

BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE USA:
A TRANSNATIONAL APPROACH TO GAETANO SALVEMINI'S EXILE

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ABSTRACT

Gaetano Salvemini was one of the most prominent intellectuals forced into exile during the Fascist period. Although there is already a substantial critical bibliography on his experience, the period of his European exile – between 1925 and 1934 – has thus far been neglected. Archival sources collected in Italy, Great Britain, and the USA call for a reappraisal of this period, revealing that Salvemini managed to gain the support of a transnational network based in Great Britain. The network shared Salvemini's anti-Fascist views and helped him to devise strategies to counterbalance the propaganda machine of the Fascist regime. This article will adopt a transnational perspective, interpreting Salvemini's exile as a process of mutual influence which allowed him to establish relationships with British intellectuals who played an active role in shaping his anti-Fascist campaign. It will explore the details of Salvemini's experience, drawing comparisons between his attitude to France and the USA. By analysing the vital role that Salvemini's network played, this article aims to demonstrate the importance of adopting a transnational perspective for understanding the anti-Fascist exile experience.

Keywords: Gaetano Salvemini, Exile Studies, Transnational Anti-Fascism, Intellectual Networks.

INTRODUCTION

In June 1925, Gaetano Salvemini was arrested for the publication of the anti-Fascist newspaper *Non Mollare*. Shortly after his release, the charge against him having been cancelled by an amnesty, he was free to cross the border to France. His aim was to spend the summer abroad before returning to Italy in time for the beginning of the new academic year. As Charles

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Killinger (2002: 193-206) has noted, however, Salvemini changed his mind at the beginning of October, when two anti-Fascists involved in the distribution of *Non Mollare* were killed in Florence during a Fascist punitive expedition.¹ Salvemini resigned from the university, electing to stay abroad, and began his period of exile in France and Great Britain, which lasted until 1934 when he moved to the USA.

Though many studies have addressed Salvemini's biography and intellectual production, his European exile has thus far been neglected. Most of the critical bibliography has focused on his experience in the USA.² This is partly due to the fact that even during his European exile, from 1927 until his appointment at Harvard in 1934, Salvemini travelled to the USA to deliver conference tours and university lectures (Killinger 2002: 209-240). Furthermore, the fact that Salvemini elected to base his anti-Fascist activities in London rather than in Paris, where most of the Italian anti-Fascists lived, has been largely underestimated.

However, some scholars have stressed the importance of reassessing Salvemini's exile, while others have begun to shine a spotlight on his British experience. Killinger (2002: 241-265) paved the way – followed by Renato Camurri (ed. 2015: XXI-LXXVI) – towards the abandonment of the view of Salvemini as someone who never adapted himself to the USA, living secluded in the library at Harvard, as Enzo Tagliacozzo (1963: 50) suggested. Killinger and Camurri put forward a new interpretation based on an analysis of the intellectual relationships which influenced Salvemini's American experience. Meanwhile, Gaetano Quagliariello (2007: 160-161) underlined that, despite Salvemini's cultural background being more French than Anglo-Saxon, he chose Britain as the headquarters of his anti-Fascist activity. A few years later, Elisa Signori [ed. 2010 (2009): 29-30] and Giovanni Grasso (ed. 2009: xi) outlined a British network which supported Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle.

¹ On the episode, see BONSAVER 2010: 145-168.

² After Salvemini's death in 1957, his collected *Opere* were initially published; some of them have been reissued and commented on in recent years: see SALVEMINI 2001 (1966); 2002 (1960); 2017 (1932). The first biographies were published in the 1960s and 1970s (see TAGLIACCOZZO 1959 and 1963; SALVADORI 1963; DE CARO 1970). In the 2000s, Charles KILLINGER (2002) and Gaetano QUAGLIARIELLO (2007) initiated a new generation of study. Particular attention has been devoted to Salvemini's correspondence, which has been extensively published: amongst the most recent works, GRASSO (2009) analysed the *carteggio* between Salvemini and Luigi Sturzo; SIGNORI [2010 (2009)] focused on the one between Salvemini and Carlo Rosselli; and CAMURRI (2015) worked on the *Lettere americane*. Even in the most recent years, there has still been an avid interest in Salvemini's life and intellectual production: see AUDENINO (2009); PECORA 2012; PECORA 2015; and FANTARELLA 2018. For a recent and more detailed analysis of Salvemini's exile in Great Britain, see GUSSONI 2020b.

Drawing on the observations of Quagliariello, Signori, and Grasso, and inspired by Killinger and Camurri's ground-breaking interpretations of Salvemini's exile, this article aims to reappraise the period between 1925 and 1934 by adopting a transnational perspective. Patricia Clavin (2010: 636) has defined the transnational approach as a tool to enrich our understanding of historical events by revealing connections between people. This is also the methodology proposed by Hugo García (2016: 567), who has underlined the importance of such an approach for the study of anti-Fascism, stressing that militants and intellectuals organised themselves into networks capable of withstanding physical distance and crossing geographical boundaries. Moreover, in order to understand the aims of Salvemini's exile, this study will apply the paradigm set out by David Kettler (2011: 1-25): an individual's banishment from their country must be understood as a project with a mission, often constituting an attempt to put an end to the conditions that led to exile.

Adopting these historiographical approaches to Salvemini's experience means reassessing Salvemini's exile as a period during which he devised strategies to counterbalance Mussolini's propaganda machine in cooperation with a network of people committed to the anti-Fascist cause. This entails evaluating the importance of the circulation of ideas and of the process of mutual influence originating from the adaptation to a new cultural context such as Great Britain. This study will therefore illustrate the European and American interconnections of Salvemini's network, highlighting his attempts to create an international press bureau based in London and Washington with the support of anti-Fascists intellectuals. It will also discuss the factors that led him to count on British intellectuals to develop a more efficient anti-Fascist campaign, and the reasons behind his overall distrust of Italian exiles based in Paris. The study of Salvemini's British network is grounded in the idea that a group of anti-Fascist women were its linchpin: they shaped political strategies, assisted him in compiling anti-Fascist publications, and organised lectures and conferences.³ By analysing these aspects, this article aims to help fill the gaps in the critical bibliography on Salvemini, reassessing the importance of his British exile within the European period and comparing it with his experience in the USA. More broadly, starting with Salvemini's case, this study seeks to enrich the understanding of anti-Fascism in exile from a transnational perspective.

³ On this point, and for a mainly biographical description of those anti-Fascist women, see GUSSONI 2020a.

1. FROM MILAN TO LONDON AND WASHINGTON: A TRANSNATIONAL PRESS BUREAU

When Salvemini decided not to return to Italy in October 1925, he was aware that the “mission” behind his exile – as Kettler would define it – would be to counterbalance Mussolini’s propaganda abroad. Already in 1961, introducing the first volume of the *Scritti sul fascismo*, Roberto Vivarelli (1961: vii) stressed that during his exile, Salvemini’s primary goal was to bely the image put forward by Mussolini’s propagandists while shedding light on the real conditions of life in Fascist Italy. More recently, Signori [ed. 2010 (2009): 29] has described the aims and methods of Salvemini’s counterpropaganda, which was geared at dismantling the flattering and stereotypical views of Mussolini’s dictatorship published in the international press and circulating in intellectual milieus. These views were mainly based on the idea that Fascism had brought order and political stability to Italy, depicted as a country threatened by the Bolshevik revolution; other central threads in Fascist propaganda were that Mussolini was performing a sort of economic miracle, and the constant belittlement of the *fuorusciti* as enemies of the country.⁴

Given the powerfulness of Mussolini’s propaganda, an effective opposition needed to be based on first-hand sources – from anti-Fascists living in Italy – which would provide reliable information. This section will focus on Salvemini’s initial attempts to keep a communication channel open with Italian anti-Fascists and his subsequent efforts to establish a press bureau based in London and Washington. Salvemini’s approach was to count on selected individuals who could collect news and opinions on Italian affairs published in the international press, often based on Fascist propaganda, and then rectify this content through public lectures, conferences, or letters sent to newspaper editors.

Indeed, at the end of 1925, Salvemini could rely on some fellow anti-Fascists that had remained in Italy for support: Marion Cave – not yet married to Carlo Rosselli at the time – offered her help, along with that of those formerly involved with *Non Mollare*.⁵ Some members had moved to Milan and were promoting the publication of the anti-Fascist newspapers *Il Caffè* and *Quarto Stato*. They included Riccardo Bauer, Ferruccio Parri, Car-

⁴ These were also the topics that Salvemini addressed in his first volume on Fascism, *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy*, published in the USA in 1927 and a year later in Great Britain. On Fascist propaganda in Britain, carried out in particular through the London *Fascio*, see BALDOLI 2003; SUZZI VALLI 1995; GENTILE 1995. More broadly on Fascist propaganda abroad, see, at least, GARZARELLI 2004 and CAVAROCCHI 2010.

⁵ ISTREC, GS, b. 79, f. Marion Cave Rosselli: Cave Rosselli to Salvemini, 26 November 1925.

lo Rosselli, and Ernesto Rossi. According to Mario Giovana (2005: 60), this cohort should be considered as the forerunner of *Giustizia e Libertà*. Compared to *Giustizia e Libertà* and their precursor, *Italia Libera*,⁶ they undoubtedly had a limited impact on the history of anti-Fascism. The group only lasted one year, collapsing at the end of 1926 due to the increasing number of clampdowns and to Parri and Rosselli's arrest after they helped Filippo Turati leave Italy. From unpublished archival sources, we can see that they used to sign their letters to Salvemini as "Milanesi". However, there are only fragmentary traces of their activities: amongst Salvemini's papers, pieces of correspondence have been identified within an unnamed file: *lettere con firme da decifrare*. The names of the senders were in fact covered by pseudonyms: Riccardo Bauer went by "Bohemien", "Baubau" or "Accipicchia"; Ferruccio Parri was called "Mainstee", or "Pautasso cav. Chiaffredo"; and Carlo Rosselli and Ernesto Rossi were "Palloncino" and "Burattino", while Salvemini was "Barbaro".⁷

During this period, the *Milanesi* and Salvemini learned how to send and receive coded messages, plan secret escapes, and keep anti-Fascists in Italy in contact with those abroad. They also devised a system for bypassing Fascist control: letters were marked with a number and sent abroad via Switzerland, where the papers were passed on to trusted middlemen, nicknamed "Guglielmo Tell". The correspondence was then forwarded to Salvemini in London at Isabella Massey's address: a lecturer in German at Bedford College, Massey was one of Salvemini's closest friends and collaborators in Britain, and her name was not known by the Fascist police.⁸ The activity of the *Milanesi* was subsequently expanded to other Italian cities, and the involvement of other trustworthy people was considered as vital: where possible, these were individuals who could offer financial support, except political leaders, as they 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 working with a small number of people was safer and easier to manage. Local groups were coordinated by a *capozona*, in contact with the main *nucleo ordinatore*, who kept a coded membership list. This organisation was modelled on that of *Italia Libera* and had a similar mission: to print clandestine bulletins and leaflets, spread propaganda through univer-

⁶ On *Italia Libera*, see ROSSI 1955; ZANI 1975.

⁷ ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare.

⁸ Isabella Massey (1866-1960) was a political advisor to Salvemini and contributed to the shaping of his anti-Fascist strategy. She worked as a press officer, collecting information published on Fascism by British newspapers; with Alys Russell, Marion Rawson and Virginia Crawford, she formed the core of Salvemini's British network. On this aspect, see GUSSONI 2020b.

sity faculties, contact anti-Fascists in the army to raise support in the barracks, enrol lawyers willing to help in the event of arrests, and help those who needed to leave Italy.⁹ The main obstacle to such activities was dealing with the practicalities involved, which were managed by just two people: Bauer prepared the material to be disseminated within Italy, whereas Parri worked on the despatches which they sent to Salvemini overseas.¹⁰

The most important activity carried out by the *Milanesi* in support of Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign was collecting information. This enterprise counted on people, based across Italy, reading documents and selecting useful information to be forwarded to the *Milanesi*. The Milan group went through it, collected the most interesting facts, and despatched their notes abroad. In many of his letters, Parri wrote that he was impressed by Salvemini's ability to make the most of their work by publishing letters and articles in the international press.¹¹

Furthermore, at the beginning of 1926, the *Milanesi* and Salvemini were considering the possibility of publishing a review addressed to anti-Fascists both in Italy and abroad. Although Parri and Bauer were more concerned with arousing the interest of political émigrés, Salvemini wanted to shine a spotlight on aspects which could attract the interest of foreign public opinion.¹² Overall, however, they acknowledged the urgent need to disseminate information on the real conditions of Fascist Italy throughout Europe. For this reason, 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.

With this in mind, it is clear that the work carried out by the *Milanesi* inspired Salvemini's plan to set up an international press bureau. Salvemini began developing this project shortly after his first conference tour in the USA, upon returning to Europe in May 1927, when he approached the prominent intellectual Romain Rolland on the matter.¹³ During the two years he spent in Britain, France and the USA, Salvemini became increasingly aware of the crucial role of anti-Fascism abroad. He mentioned three main activities to be implemented: helping anti-Fascists escape from con-

⁹ *Ibid.*: draft programme, [n.d.].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*: Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926.

¹¹ *Ibid.*: Milanese to Salvemini, 23 November 1925; Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926; Stee [Parri] to Salvemini, [n.d.].

¹² *Ibid.*: Mainstee [Parri] to Salvemini, 1926.

¹³ Romain Rolland (1866-1944) was deeply concerned by the rise of Fascism. The 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 FISHER 1988: 147-204.

finement; assisting those in need both in Italy and in Europe; and financing a press bureau based in London and Washington. The press bureau was to track every publication discussing Italian affairs, point out falsehoods, find documents that could contradict such falsehoods, and send letters to the editors to show the real conditions of life under Fascism.¹⁴

Salvemini's strategy was influenced by the idea that, sooner or later, Mussolini would find himself in the middle of an international crisis: the press bureau would prepare the public to stand against the Fascist dictatorship.¹⁵ Salvemini devised a detailed plan for financing the project: he believed that a committee of well-known scholars should ask for subscriptions by setting up the *Union du Ligue Démocratique Internationale des Amis de la Liberté Italienne*. Salvemini envisaged a main committee, made up of six prominent intellectuals – including Rolland, Albert Einstein, and Rabindranath Tagore – who would supervise other local groups that would collect money, organise public debates, and issue bulletins. Salvemini and two English intellectuals would be the secretaries of the executive committee. The decision to appoint pacifist intellectuals such as Rolland, Einstein, and Tagore could be interpreted as an attempt to shed light on the war-mongering 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.

Eventually, the project was abandoned, as Rolland was concerned about the unclear nature of the committee, which combined political and humanitarian aims.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Salvemini did not renounce the project outright, but instead set out to find people who could work as independent press officers. One such individual was Luigi Emery, who had contributed to *Non Mollare* in 1925, and in 1927 was working in Berlin as a correspondent for the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*. Salvemini asked him to read German publications on Fascism, translate them into Italian and send them to a person who would collect documents from different countries. Furthermore, Salvemini asked Emery whether he would be willing to move to London or Washington to work with him, once the press office had been established.¹⁷ Emery accepted the request to work on the German press, but had to decline the offer to move to Britain or the USA, due to family reasons. His reply to Salvemini shines a spotlight on the living conditions under the Fascist dictatorship: those who wanted to avoid exile had

¹⁴ ISTREC, GS, b. 73, f. Romain Rolland: Salvemini to Rolland, 24 May 1927.

¹⁵ On this aspect, see Salvemini 2017 [1932].

¹⁶ ISTREC, GS, b. 73, f. Romain Rolland: Salvemini to Rolland, 4 June 1927.

¹⁷ ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 4 June 1927.

to strike a balance between their political commitment and protecting their family relationships. Emery wanted to return to Italy once a year to visit his elderly mother: engaging in anti-Fascist activities such as that of the press office would endanger his freedom of movement. For the same reason, he refrained from criticising Mussolini's government in the press and restricted himself to sending neutral information to *La Stampa* from Berlin, provided that he was not forced to join the Fascist party to continue working.¹⁸

Despite the setbacks encountered in finding a workforce, Salvemini still aimed to collect information from as many countries as possible. This international survey was to be supervised from Paris by Luigia Nitti, who read the Italian press available in Paris and collated the information with other sources from abroad.¹⁹ However, enrolling people willing to support Nitti's work in France proved difficult. For instance, the Socialist Francesco Buffoni had discussed the matter with his fellow anti-Fascists in France without success, as most of the exiles were interested in publishing newspapers addressed to Italians abroad. Therefore, Buffoni decided to do the job himself, with Salvemini's financial help.²⁰

These complications in trying to involve people in anti-Fascist activities directed at influencing foreign public opinion, and not Italians abroad, affected Salvemini's trust in the French anti-Fascist milieu. Indeed, it was only towards the middle of 1929 that the *Concentrazione antifascista* – with which Salvemini had a difficult relationship, as Fedele (2009: 55-64) has noted – acknowledged the importance of publishing a bulletin, *Italia*, edited by Filippo Turati, which collected reliable information concerning the Fascist dictatorship, translated into French. Salvemini had already begun this project in Britain, with the help of Virginia Crawford, who was editing *Italy To-day*.²¹

In fact, after a few attempts to promote a concerted effort in France, Salvemini devoted his attention to establishing a British-American press bureau, which was to be run by an Italian in London and another in Washington, assisted by an English-speaking translator and secretary, whereas Salvemini would coordinate the work from London.²² Eventually, the British press bureau was supervised by the Italian exile Alessandro Magri, in

¹⁸ Indeed, later in 1927, Emery was expelled from the National Association of journalists since he refused to join the Fascist Party.

¹⁹ Maria Luigia Nitti (1903-1939), daughter of the former Prime Minister Francesco Saverio Nitti and exiled in France, was devoted to the anti-Fascist cause and active in helping the exiles, as described in MODIGLIANI 1946: 98-99.

²⁰ ISTREC, GS, b. 110, f. firme da decifrare: Francesco Buffoni to Salvemini, [n.d.].

²¹ See Section 4.

²² ISTREC, GS, b. 71, f. Luigi Emery: Salvemini to Emery, 31 October 1927.

collaboration with Isabella Massey.²³ Conversely, Salvemini struggled to find a suitable person for the role in the USA.²⁴ The absence of a workforce willing to join the anti-Fascist cause abroad – and the distrust towards the *fuorusciti* in France – remained a constant issue in the following years, as Salvemini wrote in a letter to Carlo Rosselli in 1933: “*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*”.²⁵

2. SALVEMINI’S EARLY ATTITUDE TO THE USA

Despite the difficulty in finding another person able to run the press bureau in Washington, this was not the main reason behind Salvemini’s decision to move to the USA. His decision was the result of an evolving attitude, influenced by manifold aspects that will be addressed in this section. Although he had been undertaking conference tours in the USA since 1927, it was not until the beginning of the 1930s that he decided to leave Europe permanently. Scholars addressing Salvemini’s American exile have provided significant contributions to help assess his experience overseas; none of them have mentioned his reluctance to live in the USA during the early stages of his exile, however.²⁶

When the New York promoter William Feakins appointed Salvemini for his first American tour in 1927 (Killinger: 2002: 209), Salvemini’s decision was motivated by financial reasons: he wanted to earn a sufficient amount to be able to survive and to finance anti-Fascist activities, including enrolling people to work with him. Despite this financial need, the letters he sent his British friend Isabella Massey from the USA reveal a constant feeling of sorrow, exhaustion, and discouragement. The relationships

²³ Alessandro Magri (1895-1981) was born in Crema, son of Antonio Magri, an Italian barber, and Ethel MacMahon, of Irish origin. In 1923, Magri married an Englishwoman, Violet Winter, whom he divorced a few years later. He met Salvemini in 1927 thanks to Luigi Emery (ISTREC, GS, b. 99, f. Luigi Emery: Emery to Salvemini, 5 July 1927) and shortly after became one of the central figures of his British network, working as press officer and assistant. In 1929 he was appointed as secretary of the London branch of the anti-Fascist concentration. In spite of his political stances, 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 BERNABEI 1997: 98-229, SPONZA 2000: 101-117.

²⁴ ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 6 December 1927.

²⁵ SIGNORI 2010 (2009): 163.

²⁶ The reference is to KILLINGER 2002, QUAGLIARIELLO 2007, AUDENINO 2009 and CAMURRI 2015.

Salvemini had developed in Britain by 1926, especially with Massey, must not be underestimated, as they influenced his perception of London as his new homeland.²⁷ His description of his conference tour in the USA make it sound like a second exile: a detachment from his host country, Britain, as part of his main experience of exclusion, 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”.²⁸

In his memoir, Salvemini made no mystery of the great psychological and physical distress he experienced during his 1927 tour [Salvemini 2002 (1965): 52]. In his letters, he expressed even greater suffering, often repeating the hyperbolic idea of committing suicide.²⁹ Such assertions, written only one month after the beginning of his American trip, were followed by further concerns, suggesting that he maintained a similar state of mind throughout his stay in the USA.³⁰ His correspondence from 1929, when Salvemini delivered a series of lectures at the New York New School of Social Research and a conference tour across the USA, conveys equally distressed feelings: he continued to feel too distant from his second homeland, Britain, and reiterated the hyperbolic idea of suicide.³¹ Many of the letters from the following months confirm these same frustrations: Salvemini distinguished his own world – London, his British friends, and his European activities – from the other one, to which he did not feel he belonged: the USA.³²

In 1930, financial urgency drove Salvemini to take up a post teaching a six-month course in Italian History at Harvard University: this should be considered as the turning point which changed Salvemini’s attitude towards the USA. On this occasion, Salvemini did not have to travel across the country, and could take full advantage of Harvard’s academic milieu.³³ This arrangement allowed him to begin establishing his own American network, facilitated by acquaintances which, as we will see, were at the basis of his British network. Such contacts included the political scientist Graham Wallas and the labour activist Alys Russell – the sister of Salvemini’s Florentine friend Mary Berenson – who collaborated with him in London

²⁷ ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 5 January 1926 [1927].

²⁸ See the dedication at the beginning of the book.

²⁹ *Ibid.*: Salvemini to Massey, 5 February 1927.

³⁰ *Ibid.*: Salvemini to Massey, 12 February 1927.

³¹ *Ibid.*: Salvemini to Massey, 11 January 1929.

³² *Ibid.*: Salvemini to Massey, 29 January, 1 and 23 February 1929.

³³ ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/3.a: postcard, Salvemini to Russell, 22 January 1930.

and provided him with contacts and letters of introduction to influential people.³⁴ Indeed, in the letters Salvemini addressed to Massey in March 1930, he admitted that he was beginning to appreciate Harvard's intellectual environment and that he was reconsidering the idea of moving there.³⁵

Despite this positive attitude, Salvemini continued to feel in exile, and constantly wished to return to Britain and find a job there. Towards the middle of April, in a letter to Alys Russell, he repeated the idea that he was hovering between two different worlds, acknowledging that, although he enjoyed Harvard, staying there meant being distanced from his British friends.³⁶ The image of Salvemini's 1930's American life in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* differs from the one given in his correspondence. In his memoirs – written in the 1950s – Salvemini did not mention the internal struggle he faced when he agreed to spend six months at Yale in 1932, and another term at Harvard, in 1933: he simply stated that at Yale he enjoyed total happiness and that soon afterwards, he decided to settle in Cambridge [Salvemini 2002 (1965):135-138]. A letter he wrote to Carlo Rosselli in August 1933, published by Signori [ed. 2010 (2009): 169], offers a contrasting view, as Salvemini admitted that moving to the USA was inevitable and driven by economic motives, and that this decision resulted in great suffering, comparable to that of being sent to prison.

It is vital to underline that Salvemini wrote this letter only a couple of months after he failed in his last attempt to secure a professorship in Britain.³⁷ At the end of 1933, when Britain had closed all its doors to him,

³⁴ 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. Alys Russell (1867-1951) met Salvemini in 1922 and then introduced him to her circle of Liberal and Socialist acquaintances. Russell was amongst the early members of the Fabian Society and an active philanthropist: she championed the cause of women's education and relief for refugees. For a biographical profile, see STRACHEY 1981; on her role in Salvemini's British network, see also GUSSONI 2020b. 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 CLARKE 1978.

³⁵ ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/1: Salvemini to Massey, 1 and 8 March 1930.

³⁶ ISTREC, GS, Massey, 7/3.a: Salvemini to Russell, 15 April 1930.

³⁷ Between 1926 and 1933, Salvemini applied for professorships in British History and Italian Studies, including ones at Bedford College, Cambridge (in 1929 and 1933), and Manchester, but he was not appointed to any of these chairs. The reasons for his failure were manifold. First, he was not convinced of being able to teach British History, as he was not an expert in the subject. Second, his application to the chairs of Italian Studies met with the opposition of established professors, such as Cesare Foligno at Oxford, Camillo Pellizzi at University College

he was offered a job at Harvard thanks to Ruth Draper, who financed the Chair of History of Italian Civilization, and Giorgio La Piana, who facilitated his appointment, which Salvemini would keep until 1949 (Killinger 2002: 241-245).

This digression on Salvemini's experience in the USA is intended neither to understate the importance of this period, nor to return to the image of a "medieval monk" who never adapted to the American way of life. Rather, it is directed at exploring the complex trajectory that characterised Salvemini's life and intellectual activity in exile. After 1934, the USA became Salvemini's third homeland, not only because he managed to secure American citizenship, but mainly because he succeeded in creating a close intellectual circle around himself. In introducing the *Lettere Americane*, Camurri (ed. 2015: LII-LIII) described a circle of friends that rallied around Salvemini, encompassing people who became a sort of second family to him: politicians and academics, young scholars influenced by his *magistero*, and anti-Fascist intellectuals. This was a network that catered for many intellectual necessities, similar to the one that had supported him during his British exile.

3. SALVEMINI'S BRITISH NETWORK

Having analysed the European and American side of Salvemini's transnational network in exile, let us now turn to his British experience. This section will explain the reasons that led Salvemini to consider London as the site of his anti-Fascist activities and introduce the main people championing his cause. As mentioned by Signori [ed. 2010 (2009): 28], in a letter to Umberto Zanotti Bianco from December 1926 Salvemini stated that he wanted to focus on Britain and the USA to develop an efficient anti-Fascist strategy – and for this reason, he wanted to establish an international press bureau in London and Washington, not in Paris, due to his growing distrust towards the *fuoruscitismo* at work in France. This opinion was the result of a year of painstaking work undertaken in collaboration with British intellectuals, such as lectures, conferences, the publication of articles and letters to newspaper editors.

However, Salvemini's interest in Britain was rooted in personal and professional experiences dating back to the nineteenth century. Between the

London, and Pietro Reborà at Manchester, who were also Fascist propagandists and worked hand in glove with the Italian Embassy and the Foreign Minister to prevent the dissemination of anti-Fascist ideals within British universities. For an analysis of Italian Studies in Britain and Fascist propaganda, with some references to Salvemini, see works by COLACICCO (2015: 161; 2018a: 72; 2018b: 17).

1890s and the 1920s, Salvemini was part of a circle of prominent British and American intellectuals in Florence, including Pasquale Villari, Carlo Placci, Vernon Lee, Mary and Bernard Berenson. He also contributed to the foundation of the British Institute of Florence, where he met Lina Waterfield, Janet Trevelyan, and Marion Cave. These acquaintances shaped his desire to find out more about Britain, leading him to visit London and its surrounding area in 1922 and 1923, where he developed basic language skills and a preliminary network which would be crucial after 1925.³⁸ As mentioned, this network included Alys Russell, who introduced Salvemini to her intellectual circle; newspaper and journal editors such as Henry Wickham Steed (*The Review of Reviews*), Charles Prestwick Scott (*The Manchester Guardian*), George Peabody Gooch (*The Contemporary Review*), and Francis Hirst (*The Economist*); and academics such as Ernest Barker and Thomas Okey, among others. Indeed, after his imprisonment in 1925, these British intellectuals made a concerted effort to free him safely, promoting diplomatic actions with the help of the Foreign Office and engaging in press appeals.³⁹ The impact of British public opinion on Mussolini should therefore be considered as one of the main factors influencing Salvemini's decision to base himself in London, where he could carry out an effective anti-Fascist campaign.

Other key points that must be taken into account are the possibility of earning a living by delivering lectures and publishing articles in Britain, the smaller size of the Italian community in London, and the British Foreign Office's diplomatic approach towards *fuoruscitismo*. As he admitted in *Dai ricordi di un fuoruscito* [Salvemini 2002 (1965): 42-46], he was presented with opportunities to work in Britain thanks to the network of acquaintances he consolidated between 1922 and 1925. Furthermore, he was one of the few intellectuals with first-hand knowledge of the Fascist dictatorship and could therefore satisfy the curiosity of the British public on the matter [Salvemini 2002 (1965): 34]. 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 Luigi Sturzo, also influenced Salvemini's decision to establish his headquarters there.⁴⁰ The Fascist government per-

³⁸ On the Florentine roots of Salvemini's British network, see GUSSONI 2020b. On the foundation of the British Institute of Florence, see CHINI 2009 and COLACICCO 2018.

³⁹ This is documented by the papers of the British Foreign Office: TNA, FO 371/10790.

⁴⁰ 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. On the Italian community in London, with a focus on economic migration, see works by COLPI (1991: 71-97), MARIN (1975: 77-80), and SPONZA (1988: 13-14). On Sturzo's exile in London, see, at least, FARRELL VINAY (2004).

ceived France as a place where anti-Fascism was tolerated, if not supported, unlike the approach taken by Britain.⁴¹ Paradoxically, for this reason London became a safer place for anti-Fascism than Paris: Fascist espionage, extremely ramified in France, was less present in Britain, where Mussolini trusted the surveillance of foreigners carried out by the Home Office and the London Metropolitan Police. Undoubtedly, as the anti-Fascist community in London was significantly smaller than the one in Paris, spies were, to a certain extent, less necessary there.⁴² Moreover, as Quagliariello has noted (2007: 158), after his experience in the Socialist Party, Salvemini renounced any political allegiance. It is therefore not surprising that he preferred to take some distance from Paris, the main centre of Italian political emigration, as well as to keep his involvement with the Italian anti-Fascist community in London, concentrated in the Little Italy area, to a minimum. Bernabei (1997 and 2020) and Rampello (2015 and 2020) have analysed the composition of the Italian community in London, taking into account both the impact of Fascist propaganda and anti-Fascist commitment in the 1920s. Their work reveals that Salvemini was not actively involved in the anti-Fascist activities in Little Italy, being only superficially acquainted with the Socialist-Anarchist cohort who founded the anti-Fascist newspaper *Il Comento* in the early 1920s (Bernabei 1997 and 2020; Rampello 2015 and 2020). Indeed, it is in his relationship with British intellectuals that one can appreciate the extent of Salvemini's anti-Fascist activity in London.

Having provided an overall picture of the context, it is now worth considering some further details of Salvemini's network. It would be difficult to understand Salvemini's activities in Britain without acknowledging that a group of anti-Fascist women – Alys Russell, Virginia Crawford, Isabella Massey, and Marion Rawson – represented the linchpin of his network: they were a real working force dealing with organisational and strategic issues, who also influenced Salvemini's approach to anti-Fascism.⁴³ Oppo-

⁴¹ For instance, in December 1927, the British Ambassador Graham and the then Italian Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dino Grandi, discussed the alleged support that the *fuorusciti* were gaining in France, and Grandi noted that he did not complain about the presence of Salvemini in Britain, since he was receiving “no official encouragement”. TNA, FO 371/12203, C10088/167/22: Graham to Foreign Office, 9 December 1927.

⁴² Even 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, such as Leonardo Conchin and Alfredo Montuschi, who followed Luigi Sturzo (CANALI 2004: 97, 417, 562, and 689-690n).

⁴³ On this aspect, see GUSSONI 2020b. Marion Rawson (1899-1979) met Salvemini during an anti-Fascist lecture organised by Russell. Thanks to her Italian origins – her uncle was Mario Gigliucci, a Fascist supporter living in Florence – she was able to travel to Italy, and transmit and collect information on behalf of the *fuorusciti*. See Marion Rawson, *Some Notes on Salvemini's Life in England*, 19 November 1965, in RUL, MS 1244, M.24. Her aunt, the journalist Virginia

sition to the Fascist stance was the main value around which their mutual relationships were fostered and strengthened. Salvemini's supporters provided different forms of endorsement, as revealed by the analysis of the many episodes of his life in Britain, in which the members of this network played a key role. However, it is not possible to analyse them thoroughly here, and a detailed summary offers an idea of the different ways in which Salvemini's network was actively involved in the dissemination of anti-Fascist ideals.

On behalf of Salvemini, the British journalist Virginia Crawford edited a collection of pamphlets, *Italy To-day*, directed at the British public, aiming to provide information on the real conditions of life in Italy. Moreover, the work done from Britain to free Carlo Rosselli from *confino* in Lipari in 1929 and the protests organised after Marion and Nello Rosselli's arrest, which saw a concerted effort coordinated by Massey and Rawson, reveal the crucial importance of the press in Salvemini's anti-Fascist struggle.⁴⁴ Salvemini's supporters were similarly committed to protesting against the *processo degli intellettuali* involving members of *Giustizia e Libertà* arrested in Italy between 1930 and 1931: Ernest Barker and George Peabody Gooch played leading roles in organising the international campaign, in collaboration with Massey, Rawson, Crawford, and Russell. Salvemini's network successfully triggered a press debate on Fascist methods of justice, especially thanks to the space granted to them by the *Manchester Guardian* and its editor. Along with publishing articles in the press, Salvemini's allies were active in promoting committees advocating for diplomatic action to help the anti-Fascists in Italy, exerting pressure on Mussolini through the Foreign Office, as occurred in 1925 with the *Non Mollare* trial thanks to the efforts of the editor of the *Review of Review*, Henry Wickham Steed. Another central strategy adopted to influence British public opinion was the formation of the Italian Refugees Relief Committee, a charitable organisation founded in France and Britain, which collected funds in London to provide financial support to anti-Fascist exiles living in Paris. The committee sought to balance its humanitarian, non-political, goals with its intrinsically political stance, aiming to raise awareness on the use of violence by – or with the indirect complicity of – the Fascist regime. Some members of the Italian Refugees Relief Committee remained in incognito, lest they attract the attention of the Fascist police, while maintaining a connection with anti-Fascists in Italy.⁴⁵ In

Crawford (1862-1948) was active in the Labour Party: her main interests were women's suffrage and education, charity, and social movements. For a biographical profile, see GARD 2010.

⁴⁴ On this aspect, see also RICHEL 2011: 74-89 and 2012: 117-139.

⁴⁵ RUL, MS 943 and MS 1244.

particular, Rawson and Massey managed to make clandestine trips to Italy, which served to maintain contact between Salvemini and those anti-Fascists who still lived under Mussolini's rule.

One of the main duties of the network was to organise lectures, conferences, and publish anti-Fascist literature, especially in opposition to Luigi Villari – the son of Salvemini's *maestro*, Pasquale Villari, and one of the main Fascist propagandists in Britain. For instance, on 23 March 1926, Alys Russell organised one of Salvemini's first lectures in Britain after the beginning of his exile. In order to promote the event, called the "Great Lecture", Russell formed a committee, compiled a biographical note about Salvemini, began selling tickets to raise funds for his remuneration, and nominated twenty patrons to sponsor the event, most of whom were connected with Russell's intellectual milieu: Henry Wickham Steed was designated chair of the lecture, and other patrons 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 list also included historians George Peabody Gooch and Philip Guedalla, suffragist leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett, and Liberal politician Augustine Birrell.⁴⁶

These are just a few of the prominent people who shared Salvemini's political views in Britain between 1925 and 1934 and advocated for anti-Fascism. However, it is equally important to acknowledge that Salvemini faced a number of setbacks too: we have already mentioned that he was unsuccessful in obtaining a professorship in Britain and therefore could not limit the influence of pro-Fascist scholars, especially in Italian Studies. Another controversial aspect is the role played by the British Labour Party in Salvemini's anti-Fascist campaign. Salvemini's attitude evolved from mild enthusiasm for British politics, during which he gained support from some members of the Labour Party, to progressive disillusionment and complete disappointment upon realising that even a Labour government would not sacrifice positive diplomatic relations with Fascist Italy.

CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of Salvemini's experience between 1925 and 1934, this article has contributed to filling the gaps in the critical bibliography concerning his exile. It has adopted a transnational approach to delineate a trajectory that includes Italy, France, Britain and the USA. It has also shed

⁴⁶ See the letters from Alys Russell to Mary Berenson held in IULL, ARC, b. 7, f. January-March 1926.

light on the origins of Salvemini's interest in Britain, grounded in his Anglo-Florentine acquaintances, the human and intellectual relationships he established, the anti-Fascist activities he promoted, and the concerted efforts of his supporters.

The first section of this article shone a spotlight on his need to maintain a connection with Italy. It analysed his attempts to set up a press bureau intended to disseminate reliable information supplied by anti-Fascists living in Italy and track publications released in the international press, aiming to counterbalance Mussolini's propaganda machine. Salvemini's desire to have an office based in London and another in Washington – and not in Paris – led us to explore his attitude towards France and consider his experiences in the USA. Therefore, Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile has been contextualised as a process influenced by different contexts. This is particularly evident from the analysis of the British network. Despite the setbacks he encountered, Salvemini secured the support of a network of people – especially anti-Fascist women – eager to oppose Fascist propaganda in Britain. They offered their own political skills to support the 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.

In conclusion, this article suggests that focusing on the dissemination of ideas and development of strategies that resulted from the encounter between exiles and foreign intellectuals can contribute significantly to the history of anti-Fascism from a transnational perspective. Following Clavin (2010) and García (2016), this article has begun to delineate connections between Salvemini, anti-Fascist exiles settled across Europe, and European intellectuals. This is a challenging task: as Leonardo Rapone (2008: 67) has pointed out, historiography on anti-Fascism abroad has focused largely on separate geographic areas, lacking a comparative analysis and attempts to establish connections between exiles living in different countries. 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 circumstances. Researching the trajectory of Salvemini's anti-Fascist exile has shown that one of the key features of anti-Fascism was the establishment 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 their safeguarding in Europe. Developing new research on these networks would make it possible to trace a comprehensive map of anti-Fascist support crossing country borders, covering a chronological span from the rise of the Italian Fascist dictatorship to the Second World War.

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