become Fascist spies, such as Silvio Ghini and Alvise Pavan, although they were aided by the committee before their espionage began.[46]

However, the intrinsically political nature of the committee was managed differently in public appeals and in private documents. In this sense, it is interesting to analyse some episodes, such as the publication of the first fundraising appeals in the

[46] RUL, MS 943, R.2: Pye to Russell, 4 May 1927; R.4a: report from Paris, summer 1927. Silvio Ghini sought refuge in France after a failed attempt on Arnaldo Mussolini's life in 1927. When the people behind the attempt accused Ghini of having laundered the money he had received to fulfil his mission, Giuseppe Serracchioli, a *fiduciario* active in France and Belgium, took advantage of Ghini's resentment of the unfair charge and included him in his network. Alvise Pavan was a member of Renato Padovani's group who infiltrated Giuseppe Donati's *Corriere degli Italiani*. Pavan and Ghini's groups were the protagonists of one of the most ambiguous and still unclear crimes committed by Fascist spies, the assassination of Angelo Savorelli, who was killed by Pavan in 1928. As Mauro Canali explains, Pavan and Savorelli were both Fascist spies and members of two opposite *reti fiduciarie*, and it is likely that they both suspected each other's betrayal. At the end of this section, this episode will be tackled in connection to Camillo Berneri's role. See Canali, *Le spie del regime*, pp. 202-207.

British press, and the diffusion of a private appeal sent to a selected audience. Articles describing the activity of the IRRC and asking for contributions were printed in the *Manchester Guardian*, *Westminster Gazette,* and *New Statesman,* papers which were keen to support anti-Fascism.[47] Nevertheless, the appeal never mentioned Fascism openly, though allusions were made, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

> We appeal in your columns for help for the Italian exiles and political refugees in Paris and elsewhere. Hundreds of these unfortunate people are in desperate want of the bare necessities of life. […] Without entering into the cause which led to their exile, no one can wish that physical suffering, more especially in the case of the women and children, should be added to their other afflictions. […] The greatest care will be taken that only cases of genuine destitution should be relieved, preference being given to families with children, and no attempt will be made to deal with ordinary unemployment. […] The existing British passport regulations make it impossible for any of these refugees to come to England; but it is believed that when the facts are known some English men and women will desire to share a burden that at present falls only on the impoverished Italians in France and French sympathisers. […] We appeal to all English lovers of Italy, of whatever political opinion, to send donations […].[48]

Conversely, anti-Fascist stances were expressed in a private appeal drafted by Russell and sent privately to potential supporters.[49] A copy of this can be found amongst Salvemini's papers:

> Very few people in England realise the extreme gravity of the problem presented by the Italian exiles and political refugees. The majority of these unfortunate victims of a tyrannical regime take refuge in France […]. Few of these refugees have been actively concerned in politics, nor have they all suffered deliberate persecution: but it must be remembered that in Italy

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[47] See the news cuttings in RUL, MS 943, M.21 a-b-c-d: 'Plight of Italian refugees', *Westminster Gazette*, 11 May 1927; 'Italian Political Refugees', *Manchester Guardian,* 11 May 1927; 'Italian Refugees Relief', *New Statesman*, 18 June 1927.

[48] 'Italian Political Refugees', *Manchester Guardian,* 11 May 1927, p. 18

[49] As the account of the first committee meeting states, 'a fuller appeal, embodying the reports from Paris and individual cases etc. should be drafted by Mrs Russell for private circulation'. LS, b. 107, f. CB 448, fol. 70: report of meeting, 4 May 1927.

> today the professions are virtually closed to non-Fascists, and those who are incapable of betraying their principles find it impossible to gain a livelihood in their own land. Moreover the possibility of internment […] in the convict settlements of the Lipari islands, adds further terrors to an existence already intolerable.[50]

Similarly, the IRRC activities were described as openly anti-Fascist in an article published in Steed's *Review of Reviews*, although it is important to note that it was not an appeal issued by the committee, but a non-signed article, which thanks to archival documents can be attributed to Rawson.[51] The text of the article reads as follows:

> Italy to-day is one of the principal countries in which the government is such as to force a constant stream of her citizens to seek abroad that freedom of thought and action – and, one may add, that physical safety – which is denied them in their own land. […] Nevertheless, thousands of Italians have preferred to face this risk and all the hardship and bitterness of an exile's life rather than remain in their own country. This is itself is a severe condemnation of the rule of Mussolini.
> Although not all these refugees have been the victims of a deliberate persecution, all have, for good reasons, found life intolerable. It must be remembered that every trade and profession is closed to non-Fascists, so that those who are unwilling to renounce their opinions find it impossible to earn their livelihood. Moreover, every Italian suspected of lacking loyalty to the Fascist regime lives in constant fear of sudden arrest and imprisonment, or for condemnation to the *confino* […]. It is reasons such as these that bring about the flight from Italy of so many of her sons.[52]

What can be concluded from comparison of these three excerpts is that the members of the IRRC stressed their political stances only in private appeals and through journals, such as the *Review of Reviews,* which shared anti-Fascist support.

Another significant episode which makes it possible to understand the dual nature of the committee concerns Francesco Luigi Ferrari and Giuseppe Donati, two members

[50] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 1/1.
[51] RUL, MS 943, C.145: Steed to Enthoven, 24 October 1928.
[52] 'Italian Refugees in France', *Review of Reviews*, 77 (1928), 359-360.

of the *Partito Popolare*, close to Sturzo and Salvemini, living in exile in Belgium and France respectively. Giovanni Grasso claims that it is impossible to understand the relationship between Salvemini and Sturzo without analysing their friendship with Donati and Ferrari.[53] Ferrari – mentioned above with reference to the organisation of the anti-Fascist press exhibition in Cologne – spent his exile in Louvain, in Belgium. Archival documents show that in January 1928 the IRRC loaned fifteen pounds to Ferrari, then donated another sum of money for the publication of his PhD thesis, *Le régime fasciste italien*.[54] Similarly, the IRRC helped Donati, who was suffering from financial strain after having been forced to leave Italy. Donati had been Sturzo's right-hand man in the *Partito Popolare*; in June 1925, after having accused General De Bono of being involved in the assassination of Matteotti, he had to move to France to avoid reprisals.[55] Since the IRRC had no available funding to help him, Rawson and Russell personally lent him a sum of money.[56] When the committee eventually had enough funding to support Donati,

[53] Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, p. XI. On Salvemini and the *Popolari*, see Francesco Trainello, 'Salvemini e l'antifascismo cattolico', in *Atti del Convegno su Gaetano Salvemini*, pp.157-182.

[54] On Ferrari, see 3.3. RUL, MS 943, R.7: report of meeting, 7 March 1928; R.8: report of meeting, 4 May 1928; C.99: Sturzo to Muir, 6 January 1928; C.134: Muir to Kennedy, 16 May 1928; C. 135: Ferrari to Muir, 22 May 1928; LS, b. 77, f. BP 306/2, fol. 95: Enthoven to Sturzo, 18 July 1928.

[55] Giuseppe Donati (1891-1931) was the editor of *Il Popolo*; in 1926 he founded in France the *Corriere degli Italiani*, then, in 1928, the anti-Fascist review *Il Pungolo*. Victim of Fascist espionage, in 1930 he moved to Malta, where he worked as a teacher, but his fragile health forced him to return to Paris, where he died in 1931. See Giuseppe Ignesti, 'Giuseppe Donati', in *Dizionario storico del movimento cattolico in Italia,* II, pp. 181-190. Salvemini met Donati at the University of Florence, where Donati studied. They remained friends throughout their lives, although Salvemini distanced himself from Donati when he began to quarrel with Berneri on Fascist espionage, indirectly provoking the collapse of the IRRC, as will be shown in 6.5. See *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 84-85.

[56] LS, b. 77, f. BP 306/2, fol. 104: Enthoven to Sturzo, 2 August 1928; RUL, MS 1244, CE 43: Sturzo to Enthoven, 31 July 1928; CE.44: Sturzo to Enthoven, 3 August [1928]; CE.45: Donati to Enthoven, 3 August 1928.

Rawson and Russell generously used this money to forgive Donati's debt.[57] The sum granted to Donati would help the subsistence of his family: a gesture which could be interpreted as purely humanitarian. Conversely, the money gifted to Ferrari – to which Rawson and Kennedy added another personal donation, as proved by a letter she wrote to Sturzo – had a political aim, as it served to publish an anti-Fascist book.[58] Indeed, the committee's reports do not mention Ferrari's publication, but justify the donation as a sum to cover Ferrari's expenses in pursuing a degree.[59]

The help given to the exiles was inevitably political in nature and went beyond a humanitarian spirit. An emblematic case in this regard is represented by Camillo Berneri's legal troubles, which impacted on the IRRC due to the role played by his wife Giovanna Caleffi. In March 1928, Camillo Berneri was accused of having aided Alvise Pavan in the murder of Angelo Savorelli. In reality, Berneri was victim of one of Ermanno Menapace's Fascist plots: both Savorelli and Pavan were Fascist spies, members of two different *reti fiduciarie* working in France and watching Berneri.[60] When Berneri was involved in the preliminary investigation carried out by the French police, the necessity of helping him to cope with the legal costs of his defence forced the IRRC's members to consider how to address this issue while adhering to the non-political precondition, especially in light of the fact that Berneri's wife was in charge of coordinating the work of the committee in France. In other words, the committee had

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[57] RUL, MS 943, A.31: list of donors for Donati [n.d.]; CE.1: Zanotti Bianco to Enthoven, 26 October 1926; CE.50: Russell to Enthoven, 21 August 1928; CE.51: Sturzo to Enthoven, 25 August 1928; IULL, ARc, f. August-October 1928: 9 October 1928 (Donati to Russell, attached to a letter to Mary Berenson).

[58] LS, b. 77, f. BP 306/2, fol. 95: Enthoven to Sturzo, 18 July 1928.

[59] RUL, MS 943, R.10: report of meeting, 24 October 1928.

[60] Berneri described the Savorelli-Pavan question from his point of view (at the time he was not aware of Menapace's plots) in *Lo spionaggio fascista all'estero* (Marseille: Esil, [1929(?)]), pp. 29-30. See also Canali, *Le spie del regime*, pp. 205-206, 224-225, 737n.

to evaluate whether helping Berneri – a man who could not afford legal expenses to defend himself against accusations levied by the Fascists – was to be considered a political or philanthropic action.

The papers of the IRRC make it possible to follow the evolution of the internal debate arising from this question. The first request to use IRRC funds to help Camillo Berneri came from Daphne Larwill, who, in view of her collaboration with Giovanna Caleffi Berneri for the IRRC in Paris, was deeply concerned about the situation.[61] Larwill – who, upon her appointment, had doubted the non-political precondition of the committee – was convinced that something had to be done to help Berneri: 'The cause of [the refugees] being here destitute of means […] is political, there is no difference whether we can give them food and clothes or the means to defend themselves against further persecution and unjust accusation', she wrote.[62] The reactions to these requests can be analysed through Rawson's correspondence with the members of the IRRC. In particular, a letter to Mary Murray demonstrates how Rawson approached the matter:

> How very good of you to send that generous contribution. It reached me by the same part as an urgent appeal from Mrs Larwill for help, and I thought I would tell you about it in case you would like your cheque added to any special fund we may raise. […] She and all his friends are completely convinced of his [Berneri's] innocence but influential pressure is being brought to bear against him, and things may go badly in the courts if an adequate defence is lacking. […] I have written immediately to Salvemini to ask for more information, because we are to make a special appeal, even if only among our members, we ought to know as many details as possible.[63]

[61] RUL, MS 943, CF.37: Larwill to Enthoven, 17 March 1928.
[62] RUL, MS 943, CF.41: Larwill to Enthoven, 25 March 1928.
[63] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 542, fol. 163: Enthoven to M. Murray, 20 March 1928.

The replies Rawson received on the matter, including letters from Mary Murray, Kennedy, Sturzo, Muir and Slesser, show that the members of the committee unanimously rejected the idea of using the money of the IRRC to cover Berneri's legal expenses.[64] In this respect, Kennedy's reply is particularly significant: it proves that Virginia Crawford approved the use of the IRRC fund for Berneri, and that she proposed as an alternative to use the money donated to the IRRC by Romain Rolland. Conversely, Kennedy believed that a special fund should be created for the purpose of helping Berneri:

> I am sorry to disagree with Mrs Crawford, but I think it is quite impossible to use the Refugee Fund for the defence of Berneri. The money was subscribed for a definite purpose, the relief of distress among the refugees in Paris, and we have no right at all to divert it to other uses without the consent of the subscribers. In addition to this we are indulging in a bit of special pledging, as it is, in calling ourselves 'non political', and to come to the help of a man accused of a crime which must be political, would be going rather far, in my mind. I have little doubt that there are, among our subscribers, some who are humanitarian simply, and not particularly anti-Fascist. We can't risk offending them by using their money in this way. And we can't earmark Romain Rolland's money and say that we use it only, even if we, as a Committee, have any right to do it at all. Which I protest we have not. If there is any chance of getting up a special fund to help Berneri, I should be glad to give what I can.[65]

Similarly, Salvemini suggested that the only way to help Berneri was to send money privately: 'Se noi che crediamo nella innocenza di Berneri vogliamo aiutare la famiglia, bene', he explained. 'Ma dobbiamo farlo per conto nostro, non come comitato.'[66] Eventually Salvemini and the members of the IRRC collected the sum of twenty-one

[64] RUL, MS 943, C.121: Sturzo to Enthoven, [March 1928]; C.123-127: letters from Kennedy, Muir, Beer, and Slesser, to Enthoven, all dated 22 March 1928; Murray to Enthoven, 25 March 1928.
[65] RUL, MS 943, C.123: Kennedy to Enthoven, 22 March 1928.
[66] ISTREC, GS, b. 68, f. Marion Rosselli: Salvemini to Enthoven, 21 March 1928.

pounds to help Berneri, as a letter from Giovanna Caleffi Berneri to Rawson proves.[67] Furthermore, the members of the IRRC managed to help the Berneris in other ways. From January 1928, before her husband incurred legal troubles, Giovanna Caleffi Berneri received one pound each month from the IRRC to cover her expenses. The fact that this sum was quadrupled only twelve months later – when Camillo was expelled from France as a consequence of another of Menapace's plots – represented a diplomatic way to help the Berneris using the committee's funds.[68] Indeed, another letter by Giovanna Caleffi Berneri proves that she and her husband considered her pay raise as a personal favour: 'Anch'egli [Camillo] è rimasto commosso del generoso interessamento dei nostri amici inglesi. In realtà, per quanto non li conosciamo tutti, ci sembra di avere degli amici laggiù'.[69] On the one hand, this strategy allowed the committee to circumvent the non-political precondition; on the other, it contributed to worsening the polemics amongst the exiles living in France, to the point that they caused the committee's dissolution.

6.5 Internecine Rivalries and the Dissolution of the Committee

The previous sections have shown that the non-political precondition allowed the committee to avoid the surveillance of the Fascist police and to attract the attention of public opinion by presenting itself as a humanitarian organisation. Besides these advantages, the drawbacks they faced must be taken into account. The most evident disadvantage of declaring a non-political stance consisted in underestimation of the

[67] RUL, MS 943, CF.42: Caleffi Berneri to Enthoven, 5 April 1928; Camillo Berneri, *Epistolario Inedito II*, ed. by Paola Feri and Luigi Di Lembo (Pistoia: Archivio Famiglia Berneri, 1984), p. 27-28: Salvemini to Fabbri, 11 April 1928.
[68] RUL, MS 943, C.156: Russell to Kennedy, 19 December 1928; IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1928: 20 December 1928.
[69] RUL, MS 1244, CE.61: Berneri to Enthoven, 31 January 1929.

political challenges faced by the *fuorusciti* in France, including internecine rivalries between members of political factions and Fascist infiltration.

In this regard, Camillo Berneri's case, which provoked the collapse of the committee, is emblematic. In 1929 Donati polemically accused Berneri of having taken personal advantage of the help given to refugees. More precisely, Donati accused Berneri of having built his own house at the expense of the IRRC. Within the broader debate on Fascist espionage, Donati and Berneri were unwittingly playing into their enemies' hands.[70] These calumnies, based on Giuseppe Stragliati's slander, provoked the reaction of Giovanna Caleffi Berneri, who confessed her disappointment in a series of letters to Rawson. Although the IRRC trusted Caleffi Berneri, Stragliati and Donati's accusation made her reconsider her role in the committee. The following excerpt provides a vivid description of the rivalry within the community of *fuorusciti* in France:

> Sono stata lì per lì l'altro giorno dietro l'indignazione di quanto leggevo, per inviare le mie dimissioni. Poi ho pensato di scrivere a lei, di dirle tutto, quantunque mi pianga l'animo doverla mettere al corrente di queste bassezze. Lei sa che Stragliati, pur non facendo niente per il comitato […] è sempre il segretario generale. Crede lei ch'io possa continuare ad occupare la mia carica dopo quanto avvenuto e con a fianco, sia pure solo di nome, il sig. Stragliati? […] Io non posso lasciar passare quest'attacco ed ho diritto ad una chiarificazione poiché se io ho dei doveri di gratitudine (che sentirò sempre) è verso di lei e verso tutti i membri del comitato, ma non verso il sig. Stragliati. […] Quanto è meschino tutto questo, e come è triste vedere tirare in ballo certe cose private, travisarle, falsificarle pur di riuscire a schiacciare un uomo! Sarà effetto del nervosismo che esiste nell'ambiente antifascista, sarà conseguenza della inferiorità del nostro movimento che fa sì che, fra quelli colpiti da una stessa triste sorte, nascano malintesi, dispute ecc. […] Mi sono sentita in dovere di avvisarla di tutto questo e l'amica ha sentito il bisogno di rivolgersi all'amica certa di essere compresa.[71]

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[70] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 103-109 and 127; Giuseppe Donati, 'Partitura in sol-fa(to di rame) per pifferi di montagna', reprinted in *Il Pungolo. Rassegna periodica di critica e cultura politica. Parigi 15 dicembre 1928-15 febbraio 1930*, ed. by Ercole Camurani (Bologna: Forni, 1977), pp. 105-112.
[71] RUL, MS 1244, CE.64: Caleffi Berneri to Enthoven, 26 May 1929.

As Berneri explained in a report of July 1929, she would be willing to remain, provided that the IRRC confirmed its trust in her, as eventually happened. Nevertheless, the July 1929 report is the last document available about the activity of the IRRC. Apart from a financial statement dated 1930, the absence of any further communication following that date suggests that the quarrel between Donati and Berneri brought the committee to collapse.[72]

Rawson's account of Salvemini's life in Britain provides a diplomatic explanation of what happened, stating that 'after two or three years, work lapsed, as the refugees were gradually absorbed into French life'.[73] In reality, a letter found amongst Salvemini's correspondence proves that Salvemini himself considered the work of the committee to be complete, and reaffirmed the boundary between public and private support of anti-Fascism:

> I think you must no longer bother about Italian Refugees. They should have settled themselves. You undertook a relief work for the first necessities, not for ever. Whoever was not yet able to settle, is an incapable poor devil, and it is not useful to mind about him! Of course if there is something in order to help, in an exceptional way, some man like Berneri, or rather his family, this is another matter.[74]

In conclusion, a balanced analysis of the IRRC must appreciate that, despite the relief it succeeded in giving to anti-Fascists in need living in France, the non-political precondition weakened its action. The IRRC was an indirect victim of the plots hatched by the Fascists, since it could not publicly adopt a strong stance against the agents provocateurs' actions. Equally, the IRRC could not address internecine rivalries within

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[72] RUL, MS 943, A.28: balance sheet, 31 December 1929; A.30: balance sheet, 22 May 1930.
[73] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[74] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Russell, 16 May 1930.

the *fuorusciti* in Paris in order not to enter a political debate and respect the humanitarian nature of the committee. In addition, the image of exiles as harmless victims of the Fascist regime contrasted with the irresponsible behaviour of some of those who accused one another. The decision not to contradict this image by taking a political stance – for instance, openly condemning the activity of the Fascist agents provocateurs – brought only a partial fulfilment of the committee's aims. Nevertheless, description of the activity of the IRRC has brought to light the extent to which the question of denouncing Fascist violence was considered urgent in Britain. Although the members of the IRRC advocated the humanitarian nature of their actions – as an inspiring ideal and preventing Fascist reprisals – the episodes thus far analysed should be seen as part of a broader plan to oppose Fascist propaganda, in which the establishment of committees played a central role.

7. **Clandestine Activities**

The previous chapter proved that the members of the IRRC carefully assessed the advantages and drawbacks of publicly associating their names with activities which could be watched by the Fascist police. The most dangerous risk was that of causing reprisals to people living in Italy, as in the case of Alys Russell, who was worried about her sister's safety.[1] Another risk, though one improbable for a British citizen, was that of being arrested for anti-Fascist activity while visiting Italy. In May 1927, in one of her letters to Mary Berenson, Russell commented on her involvement in the IRRC as follows: 'Gilbert [Murray] has promised to teach me Greek if we both find ourselves in an Ital[ian] prison'.[2] Similarly, Marion Rawson feared arrest when Salvemini suggested she travel to Italy on his behalf:

> I had a letter from Salvemini imploring me to have *nothing* to do with any anti-Fascist affairs here – he wants me to reserve myself for work in Italy! Thanks very much, I see myself very soon in prison!! I'm afraid I've not got the right brain for that kind of work![3]

Therefore, investigation of Salvemini's experience in Britain must also take into account heretofore unexplored clandestine activities. The papers donated by Rawson to the University of Reading reveal some details of her journeys to Italy. However, her work can be fully understood thanks to an unpublished account held by her son, John Rawson: *Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism*. This account represents the first-hand testimony

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[1] See 6.2.

[2] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. April-May 1927: 21 May 1927. The reason for Murray's hypothetical blacklisting was that he had written the preface of Luigi Sturzo's book *Italy and Fascismo* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926).

[3] RUL, MS 943, C.1: Enthoven to Kennedy, [n.d.].

of her commitment to the anti-Fascist cause, describing a trip she made in 1928, and revealing that she also visited Italy in 1927 and again in 1929 to exchange information between the anti-Fascists in Italy and the *fuorusciti*.

7.1 British Supporters and Fascist Control

Before analysing Rawson's journeys, it is vital to refer to the papers of the ACS to understand what the Fascist police knew about Salvemini's supporters. Surprisingly, the files concerning foreigners suspected of being subversives do not mention Alys Russell.[4] This is especially unexpected since Luigi Villari indicated her as the person who had organised Salvemini's 'Great Lecture' in 1926: Villari described her as Bertrand Russell's ex-wife, but not as Mary Berenson's sister, although he was certainly aware of this relationship as he frequented the Anglo-Florentine community.[5] Furthermore, in Salvemini's CPC file there is no mention of the period Salvemini spent at Russell's house in 1926, when they were living together at St. Leonard's Terrace, in Chelsea.[6] Despite her not having been identified by the Fascist police, Russell was concerned about the warning received by the American Consul in Florence in 1927, and therefore preferred not to visit Italy until 1930, when she was reassured about her and her sister's safety:

> The Embassy rang up this morning and said it was quite all right for me to go to Italy, they had heard from Rome and the For[eign] Minister said so, safe for me and without injury to you. The Sec[retary] added that there could never have been any difficulty about it, and he didn't see why I had refrained from going. I asked him to put the permission or guarantee in writing, but that he refused to do. However, that doesn't matter now that I can really go.[7]

[4] The reference is to ACS, PS, J5.
[5] ACS, MCP, Reports, b. 8, f. 82: Villari to Mussolini, 24 March 1926.
[6] In his personal file in the CPC, Salvemini's address in London was recorded as 20 Warwick Square, as it was from the middle of 1927. ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: note 15 December 1927.
[7] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1930: 9 December 1930.

The fact that archival documents do not report Russell's anti-Fascist stance suggests that the Fascist police underestimated her role in Salvemini's British exile. This aspect can be related to the peculiarity of the Berensons' position in Italy, and can be verified by looking at the ACS papers.[8] Two files were opened on Berenson, one in 1928 and the other in 1938.[9] The only reference to Berenson's anti-Fascist position previous to 1928 is dated 2 November 1925. A document sent directly to Mussolini by the Secretary of the *Federazione Fascista Laziale Sabina* stated*:*

> A Firenze vi è una cricca che si riunisce ogni settimana per espletare opera ai danni del Fascismo e dell'Italia, complottando e perpetrando la più ostile propaganda all'estero. Sono Guglielmo Ferrero, Salvemini, il critico dell'arte Berenson, il sig. e la sig. Waterfield […], la signora Wandervelde [*sic*] moglie del noto min. socialista belga, Ugo Ojetti. […] Il luogo di riunione è quasi sempre casa Berenson.[10]

Despite this note – inaccurate only insofar as Salvemini was concerned, as he had left Florence – no further information was added until November 1928, when it was reported that 'in casa [Berenson] convengono spesso elementi antifascisti italiani e stranieri e si ha ragione di credere che spesso da quelle riunioni si diramino comunicazioni destinate a varcare le Alpi'.[11] However, as a result of a subsequent investigation, the *Prefetto* of Florence concluded that 'non si hanno elementi per ritenere che siano stati fatti per tramare contro il fascismo e tanto meno per compilare comunicati destinati all'estero'.[12]

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[8] On Berenson's peculiar position in Italy, see Isabelle Richet, 'The "Irresponsibility of the Outsider"? American Expatriates and Italian Fascism', *Transatlantica*, 1 (2014), <http://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/6853> [accessed 8 October 2019].

[9] ACS, PP, personali, b. 111, f. Bernardo Berenson; ACS, PS, J5, b. 30, f. Bernardo Berenson [*sic*].

[10] ACS, SPD, riservato, b. 48, f. Salvemini: Federazione Fascista Laziale Sabina to Mussolini, 2 November 1925.

[11] ACS, PP, b. 111, f. Berenson Bernardo: note 14 November 1928.

[12] ACS, PP, b. 111, f. Berenson Bernardo: Prefetto di Firenze to Ministero dell'Interno, 20 December 1928.

The next document in the file is dated February 1933, when surveillance on Berenson officially began. His behaviour showed nothing of note until 1941, when, being American, his position as an enemy alien had to be assessed. Nevertheless, Berenson remained at *I Tatti* until the end of the Second World War, thanks to the intervention of Senator Alessandro Contini Bonacossi and the interest of the Princess of Piedmont, Maria José.[13] The fact that the Fascist police did not carry out a comprehensive investigation of the Berensons before 1933 allowed Alys Russell's support of Salvemini to remain almost unnoticed: the warning given by the American Consul in Florence to the Berensons in 1927 was an isolated episode and did not cause an investigation of Russell's collaboration with Salvemini, which the Fascist police never discovered.

As far as Marion Rawson is concerned, the papers of the ACS prove that she succeeded in avoiding being noticed by the Fascist police, as Salvemini suggested that she did not print her name in IRRC documents. Indeed, the only file on Rawson was opened in 1938, when her name was found amongst a list of subscribers to GL. However, this investigation produced only insignificant and inaccurate information:

> La nominata in oggetto abita col padre [in fact, he was her husband] in una lussuosa casa di loro proprietà al n. 8 di Campden Hill Square W.8 […] Il padre si chiama Graham Rawson; non esercita alcuna professione, vivendo di rendita, ed ha diverse persone di servizio alle proprie dipendenze. Sia la signorina in oggetto che il padre sono di idee conservatrici, ma non si è potuto aver prove sufficienti che i medesimi nutrino [*sic*] sentimenti antifascisti verso l'Italia.[14]

[13] ACS, PS, J5, b. 30, f. Berenson: Contini Bonacossi to Sebastiani, 12 May 1941; On behalf of the Princess of Piedmont to Senise, 4 July 1941.
[14] ACS, PS, J5, b. 281, f. Marion Rawson: telespresso n. 2283/280, 29 April 1938.

Furthermore, at the time of this investigation, Rawson was no longer visiting Italy, as she had stopped travelling on Salvemini's behalf in 1930. Conversely, Isabella Massey began visiting Italy in 1927 and continued until 1931.[15] According to a letter she received from Salvemini in February 1931, the Fascist police became suspicious about her after a journey she made to collect information on the forthcoming trial concerning Ernesto Rossi and Riccardo Bauer: anti-Fascists in Italy informed Salvemini that agents 'went to the British Institute asking for Miss Massai [*sic*]'.[16] For this reason, Salvemini warned her not to return to Italy that year, a recommendation that he repeated in 1934, when Massey was going to stay near Florence:

> Your name is known with the Police of Florence. If you go elsewhere, there is no danger of trouble. But if you go near Florence, your name will be at once sent to Florence, and within two or three days trouble would arise […] You should keep clear of Italy except if some exceptional circumstance makes it worthwhile for you and us to go there.[17]

As a matter of fact, the Fascist police did not record Massey's name until 1938, as she was mentioned on the same list of GL subscribers which caused the investigation of Rawson. However, in 1938 they did not succeed in uncovering anything about Massey, not even her first name.[18] Ultimately, they never connected Rawson and Massey with Salvemini: this means that no archival sources record the activities carried out in Italy by them, and for this reason, Rawson's *Notes on a Journey in Italy under Fascism* represent an even more significant document.

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[15] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/4: Rosselli to Massey, 11 March 1930; GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 December 1930.
[16] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 16 February 1931. On this episode, see 9.1.
[17] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 3 September 1934, published in Italian translation in *Lettere americane*, p. 110.
[18] ACS, PS, J5, b. 221, f. Miss Massey: telespresso n. 2427, 6 May 1938.

7.2 The Historical Relevance of Rawson's 1928 *Notes*

Rawson began writing her *Notes* in June 1928, when she returned to Britain after having spent two months in Italy, visiting Sori (a village close to Genoa), Assisi, Perugia, Rome, Florence, the Maremma, Briosco (Monza) and Milan. During such a long journey across the country, she was able to collect information and develop her own ideas on the Italian political and social situation, which she shared with Salvemini upon her return. However, in reading this account, one must be aware that most of the information she gathered was not included, as it was dangerous to put into writing sensitive information concerning anti-Fascist activities. Therefore, it is vital to look at the 1928 *Notes* without the hope of finding sensational details on the anti-Fascist struggle. It is equally important to read between the lines of this account to garner details on the connections between Italy and Britain, and to understand the communication strategies adopted by Salvemini's network.

The meaning of Rawson's Italian experience can be appreciated by trying to understand the reasons according to which she decided to keep her 1928 account private throughout her life, despite donating all her other papers to the University of Reading. A close analysis of the process which led to the composition of the *Notes* helps to determine the reason for Rawson's choice. The drafting of the account was interrupted by other activities she was carrying out for Salvemini, especially in relation to the plan for Carlo Rosselli's escape from Lipari.[19] When, after two months, she finished writing it, Rawson put it in a drawer and kept it there until 1957, when she decided to add a supplementary comment. As the comment explains, Rawson's daughter, Elizabeth, gave

[19] See 8.2.

her a reason to read the *Notes* again: since she was living in Rome, studying at the British School, Elizabeth wanted to know more about Fascism. In trying to find a way to explain to her daughter not only what happened from a historical perspective, but also the psychological effects of living under the Fascist dictatorship, Rawson began writing the supplementary note looking back at herself in 1928. She had been 'a serious young woman [29 years old] brought up in a leisured, moderately cultured English home […] rather a prig, no doubt, but genuinely shocked at what was happening in Italy'.[20] She remembered the feeling of strain and anxiety she experienced in Italy, which indeed pervades the account, especially due to the feeling of 'betraying' her own family, the Gigliuccis, who were unaware of her anti-Fascist involvement and of the real purposes of her visits. The devotion she felt for her family, who were unwittingly involved in her narration, might have induced Rawson to keep her account to herself even after the end of the Second World War. Furthermore, as the supplementary note explains, even after thirty years she considered the description of her journey 'of no interest in itself', and a 'personal view of everyday matters that [were] affected by historical events'.[21] Yet this explanation contradicts the fact that she would eventually publish some parts of the account as an 'Extract from an Italian diary' in the *New Statesman*.[22] In the 'Extract', published anonymously, Rawson wrote a short, censored excerpt concerning the general impressions she had gathered in Italy between Milan, Florence and Sori. Therefore, the decision to publish some of the less compromising sections of her 1928 *Notes*

[20] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 28.
[21] Ibid., p. 2.
[22] 'Extracts from an Italian diary', *New Statesman*, 11 August 1928, pp. 558-560. Comments on this article can be read in RUL, MS 1244, CE.46: Mario Einaudi to Enthoven, 3 August 1928; CE.51: Sturzo to Enthoven, 25 August 1928; RUL, MS 943, CF.55: Larwill to Enthoven, 27 August 1928.

demonstrates that she considered her experience relevant for giving a general sketch of the Italian situation.

In their original version, the *Notes* were a deferred diary, as it would have been too dangerous to write them while in Italy. Rawson felt the need to write down her ideas when she returned to her father's house at Great Ote Hall, in Sussex, where she was unable to talk with anyone about her experience. Her writing was conceived as a private necessity, 'merely a longing for a *sfogo*, a desire to get these mixed memories off my chest, sorted out and put away', she wrote.[23] Conversely, nowadays her memoirs have a significant historical relevance. Little information on Rawson's activities in Italy on behalf of the *fuorusciti* can be obtained from other sources, including the account of Salvemini's life in Britain she deposited in the Reading archive. In that text, Rawson did not provide details of her clandestine activity, except for a short paragraph in which she admitted that she was aware that such journeys would cause her some trouble sooner or later, and that for this reason, after her marriage, she stopped travelling to Italy until 1939, when she briefly visited her cousins and her friend Umberto Zanotti Bianco before the outbreak of the Second World War.[24] The 1928 *Notes* give a vivid and detailed picture of Salvemini's anti-Fascist network linking Britain and Italy, showing the crucial role played by British supporters in keeping alive the connection between anti-Fascists in Italy and abroad. Equally important are the impressions that Rawson could record from a privileged viewpoint: that of a British woman, known as an anti-Fascist sympathiser – but not as an anti-Fascist activist – living amongst Fascist relatives.

[23] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 2.
[24] RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.

7.3 Marion Rawson's 'Journeys in Italy under Fascism'

Rawson's *Notes* provide details on her journey of 1928, but also prove that she made at least two more trips to Italy. She had visited Italy in 1926, bringing clandestine materials – 'a packet from the Rossettis for that Zanotti Bianco of whom all our Italian friends talked with such affection and admiration'[25] – and returned at the end of summer 1929, shortly after Carlo Rosselli's escape from Lipari, when she 'carried really compromising documents from the exiles into Italy: meeting Tarchiani on the French-Swiss frontier, Bauer in Milan shortly before his long imprisonment, and again Zanotti Bianco, who was ill in Rome'.[26] From the narration it emerges that during the 1928 trip she did not bring written documents from the *fuorusciti*, as she feared that she could be subject to investigation: she preferred to meet people personally to forward their messages. Amongst the people Rawson met were some of Salvemini's closest friends, including Umberto Zanotti Bianco, Guido Ferrando, the Berensons, Umberto Morra and Margherita Bracci Testasecca.[27] Furthermore, Rawson met some British and Italian journalists supporting the anti-Fascist struggle, including Lina Waterfield, Sylvia Sprigge, later a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, and Mario Borsa, who

[25] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 8.
[26] Ibid., p. 28. See 5.5.
[27] Umberto Morra di Lavriano (1897-1981) was an aristocrat of Piedmontese origin. He had been shaping his anti-Fascist position in the Florentine *Circolo di cultura* and helping the distribution of *Non Mollare*. His house in Metelliano, near Cortona (Arezzo), became one of the main meeting places for Italian anti-Fascists. For his biographical profile, see Roberto Pertici, 'Un liberale del nostro tempo: Umberto Morra di Lavriano', *Annali Della Scuola Normale Superiore Di Pisa*, 14.1 (1984), 211–305. Another important meeting place for anti-Fascism was the house of Lucangelo Bracci Testasecca (1883-1952), who married Margherita Papafava dei Carraresi in 1913. Salvemini was staying at their house in via Quattro Novembre, in Rome, when he was arrested in 1925. The anti-Fascist network gathered around them has been studied (also in connection with Salvemini) by Valeria Mogavero, *Novello Papafava tra Grande Guerra, dopoguerra e fascismo. Alle radici di un'opposizione liberale (1915-1930)* (Verona: Cierre, 2010).

contributed to *The Times* with articles from Milan on foreign affairs.[28] Those meetings, or at least most of them, took place covertly in order not to arouse the suspicion of the Fascist police or of Rawson's Fascist relatives. As has been seen, the Fascist police were not suspicious of Rawson, and the fact that her Italian relatives were Fascist supporters made her journeys within Italy easier from that point of view. On the other hand, she had to conceal her political activism, especially from her uncle Mario, her cousins Bona and Nerina, and her brother-in-law Nino. By contrast, her cousin Donatello and his wife, Dorothea Carey, both anti-Fascists, supported her.[29]

Nevertheless, her ambiguous position within the family allowed her to appreciate life under the Fascist dictatorship from different perspectives. Confronting her own stances and experiences with both Fascist and anti-Fascist people made her realise that 'the issues [were] by no means so simple as we abroad, including the *fuorusciti*, are inclined to think'.[30] Rawson admitted that she was 'living simultaneously in two different worlds, which, though deeply divided yet had their points of contact, danger-

[28] According to the archival records of the *Manchester Guardian,* Sylvia Sprigge (*née* Saunders) officially became the foreign correspondent from Rome only in 1929, when Cecil Sprigge, her predecessor (and, from 1934, her husband) moved to Berlin. Nevertheless, she started sending articles from Rome at the end of 1927, when Cecil Sprigge recommended her as his substitute. See GB 133 GDN/B/S307A/46-50: correspondence between Sprigge and Scott, October 1927; David Ayerst, *Guardian. Biography of a Newspaper* (London: Collins, 1971), p. 559. Mario Borsa (1870-1952) lived in London between 1898 and 1910. Having returned to Italy, he worked at *Il Secolo* and *Il Corriere della Sera* under the editorship of Luigi Albertini. When Albertini was expelled from the *Corriere* for his anti-Fascist stances, Borsa left the newspaper and abandoned any journalistic work in Italy. However, since 1919 he had been collaborating with *The Times* as Italian correspondent. Borsa was carefully watched by the Fascist police (see ACS, CPC, b. 768, f. Mario Borsa) and in 1940 was arrested and sent to *confino*. See Alessandra De Nicola, *La libertà di stampa è tutto. Mario Borsa, cinquant'anni di giornalismo democratico* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2016).

[29] Indeed, Donatello and Dorothea Gigliucci would be sent to *confino* during the war for their anti-Fascist positions. See ACS, CPC, b. 2409, f. Donatello Gigliucci.

[30] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 3.

points where one had to be more than ever upon one's guard'.[31] She judged pro-Fascists as 'criminally ignorant of what [was] going on under their very noses' despite being 'on apparent good terms with old friends who [were] in reality anti-Fascist'. [32] What she experienced was a deep fracture, an 'immense and impassable gulf between the two worlds of Fascism and anti-Fascism' for which 'the anti-Fascists [knew] far more of what [was] happening than the pro-Fascists', who relied on the daily press alone to get information.[33] Rawson's interpretation – though it may seem naïve a posteriori of the complex historiographical debate about consensus under the Fascist dictatorship – is significant, as it sheds light on the difficulty in understanding the extent to which the Fascist dictatorship impacted life in Italy. As she explained:

> It is very difficult at all to adequately describe the sense of suffocation that one feels in Italy. Brought up, as we are in England, in an atmosphere of freedom and frankness which seems to us only natural, life like that to which the Italians are now accustomed […] seems like a nightmare. […] If one has to be all fair in one's judgement of the Italians, one must try to see things from their point of view. [...] The whole question of the state into which Italy has now slipped is so complicated that it is small wonder that foreigners get distorted ideas about it.[34]

A significant passage of Rawson's account describes the way in which Fascists and anti-Fascists reacted to episodes of violence while she was in Italy. Rawson's journey took place a few days after the failed attempt on the life of King Vittorio Emanuele III, on 12 April 1928 at the *Fiera campionaria* in Milan. The bomb attack, which killed twenty

[31] Ibid., p. 2
[32] Ibid., p. 13.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

people, aggravated the tension within the anti-Fascist milieu.[35] For instance, the arrest of the anti-Fascist philosopher Santino Caramella provoked a feeling of anxiety and indignation at Donatello and Dorothea Gigliucci's *casetta* in Sori, where Rawson was staying.[36] Conversely, at Briosco, Nerina, Donatello's sister, and her husband, Gian Angelo (Nino) Medici di Marignano, reacted differently. Nerina was the Secretary of the *Fascio femminile* of Briosco and Nino a *console* in the local *Milizia volontaria per la sicurezza nazionale*.[37] When Rawson visited them, Nino – aware of Marion and Donatello's anti-Fascist views, but not of their political activism – tried to convince her that the *milizia volontaria* was not a political force, but a national organisation which could not carry out arrests. When Rawson mentioned Caramella's arrest, as described by Donatello, Nino avoided discussing the matter, resorting to his usual retort: 'Nello [Donatello] non ne sa niente', which, according to Rawson, was 'the family explanation of Nello's anti-Fascism', demonstrating 'the half-intentional ignorance of the typical pro-Fascist'.[38]

One of the most important aspects which can be appreciated from Rawson's *Notes* concerns the role of Umberto Zanotti Bianco and his relationship with Salvemini's British network. The account reveals that Rawson met Zanotti Bianco for the first time in 1926, when the Rossettis asked her to take some documents for him to Italy.[39] She then met him again in London in 1926, when he secretly visited Salvemini. 'Since then I had become so involved with all their activities and anxieties that I felt […] that I was coming

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[35] Although the police tried to accuse anti-Fascists of the attack, the real responsibility was not clear and could not be ascertained: see 9.1.

[36] Santino Caramella (1902-1972) was arrested on 21 April 1928 and released in July. Close to Gobetti's intellectual circle, he collaborated with *Rivoluzione Liberale* and then with *Il Baretti*. See Silvano Scalabrella, 'Santino Caramella', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1988), XXXIV, pp. 649-652.

[37] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 23.

[38] Ibid., p. 24.

[39] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 8.

to meet an old friend instead of one [of] my meetings with whom could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand', she wrote.[40] Her account also confirms that Zanotti Bianco used to send letters to Salvemini via her address:

> He corresponds regularly, as I know only too well (most of the letters and papers passing through my hands) with Salvemini […]. The sight of his handwriting always makes me tremble for the secret of that invisible ink between the lines which, though known to so few of us, may yet one day be discovered.[41]

Indeed, amongst the papers Rawson donated to the University of Reading are some of the letters she received from Zanotti Bianco, one of which reveals the strategy they adopted to transmit messages between Italy and Britain:

> Miss [*indecipherable*] le porterà due boccette, una d'acqua di rose, l'altra di essenza giallina. Ogni qualvolta o lei, o amico fidato del loro piccolo gruppo mi dovrà scrivere segretamente mi invierà una lettera non compromettente sottolineando la data. Finita la lettera, dopo la firma mi scriverà le comunicazioni che ha da farmi con l'acqua che ha un vago profumo di rosa, badando che la carta non sia lucida perché altrimenti restano visibili i segni del pennino. Con della bambagia intrisa dell'essenza giallina io farò saltar fuori le loro comunicazioni. Io userò il medesimo sistema nei loro riguardi. Il pennino naturalmente deve essere nuovo, pulito. Faccia l'esperimento prima di scrivere, e ricorra a questo espediente solo nei casi di necessità. Mr Edwards[42] soprattutto ne avrà bisogno![43]

According to the *Notes*, the main purpose of Rawson's trip in 1928 was to exchange information with Zanotti Bianco. When they eventually met in Rome, Zanotti Bianco told her his views on anti-Fascism in Italy, though she did not record their conversation:

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Pseudonym for Salvemini.
[43] RUL, MS 1244, CE.20: Zanotti Bianco to Enthoven, 21 April 1927.

> Alas, much of what he told me that morning has been forgotten. Partly because he declared it essential that we should meet again before I left Italy in order to take the final news with me, I made no notes: though notes, *del resto*, would have been dangerous to keep.[44]

Although the content of their discussion is not available, it is possible to know that in Rome Zanotti Bianco introduced Rawson to Countess Nora Balzani, daughter of the historian Ugo Balzani, and then to Margherita Bracci Testasecca, who, along with her husband Lucangelo, were amongst Salvemini's dearest friends.[45] Furthermore, Rawson visited Luigi Sturzo's sister to check on her health, as Sturzo had asked her to do. Therefore, it seems that whilst the meeting with Zanotti Bianco was instrumental to further the anti-Fascist struggle, all the other meetings were aimed at maintaining the emotional bond between the *fuorusciti* and their friends or family living in Italy. As Rawson admitted, her involvement in the anti-Fascist struggle made her consider Salvemini's friends as her own.[46]

The political aspect of Rawson's involvement can be appreciated through analysis of her experience in Florence, where she carried out the most dangerous part of her duties, meeting – under the nose of her Fascist relatives – the Berensons, Lina Waterfield, Guido Ferrando and, once again, Zanotti Bianco. Furthermore, her uncle Mario's acquaintances included Luigi Villari, who Rawson often met at the Gigliuccis.[47] In April 1927, in a letter to Umberto Zanotti Bianco, she had explained her awkward position:

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[44] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 8.
[45] Ibid., p. 10.
[46] Ibid., p. 8.
[47] The friendship between the Gigliuccis and the Villaris began in 1879: they were living in the same building, Palazzo Gherardesca, in Florence. Pasquale Villari then became one of Mario Gigliucci's closest friends; their friendship extended to Pasquale's son, the Fascist propagandist Luigi. See Mario Gigliucci, *Reminiscenze* (Carate Brianza: Moscatelli, 1937), pp. 240-241.

> Non so per quanto tempo ancora posso andarci [in Italia] insospettata: sono certa che il Villari, il quale ho la sfortuna di incontrare qualche volta in casa di qualche mio parente qui, sa i miei rapporti con i fuorusciti. I Gigliucci (quelli fascisti) non lo sanno ancora. Non mi piace fare le cose di nascosto, ma mentre posso essere utile ai miei amici italiani, è meglio così.[48]

Her activity was complicated further by an episode which risked compromising her safety. In the *Notes*, Rawson gave a vivid description of what happened when a certain 'Miss de Robeck', a friend of the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent Sylvia Sprigge, called at the Gigliuccis asking for 'Miss Enthoven' (Rawson's maiden name).[49] When Rawson's cousin, Bona, took the phone call and asked the caller which one of the many 'Miss Enthoven' living there she needed, de Robeck added 'the Miss Enthoven who is Salvemini's secretary', alarming the Gigliuccis.[50] When Bona reported the episode to Rawson, this latter felt 'petrified at what they [the Gigliuccis] must be feeling', and she felt 'glad that [she] had brought nothing into Italy from him [Salvemini] this time'.[51] If the phone call had been intercepted by the Fascist police, the whole family would have been in danger: this forced Rawson to provide her relatives with an explanation. Rawson solved the situation by admitting to Bona that she knew Salvemini and that she collaborated with him, but that she was not his secretary. This explanation calmed Bona, but not her uncle Mario, the most fervent Fascist of the family. She tried to justify de Robeck's imprudence by admitting that many British people did not understand the situation in Italy as 'in England it was no crime to breathe Salvemini's name'.[52]

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[48] Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio*, II, p. 655: Enthoven to Zanotti Bianco, 3 April 1928.
[49] Probably, she was Nesta de Robeck, an expert on the Italian Renaissance, who frequented *I Tatti* with Sylvia Sprigge. Indeed, Nesta De Robeck's address appears in a list of people amongst Sprigge's papers. See RUL, MS 1703/1, f. 185: 'Nesta de Robeck, Borgo Aretino 7, Assisi'.
[50] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 14.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

Nonetheless, Gigliucci confirmed his disapproval, as he considered Salvemini a 'traitor to his country' and warned his niece that, though she was 'at liberty to meet him in England', if she had been travelling to Italy on his behalf, 'the Italian authorities would have had a perfect right to arrest [her]'.[53]

It is interesting to note that the news of de Robeck's incautious phone call reached Salvemini in London while Rawson was still in Italy: Salvemini was informed by a letter received by Alys Russell from her brother, who had heard about the episode as he was staying at the Berensons' house. Both in Russell's reply and in Rawson's *Notes*, Salvemini's reaction was recorded as mostly amused: '[Salvemini] laughed and laughed, saying I might have got fifteen years in prison and provoked an international incident. *E poi una perquisizione in casa Gigliucci!* and more merriment'.[54] This proves that the communication channels connecting anti-Fascists in Florence and Salvemini abroad were extremely efficient and fast.

Another aspect revealed by this episode is related to the reason for Sprigge's phone call. During one of her trips to Britain, Sprigge left her notebook at Sturzo's house. Rawson brought it back to her in Italy, preferring to give it to her in person, rather than post it, because of its compromising content. Indeed, Sprigge was 'acting as a means of communication between anti-Fascists in Italy and prominent *fuorusciti*', as Rawson admitted.[55] When Rawson eventually reached Italy, Sprigge asked her to post the notebook anyway, despite the risks involved. Eventually Sprigge received the notebook

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[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid., p. 17; IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. May-July 1928: 26 May 1928.

[55] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 15. Amongst Salvemini's papers there is a letter from Sylvia Sprigge to Salvemini, dated 3 May 1928, in which she states that she hoped to meet Rawson in Rome (ISTREC, GS, b. 106 f. Sylvia Saunders). Indeed, the political police was watching Sprigge, as confirmed by her personal file in ACS, PP, personali, b. 216, f. Silvia [*sic*] Saunders.

safely, but her and de Robeck's imprudence in communicating with Rawson obliged the latter to be even more cautious when meeting Salvemini's friends, in order not to give her relatives other opportunities to doubt her role.

This was a difficult task to carry out, particularly in Florence. Before de Robecks' phone call complicated her plans, Rawson had already met the Berensons once, justifying her visit to *I Tatti* as a way to see Umberto Morra. The Gigliuccis knew she had met Morra in London not as an anti-Fascist, but rather as a friend of Alessandro Passerin D'Entreves, and could not imagine that the Berensons had invited her for dinner 'as a friend of Alys Russell and of Salvemini', as was actually the case.[56] During the other visits she made to *I Tatti*, she met in particular with Lina Waterfield:

> My visits to her [Lina Waterfield] and to *I Tatti* were the high-lights of my stay in Florence, though they were a certain cause of embarrassment, the Gigliuccis knowing only too well that people like the Waterfields and Berensons would not have been so anxious to see me if there had not been some special reason, and it was obvious that we must have talked anti-Fascism.[57]

The Gigliuccis would have been equally alarmed had they been informed about her meetings with Zanotti Bianco and with Guido Ferrando, both known for being Salvemini's friends.[58] Nevertheless, her commitment to the anti-Fascist cause made Rawson decide to take those risks, though she always aimed to preserve her relatives' safety. This can be appreciated from the fact that Rawson decided to write a postcard to

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[56] Russell's papers reveal that Umberto Morra was staying at Russell's house in April 1927 with Alessandro Passerin D'Entreves (1902-1985), himself an anti-Fascist, close to Gobetti and Salvemini, at the time Rockefeller Scholar at Balliol College between 1926 and 1928, then Serena Professor of Italian at Oxford from 1945 to 1956. IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. April-May 1927: 24 April 1927; JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 13.

[57] Ibid., p. 19.

[58] On Ferrando, see 1.1.

her uncle, apologising for the trouble she had caused him, to which he replied by telling her 'how unwise it was to mix up in the politics of other countries'.[59] Nevertheless, the following passage proves that she did not change her opinion on the matter:

> I knew that I should go on 'mixing'. The anti-Fascist cause seemed to me only part of a world-wide battle, in which it mattered little on which front one took one's stand: international politics being now so complicated that the affairs of one nation cannot be regarded as of purely domestic importance. The cry of the oppressed is the affair of all lovers of justice, in every country.[60]

As a demonstration of her efforts, the *Notes* reveal that before leaving the country, Rawson asked Waterfield, Zanotti Bianco and Ferrando to meet her again, and to give her the latest news on anti-Fascism or anything they wished to pass on to Salvemini. Although she did not manage to meet with Zanotti Bianco again, as one of the letters she sent him was intercepted by the Fascist police, it is interesting to elucidate further details of her meeting with Ferrando, which is emblematic of her commitment to the anti-Fascist cause. She recorded her feelings when she arrived at the British Institute of Florence as follows:

> I still hesitated. Uncle Mario might well be there for a meeting, he often dropped in, anyway, and would be nearby at the Magona, I knew, that morning. He regarded Ferrando as deeply suspect, and would be horrified at my visiting him just before leaving the country. I pulled myself together. This was simply fear of further trouble with my relations. My feelings for them had got to be sacrificed. I went up the stairs.[61]

[59] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 21.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., p. 22.

During their meeting, Ferrando and Rawson discussed the latest news. He gave her some messages for Salvemini, 'saying I had better not take anything written with me, but pressed upon me two photographs of a ludicrous bust of Mussolini in the guise of a Roman Emperor for him (a present which Salvemini received with disgust!)'.[62] Then, before leaving for Britain, she arranged one last anti-Fascist meeting with Mario Borsa in Milan, as Waterfield had recommended she do.[63]

With Borsa, Rawson discussed Fascism at length, considering the attitude of Italians towards the regime and talking about the freedom of the press. The meeting allowed Rawson to open a new channel of communication between Salvemini and Italy, as she gave Borsa – who was under surveillance – her address in London, 'for him to use in sending anything to Salvemini, marking his letter with "p" (for purse = borsa)'.[64] When the moment of her departure approached, Rawson realised that she had gathered much information to report to Salvemini, but preferred not to bring anything written with her, as she confessed:

> I had to face the final anxiety: what would I risk taking with me across the frontier? I had very little that was incriminating: only a few notes, and these I decided to sacrifice. There was also Zanotti's letter, but it was fairly carefully worded, and I knew Salvemini would like to see it, so I put it in my purse and hoped for the best.[65]

Eventually Rawson reached Britain safely. Indeed, her final remarks express her regret for not having risked more and not having brought written documents with her. Upon her arrival in London, she met Salvemini who wanted 'to hear the news', and who gave

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., p. 21.
[64] Ibid., p. 27.
[65] Ibid., p. 24.

her 'work to do in connection with the plans for Carlo Rosselli's escape' from Lipari.[66] She concluded her account by recalling how stressful her journey had been and how she had suffered from a 'nervous reaction', but that when she recovered, she saw things from a different point of view: she felt her account was 'merely a record of facts of little interest, and barely worth the writing. Done at top speed, with no time to give it better form, it seems pretty worthless' – she added – 'but probably I shall keep it'.[67]

In fact, analysis of Rawson's *Notes* reveals quite the opposite of some 'facts of little interest'. As Ada Marchesini Gobetti wrote in an article published in 1961 about the women who fought the *Resistenza*, written testimonials are vital for keeping the memory of what happened alive:

> Bisognerebbe ricercare queste donne, stimolarle a scrivere […] farle parlare e registrar quello che dicono. Ricordiamo che più passano gli anni più la cosa si fa urgente. Le protagoniste di questa storia ancora da scrivere si allontanano, si disperdono, scompaiono. E rischia così di andare perduto l'insegnamento che si potrebbe ricavare da un'esperienza irripetibile.[68]

[66] Ibid., p. 27.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ada Marchesini Gobetti, 'Perché erano tante nella Resistenza', *Rinascita*, 18.3 (1961), 245-251.

8. Salvemini's British Network and the Rossellis

The need to keep the connection with Italy alive was an essential aspect of Salvemini's life in exile. Amongst the people who remained in Italy and about whom Salvemini cared the most were Carlo and Nello Rosselli. The main features of their anti-Fascist experience have been discussed at length, especially that of Carlo.[1] Their relationship with Salvemini has also been largely explored.[2] This section will investigate the role played by Salvemini's British network in helping the Rossellis between 1927 and 1929, when they were subject to arrests, trials, and internment. The analysis will concentrate on how Salvemini and his British supporters disseminated information about them amongst an international readership, in order to arouse interest in Fascist methods of justice and to put pressure on Mussolini.

In order to understand the concerted efforts in support of the Rossellis, it is vital to address the main features of their fellowship with Salvemini. What Elisa Signori defines as 'un sodalizio profondo e complesso' began in Florence in 1919, when Nello, a

[1] For an essential bibliography on the Rossellis, limited to the aspects addressed in this work, see Aldo Garosci, *La Vita di Carlo Rosselli* (Rome: Edizioni U, 1945); *Nello Rosselli. Uno storico sotto il fascismo. Lettere e scritti vari, 1924-1937,* ed. by Zeffiro Ciuffoletti (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979); *Carlo e Nello Rosselli e l'antifascismo europeo,* ed. by Antonio Bechelloni (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2001); Paolo Bagnoli, *Una famiglia nella lotta. Carlo, Nello, Amelia e Marion Rosselli* (Florence: Polistampa, 2007); Giovanni Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2007); Nicola Tranfaglia, *Carlo Rosselli e il sogno di una democrazia sociale moderna* (Milan: Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2010); Paolo Bagnoli, *Carlo Rosselli. Socialismo, Giustizia e Libertà* (Milan: Biblion, 2015); Gaetano Pecora, *Carlo Rosselli, socialista e liberale* (Rome: Donzelli, 2017).

[2] On Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli, apart from their aforementioned *carteggio* edited by Elisa Signori, see Roberto Vivarelli, 'Carlo Rosselli e Gaetano Salvemini', in *Giustizia e Libertà nella lotta antifascista e nella storia d'Italia. Atti del convegno di Firenze 10-12 giugno 1977* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), pp. 69-97; Fabio Grassi Orsini, 'Carlo Rosselli-Gaetano Salvemini: le origini del socialismo liberale', in *Carlo Rosselli e il socialismo liberale,* ed. by Maurizio degl'Innocenti (Manduria: Laicata, 1999), pp. 21-56. On Salvemini and Nello Rosselli, see Salvemini, 'Prefazione', in Nello Rosselli, *Saggi sul Risorgimento ed altri scritti* (Turin: Einaudi, 1946); *Memorie e soliloqui*, pp. 36-37.

History student, asked Salvemini to supervise his dissertation.[3] Carlo met Salvemini three years later, when he asked for help in publishing his thesis on syndicalism.[4] From that moment onwards, Carlo, Nello and Salvemini's intellectual and human paths would continue to cross until June 1937, when the Rosselli brothers were assassinated by Fascist killers in Bagnoles-de-l'Orne.

As far as anti-Fascist militancy was concerned, Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli had different views.[5] When Salvemini decided not to return to Florence after the Fascist reprisals of October 1925, Nello Rosselli approved his decision, while Carlo tried to convince Salvemini to stay in Italy to educate the younger generations on anti-Fascist values.[6] Indeed, Carlo Rosselli was at the time strongly convinced that anti-Fascists should not leave Italy. He began to change his mind in November 1926, when the law preventing emigration was passed and the *Tribunale Speciale* was established.[7] Rosselli became an advocate of exile for those anti-Fascists who could not actively contribute to the cause while remaining in Italy, especially elderly politicians and those who had been threatened, defined by Nicola Tranfaglia as 'sepolti vivi'.[8] In order to let them escape, Rosselli, along with Riccardo Bauer and Ferruccio Parri, organised clandestine expatriations to France and Switzerland.[9] Conversely, Rosselli believed that younger

[3] Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli*, pp. 14-16.
[4] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, pp. 16-17.
[5] Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli's political ideas clashed when GL joined the Concentration, and especially in the last part of Rosselli's life, when he seemed to develop a greater affinity with the Communist Party. See Signori, 'Introduzione', pp. 50-53.
[6] See 1.4; Signori, 'Introduzione', pp. 96-101; Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli*, p. 53.
[7] The reference is to *Regio Decreto* 6 November 1926 n. 1848 and Law 25 November 1926 n. 2008: see Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario*, pp. 99-105.
[8] Tranfaglia, *Carlo Rosselli*, p. 286.
[9] Riccardo Bauer, 'Carlo Rosselli e la nascita di GL in Italia', in *Giustizia e Libertà nella lotta antifascista e nella storia d'Italia*, pp. 205-215; Sandro Pertini, 'La fuga di Filippo Turati', in *Trent'anni di storia italiana 1915-1945*, ed. by Domenico Zucaro (Turin: Einaudi, 1961), pp. 95-98;

anti-Fascists, including himself, should remain in Italy as long as possible. For this reason, after having escorted Filippo Turati to France in December 1926, Rosselli returned to Italy, where he was arrested, interned in Ustica, tried in Savona in 1927, and eventually sent to *confino* to Lipari, only to escape in 1929, thus beginning his French exile.[10]

Archival sources related to Salvemini's British experience make it possible to reinterpret these well-known episodes in a new light. Three main aspects will be discussed: the coverage of the Savona Trial in British newspapers, the clandestine work that made Rosselli's escape from Lipari possible, and the British reactions to Marion and Nello Rosselli's arrests as a reprisal for Carlo's escape. The key role played by British intellectuals and Salvemini in helping the Rossellis will be investigated, and the strategies applied to nurturing the anti-Fascist campaign abroad will be analysed.

8.1 The Savona Trial between Diplomacy and the Use of the Press

Salvemini's memoir on the Rosselli brothers chronicles the events following Turati's escape.[11] Between January and September 1927 Rosselli and Parri were sent back and forth between prison and *confino*.[12] They were accused of having organised Turati's

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Enzo Tagliacozzo, 'L'evasione di Filippo Turati', in *No al fascismo*, pp. 49-69; Ferruccio Parri, 'Dall'espatrio al processo', in *Il processo di Savona. Dagli atti processuali del 1927*, ed. by Vico Faggi (Genoa: Edizioni del Teatro Stabile, 1965), pp. 98-102.

[10] Garosci, *La vita di Carlo Rosselli*, pp. 96-105.

[11] Salvemini, *Carlo and Nello Rosselli. A Memoir* (London: For Intellectual Liberty, 1937), pp. 15-32. See also Garosci, *La vita di Carlo Rosselli,* pp. 105-120; Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli*, pp. 82-87.

[12] The *confino*, introduced at the end of 1926 as part of the Public Security Laws, was usually applied as a cautionary measure, as a complementary penalty inflicted on political detainees (when the Tribunal could not render a guilty verdict), or as a continuation of restrictive measures after release from prison. Within the extensive bibliography available, see at least Celso Ghini and Adriano Dal Pont, *Gli antifascisti al confino 1926-1943* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1971); Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini. L'altra faccia del confino nei documenti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La

escape and having aided and abetted Riccardo Bauer in planning Giovanni Ansaldo's failed expatriation. When Ansaldo was found not guilty, Rosselli was interned for a month in Ustica awaiting Turati's trial. Immediately after Carlo left *confino* to attend the trial in Savona, his brother Nello was sent to Ustica, where he remained until February 1928 on vague accusations of having supported anti-Fascist activities.

While those events were taking place in Italy, Salvemini was occupied by his first American tour. Despite his absence from Britain, archival documents show that the intellectuals revolving around Salvemini promoted diplomatic action and planned to inform the press of Parri and Rosselli's cases. Nevertheless, it is vital to clarify that diplomatic initiatives and press campaigns had a limited impact on the positive outcome of the trial, which condemned the accused to a light sentence.[13] A passage of Turati's correspondence with Salvemini explains this point:

> Da principio […] sospettammo un ordine da Roma, per ragioni – diciamo così, di politica estera, che sarebbe stato allora merito della nostra – specialmente della tua – campagna giornalistica. Ma non dev'essere così, perché la requisitoria del PM, di soli due giorni prima, fu ben altra: per cui si deve proprio pensare a una repugnanza spontanea del Tribunale a essere canaglia del tutto.[14]

Pietra, 1975); Alessandra Pagano, *Il confino politico a Lipari 1926-1933* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003); Michael R. Ebner, *Ordinary Violence in Mussolini's Italy* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011); Camilla Poesio, *Il confino fascista. L'arma silenziosa del regime* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2011).

[13] Parri and Rosselli were sentenced to ten months' detention, most of which had already been completed while they awaited trial. See 'Sentenza del Processo di Savona', in *Il processo di Savona*, pp. 143-154.

[14] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. Filippo Turati: Turati to Salvemini, 28 September 1927. In 1956, Turati's impressions were confirmed by one of the judges, Pasquale Sarno, who revealed that Mussolini 'si occupava della cosa personalmente e guardava a Savona', but the judges obeyed only their own conscience, and their verdict was not influenced by Mussolini's pressure. Pasquale Sarno, 'L'evasione di Filippo Turati', *Il Mondo*, 17 January 1956, p. 6.

Despite its limited impact, analysis of the British intervention makes it possible to understand how Salvemini's network managed to involve British diplomacy and the press. The 1927 diplomatic intervention was modelled on that which Henry Wickham Steed and Arthur Ponsonby had organised for Salvemini in 1925. At Steed's request, the Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald approached Austen Chamberlain through his private secretary Walford Selby, who then asked the British Ambassador in Rome to talk to Mussolini about Rosselli and Parri's case.[15] In fact, the papers of the Foreign Office reveal that the initial request for help came from Italy, as Marion Rosselli asked Maria Rossetti to gather British support on the matter, especially involving their 'journalist friend', Steed:

> Our friends at Milan are of [the] opinion that it would be very helpful for Carlo and for Parri if the foreign press were to speak of this trial […] We should like the Government to be brought to see that it is not in its interest to persecute two young fellows like Carlo and Parri. […] Legally, little can be done here, because everybody […] declares frankly that […] everything depends upon a word from Rome, that is to say, from Mussolini himself. […] Could you please mention this to our journalist friend? […] Then it would be useful if some English journalists would write to me to ask for news of the trial.[16]

Thanks to her acquaintance with Steed, Rossetti managed to open a diplomatic channel to intervene with Mussolini. According to Steed, Mussolini was to be approached stressing the idea that 'harsh treatment' of Rosselli and Parri would provoke disappointment within British intellectual circles, therefore adopting the same strategy

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[15] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 155-162, 201-202, 217-221, 231-234: Steed to MacDonald, 26 January 1927; MacDonald to Selby, Selby to MacDonald, and Selby to Graham, all dated 27 January 1927; Graham to Selby, 4 February 1927; Graham to Selby, 11 February 1927; Selby to MacDonald, 16 February 1927, and MacDonald to Selby, 17 February 1927.

[16] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 159-160: M. Rosselli to M. Rossetti, typewritten translation [n.d., January 1927].

which had allowed Salvemini to be safely released in 1925. It is equally important to note that Steed underlined that Rosselli and his wife had British origins.[17] Indeed, it is evident that this aspect induced Chamberlain to authorise Graham's intervention:

> Sir Austen fully appreciates how very delicate the position is having regard to the fact that the individual involved is an Italian subject, but an excuse may exist in the fact that he appears to possess an English wife, and on that ground the treatment of Professor Rosselli may arouse disagreeable comment here.[18]

As mentioned, Graham's approach failed: the condition imposed by Mussolini for Parri and Rosselli's liberation was a public request for mercy, which they were not willing to make.[19] However, it is vital to analyse the correspondence between Graham and Selby in order to appreciate how Steed's political stances were considered in Fascist Italy. Graham described him as 'a fanatic in his hatred of the Fascist Regime', whose statements were 'based largely on information supplied by Don Sturzo, who is equally unreliable'.[20] In 1927, several issues of the *Review of Reviews* were seized and their dissemination in Italy was forbidden.[21] Graham therefore preferred not to mention to Mussolini that the appeal came from Steed, as this 'would certainly secure for him [Rosselli] the full sentence of twenty years imprisonment'. Furthermore, Graham asked Selby to keep news of his discussion with Mussolini private, in order to avoid Steed's

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[17] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 156-158: Steed to MacDonald, 27 January 1927. Sabatino and Pellegrino Rosselli, respectively Carlo and Nello's grandfather and great-uncle, married two British women, Harriet and Janet Nathan; their houses were frequented by *Risorgimento* exiles including Mazzini, who died in Pisa at Pellegrino and Janet's residence.

[18] TNA, FO 800/260, fol. 162: Selby to Graham, 27 January 1927.

[19] Indeed, the only possibility for release from confinement was being granted clemency by Mussolini: see Poesio, *Il confino fascista*, pp. 29-33.

[20] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 217-221: Graham to Selby, 11 February 1927.

[21] ACS, PS, F4, b. 77, f. Review of Reviews.

speculation in the press, as had happened during Salvemini's case in 1925.[22] This proves that in some cases the help of British intellectuals, especially those known for their anti-Fascist stances, was a double-edged sword which had to be handled carefully.

Although Graham wanted to avoid publicity in the press, Marion Rosselli insisted with Maria Rossetti precisely on this point. The role of the press in the anti-Fascist struggle was crucial, as MacDonald himself admitted to Selby, stating that 'Mussolini [could not] expect papers [such] as the *New Statesman* and the *Manchester Guardian* take no notice of what he [was] doing', especially given Salvemini's ability to disseminate information.[23] Indeed, Salvemini – who meanwhile had returned to Europe from the USA – planned a newspaper coverage strategy with Filippo Turati. It must be noted that they were expecting a long imprisonment sentence and did not anticipate a result representing a success for anti-Fascism.[24] According to the correspondence between Salvemini and Turati, their strategy was twofold, based firstly on informing the European press about the trial and, secondly, on creating interest in the treatment of political opponents in Italy. Turati had to write a letter to inform the newspapers about the upcoming trial, explaining the reasons which had forced him to leave Italy, stressing that life under the dictatorship was impossible, and asking the editors to follow up with news regarding the sentence. The letter was sent the Swiss newspapers *Libera Stampa*

[22] TNA, FO 800/260, fols 201-202: Graham to Chamberlain, 4 February 1927.
[23] TNA, FO 800/260, fol. 234: MacDonald to Selby, 17 February 1927.
[24] In fact, the judges acknowledged that Turati needed to leave Italy to preserve his health and safety, also thanks to the testimonial of Turati's doctor who stated that his patient needed medical treatment in France. As Garosci and Schiavi noticed, Rosselli and Parri based their defence on the moral necessity of their actions, taking full responsibility for Turati's escape, and justifying their clandestine activities through opposition to the Fascist dictatorship. In this way, they turned their being accused into an accusation against Fascism. Moreover, by acknowledging extenuating circumstances motivating Parri and Rosselli's behaviour, the judges admitted that life in Italy was dangerous for them. Garosci, *La vita di Carlo Rosselli,* p. 123; Schiavi, *Esilio e morte di Filippo Turati*, pp. 31-35.

and *Sentinelle*, Brussels' *Peuple*, the Austrian *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the German *Vorwärts*, *Frankfurter*, and *Kölnische Zeitung*, and the French *Quotidien*, *Populaire, Oeuvre,* and *Soir*.[25] In Britain, it reached the *Daily Herald, Daily Chronicle, Daily News, Westminster Gazette, Manchester Guardian,* and *The Times*. According to the original plan, a second letter written by Salvemini was to be sent after the trial to comment on the verdict, but the positive outcome eventually made this step unnecessary.[26]

As made clear in letters between Rawson and Sturzo, who in 1927 were often in contact because of the IRRC's activities, the British side of the plan involved Rawson, Crawford, and Massey, who edited the English version of Turati's letter and coordinated the despatch to the British press.[27] The headquarters of the press campaign for the Savona Trial was Rawson's family house in Sussex, where she, Crawford and Massey worked 'come bestie da soma', succeeding in attracting the attention of the main British newspapers.[28]

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[25] 'Una lettera di Filippo Turati', *Libera Stampa*, 18 August 1927, p. 1; 'Avant le procès de Turati', *Sentinelle,* 18-19 August 1927, p. 1; 'Meine Flucht aus Italien', *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 18 August 1927, p. 6; 'Aujourd'hui commence à Savone le procès intenté à notre ami Turati', *Populaire*, 19 August 1927, p. 1; 'M. Filippo Turati nous raconte comment il réussit à quitter l'Italie', *Œuvre*, 19 August 1927, p. 1.

[26] Fedele, *Filippo Turati e i corrispondenti italiani nell'esilio*, pp. 80-82.

[27] See Chapter Six.

[28] LS, b. 76, f. BP 305, fols 33 and 52: Enthoven to Sturzo, 6 July [1927] and 11 August [1927]. The following is a list of the articles published in the main British newspapers in 1927. In the *Daily News*: 'A Crime to Escape from Italy', 10 August, pp. 6-7; 'Turati Trial', 10 September, p. 8; 'Turati's Crime', 15 September, p. 7. In the *Daily Herald:* 'Escape from Fascists', 10 August, p. 8; 'Crime to Leave Italy', 11 August, p. 8; 'Crime to Leave Italy', 19 August, p. 8; 'Anti-Fascists Sentenced', 16 September, p. 8. In the *Manchester Guardian:* 'An Escape from the Fascists', 11 August, p. 9; 'Italy a Prison', 29 August, p. 14; 'Crime of Leaving Italy', 10 September, p. 11; 'Savona Trial', 15 September, p. 8; 'The Savona Trial. An Account of the Issues', 15 September, p. 18; 'The Turati Trial', 16 September, p. 12; 'A Bold Front to the Judges', 28 September, p. 2. In *The Times*: 'Signor Turati's Flight from Italy', 10 September, p. 9; 'Signor Turati Sentenced', 15 September, p. 11. In the *Westminster Gazette*: 'Driven into Exile by Fascists', 11 August, p. 2; 'Socialist on Trial for Leaving Italy', 10 September, p. 1; 'Sentences in Fascist Trial', 16 September, p. 2.

Archival documents make it possible to compare how Salvemini approached the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* on the Savona Trial. As far as the *Manchester Guardian* is concerned, it must be remembered that Salvemini began collaborating with the paper in 1923, when Lina Waterfield and Geoffrey Scott introduced him to the editor, Charles Prestwich Scott.[29] The correspondence related to Salvemini's collaboration with the *Manchester Guardian* reveals that Salvemini openly asked Scott to send a special correspondent to Italy, suggesting that he provide Barbara Barclay Carter, who worked with Sturzo, with a press pass for the trial.[30] According to a letter between Salvemini and Sturzo, they agreed that Carter was the best person for the job: she could cross the border pretending to be visiting her aunts who lived in the Ligurian village of Bordighera – a reason similar to that used by Rawson to justify her trips.[31] Nevertheless, the *Manchester Guardian* could not give press passes to anyone other than its own correspondents; Cecil Sprigge, the Rome correspondent, had already left Italy, and Sylvia Sprigge, his successor, was not yet in service. Although Carter could not be officially employed, she managed to attend the trial by pretending to be Marion Rosselli's British cousin, and the *Manchester Guardian* published her account as that of a 'special correspondent'.[32] Further details on her clandestine activity in Savona can be gathered from her unpublished correspondence with the *Manchester Guardian*:

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[29] See 1.2.

[30] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/22-27: correspondence between Scott, Salvemini, and Barclay Carter, August-November 1927. Barbara Barclay Carter (1900-1951) heard about Sturzo at the beginning of the 1920s, while she was a student in Paris, frequenting Marc Sangnier's intellectual milieu. She eventually met Sturzo in 1924 in London, where she began working for him as his main translator and provided him with contacts to expand his intellectual network. Their collaboration is described by Farrell-Vinay, 'Sturzo e l'Inghilterra', pp. 185-189.

[31] *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio,* p. 14: Salvemini to Sturzo, 31 July 1927.

[32] 'A Bold Front to the Judges', *Manchester Guardian*, 28 September 1927, p. 9. The article was reprinted as 'The Re-Awakening of Italy', *Review of Reviews*, 75 (1927), 376-377.

> The risk was considerable. Not a single other foreign paper hazarded a correspondent […]. The Italian journalists present were summoned before the Prefect, ordered to be as brief as possible, and forbidden to take any short-hand notes. For a whole week I had to be present in the court-house from 9.30 am till 7.30 pm and on the last night till 10.30 under continual observation from Fascist guards, police and the Bench. I need not tell you that discovery would have meant expulsion, at the very least.[33]

Conversely, Salvemini's approach to *The Times* was more cautious. Elena Fasano Guarini analysed *The Times*' political attitude during the Fascist period, proving that the editor Geoffrey Dawson adopted a 'fair play' editorial line supporting the stances of the in-office governments, therefore treating Fascism as an Italian domestic question and rarely expressing judgements on it.[34] Nevertheless, Fasano Guarini did not mention that, in August 1927, an unidentified special correspondent criticised the Fascist government, forcing Luigi Villari to intervene.[35] Considering this, it is less surprising that *The Times* published news on the Savona Trial. It is equally important to draw on another point clarified by Fasano Guarini: *The Times* should not be considered as the expression of an 'opinione pubblica vasta quanto indeterminata' but as representing and addressing political milieus close to the government.[36] This explains why Salvemini, at Russell's suggestion, asked Gilbert Murray, an intellectual frequenting political circles, to send a

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[33] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/24: Barclay Carter to Foreign Editor, [November 1927]; see also Barbara Barclay Carter, 'Il processo di Savona', in *Il processo di Savona*, pp. 103-115.
[34] Elena Fasano Guarini, 'Il Times di fronte al fascismo (1919-1932)', *Rivista Storica del Socialismo*, 8.25-26 (1965), 155-185 (p. 180). On the attitude of the British press towards the Italian regime, see also Aldo Berselli, *L'opinione pubblica inglese e l'avvento del fascismo 1919-1925* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1971).
[35] 'The Fascist State', *The Times*, 16, 17 and 18 August 1927, p. 11. Villari's reply, 'The Fascist State. A Defence', was published on 27 August 1927, p. 6; another letter to the editor contradicting Villari's statement followed on 2 September, signed by 'One Who Sympathizes with the Unfortunate Italians', p. 17. The *Manchester Guardian* commented on the articles by thanking *The Times* for its 'weighty articles' on 'Life in Fascist Italy', *Manchester Guardian*, 23 August 1927, p. 8.
[36] Fasano Guarini, 'Il Times di fronte al fascismo', p. 155.

letter to *The Times* on his behalf.[37] Although Murray's reply cannot be found, a further letter from Salvemini proves that Murray had asked for the collaboration of Professor Alexander Dunlop Lindsay, the Master of Balliol College, who, in November 1927, chaired Salvemini's conference in Oxford for the IRRC.[38] Nevertheless, Murray and Lindsay's intervention became unnecessary as on 10 September *The Times* had already published news about the trial.[39] Indeed, the efficiency of Turati and Salvemini's strategy in disseminating news about the Savona Trial allowed Salvemini to state that they 'succeeded in breaking the conspiracy of silence about the trial'.[40]

8.2 The British-Based Plan for the Escape from Lipari

Analysis of the press campaign for the Savona Trial in 1927 makes it possible to consider the work done from Britain in 1929 as its continuation. The concerted efforts that were made to facilitate Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu and Francesco Fausto Nitti's escape from *confino* in Lipari were summarised by Salvemini as follows:

> Al ritorno dall'America, nell'estate del 1929, ebbi una delle più grandi gioie della mia vita. Tarchiani lavorava a organizzare la fuga di Carlo Rosselli ed Emilio Lussu da Lipari. […] Due tentativi fatti da Raffaele Rossetti erano andati a vuoto nel 1928 […] Nel 1929 Tarchiani prese lui la direzione dell'impresa. Ebbe cooperatori un vecchio lupo di mare, Oxilia, e Gioacchino Dolci. […] Turati, Cianca ed io, che sapevamo quel che bolliva in pentola […] aspettavamo col cuore in bocca, seduti innanzi ad un caffè vicino alla Gare de Lyon. Nella penombra notturna, rotta malamente dalla luce elettrica, comparve l'alta figura di Tarchiani, e con la sua quella di Carlo e Lussu, e di due altri, Fausto Nitti e Gioacchino Dolci. Valeva la pena di essere passato attraverso tante traversie per godere momenti di esultanza come quelli.
> Dopo due giorni, Carlo Rosselli mi telefonò: 'Marion è stata arrestata ad Aosta'. Stabilimmo il piano di battaglia. Un gruppo di miei amici e amiche

[37] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 542, fol. 129: Salvemini to M. Murray, 5 September 1927.
[38] See 6.2.
[39] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 542, fol. 131: Salvemini to M. Murray, 12 September 1927.
[40] Ibid.

> inglesi si dettero a mandare lettere di protesta ai giornali di tutti i colori […]. Si dettero a tempestare Marion Rosselli nelle carceri di Aosta con telegrammi di protesta […]. Era facile prevedere che i telegrammi non sarebbero stati consegnati a Marion, ma a Mussolini, e costui – pacchiano e desideroso di conservare il suo buon nome all'estero, e specialmente in Inghilterra – avrebbe mollato l'osso. Così avvenne.[41]

Salvemini's description does not convey the complexity of the plan, which can be appreciated thanks to a detailed account written by Alberto Tarchiani.[42] Yet even Tarchiani's account does not pay enough attention to the work done in London, especially in 1928, when a group of British people, including Marion Rawson and Marie-Louise Peacop, supported Tarchiani, Italo Oxilia, and Raffaele Rossetti, who coordinated the operation. Their role has been acknowledged for the first time by Isabelle Richet; nevertheless, archival papers allow us to add further details.[43]

The fact that Raffaele Rossetti was in charge of the 1928 operation suggests the centrality of Salvemini's network to the plan. Indeed, Salvemini had insisted that Rossetti return to Europe from the USA to guide the expedition to Lipari in view of his international reputation.[44] Analysis of the relationship between Salvemini and Rossetti has highlighted that Salvemini's choice was part of a wider plan in which Rossetti played a key role in disseminating anti-Fascism in Britain and in the USA.[45] Another aforementioned aspect concerns the fact that, according to correspondence, Rossetti had studied the security system used in the *confino* islands as he aimed to promote an

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[41] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 94-95.
[42] Alberto Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari' in *No al Fascismo*, pp. 72-126. A collection of documents concerning the escape from Lipari is Luca Di Vito and Michele Gialdroni, *Lipari 1929. Fuga dal confino* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2009).
[43] See, all by Richet, the aforementioned 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks'; 'Marion Rosselli, la fuga da Lipari e lo sviluppo dei circuiti antifascisti in Gran Bretagna'; *Women, Antifascism, and Mussolini's Italy*, pp. 94-115.
[44] Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', pp. 78-79.
[45] See 5.3.

insurrection.[46] Finally, a third aspect concerns the relationship between Marion Rosselli and the Rossettis. It has been proved that at the beginning of 1927 Rosselli asked Rossetti for help with the Savona Trial. In fact, their friendship went back to 1925, as proved by a series of letters that Marion Rosselli wrote to Salvemini during a tumultuous period of her relationship with her future husband, during which time she was staying with the Rossettis in Rapallo.[47]

A posteriori, it is evident that Salvemini made a fatal mistake by putting Rossetti in charge. Although the failure of the escape attempt in November 1928 was influenced by unfavourable weather conditions, Tarchiani's account demonstrates that Rossetti's unwillingness to cooperate with others also played a role in overcomplicating the task.[48] Conversely, cooperation was the basis of the work done in Britain, as Marion Rosselli would come to appreciate in person when she reached London at the beginning of June.[49] Archival documents reveal that a group of people – most of them women revolving around Salvemini – were deeply involved with the escape plan, though they faced some difficulties in keeping their work secret. Such details can be gathered from letters held amongst Salvemini's and Rawson's papers, especially concerning Rawson and Marie-Louise Peacop.[50] Peacop had begun collaborating with the Rossettis during the early stages of the plan: her proximity to them has been mentioned in connection to the IRRC's activities, as Maria Rossetti asked her to remain incognito in order to be able to visit Italy

[46] ISTREC, GS, b. 106, f. Raffaele Rossetti: Rossetti to Salvemini, 26 August 1927. See 5.3.
[47] ISTREC, GS, b. 79, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Cave Rosselli to Salvemini, 9 April; 19, 25, 29 August and 4 September 1925; GS, b. 87, f. Maria Rossetti: Rossetti to Salvemini, 26 and 28 August 1925.
[48] Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', pp. 79-107.
[49] In 1928, Marion Rosselli had difficulties in obtaining a passport for Britain, where she planned to wait for her husband. See ACS, CPC, b. 1205, f. Marion Rosselli.
[50] RUL, MS 1244, CE.42, CE.47 and CE.49: M. Rosselli to Enthoven, 23 July, 14 and 20 August 1928.

freely.[51] Apart from this information, Peacop's life remains a mystery, as almost no biographical information has been found about her. Richet claims that she was a French teacher, but this assertion is not supported by any documents; amongst Salvemini's papers there is only a business card stating 'Miss Peacop', without further details.[52] What can be proved is that the Fascist police had no relevant information about her either, as her personal file shows, and that for this reason she was free to travel to Italy. [53]

Tarchiani's account confirms that Peacop made the first part of the trip from France to Italy with the Rossettis and Oxilia; with Maria Rossetti she was tailoring a sort of camouflage sheet for the boat on which they were sailing, one of Rossetti's bizarre ideas which slowed down the entire plan.[54] Jack Peacop – a clear reference – was the name printed on Rossetti's passport; all transactions were made under this name, as Peacop admitted to Rawson.[55] Interestingly, Tarchiani's account proves the involvement of Lalla Vandervelde, the wife of the Belgian Foreign Minister in contact with the Anglo-Florentine milieu, who agreed to give her name on the documents for the boat.[56]

A series of unpublished letters from Rawson to Salvemini reveals an information leak about the plan and allows us to expand the map of Salvemini's network. At the end of August 1928, it seemed that people in Italy knew that the Rossettis had returned to London from the USA. Rawson's letters tackling the issue, both dated 25 August 1928, are full of misunderstandings, resulting in part from Salvemini's unclear handwriting,

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[51] See 6.2.
[52] Richet, 'Marion Cave Rosselli and the Transnational Women's Antifascist Networks', p. 127; ISTREC, GS, b. 86, f. Marie-Louise Peacop.
[53] ACS, PS, J5, b. 256, f. Peacop.
[54] Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', p. 82.
[55] RUL, MS 1244, CE.56: Peacop to Enthoven, 15 November 1928.
[56] Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', p. 98. On the Vanderveldes, see Chapter Three.

which made Rawson mistake the names Rosselli for Rossetti, and Parigi for the Ligurian village of Paraggi.[57] A message from Marion Rosselli to Salvemini facilitates interpretation of the meaning of Rawson's letter: the news that Rossetti was in London had been spread by Hilda Dallas, a suffragette artist close to Marion Rosselli, but also in contact with Lolo Breman, wife of the Dutch Consul in Genoa and a friend of Rossetti's relatives living in Rapallo.[58] Indeed, in her 1928 *Notes*, which were written in the same period, Rawson judged Breman as 'passionately anti-Fascist, but somewhat unreliable in her statements and imprudent in her actions'.[59] Although this quarrel in itself does not reveal details of the escape plan, it is essential for appreciating the many communication channels opened between London and northern Italy. By carefully reading Rawson's letter, it is possible to explore those connections, starting from an episode involving Margaret Smyth, a friend of Rawson's, who, as the following excerpt shows, used to work with Salvemini:

> When I introduced her [Smyth] to Marion Rosselli she knew absolutely nothing, except of course who she was, and what you told her a day or two previously (when you met her in my room) about the way in which the passport had been obtained. If you remember you impressed on her the necessity for secrecy about this, and she promised you not to say a word to anyone.[60]

[57] ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Enthoven to Salvemini, 25 August 1928.
[58] ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: M. Rosselli to Salvemini, 30 August 1928. On the Bremans, see Chapter Three.
[59] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 6.
[60] ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Enthoven to Salvemini, 25 August 1928. In a letter to Luigi Sturzo, Rawson wrote: 'I am afraid that it is no good your sending book now to Miss Smyth […] because I hear that Salvemini is sending her a good deal to do'. LS, b. 76, f. BP 305, fol. 52: Enthoven to Sturzo, 11 August [1927].

The letter goes on to explain that a few days later Smyth drove Marion Rosselli to meet Hilda Dallas. During the trip, a *graticola*, the object used for deciphering coded letters, fell from Rosselli's bag, and Smyth noticed it:

> The incident suddenly flashed into my mind, and I thought that perhaps she [Smyth] could have guessed something. I therefore wrote to her, guardedly, for fear of saying too much, but impressing on her the urgent necessity for not speaking to anyone about Marion R.[osselli] at all. She replied that naturally she had guessed that there was something behind it all (the urge to obtain a passport, etc…); that she 'had learned young how to put two and two together, but also know to hold her tongue; and that she realized only too well what such things might mean to other people's lives, to have any desire to speak of them.[61]

Given that Smyth confirmed that she had not spoken to anyone about her suspicions, Rawson's letter continued by analysing the attitudes of another two figures revolving around Salvemini's circle, Crawford and Peacop:

> Miss Peacop, at first, probably did not realize the necessity for secrecy, and may have told friends who knew of her projected visit to America that she was not going because the Rossettis were returning. […] I know that, although no-one told her, she guessed, in the end, the reason of their return, or rather, she and my aunt arrived at it together. My aunt [Virginia Crawford] knew of the possibility of a plan to rescue C.R. [Carlo Rosselli] a very long time ago, before Marion's return, for you had told her of it, and she and Miss Peacop concluded that Nino [Rossetti] was coming to help. But I am sure that they would not have talked of this to anyone.[62]

Having excluded Crawford and Peacop's responsibilities, Rawson considered the behaviour of those who usually acted as intermediaries between London and the Ligurian area. Arguably, one of her main contacts was Nello Gigliucci, her anti-Fascist

[61] ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Enthoven to Salvemini, 25 August 1928.
[62] Ibid.

cousin living in Liguria, who knew that the Rossettis were in London, since he knew them and had seen them there:

> When I first saw the Rossettis in London, I told them that Nello [Giugliucci] was staying with me, and Maria wanted to send a letter by him to the sisters. Nino [Rossetti] refused, saying that he did not want them to know of his presence in England. This so impressed me that I several times reminded Nello [Gigliucci] not to speak of it to them, and I cannot think that he has done so.[63]

The most remarkable aspect of this complex episode is the speed with which news reached Italy from London, and the frequency with which British people connected to Salvemini crossed the border. Such an intricate relational system risked becoming a double-edged sword: although it was useful to count on people able to travel to Italy unnoticed, this implied the possibility of secrets being leaked. Another interesting point in this respect concerns Rawson's thoughts on the matter. It must be noted that while the escape from Lipari was being planned, in summer 1928, she had just completed the journey to Italy narrated in her *Notes*. Reflecting on the consequences of an information leak, Rawson observed that 'one needs training to be a conspirator! It is not so much a question of not telling people things, as to preventing them from guessing. All this anxiety […] has taught me a lesson in the agonizing responsibility of such matters'.[64]

Rawson's responsibilities were significant indeed. With Peacop, Rawson followed the unfolding of the events with much concern: as their exchange of letters proves, she was also worried about Marion Rosselli's state of mind, and for this reason she aimed to prevent her from returning to Italy until the definitive failure of the escape attempt, in

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

November 1928.[65] Furthermore, the *Notes* prove that she deciphered coded messages to and from Lipari: 'I had to do a long and tiresome job for Salvemini,' she stated, 'copying out instructions in code, with that wretched *graticola*'.[66] The reason that Salvemini asked Rawson to help him can be appreciated through a passage from Tarchiani's account: as he explained, the *graticola* was an extremely complex code system based on a rotating grid, invented by Rossetti, which caused a lot of trouble, especially to Salvemini, who was not able to decipher the messages and 'imprecava a ragione contro quella maledetta ruota'.[67]

There are not enough sources to prove that Salvemini's British network worked on the 1929 plan as well: in fact, it seems that fewer people were involved. The work was limited to Tarchiani, who directed the operation from Paris, and to Gioacchino Dolci, Italo Oxilia and Paul Vonin, who would ultimately rescue the *confinati.* After the exclusion of the Rossettis, it is also likely that Marie Louise Peacop took a step back, though she had a significant role after the escape. Rawson made no reference to any deciphering activity in 1929, and it must be noted that Marion Rosselli, who was not confident about the success of the enterprise, had decided to remain in Italy until the end of the operation – a decision which exposed her to Fascist reprisals. Meanwhile, Salvemini was lecturing in the USA, and would come back to Paris only at the beginning of that summer. It is likely that Salvemini and Marion Rosselli's absence from London made it unnecessary to open a British communication channel with Lipari. Despite the

[65] RUL, MS 1244, CE.56-57: Peacop to Enthoven, 15 and 21 November 1928. An example of Marion Rosselli's state of mind is given in her correspondence with Salvemini, in ISTREC, GS, b. 95, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Rosselli to Salvemini, 16 October; 14, 15, 19, 21 and 22 November 1928.
[66] JR, Rawson, *Notes,* 1928, p. 10; see also RUL, MS 1244, M.24: Rawson, *Notes on Salvemini*, 1965.
[67] Tarchiani, 'L'impresa di Lipari', p. 80.

fact that they were not involved in escape, Peacop and Rawson played a key role in coordinating the efforts to free Marion and Nello Rosselli from prison.

A digression on how the events unfolded is required here. While the escape from Lipari was taking place, Marion Rosselli was staying in Courmayeur waiting for news. Her arrest was ordered on 31 July, whereupon she was to be sent to *confino*. She was kept in prison in Aosta until the following morning, when for health reasons – she was pregnant with her second child – she was sent to a hotel and kept under surveillance there for two weeks. When the news of her arrest was reported by British newspapers, Mussolini decided to set her free – revoking the measure which would have sent her to *confino* – and to give her permission to leave Italy.[68]

Archival papers show that Rawson, Peacop and Massey were able to visit Italy to deal with matters concerning Rosselli's arrest. At the end of August, Peacop reached Italy through Switzerland – she was spending her holidays in Chamonix – and reported to Carlo Rosselli on his wife's health conditions.[69] A passage of a letter from Salvemini to Massey – 'Herewith the cheque of two pounds for yours and Jeannette's expenses to Aosta' – suggests that Massey also visited Marion Rosselli.[70] The analysis of Rawson's 1928 *Notes* revealed that she travelled to Italy in 1929 to meet Tarchiani 'on the French-Swiss frontier', taking with her 'really compromising documents from the exiles into Italy'.[71] The comparison between this statement and other archival sources makes it possible to understand the reasons for her 1929 trip. On 7 August, shortly after the

[68] ACS, CPC, b. 1205, f. Marion Rosselli; ACS, PS, confino, b. 883, f. Marion Rosselli; ACS, PS, 1929, b. 128, f. Evasione Lipari.
[69] RUL, MS 1244, CE.14: Peacop to Enthoven, 31 August 1929.
[70] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 9 October 1929.
[71] JR, Rawson, *Notes*, 1928, p. 28. See 7.2.

landing of the *confinati* in Paris, Salvemini wrote to Rawson: 'Marion Rosselli è rimasta in gattabuia! […] Ora occorre tirar fuori lei. Se vai in Italia, potresti aiutarci a preparare questa fuga. Sei disposta? Tu comprendi che è impresa non facile e pericolosa'.[72] The answer Rawson gave to this request is not available within Salvemini's papers, but the message she sent to Carlo Rosselli on 12 September – found within the papers of GL – proves that she agreed to go to Italy, and provides further details on what she did:

> All has gone 'according to plan'. I spent this afternoon with Tarchiani at Thonon, and very much enjoyed making his and his wife's acquaintance. He gave me the precious documents, and I understand perfectly what I have to do – not very difficult, *del resto*. I should be in Milan on Tuesday, and shall go to Genova Wednesday. I have promised to send him a line to Paris when I [have] finished in Milan.[73]

According to what she wrote in the *Notes,* Rawson met Riccardo Bauer in Milan and gave him the documents received from Tarchiani. No additional references to those documents could be gathered from archival sources, but it is likely that they were related to the foundation of GL – of which Bauer was one of the Milan delegates – rather than to Marion's liberation, as meanwhile she had been set free.[74]

Marion Rosselli's liberation was obtained mainly thanks to press campaigns. When Salvemini in 1928 chose Raffaele Rossetti to lead the escape operations which eventually failed, his choice aimed to maximise the propagandistic effect of the escape from Lipari and attack Mussolini's regime. Indeed, the success of the 1929 escape was reported in the foreign press. In Britain, the news was printed in the *Daily News, Daily Herald, Daily Chronicle,* and *Manchester Guardian,* but also in the *The Times* and *Daily*

[72] ISTREC, GS, b. 68, f. Marion Rosselli: Salvemini to Enthoven, 7 August 1929.
[73] ISTREC, GL, I/1.44: Enthoven to C. Rosselli, Wednesday [11 September 1929].
[74] See Bauer, 'Carlo Rosselli e la nascita di GL in Italia', pp. 210-211.

Express, articles which the London Ambassador Bordonaro noticed, sending news cuttings of them to Mussolini.[75] As had happened in 1927, during the Savona Trial, Salvemini contacted the *Manchester Guardian* directly, providing the editor with first-hand information on the escape.[76] Carlo Rosselli's correspondence proves that other newspapers reacted by asking for interviews to discover more about the unfolding of events.[77]

Equally important, and thus far underestimated, is the fact that similarly to 1925 and 1927 the members of Salvemini's network used a diplomatic strategy to achieve their aims. In particular, Lalla Vandervelde – who in 1928 had given her name for the boat's documentation – was willing to reassemble the committee which had lobbied for Salvemini's liberation in 1925.[78] Her efforts are proven by the correspondence between her and Robert Trevelyan: they planned to write to Arthur Ponsonby, who resolved

[75] The following is a list of articles published in British newspapers in 1929. In the *Daily Chronicle*: 'Amazing Escape from Island Prison', 8 August, pp. 3-4; 'New Ordeal of Fascist's ex Captive', 9 August, p. 3; 'Fascists Free Englishwoman', 19 August, p. 7. In the *Daily Express*: 'Fascist Arrest of an Englishwoman', 14 August, p. 1; 'Imprisoned Wife of a Professor', 15 August, p. 9, 'Englishwoman Released', 19 August, p. 1. In the *Daily Herald:* 'Fled from Island Prison', 7 August, p. 8; 'Fascist Victim's English Wife', 10 August, p. 8; 'Mrs Rosselli Freed', 19 August, p. 3. In the *Daily News*: 'Mussolini's Exiles', 8 August, p. 8; 'Anti-Fascist English Wife', 17 August, p. 8; 'Arrest of an English Wife', 14 August, p. 8; 'English Wife in Italy', 17 August, p. 8; 'Rosselli's Wife: A Challenge to Mussolini', 20 August, p. 8; 'An English Wife in Italy', 17 September, p. 7. In the *Manchester Guardian*: 'Escape of Anti-Fascists', 14 August, p. 9; 'Arrested Englishwoman', 15 August, p. 9; 'An Englishwoman in Italy' and 'The Rosselli case', 17 August, p. 8 and 10; 'Signora Rosselli Liberated', 19 August, p. 13; 'Signora Rosselli: Passport to Leave Italy Secured', 5 September, p. 11; 'Englishwoman's Ordeal', 17 September, p. 21. In *The Times*: 'Italian Political Exiles', 9 August, p. 11; 'Professor Rosselli's Escape', 14 August, p. 9; 'The Rosselli Case', 17 August, p. 10.

[76] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/34-36: Salvemini to E. T. Scott, 18 and 21 August 1929.

[77] ISTREC, GL, I/7.3: letters from the *Daily Express*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Daily News*, and *Daily Chronicle*.

[78] ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: L. Vandervelde to Salvemini, 13 August 1929.

Salvemini's 1925 case.[79] Meanwhile, Steed drafted an appeal to be sent to *The Times*.[80] Nevertheless, their intervention became unnecessary, as Ernest Cave had already succeeded in putting pressure on the Italian Embassy to release his daughter. With Carlo Rosselli and Salvemini, Cave planned a widespread press campaign, giving interviews in which he accused the Italian government of keeping his daughter hostage.[81] Proof that Cave was intentionally exaggerating his statements is given in a letter Salvemini wrote to Tarchiani: 'Lord Cave è mica un fesso. Mente più di noi nelle sue interviste […] Le sue interviste sono proprio quello che ci vuole. Mi scrive che vuole andare al consolato a fare un caos del diavolo. Naturalmente io lo incoraggio'.[82]

Although Cave's attitude was instrumental to Marion's liberation, it contributed significantly to the anti-Fascist cause by shining a spotlight on the unreliability of the Fascist regime before an international audience. Indeed, Cave's statements induced the *Daily News* to send a telegram to Mussolini, asking him about the arrest. The Italian government replied by denying that Marion Rosselli was imprisoned. Since the *Daily News* published an article in which Carlo Rosselli contradicted those statements, all the other newspapers published the news that the Fascist government was lying about Rosselli's case. The polemics continued until mid-September, when Marion Rosselli obtained a passport and safely joined her husband in France.[83]

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[79] Robert Calverley Trevelyan (1872-1951) was a poet who frequented the Berenson's intellectual milieu in Florence, brother of the historian George Macaulay Trevelyan. See *Mary Berenson*, pp. 10, 74, 94. ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: R. C. Trevelyan to L. Vandervelde, 17 August 1929.

[80] ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: Steed to Salvemini, 19 August 1929.

[81] 'Arrest of an English Wife', *Daily News*, 14 August 1929, p. 8; 'Fascist Arrest of an Englishwoman', *Daily Express*, 14 August 1929, p. 1; 'Imprisoned Wife of a Professor', *Daily Express*, 15 August 1929, p. 9; 'Arrested Englishwoman', *Manchester Guardian*, 15 August 1929, p. 9.

[82] ISTREC, GL, II/1.55: Salvemini to Tarchiani, 17 August 1929.

[83] 'English Wife in Italy', *Daily News*, 17 August 1929, p. 8.

A series of letters published in the *Spectator* is relevant for analysing how the Fascist government reacted to British interest in the matter. Archival investigation allows us to state that the author of letters signed as 'Lived in Fascist Italy' and 'Fair Play' was, in fact, Ernest Cave, who involved Harold Goad in the debate by asking his opinion on Marion Rosselli's arrest; she had been a teacher at the British Institute of Florence, directed by Goad.[84] Before replying to Cave, Goad informed the Italian Embassy in London that he would do his best to contradict the image of Marion Rosselli as a victim of the Fascist regime.[85] After having stressed that anti-Fascism was 'poisoning the ancient springs of friendship between the British and the Italian people', in a second letter to the *Spectator*, Goad described Rosselli's attitude as follows:

> When the Signora Rosselli was still a British subject and a teacher at our institute, I intervened time after time at the Board of our Governors to save her from the consequences of her incursions in Italian politics. When she married Signor Rosselli and he was arrested […] I was appealed to and used such influence as I possessed as a life-long friend of Italy in order to get him treated as leniently as possible. [86]

Although it is unlikely that Goad intervened in support of the Rossellis when Marion worked at the British institute, the most significant aspect of this episode consists in the fact that Goad was playing a role which had normally been played by Luigi Villari. This is even more striking if one considers that Mussolini asked Villari not to intervene in the

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[84] The aforementioned articles in the *Spectator* are: Vita Nuova, 'Life and Liberty in Italy', 20 July 1929, pp. 71-72; Lived in Fascist Italy [Ernest Cave], 'Fascist Italy', 17 August 1929, p. 221; Harold Goad, 'Fascist Italy', 24 August 1929, pp. 250-251; A Lover of Truth, 'Fascist Italy', 24 August 1929, p. 250; Fair Play [Ernest Cave], 'Law and Humanity', 31 August 1929, pp. 277-278; Carlo Rosselli, 'Fascist Italy' and Harold Goad, 'Fascist Italy', 14 September 1929, pp. 333-334. See ISTREC, GL, I/11/1/2.2.2: Ernest Cave to Rosselli, 18 and 29 August 1929. On Goad, see 1.1.
[85] ACS, PS, confino, b. 883, f. Marion Rosselli: Bordonaro to Ministero degli Esteri, 18 August 1929.
[86] Harold Goad, 'Fascist Italy', *Spectator,* 24 August 1929, p. 251, and 14 September 1929, p. 334.

case when Villari offered to write a letter to the press.[87] Indeed, whilst Mussolini wished to close the debate rapidly, Salvemini took advantage of the press campaign by dedicating an issue of *Italy To-day* to 'The Rosselli case and the methods of taking hostages', summarising the events of the previous weeks.[88]

8.3 The British Role in Nello Rosselli's Liberation

At the beginning of this chapter it was mentioned that there is a significant imbalance between studies dedicated to Carlo and to Nello Rosselli, meaning that less attention has been paid to Nello's imprisonment and his experience of *confino* in 1927 and 1929. These episodes deserve to be further investigated as they shed light on the concerted efforts made by Salvemini's supporters to free him.

As Giovanni Belardelli stressed, it is important to underline that the Rosselli brothers followed different paths. Carlo was a man of action, politically engaged, who accepted his exile when it was forced upon him and saw it as an opportunity to fight Fascism through dramatic gestures. Nello was a scholar, who, in Zeffiro Ciuffoletti's words, promoted 'un'opposizione pacata, senza gesti e decisioni avventate'.[89] He offered his intellectual activity in support of the anti-Fascist struggle; he knew about his brother's initiatives, but he was not involved in them. Nello was not forced into exile: though he was in France when he was killed, that was only because he was visiting his brother.

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[87] ACS, PS, 1929, b. 178, f. Evasione Lipari: note 28 October 1929.
[88] *Italy To-day*, 10 (1929).
[89] Zeffiro Ciuffoletti, 'Introduzione', in *Nello Rosselli*, p. xxiii.

Belardelli's biographical work on Nello Rosselli represents the starting point for understanding the episodes of his arrest and *confino*. Nello was arrested in June 1927 and sent to Ustica in July, when Carlo had just left the island to attend the Savona Trial. Nello was accused of anti-Fascist collusion because he had received an unpublished essay from the historian Giustino Fortunato which criticised the Fascist regime; on these grounds, the accusation of having supported his brother's initiatives worsened his position.[90] Nello Rosselli was released in December, when Paolo Boselli, president of the *Comitato nazionale per la storia del Risorgimento*, mediated with Mussolini, pointing out that Rosselli was a member of the *Scuola di storia moderna e contemporanea* directed by the Fascist historian Gioacchino Volpe.[91] His freedom lasted until July 1929, when Carlo escaped from Lipari. Nello was considered one of the organisers of the escape: in fact, he knew about the plan but he did not take any part in it. Shortly after, he was sent to *confino* in Ustica, then to Ponza. Belardelli states that Nello Rosselli's liberation in November 1929 was due to another intervention from Volpe with Mussolini, though he added that Mussolini freed Rosselli because his case was known abroad: 'tra gli altri era intervenuto in suo favore lo storico Bolton King, con una lettera al *Manchester Guardian*'.[92] Moreover, in a footnote, Belardelli mentions that Gilbert Murray had also written to Alfredo Rocco, asking for clemency towards Rosselli.[93]

Archival papers make it possible to delve into the matter and explore the role played by Salvemini's network, which considered working for Nello's liberation to be equally important to obtaining freedom for Marion Rosselli. Indeed, Lalla Vandervelde,

[90] See Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli*, pp. 82-89 and Ciuffoletti, 'Introduzione', in *Nello Rosselli*, pp. xxvi.
[91] Ciuffoletti, 'Introduzione', in *Nello Rosselli*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
[92] Belardelli, *Nello Rosselli*, pp. 105-106.
[93] Ibid., p. 106.

who had proposed the formation of a committee to deal with Marion's arrest, was considering asking the Foreign Office for help to resolve Nello's case: 'Quant à votre frère,' she wrote to Carlo Rosselli, 'voulez-vous que je faux encore des démarches au Foreign Office? On me répondra, je crois, que, comme il s'agit d'un sujet italien, aucune intervention n'est possible'.[94] As this passage demonstrates, Vandervelde anticipated that her pressure would have no effect, because in Marion Rosselli's case her British origin had been a determining factor for her release, and this did not apply to Nello. For this reason, she did not take any further steps. Conversely, a diplomatic strategy was promoted by Gilbert Murray. Although it must be stressed that this did not affect Mussolini's decision, it is interesting to examine Murray's intervention as it shows the concerted effort made on Nello's behalf. An unpublished letter by Rawson to Carlo Rosselli elucidates details of their plan:

> I have talked to Delisle Burns about your brother. He discussed the question with Gilbert Murray at once, who was very sympathetic, and promised to do all he could. He said that indirect pressure might certainly be brought to bear. Delisle Burns also promised to see Noel Baker, Under-Sec[retary] for Foreign Affairs about it.[95]

This letter reveals that Marion Rawson planned Murray's intervention in collaboration with the Labour philosopher Cecil Delisle Burns, who frequented Russell's intellectual circle.[96] This makes it possible to state that Rawson's effort in supporting the Rossellis

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[94] ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: L. Vandervelde to C. Rosselli, 17 September 1929.
[95] ISTREC, GL, I/1.44: Enthoven to C. Rosselli, 25 October 1929.
[96] Cecil Delisle Burns (1879-1942) worked as Assistant Secretary of the Joint Research Department of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party between 1921 and 1924. His academic career as a philosopher included lectureships at Oxford, Cambridge, Birkbeck College, Glasgow, and the London School of Economics. See Stuart Brown, 'Burns, Cecil Delisle', *Oxford Reference* <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199754694.001.0001/acref-9780199754694-e-319> [accessed 8 October 2019]

was constant throughout the period between 1927 and 1929. As proof of her central role, additional investigation of Rawson's papers reveals that at the end of August 1929 Umberto Zanotti Bianco had already asked her to arrange a protest on Nello Rosselli's behalf, and that for that reason she had approached Delisle Burns and Murray.[97] Indeed, Murray, as the President of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, on 7 November addressed an appeal to the Minister of Justice Alfredo Rocco, who represented the Italian government on the committee. Meanwhile, as Russell's correspondence proves, Murray was 'consulting the Foreign Office about an identity card for Rosselli'.[98] Those circumstances are further confirmed by the letters Rosselli sent to Murray in mid-December, in which he thanked him for his intervention with Mussolini and with the Foreign Office.[99] Nevertheless, the papers of the *Segreteria Particolare del Duce* reveal that Murray's letter reached Mussolini only in December, as Rocco had not forwarded it earlier. Therefore, it is evident that Murray's appeal had no influence on Nello Rosselli's liberation, which had been granted to him on 3 November, before Murray had even written his letter.[100]

Despite the irrelevance of this action for the resolution of the case, the significance of this episode lies in the concerted effort promoted by Salvemini's network, which can be considered as an active contribution to the anti-Fascist struggle. This aspect can be further analysed by taking into account a parallel strategy which involved the press. Although Belardelli considers Volpe's intervention as key to Rosselli's liberation, he

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[97] RUL, MS 1244, CE.73: Zanotti Bianco to Enthoven, 21 August 1929.
[98] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1929: 2 December 1929.
[99] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 56, fols 130 and 136-137: C. Rosselli to Murray, 10 and 12 December 1929. In 1929, the Home Office had no difficulties in letting him enter Britain, as shown in the documents held in Carlo Rosselli's personal files (TNA, HO 144/22561).
[100] ACS, SPD, riservato, b. 77, f. Nello Rosselli.

equally underlines the pressure exercised by the historian Bolton King, who had penned a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on 16 October 1929. King summarised the reasons for Rosselli's internment, claiming Fascist methods of justice to be 'as stupid as [they are] barbarous', and stressing the illegitimacy of passing sentences without trial.[101] It is important to note that Carlo Rosselli and the members of Salvemini's network were convinced that King's letter had been decisive in convincing Mussolini: 'We think old Bolton King managed it. English public opinion still has influence', Russell wrote.[102] Nevertheless, as there are no archival documents which can confirm that Mussolini was influenced by King's letter, it can be assumed that, besides Volpe's intervention, the possibility of having a new 'Rosselli case' in the British press contributed to Nello's liberation, as Belardelli also concludes.

The reasons which induced Bolton King to send his letter were not only personal admiration for Nello Rosselli as a young historian researching the *Risorgimento* – a subject to which King dedicated his studies – but also King's own anti-Fascist stance and his friendship with Salvemini.[103] As Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe underlines, King's 'allegiance to Mazzini's vision for Italy' urged him to actively support the anti-Fascist cause.[104] Indeed, King lobbied for Salvemini's liberation in 1925 by signing public appeals.[105] Then, in 1926, he openly associated himself with Salvemini, delivering a lecture with him on Mazzini at Warwick; in 1931 he published a book critically

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[101] Bolton King, 'The Case of Dr. Nello Roselli [*sic*]', *Manchester Guardian*, 16 October 1929, p. 20.
[102] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1929: 14 November 1929; ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: C. Rosselli to King, 10 November 1929.
[103] Bolton King (1860-1937) was the author of two books on *Italy To-day* (1901) and *Mazzini* (1902); in 1927, Nello Rosselli published his dissertation, supervised by Salvemini, concerning Mazzini and Bakunin.
[104] Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe, 'Conclusions', in *Victorian Radicals and Italian Democrats* (London-NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 197-210.
[105] See 1.3.

discussing *Fascism in Italy*, which was reprinted by GL and covertly introduced in Italy in a miniature edition.[106] Therefore, King's efforts for Nello Rosselli's liberation, as requested by Salvemini, must be considered a logical consequence of his political stance.[107]

King was not the only intellectual Salvemini asked for support. Archival papers show that he also asked George Macaulay Trevelyan and Graham Wallas; however, for different reasons, they both declined. In view of aforementioned episodes in which Trevelyan preferred not to support anti-Fascism, his unwillingness to help can be considered predictable.[108] More surprising is Graham Wallas' refusal, given his friendship with Russell and his overall supportive attitude towards Salvemini. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that Wallas did not refuse to help outright, but only asked to postpone his efforts, as he was absorbed by family issues related to his daughter's illness.[109] Conversely, unsolicited help came from Harold Laski, who, according to a letter to Carlo Rosselli, sent an additional appeal to the *Manchester Guardian*, to be published only provided that Villari replied to King. As a demonstration of his willingness to help, he added: 'Please remember that I shall always be happy to make a similar letter if there should unfortunately be the need'.[110]

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[106] On the Warwick lecture, see 'Appendix', in Pellegrino Sutcliffe, pp. 215-217. Bolton King, *Fascism in Italy* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1931); the Italian miniature version was published the same year by the *Edizioni di Giustizia e Libertà*. Correspondence related to the clandestine version of the book is in ISTREC, GL, II/1.55: Salvemini to Tarchiani, 26 July 1931; GL, I/1.16: King to C. Rosselli, 18 September 1931.

[107] ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: King to Salvemini, 15 October 1929.

[108] ISTREC, GL, I/1.16: Trevelyan to Salvemini, 13 October 1929.

[109] ISTREC, GL, I/1.44: Enthoven to Salvemini, 16 October 1929.

[110] ISTREC, GL, I/7.4: Laski to C. Rosselli, 9 November 1929. Harold Laski (1893-1950) joined the Fabian Society in 1921; in 1926 he was appointed Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics. Politically engaged with the Labour Party, he was elected to the Party Executive Committee in 1937. For an analysis of his anti-Fascist stance, see Andrzej Olechnowicz,

8.4 In the Middle of Salvemini's Network: Carlo Rosselli in London

The previous sections have expounded upon the concerted efforts to help the Rossellis made from Britain from 1927 to 1929. In order to conclude the analysis, it is vital to take into account Carlo Rosselli's experience in London, where he delivered a series of anti-Fascist lectures at the end of 1929.

This allows us to compare Salvemini's and Rosselli's British experiences; indeed, the support granted to Rosselli followed the same pattern as the help given to Salvemini at the beginning of his exile, when Alys Russell's intellectual circle arranged a series of lectures for him.[111] In view of the interest in his case, between 25 November and 10 December 1929 Carlo Rosselli delivered a dozen lectures between London, Oxford and Cambridge, thanks especially to the arrangements made by what he defined as the 'ambiente femminile salveminiano'.[112] By merging excerpts of published correspondence with archival sources, it possible to understand that Rosselli was referring in particular to Rawson and Russell. As the following excerpt proves, at the end of October, Rawson informed Rosselli of a series of lectures she had arranged in Britain in cooperation with Russell and Kennedy:

> Mr Kennedy has fixed the evening of Nov. 26th for your lecture at the 1917 Club. We should all be very glad if you could come to tea at my house on the afternoon of the following day, Wed 27th, if you are free, in order to meet the members of our little Committee (Mrs Russell, Mrs Crawford, etc) and to talk over your future arrangements. Mrs Russell is going to fix up a meeting for the Harvard League […] and is going to see Galton about one for the

'Labour Theorises Fascism: A. D. Lindsay and Harold Laski', pp. 202-223. Mentions of his first meeting with Salvemini are in the *Holmes-Laski Letters 1916-1935*, ed. by Mark De Wolfe Howe, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), II, pp. 832-833.

[111] See 5.1.

[112] Carlo Rosselli, *Dall'esilio. Lettere alla moglie, 1929-1937*, ed. by Costanzo Casucci (Florence: Passigli, 1997), p. 41: Carlo to Marion, 29 November 1929.

> Fab.[ian] Society. Mrs Beer, who knows many Labour people, invites you to tea […] to meet people and to give an informal address. I expect you will have fixed up the Nat.[ional] Lib.[eral] Club and the Ethical Society. You will have your time full![113]

The sense of a concerted effort emerges even more clearly in a passage of a letter from Rosselli to his wife, provided below, describing his first meetings with Salvemini's supporters:

> Ieri mattina *lunch* dalla Russell, molto umana e simpatica. […] Dopo la Russell sono andato dalla Enthoven [Rawson] dove ho trovato i Gigliucci […] E lì mi sono trovato benissimo. La Enthoven è stata proprio di una grande bontà. Figurati che è venuta alla conferenza con tutta la squadra![114]

One of the daily letters written by Russell to Mary Berenson makes it possible to appreciate Russell's perspective on her first meeting with Rosselli. Russell's letter reveals that Graham Wallace and the historian George Peabody Gooch were invited, too, and confirms the positive impression, as she stated that they were 'all charmed with him, and deeply interested in all he ha[d] to tell'.[115]

A significant passage of Rosselli's correspondence is the one in which he described the people revolving around Salvemini as the 'ambiente femminile salveminiano'. Explaining his British experience to his wife, he admitted that, after some difficulties, he had begun to appreciate London: 'Ti avverto che comincio a trovarmi benino ormai a Londra. L'ambiente femminile salveminiano è estremamente simpatico e simpatizzante; a Parigi invece ho ancora da trovare tra gli indigeni temperamenti corrispondenti'.[116] It

[113] ISTREC, GL, I/1.44: Enthoven to C. Rosselli, 21 October 1929.
[114] Rosselli, *Dall'esilio*, p. 37: Carlo to Marion, 27 November 1929.
[115] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1929: 26 November 1929.
[116] Rosselli, *Dall'esilio*, p. 41: Carlo to Marion, 29 November 1929.

must not be underestimated that Rosselli had just begun his life in exile: the support of Salvemini's network was as central to him as it had been for Salvemini, to the point that on 6 December he wrote to his wife that he would have arranged a terrific campaign against Mussolini if only he had stayed in London longer.[117]

Impressive, indeed, is the number of meetings Rosselli attended during his short stay, including lectures, conferences and interviews across London, Oxford, and Cambridge.[118] In particular, Russell's description of Rosselli's Oxbridge experience reveals interesting relationships:

> Rosselli was a great success at Oxford, so simple and jolly and cultivated, and he enjoy his visit immensely. Margery [Fry] gave a dinner and reception of Heads of Houses and important people on Sat.[urday] evening, when Rosselli gave a deeply interesting acc[oun]t of his trial, imprisonment and escape, with a brief political survey. Then on Sunday afternoon, he addressed a student's meeting, after he had lunched with the Murrays on Boars Hill. […] I also took Rosselli to tea with the Fishers, and he dined in Balliol and loved the ritual in the Fellow's Common Room, etc. I left him this morning going across to Cambr.[idge] for an afternoon party, and then dinner with Goldie Dickinson at King's.[119]

All the people mentioned in this excerpt had a connection with Russell. Margery Fry, Principal of Somerville College and former Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform, was a long-standing friend of Alys Russell. In Oxford, Rosselli talked about life under confinement, a topic in which Fry was deeply interested, to the point that she would remain in contact with Rosselli during the 1930s with questions concerning the

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[117] Ibid., p. 52.

[118] In London, Rosselli lectured at the 1917 Club, National Liberal Club, London School of Economics, Fabian Society, Ethical Society, and Howard League for Penal Reform, and attended private meetings sponsored by Salvemini's circle of friends. See Rosselli, *Dall'esilio*, pp. 35-51.

[119] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. November-December 1929: 2 December 1929.

sentences of the Special Tribunal.[120] Herbert Fisher, Warden of New College, was amongst those consulted by Russell and Ray Strachey to arrange Salvemini's lectures and had acted as a patron for the Great Lecture in 1926.[121] Similar considerations can be made regarding Cambridge, where Rosselli met another of Salvemini's 1926 patrons, the Fellow of King's College Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, a political scientist close to the Labour Party and frequently mentioned within Russell's intellectual circle – he was one of those, who, along with Murray, had defended Bertrand Russell when he was deprived of his lectureship at Trinity College in 1916.[122] Furthermore, Rosselli's correspondence with his wife proves that amogst the audience of one of the aforementioned events was Janet Trevelyan, who he defined as 'molto confusa, perplessa e in fondo pro-fascista': a position which also partially explains George Trevelyan's refusal to intervene of Nello's behalf, when Salvemini had asked for his help.[123]

As with Salvemini's British experience, it is important to address the difficulties that Rosselli faced during his conference tour. This aspect can be appreciated thanks to the only surviving letter between Rosselli and Salvemini from this British period, published in the correspondence edited by Elisa Signori. During Rosselli's visit to London, Salvemini, who knew that Rawson and Russell were taking care of him, was staying in Paris. Despite their physical distance, as Signori stressed, Salvemini played an important mentoring role, as the following excerpt shows:

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[120] Rosselli, *Dall'esilio,* p. 47: Carlo to Marion, 4 December 1929; Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, pp. 120 and 282-283. Margery Fry (1874–1958) was involved in anti-Fascist activism especially in the 1930s, as described by Anne F. Logan, 'The International Work of Margery Fry in the 1930s and '40s', *Women's History*, 6.2 (2016), 23-30.

[121] See 1.5 and 5.1.

[122] For a biographical profile, see D. E. Martin, 'Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes (1862–1932)', *ODNB*, <http://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32815> [accessed 8 October 2019].

[123] Rosselli, *Dall'esilio*, p. 48: Carlo to Marion, 4 December 1929.

> Non abbandonare la tua tattica di *non* parlare di te stesso nella lettura. Lasciati provocare, e allora sfogati. Ma lasciati sempre provocare. […] Bada che Garvin è tutto nelle mani di Villari. […] Vanitoso, e senza fondo. Sta bene in guardia con lui. Dawson del 'Times' è, in fondo, antifascista: ma lusinga i fascisti e tiene nel 'Times' un agente fascista […] Sarai dunque come Daniele nella fossa dei leoni. Mostrati più che sia possibile *fair-minded*. Se ti domandano la tua opinione su Villari, dì che non credi di poterlo giudicare equamente, data la sua attività di propaganda *agent* del fascismo. Confrontino le sue affermazioni non mai provate con le mie smentite sempre provate, e giudichino da sé, non colle tue parole.[124]

According to Rosselli's letters, Villari never tried to contradict him by participating in the lectures he delivered: it is likely that his absence was coherent with Mussolini's order of avoiding any further disputes over the Rosselli cases.[125] Salvemini's instructions to Rosselli are also interesting for analysing his views on the British press, especially on Garvin, the director of the *Observer*, and on Geoffrey Dawson, the editor of *The Times* who, despite his pro-establishment position, as described by Fasano Guarini, Salvemini considered to be anti-Fascist, probably due to the interest he had shown in the Rossellis' cases.[126] Indeed, *The Times* also published an account of Rosselli's lecture at the National Liberal Club.[127] Less surprisingly, the *Manchester Guardian* contributed to giving information on Rosselli's presence in London, publishing the account of the National Liberal Club lecture, an interview, and a letter to the editor about life under confinement in Mussolini's Italy.[128]

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[124] *Fra le righe*, p. 114: Salvemini to Rosselli, 29 November [1929].
[125] See 8.2.
[126] Fasano Guarini, 'Il Times di fronte al fascismo', pp. 155-185.
[127] 'The Fascist Regime', *The Times*, 6 December 1929, p. 11.
[128] In the *Manchester Guardian*: 'Fascist Delirium of Patriotism', 6 December 1929, p. 17; 'Prisoners of the Fascists', 4 December 1929, p. 5; 'Political Prisoners in Italy', 18 December 1929, p. 14.

In conclusion, the opportunity that Rosselli had to meet influential people, the success of his lectures, and the attention paid by the press can be seen as the consequence of the three-year long supportive attitude showed by the group of intellectuals revolving around Salvemini. They considered the forced exile of one of Mussolini's most prominent adversaries as an occasion to strengthen the anti-Fascist campaign, counting also on an additional workforce, as the following excerpt of correspondence between Rosselli and Rawson demonstrates:

> È necessario che ci dividiamo il lavoro per quanto si riferisce alla lettura dei giornali inglesi. Io mi abbonerò al *Manch.*[ester] *Guardian* e alla *Nation*. Loro dovrebbero possibilmente seguire il *Times*, il *Daily Herald* e qualchedun altro dei grandi giornali conservatori. Tra le riviste *Time and Tide*, lo *Spectator*, il *New Statesman* e il *New Leader*. Appena qualcosa di importante appare – specialmente se lettere fasciste o filofasciste – dovrebbero essere così gentili da avvertire Salv.[emini] o me; meglio, se possibile, entrambi, dato che Salv.[emini] è spesso terribilmente occupato.[129]

[129] RUL, MS 1244, CE.81: C. Rosselli to Enthoven, 12 December 1929.

9. The Role of the Press

The episodes involving the Rossellis have introduced, to some extent, an analysis of the role of the press in Salvemini's anti-Fascist activity in Britain. However, a comprehensive discussion of the topic requires a wider perspective and the consideration of other episodes, in particular the publication of appeals in the press signed by British intellectuals, promoted in order to attract attention to episodes of Fascist violence.

This chapter investigates the role of the press, focusing on two important moments in the history of anti-Fascism: the arrests following the failed attack on the King of Italy in Milan, in 1928, and the *processo degli intellettuali*, in 1931. The chapter will explore the connection between these two episodes and discuss the role of Salvemini's network in collecting subscriptions for press appeals, analysing the publication of articles as an instrument to prevent Mussolini from crushing his opponents and as a way of stimulating public discussion on Fascist methods of justice. In particular, the role played by the *Manchester Guardian* in the anti-Fascist struggle will be considered, revealing the main features of Salvemini's collaboration with the newspaper.

The second part of this chapter will draw on some limitations of Salvemini's press campaigns, and will analyse the publication of *Italy To-day*, a series of monthly pamphlets collecting documents on Fascist Italy, which was edited by Virginia Crawford and published in Britain under Salvemini's supervision, focusing on its contents and its impact on public opinion.

9.1 The *Processo degli Intellettuali*

The expression *processo degli intellettuali* refers to the trial which followed the arrest of twenty-four members of the Italian branch of GL, caused by the Fascist agent provocateur Carlo Del Re. Those arrested – most of them professors or intellectuals – were to be judged by the *Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato* for terrorism. Published accounts of the trial shed light on the fact that international press appeals asking for a fair judgement played a role in the withdrawal of the accusation of terrorism and led to a more lenient sentence. For this reason, this section will not focus on the well-known results of the anti-Fascist campaign, but will concentrate on the shaping of the press appeal, the collection of subscriptions and the campaign's diffusion through the press. The collection of Salvemini's papers, in particular his correspondence with Massey, represents the main source for investigating the efforts that Salvemini and his supporters made to save the prisoners from an unfair, if not tragic, sentence: charges of terrorism anticipated the death penalty.[1] Archival sources prove that the organisation of the 1931 appeal was based on the work done in 1928 to draw attention to arrests following the failed attack on King Vittorio Emanuele III in Milan. The connection between these appeals is even clearer if one considers that the Fascist police tried to accuse the prisoners arrested in 1931 for the 1928 attacks, as well.

Before delving into an analysis, it is necessary to explain how the events unfolded and how they were connected, drawing on the existing bibliography on the matter,

[1] The law passed on 25 November 1926, n. 2008 reintroduced the death penalty for crimes against the state and attacks against the royal family or Mussolini. See Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario*, pp. 101-102.

especially on accounts written by Bianca Ceva, Manlio Magini, and Ernesto Rossi.[2] On 12 April 1928, during the inauguration of the international exposition in Milan, a bomb exploded in the crowd gathered to welcome the King, killing twenty people. This episode, mentioned in Chapter Six, coincided with the beginning of Rawson's trips to Italy: she arrived in Italy in the days after the attack, and in her *Notes* she described the tension pervading the anti-Fascist community, as the police were looking for scapegoats.[3] It is still unclear who was responsible for the attack: the investigation was inconclusive, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it was the result of a Fascist plot.[4] The police inquiry caused the arrest of over five hundred people, of whom approximately three hundred were released, and around forty were to be tried in the Special Tribunal. Unsuccessful inquiries continued until 1930, when the investigation could count on the help of a Fascist agent provocateur, Carlo Del Re: he infiltrated GL in Italy and abroad, and in less than a month succeeded in causing the arrest of twenty-four *giellisti* in Italy, including the most active members in Milan and Florence, such as Ernesto Rossi and Riccardo Bauer. Although Del Re failed to persuade them to stage an attack on the anniversary of the march on Rome, he managed to take part in an inoffensive demonstration planned by Rossi and the chemist Umberto Ceva, who were building a series of home-made incendiary devices. As there were technical issues with these bombs, Rossi, Ceva and Del Re threw them into a river near Bergamo; when Del

[2] Bianca Ceva, *Retroscena di un dramma* (Milan: Ceschina, 1955); Manlio Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', in *No al fascismo*, pp. 195-214; Ernesto Rossi, *Una spia del regime* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1955). A more recent edition of Rossi's book was published in 2000 by Bollati Boringhieri, edited by Mimmo Franzinelli.

[3] See 7.3.

[4] The bibliography on the subject is scarce, but includes Carlo Giacchin, *Attentato alla fiera. Milano 1928* (Milan: Mursia, 2009), and Franzinelli, *I tentacoli dell'OVRA,* pp. 77-90.

Re told the Fascist police where the faulty bombs had been discarded, Ceva, Rossi, Bauer and other representatives of the Milan group were arrested. Soon afterwards Del Re, who pretended to be escaping from Italy to avoid being arrested himself, tried to continue his provocation abroad; nevertheless, Carlo Rosselli had already unmasked his plan, and Salvemini publicly denounced Del Re in the European and American press. [5]

The aforementioned accounts written by Bianca Ceva, Manlio Magini, and Ernesto Rossi explain that the Fascist police artfully tried to prove that those responsible for building the bombs for the 1930 attack were also those who had made the attempt on the King's life in 1928. Ceva's suicide in prison in January 1931 was an unexpected turn of events which hindered the Fascist plan to sentence the accused to death. As he wrote in his suicide note, Ceva knew that the unfair accusation against him would have been withdrawn provided that he revealed information to arrest other people: he preferred to kill himself rather than betray his companions.[6] The news of Ceva's suicide reached the Italian and international press the day after the appeal promoted by Salvemini, signed by British intellectuals, was printed in the *Manchester Guardian* to protest against Fascist method of justice.[7] The combination of those elements – Ceva's suicide and the international appeal, which started from Britain and spread to France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and the USA – compelled Mussolini to delay the trial, to provisionally release fourteen of the twenty-four accused, and eventually to withdraw

[5] See Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', pp. 202-205. According to the fortnightly *Italia. Bulletin d'informations édité par la Concentration Antifasciste Italienne* [from now onwards, *Italia*], Salvemini's letter was published by *La Volonté* in Paris and by *Le Peuple* in Bruxelles. 'Les récentes arrestations des 24 antifascistes et la machination abominable d'un agent provocateur de l'OVRA', *Italia*, 16 January 1931, p. 3. See also *Italy To-day*, 2.1 (1931).
[6] Ceva, *Retroscena di un dramma*, p. 108.
[7] 'Trial of Anti-Fascists', *Manchester Guardian*, 1 January 1931, p. 16.

the charge of terrorism. The remaining ten accused were tried between May and June 1931: two were absolved, five were sentenced to less than ten years, and Rossi and Bauer received twenty years.[8] The sentence represented a moderate success for the anti-Fascist cause, if one considers that at the end of 1930, the journalists Mario Vinciguerra and Renzo Rendi – who, with the poet Lauro De Bosis, formed the anti-Fascist group *Alleanza Nazionale* – had been sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for having disseminated a total of nine anti-Fascist leaflets, and that the day before the beginning of the Rossi-Bauer trial, Michele Schirru had been sentenced to death for plotting an attempt on Mussolini's life.[9]

Having described the main historical background, it is now possible to assess previous scholarship on Salvemini's intervention for the positive outcome of the trial, and to see which aspects need further investigation. In the 1950s, Rossi, Ceva, Magini, and Garosci agreed that Salvemini's campaign was central in preventing Mussolini from incriminating *giellisti* of terrorism: a manoeuvre which would have allowed him to crush GL's Italian base.[10] In *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, Salvemini commented on the facts as follows: 'All'appello degli inglesi aderirono molti francesi, svizzeri, tedeschi, spagnuoli, statunitensi. Mussolini non sopportava di essere criticato all'estero, e noi lo assalimmo proprio su quel punto debole'.[11] Killinger mentioned the campaign for the *giellisti* stating that 'fearing the death penalty, Salvemini organised a newspaper campaign in Europe and in the USA […] Response was enthusiastic and widespread, and as a result,

[8] Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', pp. 212-213.
[9] On Schirru, see 2.2; on Vinciguerra, Rendi and De Bosis, see 9.2.
[10] Garosci, *La vita di Carlo Rosselli,* p. 222; Rossi, *Una spia del regime*, pp. 242-243; Ceva, *Retroscena di un dramma*, p. 134; Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', p. 210.
[11] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 126.

Salvemini was able to focus attention on the Special Tribunal and thus to pressure Mussolini'.[12] Nevertheless, none of the aforementioned accounts – not even Salvemini's own – focused on how the protest originated and developed, an aspect which deserves a thorough analysis.

Archival research on Salvemini's papers allows us to claim that the campaign against the *processo degli intellettuali* was modelled on a protest organised in 1928 to draw attention to the arrests following the Milan attack. On 26 December 1930 Salvemini wrote to Isabella Massey: 'We need a letter like that of 3 May 1928', announcing that he would involve Alys Russell and Graham Wallas in the 1931 campaign, as he had done in 1928. In view of this, it is vital to look at the 3 May 1928 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*. The appeal for a fair trial reads as follows: 'The undersigned venture to urge the Italian Government not to deprive the persons accused of the elementary right of choosing their counsel, of knowing in good time the evidence to be given against them, and of being publicly tried'.[13] Furthermore, a note by the editor supported the appeal, underlining that the use of the Special Tribunal in Italy seemed more oriented towards securing convictions rather than seeking justice.[14]

The appeal was signed, amongst others, by those supporting Salvemini's activities in Britain, including Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Graham Wallas, George Peabody Gooch, Harold Laski, Robert Trevelyan and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. Indeed, a letter from Alys Russell to Gilbert Murray proves that the appeal was Salvemini's idea, as Russell, on behalf of Salvemini 'and his little committee' (composed by Russell, Graham

[12] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 229.
[13] 'The Milan Outrage', *Manchester Guardian*, 3 May 1928, p. 20.
[14] Ibid.

Wallas and W. S. Kennedy) thanked Murray for his advice.[15] Although Murray seemed to agree with the content of the letter, he and others (John Maynard Keynes and Aldous Huxley, amongst those mentioned by Russell) preferred not to sign it, as he was not sure that an appeal would have the desired effect on Mussolini. Indeed, he suggested that an article should be written about the Special Tribunal in order to provoke a debate on Fascist methods. Eventually, Salvemini and 'his committee' opted to send the appeal. A draft found amongst Murray's papers makes it possible to compare the original version with the one that was eventually published, in which only a sentence – 'But it is unthinkable that all the arrested are guilty' – was omitted.[16]

Nevertheless, it is sufficient to look at the subsequent issues of the *Manchester Guardian* to note that Salvemini did not ignore Murray's suggestions. The 1928 campaign continued through a series of letters, the first of which was signed by Salvemini himself, who discussed the workings of the Special Tribunal. The debate in the *Manchester Guardian* continued for a month, involving the London correspondent of the Fascist newspaper *La Tribuna*, Giovanni Engely, who defended the legitimacy of Fascist methods of justice, and Graham Wallas, who confuted Engely's statements by referring to specific Fascist legislation.[17] Salvemini then collated all these articles and letters in one of his *Italy To-day* pamphlets published in 1929, many of which were dedicated to the

[15] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 54, fol. 19: Russell to Murray, 28 April 1928.
[16] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 54, fols. 13-14: draft of appeal, 28 April 1928.
[17] All the following letters were printed in the *Manchester Guardian* under the title 'The Milan Outrage': Salvemini, 7 May 1928, p. 1; Armando Zanetti, 15 May 1928, p. 24; Giovanni Engely, 25 May 1928, p. 20; Graham Wallas, 31 May 1928, p. 18; Giovanni Engely, 5 June 1928, p. 20. The appeal was also published in the *Review of Reviews*, 76 (1928), 391-392.

Special Tribunal and its methods.[18] The fact that the appeal had the desired effect is proved by the aggressive words Arnaldo Mussolini addressed to the British signatories from the pages of *Il Popolo d'Italia* – of which an extract is provided below:

> Che dire poi di quella brutta gente che si preoccupa della sorte degli arrestati ed inizia una campagna per invocare giustizia con le attenuanti? […] Ma degli scimmioni che vivevano nelle foreste quando già Roma aveva dato al mondo la scuola ed il diritto romano, fanno presente la necessità di accordare le attenuanti in nome di un umanitarismo perfettamente sconosciuto nei paesi in cui ai delinquenti è riservata la forca o la ghigliottina.[19]

The impact of the 1928 campaign on the press explains why Salvemini considered it a model on which to shape the 1931 campaign. The arrests of the *giellisti* took place at the end of October 1930, but the Italian press broke the news only at the beginning of December, through an official announcement in which the word 'OVRA' appeared for the first time. It was Guido Leto, one of the chiefs of the political police, who revealed that Mussolini substituted the words 'Ispettorato generale di pubblica sicurezza' in the announcement with the term 'l'OVRA di Milano': a mysterious acronym which was coined primarily to cause confusion and the feeling of being under the constant surveillance of a powerful and enigmatic Fascist secret service.[20] This aspect explains the importance that Mussolini himself attributed to the arrests and to the trial, as they were, for him, an opportunity to crush liberal anti-Fascism, as Ernesto Rossi noted.[21]

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[18] Six issues of *Italy To-day* were dedicated to methods of justice in Italy: 'The Fascist Special Tribunal', 1.6 (1929); 'Political Prisoners and Police Surveillance', 1.7 (1929); 'The Latest Plot', 2.1 (1931); 'The Case of Vinciguerra and Rendi', 2.5 (1931); 'Prisoners of Fascism', 2.6 (1931); 'The Special Tribunal for the Defence of the State', 2.7 (1931). See 9.2.

[19] Arnaldo Mussolini, 'L'ombra', *Il Popolo d'Italia*, 11 May 1928, p. 1, also quoted in translation in 'The Milan Outrage', *Manchester Guardian,* 25 May 1928, p. 20.

[20] Guido Leto, *Ovra. Fascismo, antifascismo* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1951), p. 52.

[21] Rossi, *Una spia del regime*, p. 15.

Salvemini's awareness that he was in the midst of a crucial battle for the survival of the anti-Fascist struggle urged him to involve his closest collaborators, namely Massey and the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. Analysis of Salvemini's strategy is based on a combined investigation which takes into account the archival correspondence of the *Manchester Guardian*, the articles published in the newspaper, and Massey's papers. A letter dated 13 December 1930 proves that Salvemini's strategy consisted of three main steps. Firstly, Salvemini asked for the cooperation of the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Edward Scott – son of Charles Prestwich Scott, who had left the editorship in July 1929 – to publish details on Del Re's espionage. Secondly, George Peabody Gooch and Ernest Barker were collecting subscriptions to an appeal for justice in Italy, to be published in the *Manchester Guardian,* modelled on the appeal from 1928. Thirdly, Salvemini asked Massey to go to Rome, Florence, and Milan to collect first-hand information about the arrests.[22]

It must be clarified that Scott did not agree to publish Salvemini's accusations against Del Re. However, this does not mean that Scott refused to help at all; in fact, the *Manchester Guardian* paid much attention to the episode. His attitude can be understood by reading his correspondence with Salvemini. In particular, a 'mostly private' letter from Salvemini to Scott proves the frank relationship existing between them. In this letter, Salvemini admitted GL's responsibilities in the fight against Fascism, stressing the need to prevent Mussolini from eliminating his opponents while keeping the press silent:

> I feel to be my duty to give you the following information about the men who were arrested in Italy at the end of October. They are charged (i) with

[22] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 13 December 1930.

> circulating clandestine press (30 years imprisonment) and (ii) with plotting acts of terrorism (death penalty). The first charge is true. […] The second charge is false. It was 'framed up' by an agent provocateur. […] Of course, I cannot broadcast that the first charge is true. […] I feel it to be my duty to tell you the whole truth. I should not like you ever had the feeling that I tried to make you believe that my friends were wholly unguilty [*sic*]. Nor I ask our generous friends in England to assert that the arrested men are not guilty of the second charge. What I ask them is to urge the Italian Government on one single point: that the trial must take place before an Independent Press, i.e. before the correspondents of non-Italian press. If a movement of public opinion outside Italy compels Mussolini to allow foreign correspondents to attend the trial, any unfair charge against the honour of the defendants will collapse. […] I realise that the letter, which I am appending for the MG is too large. […] The person, whom Del Re visited in Brussels, is Count Sforza. Those whom he tried to drag into his machination in Paris, are Signor Lussu, Signor Rosselli and Signor Tarchiani. They authorise me to lay down their names before you, and are ready to give public evidence if necessary. Del Re, agent provocateur, will never contradict them. […] The ideal thing would be if you, in printing my letter, devoted a short leading article to the need of a fair trial and of the attendance of the Foreign Press to the trial.[23]

The archival papers of the *Manchester Guardian* prove that shortly after, Massey and Kennedy – this latter a member of what Russell had defined the 1928 'little committee' – sent Scott the typewritten version of the letter mentioned by Salvemini, which included the accusation against Del Re and where the names Sforza, Tarchiani, Lussu, and Rosselli appeared. Nevertheless, at the end of December Scott replied to Salvemini saying that he could not publish the letter as 'it would be contrary to [the *Manchester Guardian's*] usual practice and dangerous to print a long and detailed attack on an individual'.[24] Despite Scott's refusal, Salvemini eventually found a way to

[23] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/37: Salvemini to E. T. Scott, 15 December 1930.
[24] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/39-43: Kennedy to E. T. Scott, 20 December 1930; E. T. Scott to Salvemini, 29 December 1930; Kennedy to E. T. Scott, 31 December 1930; E. T. Scott to Kennedy, 1 January 1931; Salvemini to E. T. Scott, 2 January 1931.

disseminate information on Del Re's duties in Britain in the January 1931 edition of *Italy To-day*.[25]

The second step of Salvemini's strategy counted on the support of his network and of the *Manchester Guardian*. According to archival papers, Barker and Gooch had suggested that they collect subscriptions for an appeal demanding a fair trial, aided by Alys Russell and Graham Wallas.[26] Indeed, amongst the 1928 signatories, besides Barker, Gooch and Wallas, was the renewed support of Dickinson; further signatures were collected from Cecil Delisle Burns, Margery Fry, Bolton King, Thomas Okey, Walter Citrine, William Gillies, and Arnold Toynbee, reaching almost thirty subscriptions.[27] The importance of the effort made by Gooch and Barker is evidenced by a series of letters between Salvemini and Massey, and by a letter from Salvemini to Gooch, in which he thanked him for the help given.[28] As in 1928, Scott agreed to publish the appeal and added an editorial note – as per Salvemini's suggestion – in which he shared and stressed the stances expressed by the signatories:

> The reputation of the accused, the nature of the 'crime' with which they are charged, and the composition of the court before which they must appear all serve to increase the distrust with which the Fascist regime is viewed wherever freedom is held in reverence. […] If there exist at Fascist

[25] *Italy To-day*, 2.1 (1931).
[26] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 December 1930; UCA, FEF, accession 333/83.30, b. 4, f. 27: Salvemini to Gooch, 31 May 1931.
[27] Arnold Toynbee changed his mind in July 1931, sending a letter to the *New Statesman* in which he declared that during the *processo degli intellettuali* the Special Tribunal granted the possibility of a public trial as he himself had been allowed to attend. Salvemini expressed his disappointment privately in a letter to Barker, in which he claimed that the Fascists had allowed a public trial precisely because of the appeal. A draft copy of this letter is available in ISTREC, GS, Manoscritti e materiali di lavoro dall'esilio al secondo dopoguerra, f. 17: Salvemini to Barker, draft 3 August 1931; Arnold Toynbee, 'Letter to the editor', *New Statesman*, 11 July 1931, also quoted in 'Due settimane di un Inglese in Italia', *Il Corriere della Sera,* 24 July 1931, p. 2.
[28] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 24 January and 3 February 1931. UCA, FEF, accession 333/83.30, b. 4, f. 27: Salvemini to Gooch, 31 May 1931.

> headquarters any care for Italy's reputation among the nations no less [than a fair trial of the kind the signatories of the letter asked for] can be accorded.[29]

As regards the content of the 1931 appeal, similar, if not identical passages can be noted between the texts published in 1928 and in 1931:

> We therefore, the undersigned, venture to urge the Italian Government not to deprive the persons accused of the elementary right of choosing their counsel, of knowing in good time the evidence to be given against them, and of being publicly tried.[30] (1928)

> We, the undersigned, therefore venture to pray the Italian Government to allow the accused of the privileges of a public trial, of choosing their own counsel, and of learning in good time the evidence to be brought against them.[31] (1931)

The 1928 and 1931 appeals were based on the same point that Salvemini had been stressing since the Savona Trial: only the presence of foreign correspondents, not subject to Fascist censorship and able to disseminate information abroad, would make it possible for a fair judgment to be reached. This was a crucial aspect that Salvemini underlined in a private letter to Scott, in which he thanked him for his article on the trial, defining the *Manchester Guardian* as 'the only generous paper' he knew, as its 'voice [was] strong enough to prevent many crimes, though it [was] almost alone'.[32] Indeed, as he had done in 1927 during the Savona Trial, Salvemini asked Scott to send a correspondent to Rome to cover the trial. In this case, too, the *Manchester Guardian* could not count on its usual correspondent, Sylvia Sprigge, who would leave Italy at the end of February

[29] 'A Plea for Justice', *Manchester Guardian,* 1 January 1931, p. 8.
[30] 'The Milan Outrage', *Manchester Guardian,* 3 May 1928, p. 20.
[31] 'Trial of Anti-Fascists', *Manchester Guardian,* 1 January 1931, p. 16; 'An Appeal for Justice', *New Statesman,* 3 January 1931, p. 381.
[32] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/43: Salvemini to E. T. Scott, 2 January 1931.

1931.[33] Salvemini's correspondence from January 1931 shows that he was struggling to find a journalist willing to follow the trial.[34] Magini's account proves that eventually Hélène Gosset, correspondent for the French *Vu* and *Petit Journal*, attended the trial on Salvemini's behalf.[35]

Before analysing the debate following the publication of the appeal, the last aspect of Salvemini's strategy must be addressed. The following passage explains how Salvemini used the information collected by Massey during a trip to Italy:

> Please write a private letter to the editor of the Manchester Guardian reporting everything you know about the trial of Jan 20 [the date initially fixed for the trial]. The main points on which attention are [*sic*] to be focused, are: […] b) that the council for defence did not know the charges against the defendants when you were in Rome (exact date) and one of them said 'the papers are in the hands of Mussolini'; c) that the reports of the hearings are distorted, and old Campanozzi said 'there is no reason to be a hero in Italy today'. You may authorise Mr Scott to publish your letter without your signature, but it is good Scott is informed. I am always afraid people do not believe me.[36]

The correspondence between Massey and Salvemini does not provide further details on what Massey discovered during her journey, but reveals that, as a consequence of her visit, the Fascist police started to become suspicious about a certain 'Miss Massai', as previously mentioned.[37] Nevertheless, Massey sent the requested letter to the *Manchester*

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[33] Interesting in this regard is the letter Scott sent to Sprigge to explain the reasons for her dispensation, found amongst her papers at the University of Reading. Due to the need to cut expenses, the newspaper board, despite her remarkable work, had decided to renounce having a correspondent in Italy, stressing that 'for obvious reasons' in Italy 'foreign correspondents had less scope than any other comparable country', as news not coming from Fascist sources was extremely difficult to gather. RUL, MS 1703/1, f. 215: E T. Scott to Sprigge, 21 November 1930.
[34] *Lettere americane*, p. 39: Salvemini to A Prato, 21 January 1931.
[35] See Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', p. 213; Hélène Gosset, 'Vu chez Mussolini', *Vu,* 170, 17 June 1931; not signed, but likely by Gosset, 'Une vision du procès des intellectuels italiens', *Le Petit Journal,* 10 June 1931, pp. 1-2.
[36] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 14 January 1931.
[37] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 16 February 1931. See 7.1.

Guardian, signed by 'Wayfarer' and published on 20 January 1931, insisting on the points indicated by Salvemini, and specifying that the sender had spent three weeks in Italy and had had the opportunity to obtain information from primary sources. Below are some of the main passages of the article:

> I spoke with the defending counsel of one of the accused […] When I last saw this lawyer, he had still not had personal access to his client, was completely in the dark as to the exact charge against the latter, the evidence to be brought forward for the prosecution, and the date of the trial. All he could gather […] was that the entire papers related to the trial were in the hands of Mussolini […]. In Rome I met a former member of Parliament […] who begged me to make it plain to the foreign press that it is to-day the only remaining source from which the world and Italy itself can learn the truth of what happens in political trials before the Special Tribunal. […] 'Heroic example', concluded my acquaintance, 'has become an impossibility in Italy To-day. […] To-day those who would follow in his [Matteotti's] footsteps disappear into death or to lifelong imprisonment with their honour smirched, and none in Italy can learn the truth of their endeavour'.[38]

Further confirmation that Wayfarer was, indeed, Massey, is given by another letter from Salvemini, dated 22 January: 'Ho letto sul *Manchester Guardian* la bella lettera di Wayfarer. Grazie. Tutto quello che possiamo fare per i nostri amici lo stiamo facendo. Ma bisognerebbe scuotere cielo e terra e non ne abbiamo i mezzi'.[39]

Having discussed the three main paths followed by Salvemini and his supporters to draw attention to the *processo degli intellettuali*, it is now possible to explore how this attention was maintained during the subsequent months, before the trial took place. According to the published accounts of the episode, the appeal was spread internationally since it was signed by many prominent intellectuals in France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, and the USA. Ernesto Rossi provided the list of subscribers

[38] Wayfarer, 'Obstructing the Defence', *Manchester Guardian,* 20 January 1931, p. 18.
[39] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 22 January 1931.

in the first edition of *Una spia del regime*.[40] Nevertheless, limited information is available on the promoters – in France, Victor Basch and Paul Langevin, according to that reported by *La Libertà* and the French bullettin *Italia* – or the newspapers that agreed to publish the appeals.[41] Research undertaken for this section did not reveal further details of the international campaigns, as not even Salvemini himself discussed the work carried out for these in his letters. For this reason, this section will not question that the international campaign had an impact on the results of the trial, as previous scholarship has done; rather, it will be limited to analysing the impact of articles published in Britain.[42]

Shortly after its appearance in the *Manchester Guardian,* the *Week-end Review* reprinted the appeal.[43] This provoked a reaction from Luigi Villari, who sent a letter claiming that the subscribers of the appeal were 'disinformed as to the organisation and the practice of the Special Tribunal'.[44] The correspondence between Massey and Salvemini shows that after the publication of Villari's letter Salvemini suggested W. S. Kennedy and Carlo Rosselli reply to Villari.[45] Indeed, a long letter by Rosselli describing the workings of the Special Tribunal was published on 24 January.[46] The decision to choose Rosselli over a British intellectual to oppose Villari can be explained by stressing

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[40] Rossi, *Una spia del regime*, pp. 242-243.
[41] 'L'appello degli uomini liberi europei per il processo dei 24 montato dal tribunale speciale', *La Libertà*, 22 January 1931, p. 1; In *Italia,* see 'Tout entier le monde civilisé proteste contre le massacre de la justice répresenté par les tribunaux fascistes', 1 February 1931, pp. 3-4; 'La protestation du monde civilisé contre la justice fasciste', 1 March 1931, pp. 3-5; 'Le plebiscite du monde civilisé pour la défense du droit et de la justice contre le tribunal special fasciste', 16 March 1931, pp. 2-3.
[42] Mentions of the international campaign can be found in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito,* pp. 126-127, Magini, 'Il processo degli intellettuali', p. 210; Ceva, *Retroscena di un dramma,* p. 134. In the French press, see 'Les forfaits du fascisme', *Le Peuple*, 20 January 1931, p. 3; 'Le procès des intellectuels', *Le Populaire,* 22 February 1931, p. 3.
[43] 'Justice in Italy', *Week-end Review*, 3 January 1931, p. 10.
[44] Luigi Villari, 'Justice in Italy', *Week-end Review,* 10 January 1931, p. 42.
[45] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 14 January 1931.
[46] Carlo Rosselli, 'Justice in Italy', *Week-end Review,* 24 January 1931, p. 110.

the necessity of amplifying the voice of the Italian anti-Fascist community abroad. This was especially effective, in view of Rosselli's role as a victim of those methods of justice who had been able to attract the attention of British public opinion. However, it must be noted that, unlike Villari's reply, Rosselli's second letter, in response to the former, was not published.[47]

This indicates that interest in the trial was beginning to fade. In March 1931, Salvemini had the opportunity to reignite the public's interest in the matter thanks to the letters that Ernesto Rossi had written to his mother from prison. The letters had come into Salvemini's possession through Rossi's brother, who was living in Switzerland. Although they had been censored, they represented exceptional documents for drawing attention to living conditions under the Fascist dictatorship. The following excerpt from Salvemini's correspondence with Massey allows us to appreciate the discussion on the strategy they should follow to make the most of Rossi's letters:

> Do you think that they [Rossi's letters] may be published? Of course we shall put them in our green pamphlet[48] when the trial is over. But I think that they – or some sections of them – should be known before the trial takes place. If people become interested in the human being, the tribunal will not dare to be cruel. Remember that perhaps Rossi will be charged with acts of 'terrorism'. We must withstand this charge. And the best way is to show the real character of the man. I am asking myself whether Barker would be willing to come back again to the point by a new letter to the *Manchester Guardian* – a personal letter. He should take the opportunity of Rossi's letters to his mother and give an outline of the man. He might begin by announcing the acquittal of nine of those people who had 'confessed' and go on with Parri. If you think this idea of mine not to be wrong, please translate Rossi's letters and send them to Barker with my suggestion.[49]

[47] The letter had been sent to the *Week-end Review* by Massey. ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 23 February 1931.
[48] 'Green pamphlet' refers to *Italy To-day*. See 9.2.
[49] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 14 March 1931.

The importance of this passage is twofold. On the one hand, it shows that Massey played an active role in discussing anti-Fascist strategies with Salvemini and defining the plan they would follow. On the other, the passage clarifies the aim of Salvemini's strategy: to shed light on the victims of the dictatorship not in their political role but as human beings, drawing, to some extent, on the same philanthropic objectives on which the work of the IRRC was based.[50]

Extracts of Rossi's letters were published on three separate occasions: on 14 April – before the trial – and on 10 and 15 June, shortly after Rossi had been sentenced to a twenty-year long imprisonment.[51] The reasons why Salvemini, Barker and Scott believed that the publication of those excerpts could help Rossi emerge from a series of letters they exchanged, held in the *Manchester Guardian* archive. These documents are essential to understand the ways in which information flowed between Salvemini's network and the *Manchester Guardian*. Rossi's letters were sent by Massey to Barker, who forwarded them to Scott with an enclosed letter, explaining that Salvemini considered it useful to publish them. Initially Scott feared that the publication of the letters could be harmful for Rossi himself, so he replied to Barker saying that he would ask Salvemini 'for his personal authority on this point'.[52] What Barker's reply revealed was that Salvemini was staying with him at the time, so the absence of correspondence between them on this matter can be explained by their physical proximity. Thus Barker could inform Scott that Salvemini 'believe[d] that, granted Mussolini's way of looking at things, publication will

[50] See Chapter Six.
[51] 'A Prisoner of Fascism', *Manchester Guardian*, 14 April 1931, pp. 9-10; 'Letters from an Italian Prison', *Manchester Guardian,* 10 and 15 June 1931, p. 7.
[52] GB 133 GDN/A/B10/6: E. T. Scott to Barker, 27 March 1931.

help Rossi. It will show that the world knows and watches'.[53] A more detailed version of Salvemini's views on the matter is given in a letter he addressed to Scott, the purpose of which was to dispel any doubt concerning the usefulness of Rossi's excerpts:

> I am convinced it [the publication] can only do good, given Mussolini's mentality. What that man fears most is the English press. Already it has brought about the liberation of 10 of our friends. We can only help Rossi by keeping his case in the notice of the public. If there were any attempt, as a result of the publication of these letters to restrict communications between Rossi and his mother, they cannot do him any other harm! A further protest in your paper would stop such a barbarian injustice.[54]

The publication of Rossi's letters must be seen as the last stage of a plan that began with the 1931 appeal – modelled on that from 1928 – which was developed thanks to Gooch and Barker, the information collected by Massey during her trip to Italy, Rosselli's opposition to Villari, and the vital support of the *Manchester Guardian,* which published facts censored in Italy. Salvemini's name was not publicly associated with the aforementioned press appeals, and his coordinating role was kept out of the public eye, as he preferred to give a platform to prominent British intellectuals who could have an impact on Mussolini's behaviour. Indeed, when Salvemini asked Scott to publish Rossi's letter, he reminded him to 'suppress' his name.[55]

In conclusion, the *Manchester Guardian* allowed Salvemini to transform political debates centred on a specific issue – the arrest of a group of anti-Fascists – into broader campaigns that aimed to undermine the Fascist dictatorship. Moreover, thanks to the

[53] GB 133 GDN/A/B10/7: Barker to E. T. Scott, 29 March 1931.
[54] GB 133 GDN/A/S8/45: Salvemini to E. T. Scott, 1 April 1931.
[55] Ibid.

support of British intellectuals, Salvemini succeeded in placing the anti-Fascist struggle on an international platform rather than confining it to an Italian domestic matter.

9.2 The 'Green Pamphlets': *Italy To-day*

Although the *Manchester Guardian* provided Salvemini's campaigns with significant space for discussion, analysis of the *processo degli intellettuali* has proved that there were some limitations and that the editor, despite being supportive, was not always able to comply with Salvemini's requests. For this reason, this section will examine the role of *Italy To-day*, a series of monthly pamphlets edited by Virginia Crawford between 1929 and 1932, as a platform which allowed Salvemini to explain everything the British public should know about Fascism, including documents which could not be printed in ordinary newspapers or reviews. *Italy To-day* published documents concerning Fascist Italy, discussed the workings of the Fascist regime, and reprinted the most significant letters to the editors and articles that appeared in the British and American press, with the aim of contradicting the image of Italy given by Fascist propaganda. In view of this twofold nature – reprinting interesting articles and publishing additional material – it is vital to examine the impact of *Italy To-day* as an anthology of anti-Fascist literature, discussing its editorship, the structure of the pamphlets, the main topics addressed, and its dissemination. Although *Italy To-day* is a publication that is still largely neglected by scholars, Elisa Signori included an analysis of it in the introduction to her edition of the letters between Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli, and this section will expound upon some of the points she raised.[56]

[56] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, pp. 33-34.

Italy To-day was designed as a collection of documents and articles explaining the social, political, and economic situation in Italy, written in English for an English-speaking audience. As Signori noted, *Italy To-day* showed 'la volontà di rivolgersi a un interlocutore internazionale fino ad allora trascurato dalla stampa antifascista'.[57] Indeed, the first lines of the inaugural issue stressed that the documents published in *Italy To-day* 'would otherwise not be easily available to the English public', explaining that their publication 'represent[ed] an attempt to sift the grain from the chaff', aiming to counterbalance 'ill-informed or even wholly misleading' Fascist propaganda.[58]

The 'green pamphlets' – as they were called because of their green front cover – were edited by Virginia Crawford on behalf of the 'Friends of Italian Freedom'. It must be noted that determining the nature of this group has proven challenging: Enzo Tagliacozzo briefly mentioned the Friends of Italian Freedom, describing them as made up of Salvemini's 'amici personali', without adding anything further.[59] Indeed, the Friends of Italian Freedom are never mentioned in archival documents concerning Britain; more frequently they are associated with Salvemini's American experience, both in the files of the political police and in Salvemini's correspondence with Roberto and Maritza Bolaffio, two exiles living in the USA.[60] What can be concluded, drawing on these limited sources, is that some of the members of the Friends of Italian Freedom contributed to the publication of *Italy To-day* financially, through donations, and by

[57] Ibid., p. 33.
[58] Virginia Crawford, 'Foreword', *Italy To-day*, 1.1 (1929), p. 2.
[59] Tagliacozzo, *Gaetano Salvemini. Un profilo biografico*, p. 76.
[60] ACS, PS, G1, b. 259, f. American Friends of Italian Freedom and b. 292, f. Società Amici della Libertà Italiana. Roberto and Maritza Bolaffio left Gorizia for New York in 1923 to escape Fascist persecution. They collaborated with Salvemini throughout his American experience: they coordinated the American branch of GL and would be amongst the founders of the Mazzini Society during the 1940s. See Camurri, 'Introduzione', in *Lettere americane*, pp. l-lxxvii.

disseminating copies. In light of these considerations, all the people mentioned so far in relation to Salvemini's network could be considered part of the Friends of Italian Freedom in Britain. In contrast with the committees so far investigated – such as the IRRC, those arranged to promote Salvemini's lectures, or to sign appeals – the Friends of Italian Freedom can be considered as a more informal and less structured group, uniting those who would support the anti-Fascist struggle.

It would be inaccurate to examine *Italy To-day* as a review in a traditional sense. Indeed, in parallel to the publication of *Italy To-day,* Salvemini was planning to launch a formal review, *Rinnovamento*, which would have been edited by Salvemini, Sturzo and Carlo Sforza, but was eventually abandoned due to the editors' conflicting stances – especially those of Salvemini and Sturzo – on the Lateran Pacts. As Giovanni Grasso noted, *Rinnovamento* was to be a neutral space in which political strategies to fight Fascism could be discussed.[61] *Italy To-day* and *Rinnovamento* could have coexisted as they were intended for different audiences: *Rinnovamento* was a platform for anti-Fascist discussion; *Italy To-day* provided documents to show the real conditions of Fascist Italy.

Italy To-day was issued between 1929 and 1932. However, the issues from 1930 were an exception to the editorial plan, as *Italy To-day* became a monthly newssheet shaped on the bulletin *Italia*, which was launched in Paris in April 1929, four months after Salvemini's British 'green pamphlets'. *Italia* was the official bulletin of the Concentration, edited by Filippo Turati: a fortnightly newssheet distributed for free to the French press and to a selected audience interested in Italian affairs, to offer 'verified information' on Fascist Italy.[62] The collaboration between *Italy To-day* and *Italia* can be

[61] On *Rinnovamento*, see Grasso, 'Introduzione', in *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio*, pp. xxii-xxv.
[62] *Italia*, April 1929, p. 2.

explained through the evolution of the international anti-Fascist scene and Salvemini's personal experience. At the beginning of 1930, Salvemini spent six months at Harvard as a visiting scholar: this full-time commitment forced him to reduce his contribution to the 'green pamphlets' and to entrust Carlo Rosselli with his role, as demonstrated by the following excerpts of correspondence with Massey.

> From now onwards send please to Rosselli the cuttings from the *Morning Post* and other papers you come across. He will do most of the work for the 'Bulletin' during these next months, though I will do my best from America. But I shall be so far away that I could send no fresh news or comments.[63]

> I should think that the pages from the *Morning Post* are better suited to Carlo Rosselli, who will prepare answers for our bulletin and keep waiting the originals for me. I have not in readiness here any book which enables me to contradict the assertions of that paper. Thus I must send the cuttings to Rosselli, so that he might build up the answers and send them to Mrs Crawford for the Bulletin. This method takes up too much time. It is a nuisance that I have been obliged to come here after pledging myself to support the Bulletin by my own work. But I hope Rosselli will fill my place satisfactorily.[64]

Drawing on *Italia* would simplify the compilation of *Italy To-day* while Salvemini was abroad. If one considers that Salvemini was in the USA at the beginning of 1929, when *Italy To-day* had been launched, it is vital to look for other reasons that influenced this decision. Considering that in 1929 the *Concentrazione* opened a British branch in London, the cooperation with Paris can be interpreted as an effort to coordinate the work of anti-Fascists in exile, despite Salvemini's doubts over the French milieu which emerged dramatically on the occasion of the organisation of the anti-Fascist exhibition at Cologne in 1928.[65] Indeed, the editorial partnership between *Italia* and *Italy To-day* resulted in

[63] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 25 January 1930.
[64] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 20 February 1930.
[65] See 2.4. and 3.3.

failure. The experiment was abandoned after one year: in 1931 the 'green pamphlets' returned to their original format. To some extent, this failed collaboration can be considered as emblematic of the limitations of the *Concentrazione*. This aspect can be investigated by taking into account some pages of *Italia* and a letter written by Carlo Rosselli to Filippo Turati in April 1930. On 18 February 1930, the first page of *Italia* announced the publication of an English edition, commenting on the news as follows:

> Un comité d'Amis de la liberté italienne […] – comité ayant déjà publié toute une série de brochures très importantes sur les conditions actuelles de l'Italie – nous a demandé la faculté de puiser dans les informations de notre bulletin pour publier une édition anglaise, qui paraîtrait mensuellement et serait particulièrement adaptée aux goûts des lecteurs anglais et de ceux des pays où la langue anglaise est la plus répandue. […] Nous avons accepté avec enthousiasme.[66]

If one reads, on the same page, the English passage announcing the publication of the 1930 series of *Italy To-day* as a 'monthly bulletin', still issued by the Friends of Italian Freedom, one can note that no relationship with the French *Italia* was officially established, and that the new version of *Italy To-day* was described as a sort of natural evolution:

> The green pamphlets series, having completed its twelve numbers, comes to an end with the December issue. In its place it is proposed to publish monthly, throughout next year (1930) a four-page news-sheet, giving reliable information as to the conditions of Italy, together with extracts from the Fascist papers on matter of interest to English readers. In this way it is hoped to provide a useful antidote to Fascist 'propaganda' disseminated throughout the country.[67]

[66] 'L'édition anglaise du bulletin Italia', *Italia,* 18 February 1930, pp. 1-2.
[67] Ibid.

This reluctance to create an official partnership can be considered as informed by Salvemini's external collaboration with the Concentration, which allowed him to maintain his independence, given his doubts. Indeed, Virginia Crawford remained *Italy To-day*'s editor, helped by Carlo Rosselli (and, to a certain extent, by Salvemini), and it cannot be considered merely as the British edition of *Italia*. However, whereas Salvemini considered external support an advantage, the *Concentrazione* interpreted it as a limitation. This can be appreciated due to the episode which provoked the end of the collaboration between the French and the British bulletins. One month after the presentation of *Italy To-day* as 'the English edition of *Italia*', the Concentration announced the publication of another English edition, intended for the USA, explaining that this further edition would be 'plus ressemblante à la nôtre [*Italia*] et rédigée par nous [the Concentration editorial board] à Paris'.[68] A letter between Rosselli and Turati proves that the desire to introduce another English edition, more similar to *Italia*, for the USA definitively brought the collaboration with *Italy To-day* to an end. The following excerpt is significant for understanding the rift between Crawford (and, therefore, Salvemini), on the one side, and the *Concentrazione* on the other.

> La Crawford [Rosselli wrote] ha scritto a Salvemini dicendosi 'a little worried' per questa nuova edizione inglese annunciata dal bollettino. Quando una inglese dice 'a little worried' significa che ne è profondamente seccata. Non potreste soprassedere all'edizione americana sino a gennaio prossimo? Sospenderemmo allora l'edizione della Crawford e l'*Italia* avrebbe campo libero. Dopotutto, che cosa si rimprovera al bollettino dell'*Italy To-day* […]? Di non avere il bollo concentrazionista. Ma appunto il suo pregio sta nell'essere l'unico foglio antifascista redatto da stranieri autorevoli e indipendenti, a loro spese e sacrificio personale. Che cosa vogliamo di più? Vogliamo iscrivere le miss inglesi nella concentrazione? […] Comunque, decidete voi. La sospensiva pare a me un provvedimento più che opportuno, equo. Pubblicare in giugno una nuova edizione inglese,

[68] 'Avertissement important', *Italia*, 20 March 1930, p. 1.

> sia pur dedicata all'America, parrà sconfessione bella e buona dell'*Italy To-day* e certo non accrescerà le simpatie per la nostra causa tra i nostri amici inglesi.[69]

In underlining the consequences of discrediting *Italy To-day*, it is interesting to note that Rosselli stressed that the 'green pamphlets' were the only publication promoted by non-Italians investing their money and their time for the cause of Italian liberty. Unfortunately, neither Salvemini's nor Crawford's correspondence sheds light on their point of view on the matter. However, the fact that in 1931 *Italy To-day* returned to its original format – in other words, a monthly pamphlet – indicates a substantial rift, even if, in the end, the American edition of *Italia* was never launched.

This digression on the 1930 series has aimed to contextualise the evolution of *Italy To-day*, but it is from the issues related to 1929, 1931 and 1932 that the main features of this publication can be appreciated. Before addressing the main topics discussed in the pamphlets, it is vital to examine their structure and editorship, and the work that went into them. Crawford's journalistic background justified her role as *Italy To-day*'s editor.[70] Despite the fact that Salvemini suggested that his closest British supporters should remain anonymous in their anti-Fascist activities in Britain, this did not happen in Crawford's case, as her name regularly appeared on the front page of the pamphlets.[71] However, the political police did not associate her with Salvemini even in view of her work as editor for *Italy To-day*, which nonetheless earned her the status of *persona non grata* in Italy, as they wrote: 'Circa la signora Crawford poco consta circa la sua attività

[69] Schiavi, *Esilio e morte di Filippo Turati*, pp. 261-262: C. Rosselli to Turati, 22 April 1930.
[70] See 4.4.
[71] See 6.2.

antifascista se non in quanto si manifesta colla pubblicazione di fascicoli […] risulta che fece qualche conferenza sugli stessi argomenti.'[72]

Signori defines Crawford's editorship as a strategy for concealing Salvemini's name, stating that the pamphlets were written by Salvemini 'dietro l'anonimato e la compiacente copertura dell'amica […] nominalmente responsabile dell'impresa.'[73] However, the last part of this statement requires clarification. On the one hand, it is undeniable that Salvemini contributed to most of the pamphlets; on the other, Crawford's role deserves more recognition. A passage from an archival account on Crawford written by Rawson clarifies her editorial tasks: 'Nia [Virginia] was greatly concerned, as I was at the rise of Fascism in Italy […] She edited, and also wrote in some instances, a series of very able pamphlets on political questions in Italy'.[74] Furthermore, in Crawford's archive there is a draft copy of one of the pamphlets, from which it is clear that she intervened on the text in keeping with her editorial role.[75] However, Signori pinpoints the main question by stating that Crawford's name was used to make the pamphlets more reliable for a British audience:

> Evitando l'immediata attribuzione dell'iniziativa alla cerchia dell'antifascismo italiano e modellando i testi sul gusto del pubblico inglese per la concisione e la concretezza, questi *green pamphlets* […] puntavano ad acquisire una maggiore credibilità presso l'opinione pubblica liberale, proponendo nel contempo un incisivo contrappunto critico alle scelte del regime.[76]

[72] ACS, PS, F4, b. 46, f. Italy To-day: telespresso n. 5780/1444, 4 September 1929.
[73] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, p. 34.
[74] REND 13/3: Marion Rawson, *Notes on Virginia's Character*, August 1973.
[75] REND 12/4: draft copy of 'The case of Vinciguerra and Rendi', *Italy To-day*, 2.5 (1931).
[76] Signori, 'Introduzione', in *Fra le righe*, p. 34.

Two last points must be explored before analysing the topics addressed by *Italy To-day*: distribution and subscriptions. Although there are no precise figures available, it is possible to estimate the distribution of *Italy To-day* in Italy and abroad. According to a letter Salvemini wrote to Rosselli in August 1933, *Italy To-day* was sent to approximately one thousand people. Interestingly, Salvemini added that out of these, almost eight hundred did not read it.[77] Although Salvemini's self-criticism was influenced by the fact that in October 1932 the publication of *Italy To-day* was interrupted for lack of funding, the number of recipients he indicated can be considered realistic. The *Italia* bulletin was distributed to almost five thousand addresses, as stated in the issue from 20 March 1930.[78] This proportion – one thousand copies of *Italy To-day,* five thousand of *Italia* – makes sense given that *Italia* was funded by the *Concentrazione*, whereas *Italy To-day* could count only on subscriptions and private sources of funding.

It is even more difficult to speculate about *Italy's To-day*'s subscribers. Issues were received by subscribers and then passed between people interested in the Italian political situation: an element which would make readership figures potentially higher. For instance, an excerpt from Gilbert Murray's correspondence proves that copies of *Italy To-day* were passed from one person to another, as was the case between Murray and one of his acquaintances, Frederick J. Derham.[79] Derham sent Murray a copy of the July-August 1932 issue. In sending the pamphlets, Derham added that he received them monthly, although he had never subscribed to them.[80] In his reply, Murray confirmed

[77] *Fra le righe*, pp. 169-170: Salvemini to Rosselli, 31 August 1933.
[78] 'Avertissement important', *Italia,* 20 March 1930, p. 1.
[79] Interestingly, Derham claimed that during his trips to Italy he had not noticed dissatisfaction in Mussolini's government, and overall seems not to have held an anti-Fascist view. BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 62, fol. 52: Derham to Murray, 24 August [1932].
[80] Ibid.

that he also received *Italy To-day* every month, despite never having subscribed. Nevertheless, it is not too farfetched to think that Murray could easily associate the pamphlets with Salvemini, in view of his collaboration with him and his network on several occasions.[81]

Some considerations can be added concerning *Italy To-day*'s international distribution. Salvemini's correspondence with Maritza and Roberto Bolaffio shows that Salvemini collected American addresses to which the pamphlet could be sent, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

> Occorrerebbe che Ella [Maritza Bolaffio] facesse il favore di andare a casa mia, e cercare in una delle due casse di metallo […] alcuni opuscoli verdi pubblicati dai British Friends of Italian Freedom. Sono due: mandi una copia di ciascuno ai seguenti indirizzi […][82]

Many similar requests followed, as Bolaffio's correspondence shows.[83] Moreover, from February 1932, the international distribution was improved: the inside cover of the pamphlets indicated that issues could be bought by contacting Henderson's bookshop in Britain, the Bolaffios in North America, and Marion Rosselli in Paris.[84] The importance Salvemini attributed to the American distribution of *Italy To-day* is also demonstrated by some passages from his *Lettere americane*. In one letter, Salvemini asked his colleague Giorgio La Piana to petition the Widener Library of Harvard to buy a collection of the

[81] BLO, MS Gilbert Murray 62, fol. 53: Murray to Derham, 26 August 1932.
[82] ISTREC, Bolaffio, b. 2: Salvemini to Maritza Bolaffio, 14 April 1929.
[83] ISTREC, Bolaffio, b. 2: Salvemini to Maritza Bolaffio, 23 April, 13 and 25 May 1929.
[84] Henderson's began printing the pamphlets in 1931, whereas the 1929 series had been printed by The Victor Printing Co. The connection between Henderson's bookshop, known for selling radical literature, and the publishing of *Italy To-day* is a point which requires further investigation.

1929, 1930 and 1932 pamphlets.[85] In another letter, Salvemini described *Italy To-day* as one of the sources providing 'le notizie più recenti e meglio vagliate' about the Italian situation.[86]

Copies of *Italy To-day* reached Italy, too, as the papers from the ACS prove: the Prefecture of Genoa seized a copy of the July 1929 issue before it reached the public library of La Spezia to which it was addressed; in October a *divieto d'introduzione nel Regno* was issued. In September 1931, the *Questura* of Rome reported seizing two pamphlets addressed to the American journalist David Darrah of the *Chicago Tribune*. Similarly, in March 1932, the Prefecture of Novara blocked the delivery of the February issue to Nina Lombroso, daughter of the anti-Fascist professor Guglielmo Ferrero.[87] Therefore, it can be assumed that copies that were not intercepted succeeded in reaching Italy, despite the censorship.

It is now possible to analyse the content of *Italy To-day* addressing three main aspects: its topics, Salvemini's contribution, and the strategy followed in the composition of the pamphlets. Four central threads were followed throughout the years: the organisation of the Fascist state, analysis of the economy under Fascism, the methods of justice, and the views of foreign journalists. Overall, the organisation of the Fascist state was the topic to which most pamphlets were dedicated, followed by the theme of justice. These themes were addressed in relation to their relevance at the time: for instance, the 1929 issues provided an introduction to the workings of Fascist Italy mainly discussing the organisation of the Fascist state, whereas in 1931 – the year of the *processo degli*

[85] *Lettere americane*, p. 81: Salvemini to La Piana, 23 September 1932.
[86] Ibid., p. 15: Salvemini to Panunzio, 9 February 1930.
[87] ACS, PS, F4, b. 46, f. Italy To-day.

intellettuali – accounts on persecution and miscarriage of justice became a central topic.[88] It must be stressed that each topic, apart for having its own intrinsic importance, was addressed in order to draw in a foreign audience. This consideration leads one to explore the different publication strategies adopted and Salvemini's role in defining them.

As mentioned above, the pamphlets followed two main patterns: reprinting already published articles, sometimes with additional comments, and publishing longer pieces of writing not previously printed in other newspapers or reviews. In most cases, the content of the pamphlets can be connected to Salvemini or his network, even when the aim of the editor was to publish contributions anonymously. A comparison between the cases in which Salvemini signed his contribution and those in which his name was omitted makes it possible to discuss the strategies adopted to draw attention to specific questions. *Italy To-day* published Salvemini's name for the first time in March 1929, in a number dedicated to *Fascist Electoral Methods* which reprinted an article concerning the *Gran Consiglio del Fascismo*.[89] This issue is representative of the editing strategy adopted to compile *Italy To-day*, as it is composed of one article by Salvemini and three additional excerpts: the adapted text of the Law for the reform of political representation, a

[88] The following is a list of the topics addressed by each issue. In 1929: 'The Corporative State in Fascist Italy'; 'Economic Italy in 1928'; 'Fascist Electoral Methods'; 'Is Fascism an Economic Success?'; 'The Lateran Treaty'; 'The Fascist Special Tribunal'; 'Political Prisoners and Police Surveillance'; 'The Italian Liberals and the Lateran Treaties'; 'An American Enquiry'; 'Internment under Fascist Rule'; 'Fascist Rule in South Tyrol'; 'Three Views of Fascism'. In 1931: Salvemini, 'The Latest Plot'; Percy Winner, 'Fascism: Year VII'; Emilio Lussu, 'Outwitting the Fascists'; Giustizia e Libertà, 'To the Italian Workers'; A British Resident in Rome, 'The Case of Vinciguerra and Rendi'; A British Resident in Italy, 'Prisoners of Fascism'; 'The Special Tribunal for the Defence of the State'; Francesco Luigi Ferrari, 'The Vatican and the Fascist Regime'; Hélène Tuzet, 'The Education of the Italian People'; 'Lauro De Bosis'. In 1932: 'Mussolini and Disarmament'; 'The Oath of the University Professors'; 'A Controversy concerning the Oath of the University Professors'; Salvemini, 'Land Reclamation and Fascism'; 'The Discovery of Italy' (including a supplement on the Oath of the University Professors); 'Italy from 1926 to 1931'.

[89] Salvemini, 'The Grand Council of Fascism', *Italy To-day*, 1.3 (1929), pp. 3-15, reprinted from *Foreign Affairs*, January 1929, 292-300.

commentary signed by Virginia Crawford on 'How the Plebiscite is Being Conducted', and a passage taken from Victor Hugo's 'Napoléon le Petit'.[90] Salvemini appears as a contributor to the pamphlet, but not as its main author. The presence of these texts, especially Crawford's commentary, should be interpreted as an attempt to balance the impact of Salvemini's name in a delicate phase during which *Italy To-day* was being launched as a publication intended for a foreign audience. This aspect can be further investigated by considering Salvemini's contribution to the November 1929 issue – *Fascist Rule in South Tyrol* – in contrast with later issues. *Fascist Rule in South Tyrol* was written by Salvemini, as Cantarella's bibliography confirms, although it was published anonymously.[91] Conversely, in the issues from February, March-April and May-June 1932, Salvemini's articles concerning the *Oath of University Professors* and *Land Reclamation and Fascism* where signed. Thus, it can be suggested that, whereas during its first year *Italy To-day* aimed at gaining the trust of its British readers, later Salvemini's name was strategically displayed in order to further attract the attention of a readership interested in learning more about Fascism through the views of a prominent intellectual.

Conversely, Salvemini's opinion was relegated to the background when *Italy To-day* discussed the views of foreign journalists on Fascist Italy. Nevertheless, it is still possible to read Salvemini's influence between the lines of these pamphlets, including *An American Enquiry, Three Views of Fascism, Fascism Year VII* and *The Education of Italian People*. Indeed, it is possible to perceive his influence in the choice of articles published. For instance, the anonymous author, dubbed 'American journalist', of the articles reprinted in the September 1929 pamphlet was Walter Lippmann, then editor of the *New*

[90] Law 17 May 1928 n. 1019: See Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario*, pp. 152-157.
[91] See Cantarella, *Bibliografia salveminiana*, p. 174.

York World, who in 1927 had facilitated Salvemini's residence in the USA, having been introduced to him by the Berensons.[92] As Mauro Canali explains, after a visit to Italy Lippmann wrote a reportage made of six articles criticising many aspects of the Fascist government, including the judicial system, the process of land reclamation, and its relationship with the Church.[93] Surprisingly, the reportage concluded with an apparently incongruous sentence – 'And, after all, every nation gets the government it deserves' – which was commented on as follows in *Italy To-day*:

> Did France deserve Napoleon III's dictatorship from 1951 to 1879? Did Germany deserve William II's rule? The last line of this fair-minded enquiry embodies a judgement on the Italian people which was not in the mind of the writer and which clashes with the whole contents of the report.[94]

The correspondence between Salvemini and Lippmann, in which Salvemini asked Lippmann permission to print his articles in the pamphlet, reveals that Salvemini, erroneously, believed that those last lines had been added by a Fascist agent working at the *World*. Indeed, in his letter to Lippman, Salvemini commented on them in the same way that he would in the pamphlet, asking him: 'Did France deserve Napoleon III's

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[92] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 50 and *Lettere americane*, pp. 93-94: Salvemini to La Piana, 29 July 1933. According to Lippmann's papers, his friendship with Salvemini began in 1922. Salvemini and Lippmann used to discuss political affairs: amongst Lippmann's letters, there is a 'memorandum on Fascism based on conversation with Salvemini' and some suggestions for further readings on the topic. The letters clearly show that Lippmann helped Salvemini in obtaining a passport for the USA in 1927, and that he also supported him during the publication of *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, dealing with editorial issues. He also offered similar help to Raffaele Rossetti in entering the USA and looking for a job there. See YUL, MS 326, series I, b. 29, f. Salvemini and f. Rossetti.

[93] Mauro Canali, *La scoperta dell'Italia. Il fascismo raccontato dai corrispondenti americani* (Venice: Marsilio, 2017), p. 222-224.

[94] *Italy To-day*, 1.9 (1929), p. 24.

government?'.[95] However, the choice of Lipmann's articles for *Italy To-day* went beyond their intrinsic relevance as anti-Fascist literature, as they were written by an intellectual close to Salvemini. Similar considerations can be taken concerning the issues of December 1929 and October 1931: *Three Views of Fascism* and *The Education of the Italian People*. This latter included an essay by Hélène Tuzet, a French scholar who visited southern Italy on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation to make an enquiry about Fascism and its effect on education. It is likely that Tuzet was put in contact with Salvemini through Umberto Zanotti Bianco, as her investigation involved the *Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno*.[96] Similarly, in *Three Views of Fascism*, it is significant that one of the articles reproduced was written by Professor Walter Murdoch, who had received Salvemini's *Fascist Dictatorship* in Australia in 1928 and was in contact with local anti-Fascists.[97] The second article was written by an anonymous 'Nomad' who gave his negative impressions of Fascist Italy in the *Boston Transcript*; the third was an enthusiastic and apologetic description of Mussolini written by Katharine Dayton in the *North American Review*.[98] Although these last two articles cannot be connected to Salvemini's network, the latter in particular makes it possible to discuss a further question: the inclusion of pro-Fascist sources in the pamphlets.

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[95] In fact, Lippmann confirmed that he was the author of the concluding lines, and that they had not been 'interpolated' by any Fascist agent. YUL, MS 326, series I, b. 29, f. Salvemini: Salvemini to Lippmann, 17 August 1929; Lippmann to Salvemini, 4 September 1929.

[96] See Hélène Tuzet, *Calabre et Sicilie: une enquête* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1928), reprinted in Hélène Tuzet and Jules Destrée, *In Calabria durante il fascismo. Due viaggi inchiesta* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2008).

[97] Walter Murdoch, 'At the end of five months', reprinted from *Argus*, 25 February 1929. See Chapter Three.

[98] 'A "Nomad" who sees through', *Boston Transcript*, 17 September 1928; Katharine Dayton, 'Mussolini at a close range', *North American Review*, December 1928, 653-659.

The publication of Dayton's deliberately biased article served to contribute to demolishing the myth of Mussolini. *Italy To-day* gradually dismantled Dayton's idolatrising views by adding of a series of notes demonstrating the groundlessness of her opinion. Similarly, the issue from February 1931 reprinted an enquiry written by the American journalist Percy Winner. Although Winner maintained an ambiguous stance regarding Mussolini, during the 1930s he openly criticised the dictator in a series of articles published in the *New York Evening Post*.[99] By publishing Winner's critical piece, *Italy To-day* aimed at demonstrating that even those who had been conquered by the superficial image of a prosperous Fascist Italy eventually changed their mind. Whereas negative views on Fascism were reprinted without additional commentaries, pro-Fascist interpretations were discussed in order to balance the interpretation and provide an alternative view.

The same strategy can be appreciated in the issues concerning the Fascist economy. Debates involving Salvemini were reprinted in full, adding further comments on points which had remained untouched, especially due to word limits imposed by newspapers. For instance, the April 1929 issue published a controversy opposing Salvemini and Villari in the *Scotsman* and *Observer* at the beginning of 1928. In the version given by *Italy To-day*, Salvemini could include the full text of a letter he had sent to the *Scotsman,* that had been only partially published.[100] The same happened in the issues from July-August and September-October 1932, concerning discussions between Salvemini and an anonymous 'Historicus', and between Salvemini and Villari, in the *Economist*.[101] In *Italy*

[99] On the stance of Percy Winner, see Canali, *La scoperta dell'Italia*, pp. 187-195.
[100] 'Letter as sent to The Scotsman, January 30, 1928', *Italy To-day,* 1.4 (1929), pp. 10-13; see Salvemini, 'Italy and Fascism', *Scotsman,* 30 January 1928, p. 11.
[101] This controversy is mentioned in 5.2.

To-day, Salvemini could add a further reply to Historicus' and Villari's statements. In two long appendices, Salvemini carefully dismantled both Historicus' and Villari's assertions.[102] It is evident that a twenty-page letter could not be printed in the *Economist* nor by any other journal. Therefore, the importance of *Italy To-day* consisted in the opportunity to create an additional space in which to continue what was being done in the British press, as Salvemini himself stated:

> Not being able to trespass on the hospitality of the *Economist*, I had to limit my self [*sic*] to taking into consideration only two of the points in the letter of 'Historicus'. But here where I am not limited as to space, I can follow 'Historicus' on the remainder of his voyage of discovery in Italy.[103]

The absence of restrictions on space was particularly important for dealing with the topic of justice in Italy. Previous sections have discussed the interest shown by the press between 1927 and 1931, considering the Savona Trial and the *processo degli intellettuali* as the two extremes of the period. *Italy To-day* contributed to disseminating information on this topic by collecting appeals and debates on the miscarriage of justice in Italy, particularly by reprinting the full correspondence on the escape from Lipari, the Rossellis' case, the Milan bomb attack and the sentences passed by the Special Tribunal.[104] In particular, the 1931 issues aimed to broaden the perspective by presenting a series of accounts focusing on the victims of the miscarriage of justice. This is the case in the pamphlets devoted to Carlo Del Re's conspiracy against GL and the arrest of Mario

[102] *Italy To-day*, 3.7-8 (1932), pp. 9-25 e *Italy To-day*, 3.9-10 (1932), pp. 10-32.
[103] *Italy To-day*, 3.7-8 (1932), p. 9.
[104] The reference is to the issues of *Italy To-day* 1.6, 1.7, 1.10 (1929) and 2.7 (1931).

Vinciguerra and Renzo Rendi, and those concerning Ernesto Rossi and Riccardo Bauer, Emilio Lussu's experience during *confino*, and Lauro De Bosis' tragic death.[105]

Analysis of the work undertaken in preparation for the *processo degli intellettuali* has showed that Salvemini had unsuccessfully tried to have his account of Del Re's plot published in the *Manchester Guardian*; he therefore published it in the January 1931 issue of *Italy To-day*. In this case, the 'green pamphlet' served as a complementary platform to add information on the topics discussed by British newspapers. In this sense, the pamphlets devoted to Vinciguerra and Rendi, Bauer and Rossi, and De Bosis provide further details focusing on the personal experience of the victims. Although the authors of these three pamphlets were anonymous, archival investigation has made it possible to identify them and connect them to Salvemini's network. Indeed, archival documents prove that the anonymous 'British Resident in Rome' who wrote the issue of *Italy To-day* concerning *The Case of Vinciguerra and Rendi* was Sylvia Sprigge. Vinciguerra and Rendi were two journalists arrested in November 1930 for having disseminated anti-Fascist literature through the monarchist association *Alleanza Nazionale per la Libertà*, coordinated by Lauro De Bosis.[106] Their cases were discussed at length in the *Manchester Guardian* thanks to Sprigge, who was in contact with Vinciguerra and De Bosis, as the

[105] See the issues of *Italy To-day* 2.1, 2.3, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.11-12 (1931).

[106] Lauro De Bosis (1901-1931) was an Italian poet. In 1928 he was appointed Secretary of the Italy-America Society of New York. Facing the impossibility of limiting Fascist propaganda in the Society, in 1930 he resigned from his post and founded the anti-Fascist organisation *Alleanza Nazionale* in Italy. In 1931 he died in a plane crash after having disseminated anti-Fascist propaganda leaflets over Rome. The Harvard Chair Salvemini occupied from 1934 to 1949 was dedicated to De Bosis' memory thanks to Ruth Draper. See Origo, *A Need to Testify*, pp. 33-78; Lauro De Bosis, *The Story of my Death* (London: Faber & Faber, 1933); *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 138-139; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 240-243.

Fascist police suspected.[107] This can be confirmed thanks to the original draft of the pamphlet, held in Crawford's archive. Three different hands contributed to the manuscript: those of Crawford and Salvemini, who edited the text, and that of Sprigge, who wrote the body of the text. This is not surprising if one considers that her commitment to Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities was confirmed in Rawson's 1928 *Notes*.[108]

It is likely that Sprigge wrote the issue devoted to Rossi and Bauer, too. Nevertheless, her authorship is not confirmed by archival sources. If one reads the incipit of the pamphlet, it suggests that the author is the same as the previous issue, as it begins 'These words I wrote in the "green pamphlet" of last month', and continues in the first person.[109] Nevertheless, a foreword to the issue of July-August clarified:

> A misconception having arisen owing to a mistaken wording on the first page of our June pamphlet, we are asked to state that the "British Resident in Italy" responsible for the latter is not identical with the "British Resident in Rome", the author of the May issue.[110]

It is likely that this statement aimed to protect Sprigge, who, in the meantime, the Fascist police had identified as the author of the pamphlet on Vinciguerra and Rendi.[111] Sprigge's role can more easily be explored in relation to the issue of November 1931,

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[107] ACS, PS, F4, b. 46, f. Italy To-day: telespresso n. 6321/1985, 14 November 1931; ACS, PP, personali, b. 1216, f. Silvia Saunders. Vinciguerra and Rendi were sentenced to fifteen years in prison, whereas De Bosis was in the USA. See *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 128-130. See the articles published by the *Manchester Guardian:* 'Fascist Drive against Opponents', 3 December 1930, p. 9; 'Fate of Italian Liberals', 5 December 1930, p. 8; 'Liberals for Trial in Italy', 20 December 1930, p. 13; 'Signora De Bosis Acquitted', 23 December 1930, p. 9; 'Liberal Prisoners in Italy', 24 December 1930, p. 12.
[108] See 7.3.
[109] *Italy To-day*. 2.6 (1931).
[110] *Italy To-day*, 2.7 (1931), inside cover.
[111] ACS, PS, F4, b. 46, f. Italy To-day: telespresso n. 6321/1985, 14 November 1931.

devoted to Lauro De Bosis' death.[112] The main body of the account can be attributed to Salvemini; the appendix to the pamphlets, in which excerpts of De Bosis' letters and the text of the leaflets he had thrown over Rome were printed, is representative of the concerted effort at the basis of the publication of *Italy To-day*. As her correspondence with Salvemini shows, Massey translated the original texts into English.[113] Furthermore, some of the excerpts published were taken from letters from De Bosis to Cecil Sprigge, supplied to Salvemini by Ruth Draper through Sprigge. The original version can be found in Sprigge's archive, with a letter by Draper which gives an idea of the steps taken to complete the pamphlet:

> [Sylvia Sprigge] has gone and left me the letters you had sent which I am returning to you herewith. We only used parts of the long one of course omitting your name and it will not be known by anyone to whom the letter was written. I think it will be used in the forthcoming green pamphlet.[114]

In conclusion, thanks to archival documents, *Italy To-day* can be interpreted in light of the work undertaken by intellectuals revolving around Salvemini, as the result of an effort to shed light on the Italian situation by drawing on printed sources and first-hand information supplied by people involved in the anti-Fascist struggle. In some cases, the 'green pamphlets' expanded the analysis of relevant topics; in others, it rectified pro-Fascist views. Indeed, if one reads the full collection of *Italy To-day* from beginning to end, one would have not only an introduction to the main topics addressed by Salvemini during his British period, but also an idea of how they were discussed by the press.

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[112] *Italy To-day*, 2.10 (1931).
[113] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 10 October 1931.
[114] RUL, MS 1703/1, f. 176: Draper to Sprigge, 3 November 1931; De Bosis to Sprigge, 28 December 1930.

Arguably, *Italy To-day* cannot entirely be considered an anti-Fascist review in a traditional sense, but must be seen as a complimentary platform able to support the work of Salvemini and his collaborators to disseminate reliable information about Fascism in Britain and in the USA, and to oppose Fascist propaganda through a publication designed to address a foreign audience.

10. Facing Failures

The episodes thus far addressed have revealed the main interconnections that shaped Salvemini's network, showing different levels of commitment to the anti-Fascist cause. The leading role played by Russell, Massey, Rawson, and Crawford has emerged from analysis of the activities they coordinated: sponsoring Salvemini's lectures, joining committees, travelling to Italy, organising press campaigns, and publishing anti-Fascist literature. Other intellectuals made vital contributions to these activities, making it possible to expand Salvemini's audience.

The aspects analysed have concerned initiatives in which the network was broadly successful. Nevertheless, an in-depth investigation of Salvemini's British experience must equally address setbacks. For this reason, the following sections will examine Salvemini's attempts to obtain a professorship in British universities and his problematic approaches to the British political milieu, discussing the extent to which these challenges influenced his decision to leave Britain and to continue his exile in the USA after 1934.

10.1 An Anti-Fascist amongst Italian Academics in Britain

The last section of Chapter Three described the evolution of Salvemini's attitude towards the USA, which changed in the 1930s when Salvemini abandoned stressful conference tours, discovered the quiet and inspiring intellectual life of Harvard, and began to create his own American network. Analysis based on archival papers has also proved that Salvemini preferred to remain in Britain until 1933, as from 1926 until his appointment at Harvard Salvemini applied for various professorships at British

universities.[1] It is now vital to address the issue by investigating Salvemini's university applications in order to evaluate the support he received from the members of his network, and the opposition he faced within the British academic milieu, especially when he applied for professorships of Italian Studies.

For this reason, it is essential to consider scholarship concerning the reception of Fascism in British universities, especially the recent contribution given by Tamara Colacicco. In particular, Colacicco's work discusses the methods of Fascist propaganda abroad with a focus on Great Britain between 1921 and 1940, investigating the role played by a group of *Italianisti*, including Camillo Pellizzi, Cesare Foligno, Piero Rèbora and to some extent Mario Praz, who disseminated Fascist propaganda by taking advantage of their academic roles.[2] Although Colacicco's research does not focus on Salvemini, it represents the starting point to contextualise his attempts to find a job in a British university. Drawing on Quagliariello's biography of Salvemini, Colacicco briefly

[1] See 3.4.

[2] See, all by Tamara Colacicco, 'L'emigrazione intellettuale italiana in Inghilterra: i docenti universitari di italianistica tra fascismo e antifascismo (1921-39)', *The Italianist*, 35.1 (2015), 157-170; 'Il fascismo e gli Italian Studies in Gran Bretagna: Le strategie e i risultati della propaganda (1921–40)', *California Italian Studies*, 6.2 (2016), 1-21; 'Fascism and Italian Studies at Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool Universities in the 1930s: Culture, Propaganda, Politics', *Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane*, 22.2 (2018), 27-47; 'Fascist Propaganda in the UK and the Activities of Italian Studies Academic Staff in Interwar Britain: A Transnational Case Study', in *Education of Italian Elites. Case Studies, XIX-XX Centuries*, ed. by Angelo Gaudio (Rome: Aracne, 2018), pp. 13-39; *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi. La diplomazia culturale di Mussolini in Gran Bretagna (1921-1940)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2018); 'Obiettivi e organizzazione della propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi', *Annali della Fondazione Ugo Spirito e Renzo De Felice,* 31.2 (2019), 287-316. Before Colacicco, only a limited number of contributions were available on this topic: Umberto Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena and the Cambridge Chair of Italian, 1919-1934', *Modern Language Review*, 92.4 (1997), 877-892; David Robey, 'Italian Studies: The First Half', *Italian Studies*, 67.2 (2012), 287-299, Eric Vincent, 'Lo sviluppo degli studi italiani in Gran Bretagna durante il '900', in *Inghilterra e Italia nel '900. Atti del Convegno di Bagni di Lucca, ottobre 1972* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1973), pp. 63-67. On the dissemination of Fascism abroad through cultural institutions, see the aforementioned work by Baldoli, *Exprting Fascism*; Benedetta Garzarelli, *'Parleremo al mondo intero'. La propaganda del fascismo all'estero* (Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 2004); Francesca Cavarocchi, *Avanguardie dello spirito. Il fascismo e la propaganda culturale all'estero* (Rome: Carocci, 2010).

mentions Salvemini's difficulties in obtaining a chair in Britain, arguing that his attempts 'remained unsuccessful due to control exercised by the Fascist regime in selecting most applicants proposed for academic vacancies abroad'.[3] In agreement with this statement, the following analysis integrates Colacicco's studies focusing on Salvemini's experience and investigating it in view of archival findings. Colacicco's research is mainly based on the archival documents of the ASMAE and the collection of Camillo Pellizzi's papers. In this section, Pellizzi's papers will be discussed in connection with sources related to Salvemini, in order to understand how Salvemini's network coped with the opposition identified by Colacicco. Nevertheless, before describing Salvemini's attempts to become a professor of Italian Studies in Britain, it is necessary to look into his applications for British History professorships and the reasons which led him to fail in this field.

The first time Salvemini considered submitting an application for a professorship in British History was May 1926, less than a year after the beginning of his exile. As described in Chapter Five, during that period Salvemini was staying at Alys Russell's house, where she helped him organise lectures and conferences.[4] Archival papers reveal that Salvemini made arrangements with Bedford College to deliver a course on Italian history.[5] It is likely that this arrangement was reached thanks to Massey, who held a lectureship in German at Bedford College, although there are no sources to support this speculation.[6] What is certain is that Massey worked on Salvemini's application for the Chair of Modern British History at Bedford College in 1926. It is important to underline

[3] Colacicco, 'Fascist Propaganda in the UK', p. 17. See also Colacicco, 'L'emigrazione intellettuale italiana in Inghilterra' p. 161; Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi,* p. 72.
[4] See 5.1.
[5] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. Margaret Tuke: Tuke to Salvemini, 10 May 1926.
[6] See 4.4.

that, as Salvemini admitted, he was not an expert in British History. This was the main point which made him eventually change his mind about submitting the application: an aspect which he would consider important each time he had to decide whether to apply for non-Italian professorships in Britain. Salvemini's doubts can be appreciated from his correspondence with the Principal of Bedford College, Margaret Tuke, who discussed the submission of the application with him. Tuke confirmed Salvemini's suspicions that his unfamiliarity with the topic would 'definitely be a handicap'.[7] However, the most interesting aspect of Salvemini's correspondence with Tuke – of which only Tuke's replies have survived, as there seems to be no trace of Salvemini's letters in the Bedford College archives – is that the Principal raised a potential political issue. While Tuke suggested that Salvemini should submit his application anyway, in view of his prominence as a historian, she feared that some members of the board of electors might stand against Salvemini's election in order not to give 'the impression that the University was siding with a particular political party' – in other words, against Fascism.[8] This statement suggests that despite Bedford College being keen to host Salvemini's lectures, his permanent appointment, as that of a well-known anti-Fascist, was considered a more delicate question. Indeed, Salvemini refrained from putting forward his application, which nevertheless was ready to be submitted, thanks to the testimonials of Benedetto Croce, Charles Seignobos, Élie Halévy, and references by Ernest Barker, George Peabody Gooch, Thomas Okey and Graham Wallas.[9] According to Quagliariello, who analysed the correspondence between Salvemini and Halévy, Salvemini decided not to apply as

[7] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. Margaret Tuke: Tuke to Salvemini, 10 May 1926.
[8] Ibid.
[9] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 2/1: Salvemini to Academic Registrar, 17 May 1926; GS, b. 108, f. Margaret Tuke: Tuke to Salvemini, 4 July 1926.

he feared that the Fascist government would use his failure to discredit him in the press.[10]

Despite any supposed political reason, Salvemini's scarce desire to become a professor of British History should be seen as a primary reason influencing his behaviour. Archival papers show that every time he had the opportunity to submit an application to teach British History he hesitated, and only once – in 1930 – he did apply. In 1927 he refused to apply to Leeds, after having written to Massey that he was 'always […] doubtful about [his] capacity for teaching English History', adding that 'if it was a chair of Italian, then [he] should be sure of [himself]. But to teach English History, [he] had to work too much for [his] preparation'.[11] Similarly, in February 1929 he considered, then decided against, applying to Westfield College (today's Queen Mary, University of London) for the same reason: 'Honestly I cannot teach a subject of which I am too ignorant', he wrote to Massey. 'I should be obliged to give up all other my activities and concentrate myself for two years in learning what I must teach'.[12]

It is important to note that in spring 1930 Salvemini had begun teaching at Harvard. Nevertheless, he had not yet secured his appointment for the following years.[13] Furthermore, a few months earlier he had failed to be appointed as Serena Professor of Italian at Cambridge – an aspect which will be carefully addressed – and therefore his hopes of being offered a job in Italian Studies in Britain were gradually evaporating. These can be considered as the primary reasons for which he decided to apply for the professorship of History at Bedford College in March 1930, despite his previous doubts.

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[10] Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 163.
[11] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 April 1927.
[12] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 19 February 1929.
[13] *Lettere americane*, pp. 34-35: Salvemini to La Piana, 29 July 1933.

A draft copy of his cover letter held amongst his archival papers letter confirms that Salvemini had not changed his mind about his lack of expertise.[14] The correspondence between Salvemini, Massey and Russell shows that he had forced himself to apply in order to 'have no reproach for not having sent in the application'.[15] It is not surprising that, commenting on his failure at Bedford, he stated:

> I must confess that I was relieved when I know somebody else got the job of Bedford College. I felt that the teaching of English modern history would have represented a great strain on my brain. I should have needed to prepare myself from day & day, and perhaps I should not have succeeded. Now I am glad to have sent in my application and to have failed.[16]

Since the 1930 application to Bedford College was the only one that Salvemini submitted for teaching British History, and his failure was mainly due to his lack of expertise on the subject and to his scarce conviction, it is not possible to relate this failure to his anti-Fascist stances. Conversely, it is vital to take political aspects into account to discuss Salvemini's applications for professorships of Italian Studies, and his relationships with professors of Italian at University College London, Oxford, Cambridge, Liverpool, and Manchester.

In order to understand Salvemini's position within the network of *Italianisti*, it is necessary to draw on Colacicco's works to give an overview of the development of Italian Studies in Britain over the 1920s and 1930s. Before 1919, when the Italian

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[14] The supporting testimonials were given again by Seignobos and Halévy, with Charles William Previté Orton substituting Croce. Amongst the references, the draft of the cover letter mentions Ernest Barker. George Trevelyan and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson were added in Alys Russell's hand; it is possible to ascertain from further correspondence that Salvemini also asked for a reference from Arthur Schlesinger of Harvard. The testimonials are in ISTREC, GS, Massey, 2/2.

[15] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 26 May 1930.

[16] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 11 June 1930.

professorships of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester and Birmingham were founded thanks to a donation made by Arthur Serena, only lectureships existed, including at UCL.[17] The first Serena Chair was given to Cesare Foligno in 1919, who had joined Oxford in 1909 as Taylorian Lecturer; Thomas Okey and Edmund Garrat Gardner obtained the Cambridge and the Manchester chairs respectively.[18] Camillo Pellizzi obtained a lectureship at UCL in the 1920s: his academic activity in London began under the guidance of Antonio Cippico – a fervent Fascist who played a vital role in founding the London *Fascio* – and continued under Gardner, who moved from Manchester to UCL in 1923.[19] Colacicco proved that whereas Foligno and Pellizzi can be considered as the 'coordinators' of Fascist propaganda in British universities, an equally important role was played by Piero Rèbora, who obtained the Italian chair in Manchester in 1923, when

[17] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi,* pp. 85-98; Colacicco, 'Fascist Propaganda', p. 25; Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 877-880; Vincent, 'Lo sviluppo degli studi italiani in Gran Bretagna durante il '900', p. 63. On Foligno's intellectual production, see also Eric Vincent, 'Cesare Foligno (1878-1963)', *Italian Studies*, 19.1 (1964), 91-93. Little information is available on the Birmingham chair, which is mentioned by Limentani without further details, and is neglected by Colacicco. In 1921, the chair was given to Linetta De Castelvecchio Richardson, a Tuscan scholar of noble origins, who moved to Britain at the beginning of the 1900s. Interestingly, the other candidate was Angelo Crespi, who would have been the sole anti-Fascist occupying one of the Serena chairs, if elected. De Castelvecchio Richardson became the first woman professor in Birmingham – the second in Britain – and kept her place until 1946 when she retired. Her intellectual production focused particularly on Dante but was limited because of her teaching duties, as she could not count on supporting staff or language assistants. See Philip McNair, 'Linetta De Castelvecchio Richardson', *Italian Studies*, 32.1 (1977), 1-3. The image provided in McNair's obituary is that of a marginal chair which had no political influence, and this partially explains why it has been neglected within the study of Fascist propaganda in Britain.

[18] BLO, MS TL 4/34; 'University Intelligence', *The Times,* 12 July 1909, p. 10; 'First Professor of Italian At Oxford' *The Times,* 6 October 1919, p. 11. Foligno would keep his professorship until 1940, when he was forced to leave Britain as Italy entered the Second World War. See also Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi,* pp. 116-117; Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 879.

[19] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi,* p. 87-88 and pp. 103-104. About Camillo Pellizzi, see Gisella Longo, 'Alla vigilia della rivoluzione', in Danilo Breschi and Gisella Longo, *Camillo Pellizzi: la ricerca delle élites tra politica e sociologia, 1896-1979* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2003), pp. 15-73. On Pellizzi's role in the London *Fascio*, see Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism,* pp. 7-12; Suzzi Valli, 'Il Fascio italiano a Londra', pp. 957-1001.

Gardner moved to UCL, and kept it until 1932 when he was appointed to the British Institute of Florence.[20] Rèbora played a central role in disseminating Fascist propaganda in a city like Manchester, where anti-Fascism – and Salvemini's views – were supported by the *Manchester Guardian*. By contrast, Mario Praz, who substituted Rèbora in 1932 after lecturing in Liverpool for nine years, maintained a neutral, if not truly anti-Fascist, stance.[21]

This account of Italian Studies in Britain shows that in 1926 almost all the key positions – except those of Cambridge and Praz – were occupied by Fascist professors who were in contact with the *Ministero degli Esteri* and actively worked to disseminate Fascist propaganda abroad. It is possible to consider Salvemini's experience in Britain, particularly in Oxford, Manchester, and Cambridge, to investigate to what extent and by which means this Fascist network opposed Salvemini, as Colacicco suggests.

Discussing the reception of Fascism in Britain, Colacicco concludes that 'malgrado gli sforzi del governo italiano nel favorire la diffusione dell'elemento culturale in Gran Bretagna […] il fascismo […] guadagnò un consenso limitato'.[22] Focusing on Oxford, Colacicco describes the academic milieu as resistant to Fascism despite Foligno's support. Colacicco defines Oxford as 'uno dei centri universitari inglesi in cui si riscontrò una più massiccia opposizione alla diffusione della propaganda politica fascista', adding that 'il comunismo registrò, nel contesto dei circoli studenteschi di Oxford, un'influenza maggiore rispetto al fascismo'.[23] Colacicco's conclusions are based on an analysis of

[20] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, pp. 102-120 and 156-173.
[21] Ibid., pp. 160-161 and 168. For an introduction to Praz's intellectual trajectory, see *Mario Praz vent'anni dopo: Atti del Convegno (Roma-Cassino, 15–18 ottobre 2002),* ed. by Franco Buffoni (Milan: Marco y Marcos, 2003).
[22] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, p. 183.
[23] Ibid., p. 119-121.

student societies, and seem too general. A discussion of Salvemini's experience in connection with some Oxonian professors in the late 1920s makes it possible to further explore Foligno's influence and its political implications.

Archival documents make it possible to prove that the first contact between Salvemini and the University of Oxford happened at the beginning of October 1925, shortly after the Florentine night of violence which prompted Salvemini's decision to remain abroad and begin his exile.[24] Excerpts of correspondence show that one of Salvemini's contacts in Oxford was Ethel Herdman, Secretary of the Oxford Branch of the League of Nations Union, who was willing to organise a university course in the History Faculty for Salvemini or, alternatively, a series of lectures at Barnett House under the patronage of the League of Nations Union.[25] To this aim, she was making arrangements with the Regius Professor of History Henry William Carless Davis, who, at the end of November, declared that he was glad to 'arrange for [Salvemini] to come under the auspice of the University' to lecture on the Middle Ages 'or some purely historical subject – non political'[26]. Herdman's correspondence reveals that Barnett House had also considered the matter but, despite Davis' recommendations, the plan was hindered by Foligno, whose 'fear of politics frightened the academic world'.[27] Foligno's intervention is confirmed by other archival sources, too. A typewritten note held amongst Salvemini's file in the CPC reads as follows:

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[24] See 1.4.

[25] According to the *St. Hugh's College Chronicle*, Ethel Herdman graduated in French from St Hugh's College at the beginning of the 1920s and became Secretary of the Oxford Branch of the League of Nations Union in 1922. 'Ethel Herdman', *St. Hugh's College Chronicle*, 28 (1955-1956), pp. 25-26, <https://issuu.com/sthughscollegeoxford/docs/chronicle_1955-1956> [accessed 8 October 2019]. ISTREC, GS, b. 88, f. Ethel Herdman: Herdman to Salvemini, 26 October 1925.

[26] ISTREC, GS, b. 88, f. Ethel Herdman: Herdman to Salvemini, 30 November 1925.

[27] Ibid.

> Nello scorso dicembre il Prof Salvemini ha fatto pratiche, a mezzo di amici inglesi, per andare a Oxford e darvi una conferenza pubblica sul Fascismo. La cosa è venuta all'orecchie del professore di Italiano in cotesta università – Prof. Cesare Foligno, il quale ha fatto rilevare sia ai promotori, sia al Vice-Cancelliere della Università, che egli riteneva inopportuno che una tale conferenza venisse data a Oxford, che, date le intenzioni del Salvemini, avrebbe avuto carattere polemico e potrebbe dare origine a fatti spiacevoli. La conferenza fu quindi abbandonata.[28]

According to Colacicco, Foligno and Pellizzi coordinated Fascist propaganda in British universities. Indeed, amongst Pellizzi's papers there is a series of letters proving their collaboration, but there are also other documents which make it possible to perceive their opposition to Salvemini. This is the case in two letters received by Pellizzi, one from Foligno, and another, undated, but ascribable to 1925, in which the sender – whose identity has not been deciphered – confirmed that Foligno had asked for help from British authorities to prevent Salvemini from delivering lectures in Oxford.[29] Nevertheless, as has been shown, Foligno's plan was only partially successful, since Salvemini lectured at Barnett House on 17 February 1926 under the chairmanship of Gilbert Murray.[30] Furthermore, the papers of the Foreign Office show that Francis Pember, who was Warden of All Souls, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and President of Barnett House – where Salvemini delivered his lecture – asked for advice on how to behave if Salvemini came to deliver further lectures at the University, as Herdman was planning. Indeed, Herdman considered Salvemini's lecture at Barnett House 'an

[28] ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: note 23 January 1926.
[29] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 28, f. 29, fol. 107: [unknown] to Pellizzi, [n.d., 1925]; b. 26, f. 22, fol. 5: Foligno to Pellizzi, 19 February 1926. Since the letter refers to Salvemini's lecture of 17 February as a future event, it is likely that Foligno miswrote the date of the letter.
[30] See 5.1; ISTREC, GS, b. 88, f. Ethel Herdman: Herdman to Salvemini, 21 and 26 December 1925.

introduction to a possible University course'.[31] For this reason, she asked Salvemini to deliver a non-party political lecture because of the nature of Barnett House, which refrained from overt political allegiance, and to let her see the draft of his speech beforehand 'for [his] own sake', to 'warn [him] of Oxford and its ways' and to decide 'whether Oxford can stand it all'.[32] The reply given by the Foreign Office to Pember clarifies the views of the government on the matter:

> No sufficient reason exists for asking the Oxford authorities to discountenance an invitation to lecture, or even to discountenance the payment of some remuneration for the lectures if desired. On the other hand, anything like a public reception or an honorary degree or any treatment of Professor Salvemini which might give rise to the opinion that Oxford regarded the man as the victim of a tyrannical regime would not be in the public interest. I do not know whether the above is sufficient to afford the answer to the question you put to me, but I need scarcely say that I shall be happy to obtain for you the opinion of the Secretary of State on any particular scheme which is initiated.[33]

Thanking the Foreign Office for their advice, Pember assured that he would oppose 'anything of the sort deprecated by the Foreign Office […] with added authority'.[34] The Foreign Office's statement confirms the attitude which has been described in the second chapter of this work: the main concern of the representatives of Foreign Affairs was that of avoiding appearing to support anti-Fascism, although without preventing anti-Fascist supporters from expressing their own views.[35]

However, Pember's intervention was unnecessary as Salvemini did not organise a series of lectures in Oxford: in fact, he only succeeded in delivering another conference

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[31] ISTREC, GS, b. 88, f. Ethel Herdman: Herdman to Salvemini, 26 December 1925.
[32] ISTREC, GS, b. 88, f. Ethel Herdman: Herdman to Salvemini, 21 and 26 December 1925.
[33] TNA, FO 371/11396, C2840/2840/22: Foreign Office to Pember, 3 March 1926.
[34] TNA, FO 371/11396, C3017/2840/22: Pember to Foreign Office, 4 March 1926.
[35] See 2.2 and 2.3.

in November 1927 on the IRRC's behalf.[36] Documents in Salvemini's file in the CPC make it possible to appreciate that Foligno reported on the results of the event to the Fascist authorities:

> Il prof. Foligno […] mi informa che alla riunione organizzata nella predetta città l'8 novembre dal Pr. Salvemini e da Mrs VM Crawford in favore degli 'Italian Refugees' […] intervennero non più di trenta persone e che per conseguenza anche il risultato finanziario della riunione fu assai meschino. Era presente alla riunione un'allieva del Prof. Foligno, che bene conosce l'Italia, per avervi largamente soggiornato, la quale protestò altamente contro le menzogne del Salvemini ma che fu subito fatta tacere col pretesto che la riunione non aveva carattere politico.[37]

It is evident that Foligno's efforts were instrumental in limiting Salvemini's influence on the Oxonian milieu. It is therefore futile to discuss why, when the post of Taylorian Lecturer in Italian at Oxford was advertised in 1927, Salvemini did not apply, despite Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson's suggestion he do so with the help of Thomas Okey.[38] One must not underestimate that Salvemini's closeness to Gilbert Murray – who held a solid academic position besides his political commitments – could bear more influence on Oxford than the belittling action exercised by Foligno. Nevertheless, the careful attitude in dealing with the struggle between Fascism and anti-Fascism even in academic contexts was to the detriment of Salvemini and to the advantage of Foligno.

Foligno's action was not limited to Oxford: in cooperation with other *Italianisti* such as Camillo Pellizzi and Piero Rèbora, it was extended to other British universities. Rèbora's intervention was particularly relevant when, in October 1926, Salvemini was

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[36] See 6.2.

[37] ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: telespresso n. 263534/6638, 9 December 1927.

[38] The position of Taylorian Lecturer was held by Arundel Del Re, who in 1927 moved to Tokyo to teach English Literature. On the suggestion to apply for the position, see RUL, MS 1244, C.60: Lowes Dickinson to Russell, 8 June 1927.

invited to lecture at Manchester on the medieval history of Florence.[39] Documents in Salvemini's CPC file show that the Italian Embassy carefully monitored the situation, and asked Rèbora to use his academic influence to counterbalance Salvemini's anti-Fascist views, though he was lecturing on a merely historical topic.[40] Colacicco discusses the importance of Rèbora's position proving that his succession in 1932 was broadly debated before Mario Praz was elected at Manchester.[41] The Manchester chair was not the only position left vacant during those years: the situation of Italian Studies in Britain saw, between late 1927 and 1934, frequent vacancies at Cambridge, Manchester and UCL. These will be analysed in relation to Salvemini's experience in Britain, and in parallel with his American academic commitments.

It was at the end of 1927 that the first British contact between Salvemini and Mario Praz took place. Presumably, Praz and Salvemini knew each other from Berenson's circle in Florence, but there is no evidence to confirm this. Only one letter, sent by Praz in reply to Salvemini, is available within Salvemini's papers.[42] Its content proves that Salvemini was exploring the possibility of taking Praz's place in Liverpool, as he had heard that Praz had applied for a professorship in Turin.[43] The most interesting aspect of Praz's reply is that, besides keeping an overall friendly attitude by sharing information about the current situation of Italian Studies in Britain, Praz assured Salvemini that, although

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[39] ISTREC, GS, b. 108, f. University of Manchester: H. P. Turner to Salvemini, 20 May 1926; GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: University of Manchester to Salvemini, 6 June 1926.
[40] ACS, CPC, b. 4551, f. Salvemini: riservata 7 October 1926; telespresso n. 15148/4884, 6 November 1926; telespresso n. 247329, 20 November 1926; telespresso n. 247858/5123, 24 November 1926.
[41] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, pp. 158-164.
[42] The archive of Mario Praz is being rearranged, but it seems that Salvemini is not included in the list of correspondents – although it is clear that he addressed at least one letter to Praz in 1927.
[43] Rumours about Salvemini's interest in Liverpool were already circulating amongst the *Italianisti*, as proven by a letter written by Antonio Cippicco to Pellizzi, who feared that the 'disonorevole Salvemini' would obtain the professorship. AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 28, f. 30, fol. 123: Cippico to Pellizzi, 16 December 1926.

he was not leaving his chair, he would keep him informed about 'quante novità potranno presentarsi in proposito', offering, in a way, his collaboration to help him to find a job.[44] This friendly attitude was evidently abandoned in the following years, when Praz seemed more willing to cooperate with Foligno and Pellizzi, with whom, he said, he would form 'un gruppo assai omogeneo e concorde' if elected for the Cambridge chair in 1933.[45] However, the episodes so far mentioned are insufficient to prove either Praz's Fascism or his anti-Fascism, and, as Colacicco states, it is necessary to delve further into the matter.[46]

A more concrete opportunity opened before Salvemini when Thomas Okey resigned from his professorship at Cambridge in 1928.[47] At that time, Salvemini was leaving Europe to deliver a course at the New School for Social Research, in New York, before continuing his American tour across the East and West Coasts until the summer.[48] Though Colacicco did not analyse the Cambridge election, it is in fact vital to take the episode into account in order to reveal the extent to which other *Italianisti* succeeded in lobbying for the election of a politically suitable candidate. A letter received by Pellizzi from an unidentified sender stressed that if Salvemini was elected at Cambridge, this would be interpreted as a considerable sign of anti-Fascist support, which would seriously endanger Fascist propaganda in Britain.[49] According to archival papers,

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[44] ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Praz to Salvemini, [n.d.].
[45] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 37, fol. 34: Praz to Pellizzi, 15 February 1933.
[46] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, p. 168.
[47] On Okey's appointment, see Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', pp. 881-884, and Thomas Okey, *A Basketful of Memories* (London: Dent, 1930), pp. 136-143.
[48] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 222-225; Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, pp. 172-173; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 89-93.
[49] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 29, f. 33, fol. 20: [unknown] to Pellizzi, 31 January 1929. According to the inventory of Pellizzi's papers the author is his father, Giovan Battista Pellizzi, but this seems unlikely, both because of the signature and the content of the letter.

Salvemini's application was supported by some of his usual referees, such as Halévy, Barker, Previté Orton, Seignobos and Croce.[50] Despite Okey having been one of Salvemini's supporters since his 1925 arrest, his influence could not help Salvemini to obtain the position, which was eventually given to Raffaello Piccoli, surprisingly a non-Fascist candidate, as will be shown. Indeed, at the time of Salvemini's application, Okey had already warned Salvemini that he had almost no chance of being elected. Edward Bullough was the most probable candidate for election, in part because of his Fascist stance.[51] In a letter to Massey – who was coordinating Salvemini's application – Okey explained:

> Apart from the fact of his being an Italian, the dominant atmosphere at Cambridge is Fascist and you know the feeling on the majority of the electors. S.[alvemini] has identified himself and prominently with the anti-Fascist cause (to his honour) that this fact alone is almost decisive.[52]

It is worth remembering that in 1928 Salvemini was at the apogee of his popularity as an anti-Fascist, *The Fascist Dictatorship* having been just published in Britain. Furthermore, it must be stressed that soon after Salvemini's application was submitted, Swiss authorities, in agreement with the Fascist government, banned him from entering the country to lecture on anti-Fascism: a political move which Salvemini considered as an

[50] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 2/1: Halévy to Massey, 29 December 1928; Barker to Massey, 30 December 1928; Previté Orton to Salvemini, 30 December 1928; Testimonial by Seignobos, 5 January 1929; Croce to Salvemini, January 1929.
[51] On Bullough, see Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, pp. 202-203, and Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 891.
[52] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/4: Okey to Massey, 7 January 1929.

attempt to warn the board of electors in Cambridge about the danger of having an anti-Fascist sitting in the Italian chair.[53]

Nevertheless, Piccoli's appointment was not influenced by political stances, since Piccoli had anti-Fascist views. If the board of electors – which included Foligno – had preferred to nominate a Fascist supporter, they would have elected Bullough rather than Piccoli. Arguably, Piccoli was not as active in the anti-Fascist movement as Salvemini, and was less exposed to public opinion: a fact that, to some extent, might have made him a more suitable candidate. The main reason for Piccoli's appointment over Salvemini is explained in a letter by Decio Pettoello, Lecturer of Italian at Cambridge, who had also helped him in submitting the application in collaboration with Massey:

> Prof. Okey told me (in camera charitatis) that Mrs. Trevelyan said to him that, if Salvemini had mentioned also his literary competence, possibly they would have elected him to the Italian Chair. Perhaps, if he had done so, they would have found some other pretext; nevertheless the formal reason they gave for not electing Salvemini has been that his record was too exclusively of an historian.[54]

Piccoli's election was based on his literary expertise and his previous experiences at Cambridge and Oxford between 1913 and 1917; after having fought during the First World War in Italy, he moved to the USA. In 1922 he became a professor of English literature in Naples, where his *maestro* Benedetto Croce lived. Although little biographical information is available on him, evidence of his anti-Fascist stance is given

[53] 'Door closed on Professor Salvemini', *Manchester Guardian,* 28 January 1929, p. 12; ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 29 January 1929.
[54] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 2/1: Pettoello to Massey, 5 February 1929; see also Pettoello to Massey, 29 December 1928. About Pettoello, see Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 140-141; ACS, CPC, b. 3916, f. Pettoello.

by Salvemini himself, who confirmed Piccoli's political position to Massey, and declared himself to be happy about the appointment, as he anticipated Bullough being elected.[55]

Salvemini's failure at Cambridge made it necessary for him to keep looking for a job. Despite this, Salvemini preferred to withdraw the aforementioned application for the chair of British History at Westfield College, although he submitted the application to the same chair at Bedford College. In 1931, Salvemini lived between France and Britain, and towards the end of that year and the beginning of 1932 he distinguished himself by contributing to boosting the international campaign against the oath of allegiance imposed on university professors in Italy, as documented by Helmut Goetz.[56] From September to December 1932, Salvemini was appointed by Yale to deliver a History course and, thanks to the money he had earned, was able to remain in the USA, at Harvard, until the summer of 1933.[57] Archival papers confirm that he had already

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[55] On Piccoli's appointment and for biographical details, see Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', pp. 884-888; Alexandra Marjanović, 'Introduzione alla vita e alle carte di Raffaello Piccoli: un racconto', *Cartevive*, 16.1 (2005), 26-84. The fact that Croce supported Salvemini's application for Cambridge, Piccoli being a candidate himself, is jarring, but there is no doubt that Croce gave his testimonial to Salvemini, as proved by the documents held within ISTREC, GS, Massey, 2/1. Piccoli's file in the CPC defines him as Socialist: ACS, CPC, b. 3948, f. Raffaello Piccoli. See also ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 19 February 1929.

[56] Helmut Goetz, *Il giuramento rifiutato. I docenti universitari e il regime fascista* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 2000), pp. 17-24 and 220-266. Salvemini's efforts to disseminate the international petition against the oath, originally promoted by Egidio Reale in Switzerland and addressed to the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations Union, were supported by Massey, who collaborated with Gooch to collect subscriptions in Britain. Salvemini also protested in the press when the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation refused to address the issue, considering it as purely a matter of Italian internal policy. As Goetz shows, Salvemini opened a debate with Gilbert Murray, the President of the Institute, who did not forward a motion against the Fascist regime despite his willingness in helping Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaigns. On the episode, see also Elisa Signori, 'L'opinione pubblica internazionale e il giuramento fascista del 1931. Dal Carteggio inedito di Gaetano Salvemini ed Egidio Reale', in *De Amicitia. Scritti dedicati ad Arturo Colombo*, ed. by Giovanna Angelini and Marina Tesoro (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2007), pp. 563-577. Due to the amount of detail given by Goetz on the episode, this study has preferred not to delve into the matter, although it represents an interesting example of how Salvemini's network contributed to the anti-Fascist cause.

[57] Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 230-231; Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 173; *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, p. 134.

made arrangements for Yale when, at the beginning of 1932, Rèbora left the Serena chair of Manchester.[58] It remains unclear whether Salvemini applied for this position: in a letter to Massey from February 1932, he stated that he needed 'any sensible reason not to apply for Manchester', in order not to regret his decision.[59] This must be interpreted as an indication of the fact that Salvemini, despite his positive experiences at Harvard, hoped to remain in Britain rather than permanently move to the USA.[60] Documents found in Pellizzi's archive suggest that Salvemini's application was, if not submitted, at least expected by the board of electors. In a letter informing Pellizzi about his resignation, Rèbora hoped that Pellizzi would agree to run for the position in order to prevent 'pericolose avventure' and to keep the chair safe from intrusions in view of the strategic role of the Italian professorship at Manchester.[61] As Colacicco notes, Rèbora suggested Pellizzi as the most suitable candidate for the chair because of his political views, while Praz was considered a less strong candidate.[62] In view of Pellizzi's unwillingness to move to Manchester, in the end Praz was nominated, according to a list of desirable candidates drafted by Foligno, Gardner of UCL and Rèbora himself, amongst whom Salvemini was, logically, not included.[63]

The Manchester chair seemed to be the last available Italian professorship in Britain: Pellizzi had already been identified as Gardner's successor at UCL; Foligno and Piccoli firmly held their places in Oxford and Cambridge. Piccoli's unexpected and

[58] ISTREC, Bolaffio, b. 2: Salvemini to the Bolaffios, 5 April 1932. Rèbora was appointed to the British Institute of Florence. See Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, p. 158.
[59] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 28 February 1932.
[60] See 3.4.
[61] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 26, f. 23, fol. 7: Rèbora to Foligno, 27 January 1932.
[62] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, p. 164.
[63] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 36, fol. 19: Rèbora to Pellizzi, 6 March 1932; b. 30, f. 36, fol. 24: Foligno to Pellizzi, 17 March 1932; b. 25, f. 11, fol. 11: Foligno to Pellizzi, 7 March 1932.

premature death in January 1933 offered Salvemini a new possibility to apply for a place in a British university. Contrasting with the Cambridge (1929) and Bedford College applications, Salvemini's papers do not include documents proving that he submitted his candidature to replace Piccoli in 1933. However, information about his application is given in Pellizzi's correspondence and confirmed by Limentani.[64] The centrality of the Cambridge chair emerges from the correspondence between Foligno, Pellizzi and Harold Goad, who were protagonists of a concerted effort – which involved, to a certain extent, Gardner and Villari – to prevent Salvemini from being appointed. As was the case with Manchester, Pellizzi was considered the most suitable candidate to ensure that Fascism maintained a predominant position within the academic milieu.[65] Archival documents reveal that Pellizzi, still not convinced of leaving UCL, urged Harold Goad to apply for the job; nevertheless, Goad refused in view of his crucial role as a propagandist in Italy, and suggested Pellizzi enter the competition to prevent Salvemini from getting the position.[66] Praz presented his candidature as well, but for the aforementioned reasons, he was not considered to be a 'political' candidate able to support Fascist propaganda in Cambridge. According to Praz's letters to Pellizzi, the latter eventually withdrew his application.[67] This move was likely influenced by the fact that the chair was going to be given to Bullough, the 'Fascist' candidate from 1929. Indeed, Limentani interpreted the decision of appointing Bullough as follows:

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[64] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 37, fol. 34: Praz to Pellizzi, 15 February 1933; b. 30, f. 37, fol. 52: Goad to Pellizzi, 27 February 1933. See also Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 888.
[65] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 37, fol. 35: Foligno to Pellizzi, 17 February 1933.
[66] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 37, fols 42: Goad to Pellizzi, 20 February 1933; fol. 52: Goad to Pellizzi, 27 February 1933.
[67] AFUS, Pellizzi, b. 30, f. 37, fol. 56: Praz to Pellizzi, 3 March 1933.

> The British establishment, however, still harboured illusions and misconceptions as to the nature of Fascism, and was hardly prepared to antagonize the Italian Government at a time of appeasement by backing declared anti-Fascists who were viewed as potentially subversive elements. This being the prevailing climate of public opinion, the Electors must have decided to 'play safe' and to plump for a local candidate who was well known and personally respected in Cambridge.[68]

Another factor which might have favoured Bullough's appointment to the detriment of Salvemini – and of Praz – could be a polemic involving the Modern Language Association in 1932, supported by an appeal published in the *Times* shortly before the Cambridge election. The debate regarded the appointment of foreign professors of Modern Languages in British Universities and culminated in 1934 with the publication of a protectionist policy stating that 'the teaching of modern language in this country should be mainly in the hands of men and women of British nationality'.[69] Therefore, it is possible, though it cannot be proved, that Bullough's Britishness influenced the board of electors. Less doubtful is the relevance of his Fascist stance. As Limentani noticed, in his inaugural lecture, Bullough described Fascism as 'a combination of national and European qualities, besides being the attempt, on a larger scale than ever before, to reintegrate the political and the cultural unities of the country'.[70] Although Bullough remained in his chair for a short period – he died in September 1934 – Colacicco described his cooperation with the Fascist government, also mentioning the role of Eric

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[68] Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 888.

[69] 'Modern Language Association. A Policy', *Modern Languages,* 15 (1934), p. 205. Details on the debate, which began in 1932, can be found in the issues of the aforementioned journal, particularly the minute of the 'Annual General Meeting 1932', 14 (1933), p. 95 and the 'Report of the Council on the Work of the Association during 1933', p. 121. In February 1933 *The Times* published an appeal signed by British professors urging the necessity of appointing skilled professors whose knowledge went beyond the possession of the language as native speakers. 'Appointment to the higher posts', *The Times,* 13 February 1933, p. 17.

[70] Limentani, 'Leone and Arthur Serena', p. 891.

Vincent, Bullough's successors and former lecturer in Oxford with Foligno, in guaranteeing a friendly relationship between professors of Italian and the Italian Embassy until 1940.[71]

The last point which is interesting to analyse is that while in 1934 three Italian professorships became available in Britain – Manchester, vacated by Praz who moved to Rome; Cambridge, after Bullough's death; and UCL, after Gardner's retirement – Salvemini did not apply for any of them.[72] His attempts to get a post in Britain concluded in 1933, shortly before he discovered that he had been appointed for the Harvard Chair of History of the Italian Civilization.[73] It is possible once again to explore Salvemini's correspondence to understand why he eventually abandoned the idea of working in Britain. It is important to appreciate that, although Salvemini held a prestigious academic position in the USA, that role was not initially permanent but subject to annual renewal. Thus, it would be inaccurate to think that Salvemini stopped looking for a professorship in Britain simply because he no longer needed a job. Conversely, his behaviour must be seen as influenced by the disillusionment provoked by his failures in Britain in parallel with the supportive atmosphere he found in Harvard. This feeling of disappointment emerges especially in his comments on the availability of the Italian professorship at UCL in 1934: 'Thus another chair will be free in England. But I do not mind about any of them. Only I would like they choose intelligent and honest people. I

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[71] Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, pp. 201-205.

[72] Eventually, Walter Bullock was elected at Manchester, Eric Vincent at Cambridge, and Pellizzi at UCL. Ibid., pp. 104, 171-173, 203-205. Colacicco notes that Bullock was not a candidate suggested by the Fascist government, although his activity remained under their control. Equally, Robey believes that Bullock did not maintain a Fascist stance: Robey, 'Italian Studies', p. 288. It is possible, then, that this was one of the cases in which the policy of the Modern Language Association was relevant, but this supposition requires further investigation to be proven.

[73] See 3.4.

am afraid they would choose some Pellizzi's [*sic*]', he wrote.[74] His judgement on British universities became even more trenchant in a letter written in November 1942. Commenting on the role of Fascist propaganda amongst the professors of Italian in Britain, he wrote:

> Foligno of Oxford is a Fascist. Grillo of Glasgow a Fascist.[75] And what about Pellizzi? One could not become a teacher of Italian in England had he not been a Fascist. There has been always no method in English universities.[76]

What has been shown thus far, supported by Colacicco's studies, confirms the reasonableness of Salvemini's statement, at least until 1934. Analysis has revealed a system of relationship which prevented Salvemini from successfully entering the British academic milieu, at least as far as the Italian professorships were concerned. Foligno and Rèbora's opposition in Oxford and Manchester limited Salvemini's dissemination of anti-Fascist views through lectures and conferences in two cities where his network had prominent connections, namely Gilbert Murray in Oxford and the editorial board of the *Guardian* in Manchester. In the meantime, his inexperience in teaching British History makes it difficult to fairly evaluate the permeability of British universities in general – not limited to the Italian chairs – although it has been equally possible to delineate some lines of political concern in this respect.

It is not too farfetched to suppose that Salvemini could have obtained a post in a British university more easily after 1940, had he tried to do so. In 1942, the British

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[74] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 23 October 1934. In his letter, Salvemini thought that Pellizzi was moving to Florence. In fact, the UCL chair was kept by Pellizzi until 1939. Colacicco, *La propaganda fascista nelle università inglesi*, p. 104.
[75] Salvemini refers to Ernesto Grillo, Professor at Glasgow, although Colacicco reveals that Grillo was expelled from the *Fascio* for his anti-Fascist stances. Ibid., p. 133-134.
[76] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 8 November 1942.

Academy awarded him with the Serena Gold Medal for his contribution to Italian Studies, on which he bitterly commented as follows: 'I am afraid that the British Academy discovered my existence only because of the fact that Mussolini was boring them. Anyway, *a caval donato non si guarda in bocca*'.[77] In July 1940, Foligno left Oxford to prevent being interned as an enemy alien, and in his place the anti-Fascist Alessandro Passerin D'Entreves was appointed as Serena Professor of Italian in 1946, much to Salvemini's delight: 'Sono proprio contento che a Oxford abbiano preso un galantuomo di quella fatta al posto di quel mascalzone di Foligno', he wrote.[78] Futhermore, archival papers show that in 1954 Salvemini was nominated for an honorary degree at Oxford, proposed by Isaiah Berlin, fellow of All Souls College – the same College of which Francis Pember, who had asked the Foreign Office's advice to deal with Salvemini's anti-Fascist stances in 1928, had been Warden until 1932. Nevertheless, Salvemini could not appreciate his honorary degree, nor the change of political climate at Oxford after the Second World War, as he was unable to attend the ceremony because of health problems: he was already eighty-one years old and retired in Sorrento, enjoying a quiet life after his return to Italy, and briefly, to his Florentine chair, in 1949.[79]

10.2 A Political Failure?

The second aspect which makes it possible to investigate the setbacks of Salvemini's British experience concerns his relationship with British political parties.

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[77] *Sturzo-Salvemini. Carteggio,* p. 83: Salvemini to Sturzo, 15 December 1942. See also ISTREC, GS, Massey, 4: biographical note of Salvemini; 'The British Academy', *The Times*, 16 July 1942, p. 2.
[78] ISTREC, GS, b. 123, f. Marion Rawson: Salvemini to Rawson, 12 August 1946.
[79] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 22 April 1954, and 13 December 1954; GS, b. 123, f. Marion Rawson: Rawson to Salvemini, 8 January, 16 February, and 24 April 1955; GS, b. 72, f. Oxford University: Salvemini to Oxford University Registrar, 29 November 1954; GS, b. 102, f. Isabella Massey: Massey to Salvemini, 11 May 1955. See Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, p. 327.

Analysis of Salvemini's attempts to involve – or to ignore – British politicians in his anti-Fascist campaign must take into account the main features of British political history between the 1920s and the 1930s. From the second half of 1924 to 1929, the British Government was led by the Conservatives, under Stanley Baldwin. Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Party took over in 1929 for just two years – from May 1929 until August 1931. Then, the financial crisis following the Wall Street Crash brought about the formation of a National Government led by MacDonald, supported not by Labour, but by the Conservatives and Liberals. MacDonald, by then expelled from the Labour Party, remained in charge until 1935, when Baldwin took back leadership.[80]

Arguably, in terms of political ideology Salvemini, as a former Socialist, was closer to the Labour Party than to the Conservatives.[81] Moreover, thanks to his personal acquaintances – especially Alys Russell – he was in contact with left-wing politicians. Nevertheless, it is vital to consider that during this period diplomatic relations between Fascist Italy and Great Britain were largely friendly. Until shortly before the Ethiopian War in 1935, British governments – both Conservative and Labour – considered Fascist Italy as a strategic ally within the main frame of European relations.[82] Although there is a limited number of studies focusing on Labour and Conservative views of Fascist Italy,

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[80] Peter Clarke, *Hope and Glory. Britain 1900-1990* (London: Penguin, 1997), pp. 111-181.
[81] On the evolution of Salvemini's socialism, see Pecora, *Socialismo come libertà*.
[82] On this aspect, see Ennio Di Nolfo, *Mussolini e la politica estera italiana* (1919-1933) (Padua: Cedam, 1960); Luigi Salvatorelli and Giovanni Mira, *Storia d'Italia nel periodo fascista*, 2nd edn (Turin: Einaudi, 1964), pp. 690-751; Giampiero Carocci, *La politica estera dell'Italia fascista (1925-1928)* (Bari: Laterza, 1969); Alan Cassels, *Mussolini's Early Diplomacy* (Princeton: University Press, 1970); MacGregor Knox, 'Il fascismo e la politica estera italiana', in Richard Bosworth and Sergio Romano, *La politica estera italiana (1860-1985)* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1991), pp. 287-330; James Burgwyn, *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918-1940* (Westport-London: Praeger, 1997); Richard S. Grayson, *Austen Chamberlain and the Commitment to Europe. British Foreign Policy, 1924-29* (London: Cass, 1997); Enzo Collotti, 'Gli esordi della politica estera del fascismo', in Enzo Collotti, *Fascismo e politica di potenza. Politica estera 1922-1939* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 2000), pp. 3-35.

they all agree on this point. The Conservatives, when they did not fully sympathise with Mussolini's Italy, considered Fascism as a product of Italian political instability, and not as an experiment of universal validity applicable to Britain or judicable according to British political standards, as P. G. Edwards and Richard Bosworth noted.[83] Initially, even Labour did not differ in their views. Charles Keserich argued that after the march on Rome and before the assassination of Matteotti, the Labour press did not take a firm stance against Mussolini's regime.[84] This is not surprising if one considers that even in Italy, political commentators – including Salvemini – had underestimated the reach of Mussolini's movement before June 1924. This happened despite Mussolini's anti-Socialist stance, which should possibly have led the British left to adopt a less mild approach towards Fascism.[85]

Given the limited number of studies focusing on the topic, in order to delve into the matter of Labour's views on Fascism between Matteotti's assassination in 1924 and 1935 it is necessary to refer to the reports of the Labour Party annual congresses and to the historiography regarding the wider aims of Labour foreign policy in the interwar period.[86] What emerges is that, from 1925 until 1933, Fascism was not amongst the

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[83] P. G. Edwards, 'The Foreign Office and Fascism 1924-1929', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5.2 (1970), 153-161; Richard Bosworth, 'The British Press, the Conservatives, and Mussolini, 1920-34', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5.2 (1970), 163-182.

[84] Charles Keserich, 'The British Labour Press and Italian Fascism, 1922-1925', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 10.4 (1975), 579-590.

[85] For this reason, Keith Hodgson's view of Labour's anti-Fascist stance looks less convincing. Hodgson states that even on the eve of the Italian dictatorship, the Labour Party stood against anti-democratic forces in general and sympathised with the Italian Socialists. In this stance, Hodgson individuates the essence of Labour's early anti-Fascism. Keith Hodgson, *Fighting Fascism. The British Left and the Rise of Fascism, 1919-39* (Manchester: University Press, 2010), pp. 50-71.

[86] The studies considered include: Robert Skidelsky, *Politicians and the Slump. The Labour Government of 1929-1931* (London: Macmillan, 1967); David Carlton, *MacDonald versus Henderson. The Foreign Policy of the Second Labour Government* (London: Macmillan, 1970); David Marquand,

primary concerns of the British Labour Party, neither during their years in power (1929-1931), nor during their time in opposition. In June 1924, during the first MacDonald government, the Labour Party took a strong anti-Fascist stance concerning the assassination of Matteotti, considering 'the leaders of Fascism' as 'morally responsible' for his death.[87] Despite this firm position, the Labour Party rarely expressed its views on Fascism until 1933. One of the strongest resolutions was passed in 1926, when the Joint International Committee opposed Mussolini's visit to London, as he planned to go there to sign the Locarno Pact. This episode will be carefully addressed later in this section, as Salvemini inspired the Labour Party's motion.[88] Nevertheless, this remained an almost entirely isolated occurrence. In 1927, the annual conference expressed no more than moderate criticism of Chamberlain's amicable attitude towards Mussolini. In 1928, there was no relevant mention of the Italian dictatorship. It is equally interesting to look at how international matters were addressed by the Labour annual conference during MacDonald's second government. Foreign policy aimed at promoting disarmament and

Ramsay MacDonald (London: Cape, 1977); Fred Marc Leventhal, *Arthur Henderson* (Manchester: University Press, 1989); Henry R. Winkler, *Paths not Taken. British Labour and International Policy in the 1920s* (Chapel Hill-London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Rhiannon Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World*, 2 vols (Manchester: University Press, 2003-2011); Henry R. Winkler, *British Labour Seeks a Foreign Policy* (New Brunswick, NJ-London: Transaction, 2005); John Shepherd and Keith Laybourn, *Britain's First Labour Government* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); *The British Labour Party and the Wider World. Domestic Politics, Internationalism and Foreign Policy*, ed. by Paul Corthorn and Jonathan Davis (London: Tauris, 2008); *Britain's Second Labour Government, 1929-31: A Reappraisal*, ed. by John Shepherd, Jonathan Davis, and Chris Wrigley (Manchester: University Press, 2011); Martin Pugh, *Speak for Britain! A New History of the Labour Party* (London: Vintage, 2011); Andrew Thorpe, *A History of the British Labour Party*, 4th edn (London: Palgrave, 2015).

[87] LP, *Report of the 24th Annual Conference. London, 7-10 October 1924* (London: LP, 1924), p. 58.

[88] LP, *Report of the 26th Annual Conference. Margate, 11-15 October 1926* (London: LP, 1926), p. 60.

arbitration to solve international disputes, but no specific references to Fascist Italy were made.[89]

The evolution of the international scenario, in connection with domestic events, changed British perceptions of Fascism in the 1930s. Mosley's British Union of Fascists, founded in 1932, came to be perceived as a threat to democracy two years later, when the Olympia rally revealed the violent methods adopted by the BUF.[90] Meanwhile, the instauration of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany proved that democracy was in danger throughout Europe: it is no accident that Fascism became a central topic for discussion during the 1933 Labour Party conference. As the chairman Walter R. Smith noted during the debate concerning 'Fascism and foreign affairs' in 1934:

> It is more than a decade since the Italian people became the first victims of Italian dictatorship. Recollection of the cruelty and brutality by which that bondage was established has become dimmed with the passing of time. It required the unleashing of Nazi ferocity in Germany to re-open the eyes of the world to the growing peril of this sinister system of political, economic, and intellectual slavery.[91]

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[89] LP, *Report of the 29th Annual Conference. Brighton, 30 September-4 October 1929* (London: LP, 1929); *Report of the 30th Annual Conference. Llandudno, 6-10 October 1930* (London: LP, 1930); *Report of the 31st Annual Conference. Scarborough, 5-8 October 1931* (London: LP, 1931).

[90] Even before the foundation of Mosley's BUF, there were Fascist-inspired groups in Britain, such as the British *Fascisti* and the National *Fascisti*. Oswald Mosley, formerly a Labour politician, abandoned the Labour Party in 1930, when his memorandum on the economy was rejected by the second MacDonald government. In 1931 he founded the New Party, and in 1932, after having studied Italian Fascism and visited Mussolini, he founded the BUF. Mosley's Fascism began to be perceived as dangerous after the Olympia rally of 7 June 1934, when the blackshirts responded with violence to anti-Fascists, and with the Battle of Cable Street, in 1936, after which the British Government limited political parades and banned uniforms with the Public Order Act. On Fascism in Britain, see Robert Benewick, *The Fascist Movement in Britain* (London: Allen Lane, 1972); Robert Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London: Macmillan, 1975); Richard Thurlow, *Fascism in Britain. A History, 1918–1985* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Martin Pugh, 'The British Union of Fascists and the Olympia Debate', *Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 529–542; Nigel Copsey, *Anti-Fascism in Britain* (Basingstoke-New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Thomas P. Linehan, *British Fascism, 1918–1939. Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester: University Press, 2000); Martin Pugh, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts: Fascists and Fascism in Britain Between the Wars* (London: Cape, 2005).

[91] LP, *Report of the 34th Annual Conference. Southport, 1-5 Oct 1934* (London: LP, 1934), p. 127.

It was the Nazi dictatorship, combined with the domestic escalation of the BUF, that urged the Labour Party to be more vocal about the situation in Italy. In March 1933, the National Joint Council (including the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party) issued a document, *Democracy vs Dictatorship*, condemning the political situation in Germany and Italy, and calling upon Socialist forces to defend democracy.[92] In 1934, a special report, *Fascism at Home and Abroad*, was prepared by the National Council of Labour and the Cooperative Union. At the annual conference of the same year, a resolution equally condemned the European dictatorships and the spreading of Fascist ideals in Britain.[93]

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to state that the Labour Party completely neglected Fascism until 1933. Arguably, the Labour Party discussed Fascism during the meetings of the Labour and Socialist International. As emerges from the accounts of the LSI meetings, the LSI frequently addressed the issue of the Italian dictatorship, expressing anti-Fascist stances and resolutions.[94] Furthermore, it is important to consider that Arthur Henderson, the Foreign Secretary in MacDonald's 1929-1931 cabinet, had been President of the LSI until the beginning of his role in government.

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[92] LP, *Report of the 33rd Annual Conference. Hastings, 2-6 October 1933* (London: LP, 1933), pp. 227-228.

[93] LP, *Report of the 34th Annual Conference*, pp. 290; 293-310.

[94] LSI, *Second Congress, Marseille, 22-27 August 1925, English edn* (London: LP, 1925); *Third Congress, Brussels, 5-11 August 1928, English edn* (London: LP, 1928); *Fourth Congress, Vienna, 25 July-1 August 1931, English edn* (London: LP, 1931); the main resolutions adopted are also in the related LP Annual Conference reports. On the LSI, see *L'Internazionale Operaia e Socialista tra le due guerre*, ed. by Enzo Collotti (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1983-1984), in particular Keith G. Robbins, 'Labour Foreign Policy and International Socialism: MacDonald and the League of Nations', pp. 105-134; Miloš Hájek, 'Il fascismo nell'analisi dell'Internazionale Operaia e Socialista', pp. 389-430. See also Daniel Laqua, 'Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 24.2 (2015), 175-192.

This fact makes it necessary to deal with the foreign policy of the second Labour government, discussing the reasons why, despite joining the LSI, the Labour Party did not develop a stronger anti-Fascist stance. It is equally important to evaluate the extent to which Henderson's anti-Fascist stance, expressed as President of the LSI, influenced his later attitude as Foreign Minister. Scholars researching the foreign policy of the second Labour government have identified disarmament and arbitration as its two main features: the reduction of military forces was considered as a means to reduce international tension and prevent a new war, whilst controversies between countries were to be settled by recourse to the League of Nations.[95] As Jonathan Davis claimed in relation to Henderson's approach to the Soviet Union – with which the Labour government restored diplomatic and commercial relations – 'Labour's international hopes of ensuring peace and democracy rested upon traditional methods of negotiation, trade agreements and cordial relations with other powers, irrespective of who those powers were'.[96] Davis' considerations can be applied to the Italian case, too: arguably, as the Foreign Secretary, Henderson had to find a way to moderate his anti-Fascist stance in view of his governmental role, in order to achieve the aims of his foreign policy.

An episode mentioned by David Carlton clarifies this point. Throughout the 1930s, naval agreements were a worldwide diplomatic issue. During the London Naval Conference held between January and April 1930, Italy and France were the countries most adverse to reaching a mutual agreement.[97] Henderson took upon himself the duty

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[95] Winkler, *Paths not taken*, pp. 189-197; Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World*, II, pp. 81-101; John Shepherd and Jonathan Davis, 'Britain's Second Labour Government. An Introduction', in *Britain's Second Labour Government*, pp. 1-15.

[96] John Davis, 'Labour and the Kremlin', in *Britain's Second Labour Government*, pp. 150-169 (p. 169).

[97] Carlton, *MacDonald versus Henderson*, pp. 119-143.

of mediating between Dino Grandi and Aristide Briand, to the point that in 1931, when the agreement was still far from being accorded, Henderson visited Mussolini in Rome to facilitate a negotiation. In his work, Carlton mentions a British cabinet report revealing that initially Mussolini refused to meet Henderson, as he remembered that when Henderson was the President of the LSI he had accused him of Matteotti's assassination. Eventually, Ambassador Graham succeeded in convincing Mussolini to join the meeting, telling Henderson that negotiations 'depended on what impression he could make on Mussolini. But Henderson, Graham said, had played up very well'.[98] It is clear that Henderson, acting as Foreign Secretary, had to temper his anti-Fascist stances and adopt a diplomatic attitude – which was not necessary when he was the LSI President – to deal with Mussolini. As a consequence, it is possible to claim that Labour, as the ruling party, expressed even weaker anti-Fascist stances than those expressed when in opposition.

In view of this political scene, Salvemini's British experience cannot be analysed by looking for long term political outcomes, since not even the Labour government openly criticised Fascism in order to maintain friendly diplomatic relations. Perhaps it would have been even more difficult for Salvemini to obtain support from Labour politicians when the Labour Party was in power. It is equally important to understand how Salvemini coped with such an unfavourable political situation, and how his attitude evolved in connection with the foreign policies adopted by the Labour Party.

If one reads Salvemini's works discussing foreign affairs in the interwar period – *Mussolini diplomatico* (1932) and especially *Prelude to World War II* (1953) – one can find a

[98] Ibid., p. 141.

series of disillusioned judgements on British Conservative politicians, Ramsay MacDonald, and the Labour Party, all of them considered responsible for not having opposed Mussolini. Some of the letters Salvemini wrote to his British correspondents from the USA after 1934, especially to Massey, are equally disenchanted.[99] Conversely, few judgements on British policy in respect to Fascism can be found amongst Salvemini's correspondence before 1934, except for some letters he exchanged with Filippo Turati and Carlo Rosselli. These sources – public and private judgements, expressed on the spot or retrospectively – are vital to delineate three main phases during which Salvemini's attitude evolved towards a progressive disillusionment and distrust in the British ruling class.

From the end of 1925 until the first half of 1927, Salvemini's approach to the British political milieu can be described as moderately enthusiastic. This enthusiasm can be considered as influenced by Alys Russell's intellectual milieu. The previous chapters have proved that Salvemini frequented Socialist intellectuals and politicians, including Graham Wallas, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, Cecil Delisle Burns, and Harold Laski, among others.[100] Russell's correspondence shows that Salvemini especially enjoyed the atmosphere generated by the General Strike of May 1926. This experience gave him a positive impression of the British approach to political issues, including the attitude taken by the Conservatives, as the following excerpts demonstrate:

> Our friend is more than ever impressed with England's sanity and good will, and he thought Baldwin's and Thomas' speeches in the House of Commons on Monday full of nobility and common sense, as indeed both were. […]

[99] See the preface to Salvemini, *Prelude to World War II* (London: Gollancz, 1953), pp. 7-11. See letters in ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 28 November 1936, 23 January 1937, 27 November 1941, 4 and 6 March 1942, 23 April 1942.
[100] See 5.1.

> Georgie […] feels exactly as I do about the beauty of the strike, tho' [*sic*] its tactical unwisdom. […] Georgie feels it one of the greatest experiments of his life. […]
>
> Georgie continues to admire England and its people more than ever, though his lightening mind sees all mistakes.[101]

Indeed, during this period Salvemini attempted to collaborate with the Labour Party at an institutional level. Some of these attempts resulted in limited breakthroughs for the anti-Fascist cause: through William Gillies, International Secretary of the Labour Party, Salvemini got in touch with Friedrich Adler, General Secretary of LSI.[102] As has been seen, the LSI represented the main political platform through which Labour discussed Fascism on an international level. The archival papers of the LSI prove that at the end of October 1925, Salvemini wrote to Adler on behalf of Filippo Turati, who was facing the imminent outlawing of his party, the *Partito Socialista Unitario*, and the suppression of the party paper, *La Giustizia*. Salvemini asked Adler to discuss the situation of the *Partito Socialista Unitario* during the executive meeting of the LSI taking place in London in November 1925.[103] This gave Salvemini the opportunity to suggest to Adler that he promote a protest against Mussolini, who was expected to go to London to officially sign the Locarno Treaty on 1 December.[104] Salvemini made the same proposal to the Labour Party, writing to William Gillies and Ramsay MacDonald.[105] Interestingly, a copy of

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[101] IULL, ARc, b. 7, f. April-June 1926: 6, 8 and 11 May 1926.
[102] Friedrich Adler (1879-1960) was Secretary of the LSI between 1923 and 1946. William Gillies (1884-1958) joined the Labour Party in 1912, in which he mainly dealt with international questions, becoming Head of the International Department in 1922 and joining the International Executive Committee in 1929, until his retirement in 1944. On his anti-Fascist efforts, especially in the 1930s, see Bernabei, *Esuli ed emigrati italiani nel Regno Unito*, pp. 134-243.
[103] The *Partito Socialista Unitario* was outlawed after Zaniboni's attempt on Mussolini's life. See De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista,* II, p. 142
[104] IISH, ARCH01368, f. 2263, fols 1-4: Salvemini to Adler, 30 October 1925; Adler to Salvemini, 31 October 1925; Salvemini to Adler, 2 November 1925; Salvemini to Adler, 12 November 1925.
[105] ISTREC, GS, b. 82, f. William Gillies.

Salvemini's letter to MacDonald can be found amongst the papers of the Belgian Foreign Minister Émile Vandervelde, who, along with his wife Lalla, supported Salvemini more than once in his campaigns.[106] The reason why Vandervelde had a copy of this letter can be explained by analysing its content. Writing to MacDonald, Salvemini referred to the episode in which Vandervelde refused to shake hands with Mussolini in Locarno, and urged MacDonald to do the same.[107] Salvemini explained to MacDonald that in his view, Mussolini did not aim to secure peace, but rather to gain consensus amongst European leaders. Therefore, Salvemini challenged MacDonald by asking him whether he was willing to play Mussolini's game and stressed the importance of British public opinion to oppose Fascism.[108] Unfortunately, no answer to this letter could be found, nor can MacDonald's attitude be proven, since Mussolini eventually cancelled his trip, asking the Italian delegate for the League of Nations, Vittorio Scialoja, to go to London and sign the treaty on his behalf.

Before looking into the reasons which influenced Mussolini's decision, it is necessary to record that the Joint International Committee of the Labour Party did indeed endorse a resolution based on Salvemini's suggestions to Gillies: members of the Labour Party would not attend any meetings, public or private, in the presence of Mussolini.[109] Analysis of British and Italian diplomatic documents concerning Mussolini's visit to London makes it possible to appreciate the extent to which the Labour resolution can be considered the result of Salvemini's suggestions, and whether

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[106] EV/IV/526: Salvemini to MacDonald, 21 November 1925.
[107] *Mussolini diplomatico*, p. 68. See Chapter Three.
[108] EV/IV/526: Salvemini to MacDonald, 21 November 1925.
[109] ISTREC, GS, b. 82, f. William Gillies: Gillies to Salvemini, 26 and 27 November 1925; LP, *Report of the 26th Annual Conference*, p. 60.

it impacted on Mussolini's decision, although this latter was not aware of the role played by Salvemini in the affair. On the one hand, it seems that at the beginning of November, Mussolini's visit was already in doubt: although the London Metropolitan Police were ready to assure a protection service for Mussolini, fears of possible attacks forced him to carefully reconsider the matter.[110] On the other hand, diplomatic documents show that Mussolini was even more worried about Labour's sabotage and public protests. Mussolini asked the British Ambassador Graham to prevent any public demonstrations during his visit, including those in support of him.[111] Eventually Salvatore Contarini, General Secretary of the *Ministero degli Esteri*, confidentially informed Graham that Mussolini had cancelled his trip. The official reason given was that Mussolini was upset because of some 'flattering allusions' that Chamberlain made about German and French delegates, forgetting to mention Mussolini's role in reaching the Locarno agreement. This excuse, despite Mussolini's susceptibility, convinced neither Graham nor Chamberlain. Chamberlain believed that the real reason behind Mussolini's decision was his fear of public protests, which would have attracted the attention of the international press.[112] Nevertheless, if one concedes that Mussolini's decision to cancel his trip to London resulted from a combination of all the aforementioned factors – Mussolini's irritation with Chamberlain's statements, his fear of attempts on his life, and Labour's threat of boycotting him – and that Salvemini had a role in inspiring the Labour

[110] TNA, FO 371/10784, C14305/G: Foreign Office to Home Office, 12 November 1925; FO 371/10785, C14583/G: Home Office to Foreign Office, 16 November 1925.
[111] TNA, FO 371/10785, C14732/G: Graham to Foreign Office, 17 November 1925; C15069/G: Home Office to Foreign Office, 24 November 1925.
[112] TNA, FO 800/258, fol. 26: Chamberlain to Graham, 23 November 1925.

motion, one can conclude that Salvemini was instrumental in preventing Mussolini from visiting Britain thanks to his lobbying of the Labour Party.

Between 1925 and 1926, Salvemini's collaboration with Gillies, and, on an international level, with the LSI and Adler, generated other partial breakthroughs, especially on the matter of Fascist syndicates.[113] A letter dated December 1925 shows that Salvemini suggested to Gillies that Socialist parties should discuss with their national governments the possibility of excluding Italian representatives from the International Labour Organisation in view of the Fascist legislation on syndicates. Although Gillies supported Salvemini's idea and forwarded this request to Adler, he was not confident that any action would be taken by national governments.[114] Nevertheless, the text of an LSI resolution passed on April 1926 confirms that Salvemini's idea was taken into account: the LSI suggested the International Labour Organisation should not accept Fascist representatives and urged the parliamentary Labour groups in each country to discuss the matter. However, this resolution had no effect on the International Labour Organisation, which continued dealing with Fascist representatives.[115] The available correspondence between Salvemini and Adler does not go beyond this point: no further traces of their cooperation can be found amongst archival papers, although Adler intervened in the 1927 dispute on Fascism provoked by George Bernard Shaw, which eventually involved Salvemini, as will be discussed. Nevertheless, the episodes so far

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[113] Pact of Palazzo Vidoni, 2 October 1925, then Law 3 April 1926, n. 563: see Aquarone, *L'organizzazione dello stato totalitario*, pp. 121-126.

[114] ISTREC, GS, b. 82, f. William Gillies: Gillies to Salvemini, 21 December 1925; IISH, ARCH01368, f. 2263, fols 7-10: Salvemini to Adler, 24 December 1925.

[115] LSI, *Second Congress*, pp. 18-23. On the International Labour Organisation, see Renata Allio, *L'organizzazione internazionale del lavoro e il sindacalismo fascista* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1973); *Franco De Felice, Sapere e politica. l'Organizzazione Internazionale del Lavoro tra le due guerre, 1919-39* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1988).

analysed prove that during this preliminary phase Salvemini's suggestions received positive feedback from the LSI.

The Labour Party also valued Salvemini's opinions. Aside from the aforementioned episodes involving Gillies, archival papers reveal that at the end of 1926, the Advisory Committee on International Questions asked Salvemini to attend one of their meetings and to submit a report on *The Problems of Italian Foreign Policy To-day*.[116] The ACIQ, founded in 1918, had the main role of shaping the party's foreign policy by issuing memoranda discussing international matters.[117] It is significant to note that amongst the most active members of the ACIQ there were people who frequented Russell's intellectual circle and, therefore, came across Salvemini on several occasions, including Cecil Delisle Burns, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, Arthur Ponsonby, and William Gillies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the committee asked Salvemini's opinion on Italian foreign policy. Moreover, this proves that Salvemini had access to an intellectual milieu which could bring some influence to bear on the Labour Party policy.

Nevertheless, archival papers show that Salvemini did not attend any committee meeting in person. His memorandum was submitted in November 1926, but, after several delays, the document was discussed only in March 1927, while Salvemini was in the USA for his first conference tour.[118] Furthermore, the minutes of the meeting state that after having considered the memorandum, the committee decided 'to take no action

[116] LP/IAC/1/272: minutes 6 October 1926; LP/IAC/2/331-380: Salvemini, *The Problems of Italian Foreign Policy To-day*, November 1926.
[117] Casper Sylvest, '"A Commanding Group"? Labour's Advisory Committee on International Questions 1918-1931, in *The British Labour Party and the Wider World*, pp. 48-63.
[118] Discussion of Salvemini's memorandum was put on the agenda nine times from November 1926 to March 1927. See LP/IAC/1/275-292: minutes and agenda 3 November 1926-16 March 1927.

in the matter'.[119] It must be admitted that the memorandum itself did not suggest any specific action: in seven pages, Salvemini stated that Fascism aimed at solving the problems of emigration and lack of raw materials through a colonial policy. He stressed how Fascist leaders were deriding the League of Nations by threatening conflict; nevertheless, he was sure that Mussolini would not be able to start a war without the support of another country, and anticipated that Fascism would fail due to its aggressive foreign policy.[120] In view of the episodes so far described, it seems that Salvemini's influence during this first phase had a limited impact on the Labour Party, despite his kinship with prominent Socialist thinkers. Arguably, Salvemini could have taken better advantage of his political connections to make Labour develop a stronger anti-Fascist stance, although it has been shown that the international scenario and diplomatic relations did not encourage a fight against Fascism.

Despite these limited breakthroughs, from the second half of 1927 until 1932, Salvemini's attitude changed, and his efforts become less oriented towards obtaining political support and more addressed to opposing Fascist propaganda by disseminating reliable information on Fascist Italy. A progressive disillusionment and awareness that even a Labour government would not stand against Mussolini led Salvemini to abandon the idea of obtaining political support. The polemic with George Bernard Shaw at the end of 1927 showed him that even left-wing intellectuals could have a great fascination with Mussolini. Although this dispute is one of the most studied aspects of Salvemini's British experience, it is important to explain how the polemic unfolded, as it gives

[119] LP/IAC/1/293: minutes 16 March 1927.
[120] LP/IAC/2/331-380: Salvemini, *The Problems of Italian Foreign Policy To-day*, November 1926.

indications of the international political debate concerning Mussolini's Italy.[121] The dissent between Shaw and Salvemini was the continuation of a debate involving Shaw and Adler concerning an inquiry on Fascism published in the *Daily News*.[122] The debate between the two was published by the *Manchester Guardian* in October 1927: Shaw claimed that Mussolini's dictatorship had to be accepted as an accomplished fact and judged for its results. The rise of Fascism was the Socialists' fault, as they had failed to cope with the post-war crisis and allowed Mussolini to seize power without external support. In this way, Shaw tended to neglect the use of violence in Fascist Italy. Adler's replies remained on an ideological level. He argued that Shaw underestimated the importance of an international struggle against dictatorships and the responsibility of foreign countries which granted their support to Mussolini, and that Shaw exaggerated his negative judgement on the ability of Socialist forces to rule a country.[123] Salvemini was brought into the quarrel by Shaw, who mentioned him directly in a passage of his argument: Shaw was asking Adler why one should not acknowledge the Fascist dictatorship, given that democratic states were used to performing anti-democratic actions, as was the case with Britain, which had 'threatened to damn the Nile and cut off the water supply of Egypt', but had 'welcomed Salvemini'.[124] Salvemini's reply was based on facts in keeping with his practical argumentative style. Salvemini proved that Shaw was not sufficiently informed about the Italian situation; that Mussolini seized power thanks to the support given by banks, industrialists, and landowners; that the

[121] The polemic is reprinted and commented on in Salvemini and George Bernard Shaw, *Polemica sul fascismo,* ed. by Gaetano Quagliariello (Rome: Ideazione, 1997).
[122] 'Bernard Shaw on Mussolini: A Defence', *Daily News,* 24 January 1927, p. 8.
[123] 'Mr. Shaw and Mussolini', *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1927, pp. 11 and 19.
[124] Ibid.

murder of Matteotti was only one example of the systematic use of violence in Fascist Italy, and that anti-Fascism proved that not every Italian accepted Fascism as a fact.[125] The *Manchester Guardian* sided with Salvemini, stating that he 'tamed' Shaw.[126] When Shaw tried to bring the question to a more ideological level, standing with Mussolini as a fighter of capitalism, Salvemini closed the argument by stating that Shaw's fascination with Mussolini was based on his overall contempt for the parliamentary system, and that he only cared about putting an end to liberty, supporting any kind of dictatorship able to do so.[127]

Archival papers reveal that in the controversy between Adler, Salvemini, and Shaw, MacDonald partially took Shaw's position, as he wrote to Gillies: 'The trouble is that there is a tremendous amount of good sense in what Shaw writes, mixed up with his whimsical style'.[128] Indeed, the stances taken by MacDonald's second government would confirm that Labour foreign policy preferred to keep friendly diplomatic relations with Mussolini, regardless of the Italian domestic situation. Salvemini's opinion on MacDonald can be appreciated thanks to excerpts of correspondence exchanged with Filippo Turati. In December 1928, in the midst of the British electoral campaign for the 1929 election, Filippo Turati approached MacDonald concerning the anti-Fascist struggle. After the meeting, Turati informed Salvemini that MacDonald was not familiar with Salvemini's work *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, although he knew about Salvemini as an anti-Fascist. Indeed, in 1925, MacDonald signed the appeal for Salvemini's

[125] 'Salvemini and Bernard Shaw', *Manchester Guardian,* 19 October 1927, p. 11.
[126] 'The Taming of the Shaw', *Manchester Guardian,* 19 October 1927, p. 10.
[127] 'G. B. Shaw and Mussolini', *Manchester Guardian,* 28 October 1927, p. 11 and 31 October 1927, p. 16.
[128] IISH, ARCH01368, f. 1731, fol. 80: MacDonald to Gillies, 21 October 1927.

liberation on *Rivoluzione Liberale*; a few months after, Salvemini wrote to him about Mussolini's visit to London. Although Turati suggested that Salvemini meet with MacDonald – 'cosa state a fare a Londra se non prendete contatto cogli uomini maggiori?', he wrote – Salvemini did not follow Turati's suggestion. [129] Salvemini's attitude is explained by another letter addressed to Turati on 16 June 1929, six months later, when MacDonald became Prime Minister:

> Teniamo ben presente un fatto: *ça n'interesse pas personne*. Gli inglesi ce lo dicono francamente, gli altri ci fanno qualche complimento, ma se ne infischiano più degli inglesi. Finché nessun atto collettivo o individuale avverrà in Italia, che dimostri che il regime non ha radici sicure, nessuno vorrà più interessarsi di noi, salvo quelli che Mussolini paga per cantar le sue lodi. Ci considerano scesi definitivamente al livello della Turchia. E non s'interessano più di noi, se non in quanto siamo popoli inferiori, la cui inferiorità può essere sfruttata a servizio dei popoli superiori. Gl'inglesi, oggi, pensano a noi italiani nessuno escluso quello che ai bei tempi giolittiani voi dell'Italia nordica pensavate dell'Italia sudicia. Perché pigliarsela calda? "Da noi certe cose non avvengono, e non possono avvenire, se avvengono laggiù, e non da noi, questo è segno che noi non dobbiamo perdere il nostro tempo ad occuparci degli affari delle razze inferiori, mentre abbiamo da provvedere a quelli delle razze superiori, magari utilizzando ai nostri fini come elementi del gioco delle razze superiori la pelliccia delle razze inferiori". Questa politica è stata brutalmente la politica dei conservatori inglesi. I laburisti saranno trattenuti da qualche scrupolo, e per lo meno eviteranno le forme più sfacciate del favoreggiamento. Ma è inutile chiedere loro di più. Se l'Italia non si aiuta da sé, nessun Dio la aiuterà. E andare a chiedere mercé, non farebbe che accrescere il male. Con che non dico che nulla si possa fare. Si può far molto, a patto di prendere la pentola dal manico.[130]

This passage proves that in 1929 Salvemini anticipated that anti-Fascists had to limit their expectations of support from the Labour government. It must not be

[129] Fedele, *Filippo Turati e i corrispondenti italiani nell'esilio,* pp. 315-316: Turati to Salvemini, 13 December 1928; see also Santi Fedele, 'Il laburismo nell'emigrazione antifascista', in Fedele, *Il retaggio dell'esilio*, pp. 163-175.
[130] Schiavi, *Esilio e morte di Filippo Turati*, pp. 268-271.

underestimated that during the same period, Salvemini was developing a growing disillusionment towards institutional anti-Fascism – especially towards the parties forming the *Concentrazione* – and preferred to base his political activities on the dissemination of reliable information on Fascism, for instance, publishing *Italy To-Day*'s pamphlets, rather than building political allegiances with members of the Labour government – a matter he left to politicians, such as Filippo Turati.

It was between 1931 and 1934 that Salvemini's distrust towards British political parties reached its peak, when MacDonald accepted leadership of the National Government supported by Conservatives and Liberals. In a letter to Massey dated 1942, Salvemini described Labour's electoral defeat of 1931 – which confirmed MacDonald's National Government – as the point of no return towards the war, due to the foreign policy applied by the Conservatives.[131] In fact, in *Prelude to World War II,* Salvemini equally criticised the work of both the Labour and Conservative Foreign Offices, attributing to them a similar attitude: 'From the end of 1924 to the autumn of 1935 all British Foreign Ministers worked more or less hand in glove with Mussolini', he wrote.[132] Although Salvemini expressed these judgements respectively in 1942 and 1953, some excerpts of his correspondence with Carlo Rosselli, published by Elisa Signori, confirm that in 1932 Salvemini already had a negative opinion of the National Government. Salvemini judged MacDonald and the Foreign Minister John Simon, who had visited Mussolini in Rome to discuss the still-unsolved naval question, to be 'due poveri diavoli,

[131] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 23 April 1942, published in Italian translation in *Lettere americane*, pp. 317-325.
[132] *Prelude to World War II*, p. 8.

ipocriti e senza scrupoli, disposti a fare qualunque bricconata per poter vantare un successo personale'.[133] Salvemini was even less lenient with the Foreign Office in general:

> Passata la parentesi laburista, durante la quale i rapporti con Mussolini si intiepidirono, è ritornato in intimità con Mussolini e lo manovra per costringere la Francia ad accettare la riduzione degli armamenti navali, sottomarini e aerei, che sono i soli che interessano il Foreign Office.[134]

Salvemini talked about a half-hearted relationship between Mussolini and the Labour government. In reality, even Henderson had to temper his anti-Fascist stance in view of his official role, as has been shown. However, in 1932 Salvemini still hoped to be able to get support from Liberal and Labour intellectuals: 'Bisogna lavorare sui liberali e sui laburisti. Ma i liberali sono oramai boccheggianti, il *Daily News* è ormai mussoliniano; il *Manchester Guardian* è caduto in male mani. Bisogna lavorare sui laburisti, dunque.'[135] As the quoted excerpt shows, Salvemini focused not on politicians, but primarily on the press. His main concern, apart from the period between 1925 and 1927, remained opposition of Fascist propaganda. As Salvemini wrote to Rosselli, in April 1933:

> Ci vorrebbe in Inghilterra, come in ciascun paese, un uomo che vi abitasse in permanenza, leggesse i giornali, e smentisse le bugie. […] la propaganda fascista organizzata meravigliosamente da Mussolini ha una influenza enorme ovunque […] Lottare [contro] questa propaganda è lottare contro il fascismo nel solo modo che sia utile all'estero.[136]

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[133] *Fra le righe*, p. 159: Salvemini to Rosselli, 24 March 1933.
[134] Ibid., p. 142: Salvemini to Rosselli, 29 December 1932.
[135] In 1932, after the death of Edward Scott, son of C. P. Scott, the editorship of the *Manchester Guardian* passed to William Percival Crozier. In the aforementioned letter to Rosselli from 29 December 1932, Salvemini commented on the news as follows: 'Del nuovo direttore del *Manchester Guardian* non so nulla di nulla. Ormai quella posizione l'abbiamo perduta. Morto il vecchio Scott sarebbe stato necessario andare a Manchester a fare conoscenza col nuovo direttore.' *Fra le righe,* p. 142: Salvemini to Rosselli, 29 December 1932.
[136] *Fra le righe,* p. 162: Salvemini to Rosselli, 22 April 1933.

Salvemini's disillusionment with the role played by British politicians in the anti-Fascist struggle can be appreciated through a letter written to Massey in 1934. Some context is needed to understand the content of this letter. Salvemini had already left for Harvard in January of that year; he was planning to go back to Europe during the summer and spend some time in Paris. For this reason, Massey urged Salvemini to visit Britain during his holidays, as she was convinced that anti-Fascism could take advantage of the British political situation: Fascism was once again a matter of interest in light of Mosley's BUF and the anti-democratic fears highlighted by the Olympia rally. Massey told Salvemini that she aimed to continue the job they had started in 1926, disseminating information on the real conditions of Italy and about the Fascist regime.[137] Salvemini's reply read as follow:

> I am afraid you overrate what I might have done in London during a couple of weeks. People would not hear me. They would say: 'In England certain things could not happen' and they would sit still until such things happened and there were no ways of preventing them. I should have had some lunches with some distracted people; I should have had some chats with some other distracted people: and that would have been all! On the other hand, nobody would accept my ideas about how to fight Fascism at its beginning. […] If the present depression is overcome, some institutions will survive in England, France, America. If the depression goes on, Fascism will invade England, France and America, also. And Labour men and Liberals will chat, chat, chat and be crushed without fighting. […] I do not say, however, that nothing is to be done to oppose Fascist danger. Your idea of a centre of correct information is the only sensible proposal. […] You know what tremendous work was to do something in 1926-1928 for me and for you. Yet we succeeded in making some headway. […] If the Labour party and the Trade unions were not what they are, this would be their job. But they are what they are. They do not see *un palmo innanzi al loro naso*.[138]

[137] ISTREC, GS, b. 102, f. Isabella Massey: Massey to Salvemini, 2 May and 5 June 1934.
[138] ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 11 June 1934, published in Italian translation in *Lettere americane*, pp. 107-110.

Given the caution with which the Labour Party approached Fascism in Italy, Salvemini's opinion can be considered trenchant, but factual. This analysis of the Labour Party foreign policy between 1925 and 1934 shows that, overall, Mussolini's management of power in Italy was not considered something over which to jeopardise diplomatic relations with Italy. Although the Labour Party took moderate anti-Fascist stances while in opposition, during their government they preferred to act as arbiters of peace between countries, sacrificing ideological positions in order to reach diplomatic agreements. Although Fascism remained a topic for discussion at an international level through the LSI, the Labour Party did not take a stronger anti-Fascist stance until Fascism became a British domestic issue – after the foundation of Mosley's BUF – and a European threat with the rise of Hitler.

Furthermore, bitterness emerges from Salvemini's words: in the first part of the excerpt quoted above, Salvemini described his work as an attempt to disseminate well-grounded information on Fascism, which had limited impact on Labour politicians, who were more interested in pursuing their foreign policy goals. Salvemini himself admitted that his work had not achieved the long-term political outcomes he expected, implicitly acknowledging his failure. Arguably, the reasons for his setbacks were manifold. Salvemini could have better exploited his political connections during a phase (1925-1927) in which some political goals seemed achievable. However, if one were to consider the impact of Salvemini's campaigns on the evolution of British foreign policy, disappointing results would be anticipated. Only by considering the features of British political history and the complex dynamics of international relations in the interwar period is it possible to understand how Salvemini positioned himself in light of these issues.

Nevertheless, Salvemini's anti-Fascism had political purposes which produced 'some headway' for the anti-Fascist struggle. Salvemini opposed Fascist propaganda by disseminating reliable information on Italian living conditions and influencing British public opinion against Fascism. The fact that people like Massey and other members of Salvemini's network were interested in keeping the anti-Fascist struggle alive, creating a legacy for what they and Salvemini had started together, makes it possible to conclude that what Salvemini defined as 'headway' was a laboratory of anti-Fascist positions which were destined not to fade after his departure for the USA. Salvemini's effort to disseminate anti-Fascism in Britain was not wasted, if one considers that in 1941 – in the midst of the Second World War, which saw Italians in Britain as enemy aliens – a group of British intellectuals guided by Massey founded the 'Friends of Free Italy' to distinguish Fascist Italy from the real, democratic Italy, which was trying to fight Fascism. The members of this group included, apart from Massey, Marion Rawson, Cecil and Sylvia Sprigge, Aubrey and Lina Waterfield, and surprisingly Janet and George Macaulay Trevelyan, amongst those mentioned by its chairman, the journalist and MP Ivor Bulmer-Thomas, who stated that the nature of the committee was 'very much in line with Salvemini'.[139]

[139] The 'Friends of Free Italy' promoted lectures and meetings to discuss the Italian political situation; between 1943 and 1945 they published four pamphlets on the matter, in order to reignite attention. In 1945 the name was changed to 'British-Italian Society', as it is still called. See Bulmer-Thomas, 'The Origins', p. 6.

Conclusion

In December 1926, Salvemini wrote that Britain was one of the key places for developing an efficient anti-Fascist campaign. In June 1934, looking back at his British experience from the USA, Salvemini remembered the 'tremendous work' he and his supporters had done to oppose Fascist propaganda and acknowledged that they 'succeeded in making some headway.'[1]

This thesis has investigated why and how Salvemini considered Britain as the headquarters of his anti-Fascist activities. It has equally studied in detail the successes and the limitations of his British experience between 1925 and 1934. As set out in the introduction, this research project had three main aims: filling the gaps in Salvemini's critical bibliography; appraising the role played by his British network in developing anti-Fascist strategies in exile; contributing to the research field on the political and cultural attitude towards Fascism and anti-Fascism in interwar Britain. Reflecting on those aims seems an appropriate way to bring this work to a conclusion.

Filling the gaps in Salvemini's critical bibliography meant providing a comprehensive analysis of his experience between 1925 and 1934. To achieve this, this work focused on the origins of Salvemini's interest towards Britain, contextualised the British period within the transnational experience of exile, which included France and the USA, explored the human and intellectual relationships he established, and investigated the anti-Fascist activities he promoted. By discussing these aspects, this

[1] See the Introduction, referring to a letter by Salvemini to Umberto Zanotti Bianco, 14 December 1926, in *Carteggio 1921-1926*, p. 113. The quotation is from ISTREC, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 11 June 1934, mentioned in 10.2.

thesis has revealed undiscovered episodes and reassessed the importance of already known events thanks to neglected archival documents.

In particular, the first part of this work addressed the origins of Salvemini's interest towards Britain, focusing on the role played by Salvemini's Anglo-Florentine acquaintances, showing that they facilitated his trips to London in 1922 and 1923, and that they provided him with contacts which proved crucial for developing his British network. Discovering, thanks to heretofore neglected archival documents, that British diplomatic pressure on Mussolini was crucial for granting Salvemini's safety after the *Non Mollare* trial of July 1925 – and that Salvemini was aware of this – has made it possible to state that Salvemini understood the importance of British intellectuals for his anti-Fascist campaign. Drawing on this, it has been possible to bring into focus economic, social, and political factors which convinced Salvemini of the possibility and importance of addressing his anti-Fascist efforts to Britain rather than to France. Salvemini's relationship with the *Concentrazione* in France has been discussed, shedding light on the foundation of a British branch, and revealing Salvemini's relationship with the Italian community in London. Besides comparing Salvemini's approaches to Britain and France, this work has considered some aspects of his parallel American experience from 1927 to 1934, showing the evolution of his attitude towards the idea of moving to the USA and his attempts to establish a transnational anti-Fascist press bureau based in London and Washington.

The second part of this thesis makes, in my view, a substantial contribution to the study of Salvemini's exile by providing the first comprehensive account of Salvemini's British network. Following Charles Killinger and Renato Camurri's interpretations, this work has reassessed Salvemini's British exile from a network perspective. Those names

that had already been identified by scholars such as Elisa Signori and Giovanni Grasso are now contextualised, and the vital role played by Alys Russell, Isabella Massey, Marion Rawson and Virginia Crawford has been given the attention it deserves. Precious archival material has allowed me to shed new light on Salvemini's British experience: for instance, Rawson's papers, including her private *Notes on a Journey to Italy under Fascism*, and Russell's correspondence with her sister Mary Berenson. Furthermore, the papers Massey donated to Salvemini's archive in Florence, which proved rich in information about anti-Fascist activities, made it possible to discover the role of Massey as one of the most important people in Salvemini's life.

Drawing on these and other archival sources, the last five chapters explored key moments of Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign in Britain and have made it possible to highlight the different strategies adopted to oppose Fascist propaganda abroad. Amongst the strategies analysed are the organisation of lectures and conferences; the polemics with Luigi Villari; the foundation of committees; contacts with anti-Fascists in Italy; the concerted efforts to free Carlo, Nello and Marion Rosselli and the use of their cases to raise awareness of miscarriages of justice in Italy; and the publication of articles in the press, Salvemini's collaboration with the *Manchester Guardian*, and the publication of *Italy To-day*'s 'green pamphlets'. It has been equally important to address some of the setbacks of Salvemini's anti-Fascist militancy. In particular, the last part of this work examined Salvemini's unsuccessful attempts to obtain a professorship in Britain. Analysis of his university applications and the reactions they caused in the academic world has shed light on the extent to which Salvemini's political stance influenced his failures as a scholar. This aspect emerged from the investigation of Salvemini's applications for professorships of Italian Studies in Britain, most of them occupied by

pro-Fascist scholars, whose influence could not be limited. Another controversial aspect concerned the role played by the British Labour Party in Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign. This work identifies three phases in which Salvemini's attitude evolved from mild enthusiasm for British politics, during which he obtained support from some members of the Labour Party, to a progressive disillusionment and a complete disappointment for having realised that even a Labour government would not sacrifice positive diplomatic relations with Fascist Italy. In this way, this thesis has contributed to drawing attention to the attitude of the Labour Party towards anti-Fascism during a phase, between 1925-1934, which heretofore remained almost entirely unexplored.

Acknowledging breakthroughs and setbacks made it possible to assess the role played by British intellectuals in Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign. Salvemini's anti-Fascist experience has been contextualised in view of the influence that the new social, political and cultural context he found in Britain exerted on him. The activities taken into account have revealed a process of mutual influence. Despite setbacks, on the one hand Salvemini succeeded in creating around himself a network of people willing to offer their help to oppose Fascist propaganda in Britain. On the other, those people offered their own political skills to the anti-Fascist cause, devising plans and actively contributing to Salvemini's campaign. Thanks to his network, Salvemini experimented with different strategies designed to influence British public opinion: for instance, the letters to newspaper editors were signed by prominent British intellectuals able to grasp the readers' attention. Moreover, from his British supporters Salvemini learned new political strategies, such as the formation of committees. This form of political engagement – thus far unexplored in relation to Salvemini – represented a leitmotif of his British experience. The main examples are the committee to promote Salvemini's

lectures, formed by Russell in March 1926; the committee founded in support of the Italian Refugees in 1927; or those established to raise interest in cases of miscarriage of justice of Italy, including the Milan attack in 1928, the arrest of the Rossellis in 1929, and the *processo degli intellettuali* in 1931. Drawing on the idea that Salvemini learned these strategies from his supporters, this thesis has revealed the extent to which British female intellectuals such as Russell, Massey, Rawson and Crawford shaped Salvemini's anti-Fascist activities.

Finally, by concentrating on Salvemini's British exile, this thesis has contributed to the research field on Fascism and anti-Fascism in interwar Britain. It has engaged with the existing critical bibliography concerning the Italian community in London whilst clarifying the peculiar position that Salvemini took within it, shedding light on the foundation of the British branch of the *Concentrazione* and on the relationship with Italian anti-Fascists such as Alessandro Magri, Raffaele Rossetti, and Angelo Crespi who, according to Salvemini, could have had an impact on British public opinion.

Although Britain was an uncommon destination for Italian anti-Fascist exiles, compared with other European countries, analysis of Salvemini's experience has made it possible to demonstrate the importance of researching anti-Fascism in Britain during the interwar period. As set out in the introduction, the works by Alfio Bernabei and Stefania Rampello represent a vital contribution to the study of this topic, although they focus mainly on dynamics within the Italian community in London. Analysis of Salvemini's experience in Britain has made it possible to move a step forward by researching anti-Fascism beyond the borders of Little Italy and considering Salvemini as part of a broader, British intellectual community. In my view, it is only by investigating the wider area of the collaboration between Italian exiles and intellectuals that the study

of anti-Fascism in Britain can reach a comprehensive interpretation of the phenomenon. Furthermore, analysis of anti-Fascism in Britain cannot be limited to the chronological span of Salvemini's experience: a logical continuation of this work would be an analysis of how intellectuals close to Salvemini reacted to political events following 1934, such as the rise of Hitler, the Ethiopian War and the Spanish Civil War, which radically changed the perception of Fascism in Britain and, more broadly, in Europe.

Following Franco De Felice's suggestions, in 2004 Alberto De Bernardi pointed out the need to investigate anti-Fascism within a European frame. As De Bernardi stressed, while it is possible to identify a European history of Fascism, it is less easy to define a European history of anti-Fascism, particularly in the years before the Spanish Civil War, when the impact of anti-Fascism on the political agenda of European governments and parliaments was limited.[2] This thesis confirms such assumptions in relation to Britain, but it also allows me to conclude that a significant contribution to a history of anti-Fascism from a European perspective can be given by focusing on the dissemination of ideas and the development of strategies that resulted from the encounter between anti-Fascist exiles and intellectuals. Following the transnational approach suggested by Patricia Clavin and Hugo García, this thesis has begun to delineate connections between Salvemini, anti-Fascist exiles settled across Europe, and European intellectuals. This has been a challenging task: as Rapone pointed out, historiography on anti-Fascism abroad overall has focused on separate geographic areas, lacking a comparative analysis and

[2] Alberto De Bernardi, 'L'antifascismo: una questione storica aperta', in *Antifascismo e identità europea,* ed. by Alberto De Bernardi e Paolo Ferrari (Rome: Carocci, 2004), pp. xi-xxxii (p. xx). On this aspect, see also Alberto De Bernardi, 'Per una interpretazione dell'antifascismo: alcune ipotesi di indagine', in *Sotto il regime,* pp. 24-56; Franco De Felice, 'Antifascismi e resistenze', *Studi Storici,* 36.3 (1995), 597-623.

significant attempts to establish connections between exiles living in different countries.[3] The constant search for a place to live was a condition experienced by many anti-Fascist exiles, who had to cope with unstable economic, social, and political factors. Researching the trajectory of Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile made it clear to me that one of the key features of anti-Fascism was the construction of intellectual networks which could cross national borders and withstand physical distance. Deprived of the right to live in their homeland, anti-Fascist exiles established networks based on intellectual exchanges, political discussions, and human solidarity for the restoration of democratic values in Italy and safeguarding these values in Europe. Developing new research on these networks makes it possible to trace a comprehensive map of anti-Fascist support traversing the borders of countries, covering a chronological span from the rise of the Italian Fascist dictatorship to the Second World War.[4]

Salvemini's experience in Britain, its breakthroughs and setbacks, and his full immersion in a foreign culture deserved a thorough study. As this passage from *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* suggests, despite expulsion from his homeland and political frustration, Salvemini was able to see how his anti-Fascist exile contributed to his intellectual development, and could be seen as a an opportunity, rather than only a deprivation:

> Personalmente non avevo motivo di lamentarmi della vita che facevo. Anzitutto l'avevo scelta io di mia libera volontà. E si era rivelata tutt'altro che penosa. Facevo esperienza di paesi che altrimenti sarebbero rimasti per me libri chiusi. […] Dovevo al Duce se allargavo la mia cultura ed esperienza a contatto di popoli. Grazie ai contatti con popoli così diversi da quello in cui

[3] Rapone, 'Emigrazione italiana e antifascismo in esilio', p. 67.
[4] On this point, see Glenda Sluga, 'Fascism and Anti-Fascism', in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 381-382.

ero nato arrivavo, nel giudicare il mio popolo, ad una indulgenza che mi aveva spesso difettato quando mi mancavano i termini di paragone. […] Non soffrivo di nostalgia. Vivevo sempre con lo spirito in Italia […]. Se non fosse stata la umiliazione, che il popolo italiano soffriva per quel regime di mistificazioni e di buffoneria, e il pensiero degli amici, che in Italia, a piede libero o in prigione, dovevano vivere sotto quel regime, sarei stato quasi riconoscente al Duce per avermi costretto a 'evadere' dall'Italia.[5]

[5] *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito*, pp. 70-71.

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