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MARION CAVE ROSSELLI AND THE TRANSNATIONAL WOMEN'S ANTIFASCIST NETWORKS

Isabelle Richet

In July 1929, Marion Cave Rosselli was arrested by the Italian fascist police after the spectacular escape of her husband Carlo Rosselli from the prison island of Lipari. Her arrest unleashed a powerful campaign in Great Britain by feminist and antifascist groups who succeeded in obtaining her release. This campaign offers us the opportunity to study the particular forms taken by women's antifascist activities at a time when they were not accepted as equal political partners by the male-dominated antifascist organizations in exile. From Marion Cave's entry into Florentine antifascism to the formation of several women's antifascist networks in Britain, this article highlights women's agency in the fight against Mussolini and broadens our understanding of the antifascist struggle.

In August 1929, the Italian ambassador to London sent a memorandum to the Foreign Ministry in Rome expressing his irritation about the mis-handling of what he called the "Rosselli Case": "In my telegrams I have mentioned the consequences on English public opinion of the news sent from Paris about the arrest of the wife of the antifascist Rosselli who recently escaped from Lipari. The fact that she is English and her parents are in this country has particularly moved and scandalized the British soul naturally prone to sentimentality and respectful of individual liberty. It has of course been exploited to the utmost by the antifascists, but I have been told by many that they were not the only ones to have been upset by the incident."¹

Among all the protests, the only consolation of the Ambassador was the support he received from Mr. Harold Goad, the director of the British Institute in Florence and a convinced fascist, who promised to inform the press about "the Rosselli woman whom he has known since she was Miss Cave and taught in the said Institute. He describes her as a fanatic who even before her marriage had expressed her antifascist sentiments in sensational fashion by travelling on purpose from Florence to Rome to lay a wreath on the very spot where (the opposition MP) Giacomo Matteotti had been abducted."²

Two months pregnant with her second child, Marion Cave Rosselli had been under house arrest for several weeks at Courmayeur, in the Italian Alps, after a short stay in the Aosta prison. She was accused of having

organized the spectacular escape of her husband Carlo Rosselli, together with Emilio Lussu and Fausto Nitti, from the prison island of Lipari at the end of July 1929. She had herself just been condemned to be sent to one of the prison islands where she expected to be transferred shortly.³ But the transfer never occurred because her arrest unleashed a powerful protest campaign in England by feminist and antifascist groups which forced her release at the end of August 1929.

My first purpose in presenting this campaign is to answer the concerns historians have expressed both in Italy and in England about the scarcity of studies of women's involvement in the antifascist struggle. In an inspiring historiographical essay, the historian Patriazia Gabrielli described Italian antifascism—and its treatment by historians—as a “temple of virility” in which women were, per force, invisible. When they did appear it was only under the figures of the “sacrificial widow” or the “mater dolorosa,” but never as individuals engaged in the antifascist struggle by their own volition. This is due, to a large extent, to the fact that in Italy the history of fascism and antifascism has been written by political historians who have focused almost exclusively on traditional organizations and their leaderships from which women were excluded. The few recent studies that have tried to reconstruct the specific role of women in the antifascist struggle focused on Communist Party activists working inside Italy, while the history of democratic antifascist women in exile is only just beginning to be written.⁴ While it is true that these women's activities fit neither the models of action adopted by the all-male centers of the various antifascist organizations in exile nor the analytical frameworks developed to study them, reconstructing their experience can help us broaden our understanding of antifascism to include many forms of action that could appeal to groups not influenced by more traditional political organizations.

For her part, the historian Julie V. Gottlieb noted in a review of recent scholarship on women and British fascism that one area that remained open to further investigation was the involvement of British women *against* fascism at home and abroad.⁵ Like Gabrielli, she stressed the difficulties researchers faced in studying women's antifascist activities because they were expressed in a multitude of ways, mostly informal and poorly documented.⁶ Yet the task can be achieved by “finding women in the archive”—as the historian Antoinette Burton put it—either by unearthing often ignored women's files in the traditional repositories or poring through a great number of personal memoirs and individual and family papers.⁷

My second purpose in retracing this campaign is to illustrate the transnational dimension of these women's antifascist networks. If transnationalism has to do with the flows of people and ideas across borders through non-traditional channels, it is a set of analysis that is particularly

suited to the study of both antifascism and women's activism. There was indeed a central paradox in antifascism: while almost exclusively focused on the fate of the Italian nation, most of Mussolini's opponents were forced into exile and had to develop their action from abroad, disseminating ideas and regrouping people across borders. As for antifascist women, most of them reacted very early to the nature of the Italian dictatorship because of their international connections. As the existing political organizations did not accept them as equal partners, they had to devise new forms of intervention in the public spheres marked by a great fluidity of structure and a free movement across European frontiers. The essentially transnational dimension of this action appears clearly when one follows the circulation of individuals and ideas and traces the contours of the new political space the various antifascist networks created in Europe.⁸

Marion Cave in Italy: Witnessing and Opposing Fascism in the Making

Marion Cave was born in December 1896 to a modest family from Uxbridge. Her parents raised their five children on two schoolteachers' salaries and Marion was the only one in the family to pursue a university education. Thanks to an academic scholarship she was educated at St Paul's Girls' School in Hammersmith and went on to Bedford College where she studied for an Honors Degree in French and Italian.⁹ Her passion for foreign languages—and for amateur theatre—signaled a desire to broaden her cultural horizons and a willingness to reinvent herself outside of her rather confined family environment.¹⁰ She was able to do so after she received a scholarship from the British-Italian League in 1918 to spend three years in Florence to prepare a master's degree.¹¹

Her fascination for Italy had a lot to do with the exploits of the Socialist worker's movement that she followed in the daily Socialist paper *L'Avanti!* ("Forward!"). Later, during her American exile, she confessed to having been from an early age "most wildly interested in politics through the influence of [her] father."¹² At the beginning of the century, Ernest Cave had moved from Christian socialism to active membership in the Independent Labour Party (ILP). He participated to the creation of the Uxbridge branch in 1910 and ran for local elections on the ILP ticket. His commitment to the party's pacifism also led him to abandon the Anglican Church and to join the Quakers, becoming a member of the Society of Friends in 1919. In the 1920s he was branch secretary of the Uxbridge ILP and remained very active in local politics as a February 1929 letter from the Italian consulate in London reported to the political police in Rome, noting that Marion Rosselli's father regularly attended "anarchist meetings."¹³

In its coverage of the intense labor struggles of 1919–20, *L'Avanti!* forecast an imminent revolutionary upheaval in the peninsula and Marion Cave was determined to join the fight and “die on the barricades” if necessary.¹⁴ According to the antifascist intellectual Umberto Calosso, who would pay her a tribute in the Italian Parliament upon her death in 1949, “she had come to Italy at an early age because she was tired of English monotony . . . She wanted to live in a country where things happened: wars, revolutions, crises. . . .”¹⁵ Things were certainly happening in Italy when Marion Cave settled in Florence in autumn 1919. Yet after the excitement of the first months during which she attended Socialist Party meetings and followed the waves of land and factory occupations, the rise of the fascist movement and the onslaught of violence that accompanied it was a sobering experience. Her romantic visions vanished as she witnessed the collapse of liberal Italy and the impotence of the left-wing parties to forestall the reactionary offensive that was particularly violent in Tuscany.¹⁶

In this disheartening context she found a political guide in the historian Gaetano Salvemini whom she met in early 1921 at the British Institute. A professor of history at the University of Florence, for more than two decades he had been a prominent political and intellectual figure and remained a major voice in the public debate after the war, famous for his scathing polemics against the corrupt regime of the Liberal Giolitti and the failed strategy of the Socialist opposition.¹⁷ In the wasteland that was the Italian left he became a moral and political guide of a group of Florentine students and young professionals who were determined not to give in to the reactionary violence of the fascist squads and to launch a critical reflection about the failure of the democratic forces. He helped them create the *Circolo di Cultura* (The Culture Club), a democratic debating club that commenced its public conferences in Florence in January 1923, and whose first meeting Marion Cave attended.¹⁸ Cave's association with the *Circolo* represented a fundamental turning point in her life, both at the political and the personal level. Indeed, the members of the *Circolo* who had joined a debating club were soon engaged in active opposition to the fascist regime rapidly reaching a point of no return; at the same time the *Circolo* was a socialization network where Marion struck many enduring friendships. Here she met Carlo Rosselli, one of the most energetic members of the group, with whom she immediately became romantically involved.¹⁹

Biancafiore—as Marion Cave was known to her antifascist friends—was also attracted to more openly militant actions that she supported without hesitation given her wholehearted opposition to fascism, especially after the assassination of the opposition MP Giacomo Matteotti confirmed the oppressive nature of the new regime.²⁰ Together with some members of the *Circolo*, she became associated with the clandestine group *Italia Libera* (Free

Italy), created by antifascist war veterans to rally opposition to Mussolini. On July 12, 1924, the anniversary of the assassination of Cesare Battisti by the Austrians, *Italia Libera* staged an antifascist demonstration in a Florentine cinema, attended by two hundred people who listened to speeches identifying Matteotti to the war martyr. Then, a procession was formed, headed by Marion Cave who carried a wreath in honor of Battisti. The demonstrators walked from the railway station to the University on Piazza San Marco, chanting "Viva Matteotti" and distributing a broadsheet about the abducted Socialist leader.²¹ In the weeks following the discovery of the MP's body the group posted his portrait in the streets of Florence and organized another public demonstration in his honor on November 2, the Day of the Dead. Marion Cave and Ernesto Rossi, her closest friend and one of the leaders of *Italia Libera*, met in the cemetery of the Church of San Miniato where the day before they had hidden a large portrait of Matteotti and flower wreaths. A number of antifascist activists joined them, and they all walked down to the statue of Garibaldi on the Lungarno Vespucci and deposited the wreaths with ribbons recalling Matteotti. They were subsequently arrested but only the men were sent to prison for a few days.²²

This period of semi-legal opposition was soon to end. For a few months in 1924, the murder of Matteotti seemed to weaken the regime but Mussolini decided to seize the occasion to wipe out the opposition and strengthen his grip on power. A particular target was the free press and groups like the *Circolo di Cultura* that offered a forum for democratic debate. On December 31, 1924, thousands of armed black-shirts gathered in the center of Florence and attacked the headquarters of the major newspapers, Freemason lodges, and the offices of the *Circolo di Cultura*.²³

But the members of the *Circolo* and *Italia Libera* had come too far to give in to fascist violence. If a free press was to be banned they would create a clandestine paper, the first one in the country, whose program was encapsulated in its very title, *Non Mollare!* (*Do not yield!*). "It meant exactly what we wanted to say. It was a reproach, an incitement, a command" to all those who claimed that nothing could be done, noted Ernesto Rossi, recalling the group's discussion about a choice of title. *Biancafiore* strongly agreed with him and participated actively in this new enterprise. Salvemini wrote most of the articles while the other members of the group took care of the production and distribution of the paper. Marion, predictably, did the typing. "I was secretary of the paper. I typed all the handwritten copy and always sat near the stove, so I could throw the sheets into the fire if there was a police raid. When the sheets were typed I carried them away concealed in my clothing," she recalled in an interview to a Larchmont, New York daily in 1944. The impact was tremendous; thousands of copies

of each issue were circulated, reproduced, and sent around the country, which of course infuriated the fascist authorities.²⁴

The period that followed was one of hectic activity for all the members of the group who had to combine their professional or student commitments with the production of the paper while also trying to avoid the attention of the fascist authorities. The fascists' main target was Gaetano Salvemini. He was rightly seen as the inspiring figure behind *Non Mollare* and was regularly harassed by fascist student squads at the university and eventually arrested in June 1925. Marion Cave, who was then teaching English literature at the University of Florence and had witnessed the most violent assaults against the professor, was very active in the effort to rally the broadest support of British intellectuals at the time of Salvemini's trial.²⁵ The dismissal of the case on a technicality and the release of Salvemini unleashed another wave of fascist violence in the streets of Florence and the collaborators of *Non Mollare* had to go into hiding for a while.

While Salvemini thought it wiser to go into exile in Great Britain, his young antifascist associates in Florence continued to produce the paper until Mussolini decided to put an end to this challenge to his authority. In early October 1925, the local fascist squads launched a punitive expedition against some known collaborators of *Non Mollare* and several of them were assassinated, including a Socialist MP and several lawyers. In this oppressive climate, opposition activity was necessarily scaled down. Marion Cave worked as intermediary between the exiled Salvemini and his young followers in Florence. She circulated the articles he sent her from the foreign press and kept him informed about the situation in Italy and the discussions of the group about the best forms of action to adopt. Cave also translated the proceedings of his public conferences into English and tried to sustain the interest and commitment of colleagues and students in Salvemini's case. When he resigned from his position as chair of modern history at the University of Florence in protest against the lack of academic freedom, Cave distributed copies of his resignation letter to the Senate of the university "among [his] colleagues and among the students by circuitous means. [She] also sent copies to different cities." Yet the democratic anti-fascist opposition was decisively routed in Florence, and Marion informed Salvemini that the first super-fascist laws of December 1925 were producing a disheartening stampede: "Everybody, except ultra die-hards like us, is either becoming fascist or pretending to be, or makes it a point to display their lack of interest."²⁶

While Cave shared in this political tragedy, this was also one of the happiest periods of her life. Indeed, her romantic attachment to Carlo Rosselli had grown into a real passion reinforced by their shared political

ideals. Yet Carlo's formidable mother, the writer Amelia Rosselli, objected to their marriage. She came from a wealthy upper-class Jewish family and felt that the difference in social backgrounds, in addition to Marion's fierce independence, would not make for a solid union. She asked Carlo to accept a one-year separation before making a decision, and he did. Cave was infuriated but also deeply disappointed. "What has attracted me in Carlo's character was the effort he made to liberate himself from the too comfortable and convenient atmosphere of his bourgeois milieu," she wrote to Salvemini. "In this bourgeois milieu, he'll get nowhere. He might become a well-known professor or scholar . . . but he will be finished as political activist because his milieu is like a thick eiderdown that stifles any altruistic tendency and in such a milieu a man of character or determined action cannot exist."²⁷ It seems that Carlo Rosselli agreed with her. Part of his attraction to Marion came precisely from his conviction that she would be the perfect companion for a life of political engagement, and he broke his promise to his mother. The two lovers were married in June 1926 and chose to settle in Milan where some antifascist activity still seemed possible. With his wife's full approval Carlo decided from then on to dedicate his fortune to the antifascist struggle.²⁸ They both resigned their university positions and became full-time antifascist activists. For a few months the Rossellis's apartment in Milan became the busy meeting point of all those who were trying to rebuild some form of organized democratic socialist opposition.²⁹

These attempts, however, were seriously hampered by the new set of super-fascist laws of November 1926 that made opposition a crime punishable by political banishment (the *confino* or domestic exile). A new wave of violence followed. In Milan, the black-shirt squads targeted the well-known Socialists, rampaging their flats and openly threatening their lives.³⁰ Carlo Rosselli was convinced that exile was the only escape for the most exposed opposition leaders. He helped the Socialists Piero Nenni, Claudio Treves, and Giuseppe Saragat cross the border to France by land, but his feat was the organization of the escape of the father of Italian Socialism, Filippo Turati, whom he whisked away from his Milan apartment right under the nose of the police. With the help of Sandro Pertini and Ferruccio Parri, Turati was transported to France on a motorboat. Rosselli and Parri were arrested on their return to Italy.³¹

Marion Rosselli, who was pregnant with her first child, participated only indirectly in the organization of Turati's escape, but now found herself on the frontline as she tried to obtain the release of Carlo and to secure an adequate defense for him. She was under constant surveillance by the fascist police whose reports testified to her pugnacity. "[Rosselli's] wife is desperate and she won't easily resign herself to his arrest," an agent informed Rome. "She is English, a strong woman, courageous and hysterical, and

therefore she is deemed very dangerous, as much and maybe more than her husband."³² In the months that followed she worked days and nights to plan the defense of the prisoners and keep their friends at home and abroad informed and mobilized, while she also managed the couple's practical and financial matters and gave birth to their son John (Giovanni) in Florence on June 8, 1927, under the close surveillance of the police. She relocated near Savona as soon as she could to be closer to Carlo, who met his son in early July through the bars of the prison.³³

Marion Rosselli agreed that the Savona trial had all the elements of a "sublime drama . . . worthy of the pen of Victor Hugo," as her husband wrote to a friend. Parri and Carlo Rosselli opted for a political defense and became the accusers of the regime. For days, they expounded the crimes of the dictatorship, calling upon the values of the Risorgimento and proving through their very actions that it was possible not to yield to the arbitrary force of the fascist state.³⁴ After the tense and anxious months that preceded the trial, Marion immersed herself into the passionate atmosphere of the courtroom, reassured by the powerful and dignified defense of the accused and the solidarity expressed by the crowd inside the tribunal and in the street. "At noon yesterday . . . a stranger came up to me," she wrote to her mother-in-law. "He asked me if I was Mrs. Rosselli. He was wearing the medal of military valor. 'Allow me to convey to you the deep admiration your husband's attitude has aroused in the soul of all gentlemen.'"³⁵ "All of Savona, except the judge, is on our side" she wrote to a friend.³⁶

When the light sentence was announced the audience burst into wild applause, storming the prisoners' cage to embrace them, congratulating the lawyers before rushing into the street to shout their enthusiasm.³⁷ In this feverish atmosphere Marion and her friends were overly optimistic about the possible impact of the trial on the country. It had little impact however, except to convince the authorities to try their opponents from now on in a closed courtroom. In the meantime, Carlo Rosselli, who had been condemned to ten months imprisonment, had three months to complete his sentence to which was added five years of *confino*—which only required an administrative decision.³⁸ In January 1928, Marion and her baby son joined Carlo on the prison island of Lipari, from which they immediately planned to escape.

Women's Antifascist Networks in Great Britain

By the end of the 1920s, Marion Cave Rosselli was a seasoned antifascist activist who had experienced the whole gamut of opposition activities: legal debates, semi-legal demonstrations, clandestine work, and now conspiracy to flee. The English women who came to her rescue did not have the same

direct experience of fascism, but they were veterans of other battles, first and foremost the suffrage movement. Most of them shared her passion for Italy and, like her they belonged to a small educated elite and were politically committed. But because of the return to more traditional gender relations after the war, these women remained outsiders, cut off from the political and intellectual spheres of power. Yet their accumulated experience of intervention in the public sphere led them to develop new forms of action to address the problems that emerged after the war and that affected women directly. Through their family history, their education, or their political experience, most of them were already embedded in cross-border political and cultural networks, and they were among the first to try to warn British public opinion about the nature of the Mussolini regime, alerted both by its militaristic tendencies and its treatment of women. To this effect they set up different networks which worked together in support of the victims of Italian fascism.³⁹

The more openly political network was animated by Sylvia Pankhurst, from the famous suffragette family. After the First World War she embraced the cause of the Russian Revolution and established many contacts with some of the most radical political groups in Europe, particularly in Italy, a country she knew well because she had studied art in Venice at the beginning of the century. She visited the peninsula in 1919, when she attended the Socialist Party Congress in Bologna and met Antonio Gramsci and the *Ordine Nuovo* (New Order) group in Turin. Her companion, Silvio Corio, had come to England to join Errico Malatesta, the exiled Italian anarchist. Pankhurst was the first to alert public opinion about Italian fascism and to try to rally the support of the British Left at the time of the assassination of the opposition MP Giacomo Matteotti in June 1924. On the first anniversary of Matteotti's murder, she called a meeting at St James Hall in Soho, which a number of prominent figures from the Labour Left and the Independent Labour Party, such as Fenner Brockway, George Lansbury, Charles P. Trevelyan, and James Maxton, attended.⁴⁰ In the following years, until the Abyssinian War and the Second World War, she fought tirelessly against fascism and became an important figure who operated as an interface between different groups: the feminists, the pacifists, the Labour Left, and the Italian exiled antifascists in France and in England.

A second antifascist network emerged out of social Catholicism and found its inspiration in the figure of Don Luigi Sturzo, a priest who founded the Popular Party in Italy after WWI and who was silenced and sent into exile by the Vatican for his opposition to the Fascist regime.⁴¹ While settling in England, Sturzo also had strong links with the Christian democratic movement in Paris and travelled regularly between the two countries. Other

central figures in this network were two women, the journalists Virginia Crawford and Barbara Barclay Carter.

Early in her adult life Virginia Crawford was party to a tumultuous divorce case involving the prominent politician Sir Charles Dilke. After living for some time in Italy she returned to England and converted to Catholicism in 1889. She then pursued a prolific career as a journalist, social worker, activist in the Catholic suffrage movement, and a Labour borough councilor for Marylebone.⁴² Through Sturzo she became closely associated with the antifascist exile Gaetano Salvemini. Her main contribution to the antifascist struggle was the creation of Friends of Italian Freedom, a loose association that offered a meeting point to the different groups and individuals determined to fight Italian fascism. She also launched the monthly magazine *Italy Today*, which from 1928 to 1932 published a great number of texts written by prominent exiled antifascists and British intellectuals and served as a forum for debates about Mussolini's regime.⁴³

Barbara Barclay Carter was born in 1900 in the United States to an American father and an Anglo-Irish mother. After losing her father she was raised by her mother in England. In the postwar period she worked for three years as a secretary at the International Labor Office in Geneva and the Irish Legation in Rome. She converted to Catholicism in 1921 and moved to Paris to study medieval history, art history, and French and Italian literature at the Sorbonne, as well as scholastic philosophy the Catholic University in Paris. Through her French Catholic contacts she became acquainted with Don Sturzo and when she returned to England in 1924 she worked as his translator and eventually shared a house with him and a female friend. She also wrote regularly for the *Manchester Guardian* and was the only foreign journalist to attend the Savona trial in 1927.⁴⁴

There was a third transnational network we could call "humanitarian," whose main purpose was to offer material support to the antifascists by sending money and other resources to the Italian exiles in Belgium and France who often faced great hardship. The main figure in this network was Ivy Marion Enthoven—later Rawson. She graduated from Bedford College with a degree in Italian studies and was related to one of the numerous Anglo-Florentine families who, since the middle of the nineteenth century, had contributed to building a close relationship between the capital of Tuscany and England. These family connections allowed her to travel with relative ease between England and Italy, and she became one of the regular couriers of the democratic antifascist groups in the late twenties and early thirties.⁴⁵ She was also Virginia Crawford's niece and in spring 1927 she created the Italian Refugees Relief Committee that worked closely with the *Comité de Secours aux Réfugiés Politiques Italiens* (Italian Political

Refugees Relief Committee) in Paris.⁴⁶ The committee brought together different personalities such as Alys Russell—then wife of the philosopher Bertrand Russell—Helena Swanwick a journalist and former suffragette who was the editor of the pacifist journal *Foreign Affairs*, W.S. Kennedy, a lawyer associated with the Labour Party, academics such as Ernest Barker and C. Delisle Burns, and journalists such as Wickham Steed, formerly of the *Times* and then editor of the *Review of Reviews*. Virginia Crawford and Barbara Barclay Carter also participated.⁴⁷

There were a number of other women who collaborated with the three networks and the Italian exiles. Isabella Massey taught German at Bedford College but was also fluent in Italian and very close to Gaetano Salvemini whose writings she translated into English. Marie-Louise Peacop was a French teacher who was willing and able to travel regularly to the continent as a courier. Bertha Pritchard belonged to an older generation. Born to a Russian Jewish family, she married a German social-democrat and, in Berlin, before the war, she met Guglielmo Ferrero, a historian who taught at the University of Florence. Immediately after the war, she spent one year in Florence where, through Ferrero, she met Salvemini and became very close to Carlo Rosselli. She then moved to England and became an important antifascist activist who worked closely with Gaetano Salvemini and Luigi Sturzo.⁴⁸

Marion Rosselli had met a number of these women. She knew Isabella Massey and Mari-Lou Peacop from Bedford College, and maintained close contact with her former Italian teacher, Emma Dobelli, who also gave her support. In Florence, she met Bertha Pritchard and Marion Enthoven who worked for six months as a secretary at the British Institute in 1925. She met Barbara Barclay Carter in the feverish days of the Savona trial when she presented her as a cousin to allow her to enter the courtroom, which was barred to foreign journalists.⁴⁹

Carter's articles in the *Manchester Guardian* about the Savona trial played an important role in informing British public opinion about the iniquities of the Mussolini regime.⁵⁰ Indeed, accurate information about the Mussolini regime was crucial to the development of the campaigns of solidarity with the victims of fascism. As the founding statement of *Friends of Italian Freedom* noted: "[In Britain] Fascism has given rise to a profusion of published matter, much of it ill-informed or even wholly misleading."⁵¹ A first task for the antifascist networks was therefore one of counter-information. In the late twenties the official discourse in England was quite supportive of Mussolini who had domesticated the rebellious Italian workers and was seen as a bulwark against bolshevism in Europe. The press magnates Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook were strong supporters of Mussolini. In Rome in 1927, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer Winston Churchill

had made a speech full of praise for *Il Duce* and confessed to his audience that had he been Italian, he too would have joined the black-shirts to fight "the bestial passions and appetites of Leninism." A number of Italophile intellectuals also saluted the "genius" of Mussolini who had taught Italy how to govern itself.⁵² At first the Labour leaders had been uncertain in their attitude toward the new regime. While they had been shocked by the murder of Matteotti, they saw Mussolini's victory as a warning against radicalism, and after the failure of the 1926 general strike in Britain they adopted a very moderate critical stance towards the fascist dictatorship.⁵³ On the whole, fascism was presented as a good solution for such an unruly country as Italy, and as the various British governments' main concern was the preservation of a favorable balance of power in Europe; none would risk alienating Mussolini with too sharp criticisms of his methods.⁵⁴

The antifascist networks were also confronted with a more direct source of pro-fascist propaganda from Italian or British intellectuals who enthusiastically supported the new regime. The *fascio* (the grassroots structure of the National Fascist Party) of London was created in June 1921 by two Italian professors from University College, Antonio Cippico and Camillo Pellizzi, who established many valuable contacts within the most influential clubs and were often the guests of honor in aristocratic salons. Pellizzi was often invited by the British-Italian League, a "profascist lair" according to Marion Enthoven, to give public talks in support of the regime.⁵⁵ From 1926, one of the main fascist propagandists in Britain was Luigi Villari who had convinced Mussolini to send him to London in order to counter the "poisonous antifascist campaign" waged by Italian exiles. He carried out this mission very efficiently from 1926 to 1934, inundating the press with articles and letters to the editors, publishing several books, establishing many contacts within the different clubs and reviews, and exploiting the intellectual prestige of his father, the famous historian Pasquale Villari, and the family connections of his English mother, the writer and translator Linda White.⁵⁶ Fluent in English, with many influential acquaintances, he was able to undermine the legitimacy of the testimony of antifascists as prestigious as Luigi Sturzo and Gaetano Salvemini. Marion Enthoven was desperate to refute his assertions and in order to counter his action she asked one of her Italian friends, Zanotti Bianco, to send very precise facts about the repression in fascist Italy. "We need all the facts (names, etc . . .) that you can gather. Otherwise we are powerless against the fascist propaganda, in particular against Villari who has a lot of influence here and always says: 'This is not true . . . It comes from Communist sources.'"⁵⁷

Another influential pro-fascist propagandist was Harold Goad who had participated in the creation of the London *fascio* in 1921 when he was teaching Italian at the University of London. In 1922, he was appointed director

of the British Institute in Florence—becoming Marion Cave’s superior. Like Villari, he had many contacts with influential conservative circles such as Chatham House, and his writings about the corporate state were considered “particularly suited” for an Anglo-Saxon readership by the Mussolini propaganda machine. In addition, he was also in a position to mobilize the still important English community of Florence to “testify” to the beneficial effects of the regime on Italian society and thereby refute the criticisms of the dictatorship that occasionally found their way into the British press.⁵⁸ To counter such pro-fascist propaganda, direct testimonies from the victims of the dictatorship were essential and the “flight from Lipari” offered the antifascist networks a remarkable opportunity to broaden their appeal.

The Flight from Lipari and Marion Rosselli’s Arrest

In their accounts of the flight from Lipari, the antifascist activists Emilio Lussu and Alberto Tarquiani made a similar remark. Carlo Rosselli had three assets that made it possible to envisage a successful outcome: a furious desire to escape, the financial means necessary to carry out the enterprise, and an English wife.⁵⁹ For both Lussu and Tarquiani, this meant that Marion would have an adventurous mind and would immediately approve their plan. And they were right, as Emilio Lussu recalled, “[Marion Rosselli] was immediately admitted to the ‘club.’ For an English woman, a flight in the Mediterranean is like a bath in a tub for one of us. She was determined to escape with her husband. But because of her baby, whom she did not want to leave to the care of others and who would have exposed us to great risks, we managed to dissuade her.” But she became very directly involved in the organization of the escape. Again, according to Lussu and Tarquiani, her role was essential because she had a British passport and could travel freely between the island, Milan, Paris, and London.⁶⁰ But this was not so. Indeed, under British and European law at the time, any woman who married a foreigner automatically lost her original nationality. Being an Italian citizen, Marion had to ask for a passport to travel abroad but she did not receive one before July 1928.⁶¹ In the first six months of 1928 she could only travel to Florence and Milan, where she met regularly with Isabella Massey, Marion Enthoven, or Mari-Lou Peacop who then transferred the relevant information she gave them to Tarquiani in Paris and Salvemini in London. She trained them in the use of sympathetic ink and established a code that used ordinary books and newspapers to communicate with the islanders. The young British women also helped to transfer Carlo’s fortune to Switzerland and London.⁶²

Having received her passport, in early July 1928 Marion Rosselli left for England where she remained for six months in order to hasten the prepara-

tions with Tarquiani in Paris. For obvious reasons, she had to keep a low profile so the young English women were again mobilized to take care of different administrative procedures in France linked to the acquisition of a boat and various permits. This first attempt failed, but before returning to Lipari at the end of the year, Marion Rosselli had taken advantage of her long stay to multiply her contacts with the antifascist networks and the British intellectuals close to Salvemini and Sturzo. These groups would launch a powerful protest campaign after her arrest and that of Carlo's brother, Nello, following the successful escape of Rosselli, Lussu, and Nitti in July 1929.⁶³

The three prisoners' heroic escape made the headlines in the British press and they were invited to tell their story which, beyond its romantic appeal, granted credibility to the denunciation of the crimes of the fascist dictatorship.⁶⁴ But Marion Rosselli's arrest had an equal impact and even made the front page of the popular press because for many, the fact that Mussolini had attacked an "English woman" was better proof of the unfairness of his regime than the repression of Italian antifascists.⁶⁵ Marion Rosselli herself could measure the impact of this campaign in the dozens of letters she received daily from total strangers.⁶⁶ Apart from the campaign of the antifascist networks, an explanation for the extent of the activity for Marion Rosselli's liberation is to be found in the mobilization of a number of feminist groups that, since the First World War, had been fighting for a repeal of the law on the nationality of married women. The International Federation of University Women organized a conference a few weeks earlier in Geneva in order to put pressure on the Society of Nations which was to convene the first conference for the alignment of international laws at The Hague the following year.⁶⁷ Often overlapping with the antifascist networks, these groups increased their campaign in the press and their pressure on the Italian Embassy and the Foreign Office, until Marion Cave was liberated and granted a passport to leave Italy in early September. Apart from its antifascist dimension, the "Rosselli Case" was here mobilized to support a campaign for the equal treatment of men and women in international law, an issue that would become more urgent with the rise of Nazism and the approach of the Second World War.

Besides this very public campaign, the women foot soldiers of the antifascist networks were also engaged in more discreet action. No sooner had they arrived in Paris than Carlo Rosselli and his friends decided to set up a new organization, *Giustizia e Libertà* (Justice and Freedom), whose main focus would be action against the regime in Italy, hence the importance of consulting their friends there. To this end, Marion Enthoven travelled to Italy at the end of August—Milan, Genoa, and Florence—to transmit the proposed political platform to Italian activists.⁶⁸ The three networks were also very active in promoting Carlo Roselli's first tour of conferences in

England in the fall of 1929. Besides addressing several clubs and university audiences, he met with the various women engaged in the antifascist campaign as he wrote to his wife: "Marion Enthoven organized a meeting at the 1917 Club for me, close to the Labour Party, and tonight a meeting with Virginia Crawford in order to meet the members of her committee." "Today, tea at the *Italian Friends*, where I met Don Sturzo and Miss Peacop. Dinner at the good old Pritchard's."⁶⁹

The Women's International Matteotti Committee

Apart from Marion Rosselli's personal fate the campaign for her release was important on two counts. On the one hand it allowed the antifascist networks to bring to the attention of a large public the reality of oppression under the fascist regime and, on the other, it demonstrated that it was possible to force the regime to yield to international pressure. This could only boost the action of the antifascist networks, as illustrated by the campaign to free Nello Rosselli who had also been arrested and sent to the prison island of Ponza in July 1929.⁷⁰ Thanks to this campaign Marion Rosselli also gained a certain degree of recognition that she used in the following years to attract the attention of the British press about the repression to which the activists of *Giustizia e Libertà* in Italy had been subjected.⁷¹

Her reputation was also useful when she joined forces with the tireless Sylvia Pankhurst, in the summer of 1932, to create an international women's committee to support Velia Matteotti, the widow of the slain Socialist leader. Carlo Rosselli alerted Silvio Corio and Sylvia Pankhurst to the constant harassment of Velia Matteotti and her children who were virtually under house arrest in Rome, but according to Richard Pankhurst, it was Marion who worked most tirelessly on this campaign. An international network of feminist, pacifist, and human rights activists engaged in struggles against political oppression mobilized women from England, Ireland, the United States, Holland, and France. This campaign was led by women in favor of a woman, and Marion Rosselli—who had herself been put under house arrest with her baby son by Mussolini—once again used her testimony to alert British and international public opinion.⁷² Sylvia Pankhurst also used her testimony in a long essay about "women under fascism" published later on in the *Hibbert Journal*. A long list of signatures was collected among the feminist, pacifist, and left circles on a petition asking the Foreign Office and the British Embassy in Rome to receive a delegation and hear Velia Matteotti's case. After some reflection, the Foreign Office flatly refused, because the MacDonald government was at the time more concerned about maintaining good diplomatic relations with Mussolini.⁷³ It is not easy to

measure the immediate impact of the committee for its members learned in 1933 that the persecution of Velia Matteotti had ceased after she had come under the protection of the Catholic Church. Yet this campaign kept the transnational women's antifascist networks on alert and allowed them to broaden their domestic and continental connections, which would soon be mobilized against Hitler, who came to power in Germany later that year.⁷⁴

Conclusion

The dual purpose of this article was to identify the specific contributions of women to the antifascist struggle and to highlight the inherently transnational nature of their action. As the experience of Marion Cave Rosselli and her British friends illustrates, the many women who opposed fascism from the start devised news forms of actions, raising issues that were not always tackled by traditional political parties, and reaching audiences that were not addressed by them. In so doing, they had to carve their own public space, focusing on civil society rather than just the political sphere, and setting up organizations that in many ways piggybacked on already existing political, social, and personal networks. Just as the women involved mobilized concerns and experiences born out of previous battles in the struggle against Mussolini, their international connections established through family, education, work, or previous political campaigns proved instrumental in the development of a cross-border movement of solidarity with the victims of the fascist dictatorship. In that sense Marion Cave Rosselli and the women who came to her rescue were very directly involved in the building of the transnational political space that was essential to the emergence of what the historian Gerd-Rainer Horn has called an "antifascist transnational consciousness" in Europe.⁷⁵

NOTES

¹Letter from the Italian Ambassador in London to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome, August 18, 1929, Confino politico, b. 883, fasc. personali, Rosselli, Marion, Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Rome.

²Letter from the Italian Ambassador, August 18, 1929. The Socialist MP Giacomo Matteotti, leader of the Opposition in Parliament, was kidnapped in June 1924 and found dead a few weeks later. See Adrian Lyttleton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919–1929* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004), 237–268.

³Telegrams from the prefect of Messina, July 29, July 30, 1929; telegrams from the prefect of Aosta, July 31, August 1st, 1929, Confino politico, b. 883, fasc. personali, Rosselli, Marion, ACS, Rome.

⁴Patrizia Gabrielli, *Tempio di virilità. L'antifascismo, il genere, la storia* (Milan, Franco Angeli: 2008), 8–21. See also Patrizia Gabrielli, *Col freddo nel cuore. Uomini e donne nell'emigrazione antifascista* (Rome: Donzelli, 2004). For antifascist women in Italy, see Giovanni De Luna, *Donne in oggetto. L'antifascismo nella società italiana (1922–1939)* (Turin, Bollati Boringhieri: 1995) and Patrizia Gabrielli, *Fenicotteri in volo. Donne comuniste nel ventennio fascista* (Rome: Carocci, 1999). For recent attempts to fill this void for the story of antifascism in exile, see Sara Galli, *Le tre sorelle Seidenfeld. Donne nell'emigrazione politica antifascista* (Florence: Giunti, 2005); Anne Morelli, ed, *Femmes exilées politiques. Exhumer leur histoire* (Bruxelles, Sextant: 2009).

⁵Julie V. Gottlieb, "Women and British Fascism Revisited: Gender, the Far-Right, and Resistance," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 108–123, 120–121.

⁶Gottlieb, "Women and British Fascism Revisited," 120–121; Gabrielli, *Tempio di virilità*, 29–35.

⁷Antoinette Burton, "Finding Women in the Archive," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 1 (2008), 149–50. There are many rarely used archival resources concerning Marion Cave Rosselli. For this article I have used her two personal files in the State Archives in Rome, one from the political police (Casellario politico centrale) and one from the administration of the "confino." There are also many documents in the Archives of Giustizia e Libertà kept at the Istituto per la storia della resistenza in Toscana and in the Ernesto Rossi Archives at the European University Institute in Florence. In addition to the several published volumes of the Rosselli family correspondence, I have also searched the papers of a number of antifascists Marion Rosselli was involved with, in particular Gaetano Salvemini, Max Ascoli, and Don Luigi Sturzo.

⁸Glenda Sluga, "Fascism and Antifascism," in Akira Iriye & Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 390; Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005), 421–439, 422.

⁹Letter from John Rosselli to Aldo Garosci, 14 Aug. 1971, Aldo Garosci Papers, CAG 63, b. 915, ISTORETO, Turin; *St Paul's Girls' School Book, 1904–1915*, London, 1925; Marion Cave's registration file, Bedford College Archives; *Bedford College Magazine* 91 (July 1917), 5–6; 94 (Jan. 1919), 32.

¹⁰Letter from Marion to Carlo Rosselli, 29 November 1929, in Carlo Rosselli, *Dall'esilio. Lettere alla moglie 1929–1937* (Florence: Passigli, 1997), 43–44.

¹¹British-Italian League, *Pamphlet n. 1*, (London, 1917); "Scholarship for Italian," *The Times*, 15 August, 1918, 3.

¹²Marion Rosselli, Speech to the Larchmont, NY, Rotary Club, June 1944, in Paolo Bagnoli, *Una famiglia nella lotta. Carlo, Nello, Amelia e Marion Rosselli: dalle carte dell'archivio dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Toscana* (Florence: Polistampa, 2007), 123.

¹³John Rosselli, Letter to Aldo Garosci, 14 August 1971; <http://ourhistory-hayes.blogspot.com/2009/05leonard-spencer-and-uxbridge.html> (accessed on

31 August 2010); Casello Politico Centrale (CPC), b. 1205, note dated 2 February 1929 from the Foreign Affairs Ministry to the Interior Ministry, ACS, Rome.

¹⁴Preface by John Rosselli to the first Italian edition of Carlo Rosselli, *Socialismo Liberale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979).

¹⁵Umberto Calosso, MP for the PSDI, Camera dei Deputati, Seduta del 22 ottobre 1949, *Atti Parlamentari*, p. 12679.

¹⁶Marion Rosselli, Speech at the Larchmont Rotary Club, June 1944, Bagnoli, *Una famiglia nella lotta*, 126–27; Frank M. Snowden, *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 146–58; Alberto Marcolin, *Firenze in camicia nera* (Florence: Edizione Medicea, 1994), 15–19.

¹⁷Sergio Bucchi, "Gaetano Salvemini: la vita e le opera," in Mirko Grasso, ed., *Gaetano Salvemini. L'uomo, lo storico* (Calimera, Puglia: Kurumuny, 2008), 31–35; Gaetano Quagliariello, *Gaetano Salvemini* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007), 61–68; Gaetano Salvemini, "Marion Rosselli," *Il Ponte* (Nov. 1949), 1440.

¹⁸Carlo Francovich, "Il Circolo di Cultura: l'ultima espressione di vita democratica a Firenze" *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1991), 80–84; Enzo Ronconi, "Antifascismo borghese, 1922–30," *Italia Contemporanea* (Sept. 1980), 19–38.

¹⁹Giuseppe Fiori, *Casa Rosselli* (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), 39–40.

²⁰Aldo Garosci, *Vita di Carlo Rosselli*, 42–43; Gaspare De Caro, *Gaetano Salvemini* (Turin: UTET, 1970), 326–35; Charles Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini: A Biography* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 189–90; on the impact of the assassination of Matteotti on the opposition, see Stefano Caretti, *Il delitto Matteotti: storia e memoria* (Manduria: P. Lacaita, 2004)

²¹Ernesto Rossi, "L'Italia Libera," in *No al Fascismo*, ed. Ernesto Rossi (Turin: Einaudi, 1957), 25–48; Gaetano Salvemini "Memorie di un fuoruscito," in *Scritti Vari*, Giorgio Agosti, Alessadro Galante, eds. (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1978), 583–86.

²²Ernesto Rossi, *Un democratico ribelle*, (Parma: Guanda, 1975), 69; Ronconi, "Antifascismo borghese 1922–30," 25.

²³Piero Calamandrei, "Il manganello, la cultura e la giustizia," in Gaetano Salvemini, Piero Calamandrei, Ernesto Rossi, eds., *Non Mollare* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1955), 70–79; Marcolin, *Firenze in Camicia Nera*, 46–49; Mauro Canali, "The Matteotti Murder and the Origins of Mussolini's Totalitarian Fascist Régime in Italy," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 14, no. 2 (June 2009), 143–167.

²⁴Garosci, *Vita di Carlo Rosselli*, 55; Ernesto Rossi, "il Non Mollare," *Il Ponte* I, 6 (Sept. 1945) 529–30; Carlo Francovich, "Profilo dell'antifascismo militante toscano" in *La Toscana nel regime fascista* (Florence: L. Olschki, 1973), 94.

²⁵Gaetano Salvemini, "Memorie di un fuoruscito," 587–94; Killinger, *Gaetano Salvemini*, 192–94; Lidia Minervini, "Amico e maestro. Ricordi di Salvemini," *Il Mondo* (22 Sept. 1957), 11–12.

²⁶Letters from Marion Rosselli to Gaetano Salvemini, November 7, November 26, December 6, December 22, 1925, in Gaetano Salvemini, *Carteggio 1921–1926* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1985), 477, 496, 515–16, 525.

²⁷Letter from Marion Rosselli to Gaetano Salvemini, 4 November 1925, in Gaetano Salvemini, *Carteggio*, 476–77.

²⁸Letter from Carlo to Giorgina Zabban, 25 December 1927, AGS, ISRT, Florence. Fiori, *Casa Rosselli*, 70–71.

²⁹Amelia Rosselli, *Memorie* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001) 198–99; Maurizio Punzo, “L’antifascismo milanese,” in Giorgio Rumi, Virgilio Vercelloni, Alberto Cova, eds., *Milano durante il fascismo, 1922–1945* (Milan: Carilpo, 1994), 78–79; Paolo Treves, *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini* (Maduria: Piero Lacaïta, 1996), 53.

³⁰Pietro Nenni, *Six ans de guerre civile* (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1930), 211; Ricardo Bauer, *Quello che ho fatto. Trent’anni di lotte e ricordi* (Milan-Rome: Carilpo, Laterza, 1987) 55–56.

³¹Stanislao Pugliese, *Carlo Rosselli: Socialist Heretic and Antifascist Exile* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 79–84; Alberto Schiavi, *Vita e morte di Filippo Turati* (Rome: Opere Nuove, 1956), 20–28; Bauer, *Quello che ho fatto*, 56–60.

³²Message to the Divisione Affari Generali Riservati, 18 January 1927, CPC, b. 1205, Cave Marion in Rosselli, ACS, Rome; Garosci, *Vita di Carlo Rosselli*, vol. I, 94–96.

³³Marion Rosselli’s testimony in *Le procès De Rosa. Dépositions, plaidoiries et jugement* (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1930), 75–76.

³⁴Letter from Carlo Rosselli to Umberto Zanotti-Bianco, *Il Ponte*, III, 6 (June 1947), 521–22.

³⁵Treves, *Quello che ci ha fatto Mussolini*, 105–6; Letter from Marion to Amelia Rosselli, 12 September 1927, AGL, Marion Rosselli’s Letters, ISRT, Florence; Barbara Barclay Carter, “Il processo di Savona,” in Vico Fagi (ed.) *Il Processo di Savona* (Genoa: Edizione del Teatro Stabile, 1965), 114–15.

³⁶Letter from Marion Rosselli to G. Zabban, 21 September 1927, AGL, Marion Rosselli’s Letters, ISRT, Florence.

³⁷Carlo Rosselli to Zanotti Bianco; “Savona Trial,” *Manchester Guardian*, 28 September 1927.

³⁸Fiori, *Casa Rosselli*, 83.

³⁹Jones, *Women in British Public Life*, 115–16; Johanna Alberti, “British Feminists and Antifascism in the 1930s,” in Sybil Olfield, ed., *The Working-Day World: Women’s Lives and Culture(s) in Britain, 1914–1945* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 111–122; Jones, *Women in British Public Life*, 101.

⁴⁰Patricia V. Romero, *E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Portrait of a Radical* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 124–161; Luigi Sponza, *Divided Loyalties. Italians in Britain During the Second World War* (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 37; Alfio Bernabei,

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⁴²Robin M. Gard, “Crawford, Virginia Mary (1862–1948),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38881>, (accessed on 17 August 2010); Gabriele De Rosa, *Luigi Sturzo* (Turin: UTET, 1977), 266–268; Elaine Clark, “Catholics and the Campaign for Women’s Suffrage in England”, *Church History* 73, no. 3 (2004), 635–665; Wolfram Kaiser, Helmut Wohnout, *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1945* (London: Routledge, 2004), 270–271; Virginia Crawford’s Draft statement about the magazine *Italy Today*, Luigi Sturzo Papers, f 307/1 c 6.

⁴³Barbara Barclay Carter, “Virginia Crawford,” *People and Freedom*, 108 (1948), 1.

⁴⁴“Barbara Barclay Carter” <http://www.catholicauthors.com/carter.html>; Conrad Bonacina, “Barbara Barclay Carter,” *People and Freedom*, 124 (1951), 1–3; on the curious “ménage à trois” see G. Farrell-Vinay, “Sturzo e l’Inghilterra” in *Universalità e cultura nel pensiero di Luigi Sturzo*, Atto del Convegno Internazionale, 28–30 Nov. 1999 (Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2001), 181–223.

⁴⁵T.P. Wiseman, “Elizabeth Donata Rawson, 1934–1988,” *Proceedings of the British Academy*, (1993), 447–451; Letter from Marion Enthoven to Carlo Rosselli, August 1929, Marion Rosselli papers, AGL, ISRT, Florence.

⁴⁶“Italian Refugees,” *Manchester Guardian* (May 11, 1927); “Italian Political Refugees,” Letter to the Editor, *Manchester Guardian* (May 11, 1927); Vittorio Gabrielli, “Marion Rawson,” *La Cultura*, 18, no. 2 (Apr.–Sept. 1980), 305.

⁴⁷Marion Enthoven, Letter to Umberto Zanotti Bianco, 3 April 1927, in Umberto Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio 1919–1928* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1989), 653–654. The archives of the Italian Refugees Relief Committee are at Reading University Library, MS 943.

⁴⁸She was Luigi Sturzo’s literary agent. Autobiographical manuscript, Bertha Pritchard Papers, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam; Luigi Sturzo Papers, f. 463, 62; Isabella Mellis Massey File, Bedford College Archives, D 544.

⁴⁹Letter from Marion Rosselli to Don Sturzo, 23 August 1945, f. 664, 60, Luigi Sturzo Papers, Rome.

⁵⁰“Sentences on Turati’s Accomplices,” *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1927; “Savona Trial,” *Manchester Guardian*, 28 September 1927.

⁵¹See Virginia Crawford's Draft statement about the magazine, Luigi Sturzo Papers, f307/1 c 6.

⁵²"Mr. Churchill on Fascism," *The Times*, 21 January 1927; Aldo Berselli, *L'opinione pubblica inglese e l'avvento del fascismo, 1919-1925* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1971), 93; J.B. Bosworth, "The British Press, the Conservatives, and Mussolini, 1920-34," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2 (1970), 171.

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⁵⁵Claudia Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism. Italian Fascists and Britain Italians in the 1930s* (Oxford: Berg, 2003) 12; Roselli Roberto Suzzi Valli, "Il fascio italiano a Londra. L'attività di Camillio Pellizzi," *Storia Contemporanea*, 26, 6 (Dec. 1995), 957-68; Marion Enthoven, Letter to Zanotti Bianco, 3 April 1927, in Umberto Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio 1919-1928*, 652-653.

⁵⁶Baldoli, *Exporting Fascism*, 10 ; Luigi Villari, "Missione di Luigi Villari a Londra, 1926-34," *Minculpop, Nuclei di Propaganda Italiana all'Estero* (NUPIE), b. 37, f. 193, ACS, Rome. His first book in English was *The Fascist Experiment*, (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926).

⁵⁷Zanotti Bianco, *Carteggio*, 652-53. Umberto Zanotti Bianco was a close friend of Salvemini's.

⁵⁸"Harold Goad," *Minculpop, NUPIE*, b. 37, f. 36, ACS, Rome; Harold Goad, *What is Fascism?* (Florence: Italian Mail and Tribune, 1929) 5 editions; Harold Goad & Muriel Curey, *The Working of a Corporate State* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1933); Richard Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right* (London: Constable, 1980), 16-17; Stephen Dorril, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London: Penguin, 2006), 257-59; Barbara Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain* (New York: Garland, 1987), 76-78.

⁵⁹Emilio Lussu, *Marcia su Roma e dintorni* (Rome: Einaudi, 1945), 196; Alberto Tarchiani, "L'impresa di Lipari," in Ernesto Rossi, ed., *No al fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1957), 80-89.

⁶⁰Lussu, *Marcia su Roma*, 196.

⁶¹Paul Ward, *Britishness Since 1870* (London: Routledge, 2004), 41; Letter from Marion Rosselli to her sister Pat Lewis from Lipari, 25 March 1928, Confinati, b. 833, fasc. Rosselli, Carlo, ACS, Rome.

⁶²Marion Rosselli's speech at the Rotary Club, Larchmont, June 1944, 132-134; Riccardo Bauer, "Carlo Rosselli e la nascita di Giustizia e Libertà in Italia," in *Giustizia*

e Libertà nella lotta antifascista e nella storia d'Italia (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), 11; Bauer, *Quello che ho fatto*, 79–80.

⁶³Tarchiani, "L'impresa di Lipari," 71–126; Luca di Vito, Michele Gialdroni, *Lipari 1929. Fuga dal confino* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2009); Letter from Marion Rosselli to Marion Enthoven, 14 August 1928; Letters from Mari-Lou Peacop to Marion Enthoven, 15 November 1928 and 21 November 1928; Marion Enthoven's memoirs, Marion Rawson Papers, MS 1244, RUL.

⁶⁴"Mussolini's Island Prisoners. Escape of Three Anti-Fascists," *Manchester Guardian*, 9 August 1929; "Professor Rosselli's Escape," *The Times*, 14 August 1929; "Exiled Anti-Fascists Arrive in Paris," *Daily Herald*, 7 August 1929; "Mussolini's Exiles. Nightmare Life on Island. Ordeal of Men who Escaped," *Daily News*, 8 August 1929; "Amazing Escape From Island Prison. Exploit of Three Monte Cristos," *Daily Chronicle*, 8 August 1929; "Prisoners of Fascists. How they are treated. Prof. Rosselli's Account," *Manchester Guardian*, 4 December 1929;

⁶⁵"Professor Rosselli's Escape. Wife and Brother Arrested", *The Times*, 11 August 1929; "Fascist Victim's English Wife. 'Unpleasant' Treatment in Italy," *Daily Herald*, 10 August 1929; "Anti-fascist's English Wife. 'Unpleasantness' in Italy," *Daily News*, 10 August 1929; "Escape of Anti-fascists. Italian Reprisals. English Wife Cast Into Cell," *Manchester Guardian*, 14 August 1929; "Arrest of an English Wife. Fascists Avenge the Escape of Rosselli," *Daily News*, 14 August 1929; "Fascists Arrest an English Woman. Professor's Wife as Hostage," *Daily Express*, 14 August 1929; "English Girl-Wife as a Hostage. Husband's Escape From Italian Prison Island. Appeal of Father," *Evening News* 14 août 1929; "The Rosselli Case," *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1929 (editorial); "The Rosselli Case" *The Times*, 17 August 1929; "An Englishwoman in Italy. Signora Rosselli's Plight. Father's Reply to Denial of Arrest," *Manchester Guardian*, 17 August 1929; "Signora Rosselli Liberated. Telegram to Her Father. Official Denials Disproved," *Manchester Guardian*, 19 August 1929; "Signora Rosselli: Passport to Leave Italy Secured," *Manchester Guardian*, 5 September 1929; "Englishwoman's Ordeal. Father's Criticism of Italian Embassy," *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1929; "English Wife of Anti-Fascist. Safe with Her Husband in Paris," *Manchester Guardian*, 17 September 1929.

⁶⁶Letter from Marion Rosselli to "Dear Friends," 26 August 1929, John Rosselli papers, BNCF, Florence.

⁶⁷Helen Jones, *Women in British Public Life, 1914–1950*, 101; see also the editorial of the *Manchester Guardian*, "The Rosselli Case," 17 August 1929; Catherine Jacques, "Des lobbys féministes à la SDN: l'exemple des débats sur la nationalité de la femme mariée (1930–1935)," in Jean-Marc Delaunay & Yves Denéchère, *Femmes et relations internationales au XXème siècle* (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2006), 267–77; Carol Miller, "Geneva: The Key to Equality: Interwar Feminists and the League of Nations," *Women's History Review*, 3, no. 2 (June 1994), 218–45.

⁶⁸Letter from Marion Enthoven to Carlo Rosselli, 30 August 1929, Marion Rosselli Papers, AGL, ISRT, Florence.

⁶⁹Letters from Carlo Rosselli to Marion, 27 November, 29 November, 4 December 1929, in Carlo Rosselli, *Dall'esilio. Lettere alla moglie* (Florence: Passigli, 1997), 39–41, 49.

⁷⁰"The Rosselli Case," *Italy Today*, October 1929.

⁷¹Marion Rosselli, "The Trial of Antifascists. Signor Ceva's Suicide," *Manchester Guardian*, 7 January 1931.

⁷²Richard Pankhurst, "Sylvia Pankhurst and the Italian Anti-Fascist Movement: The Women's International Matteotti Committee," *Socialist History*, 19 (2001), 2–8; see the broadsheet *Humanity* published by the Matteotti Committee, November 1932.

⁷³Sylvia Pankhurst, "Women under Fascism," *Hibbert Journal* 34 (April 1936), 219–234. Richard Pankhurst, "Sylvia Pankhurst," 21–23. There are many documents and letters relating to this campaign in the Sylvia Pankhurst papers at the Institutional Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. See Reel 30, file 295; reel 22, file 152.

⁷⁴Patricia V. Romero, *E. Sylvia Pankhurst*, 165–72; "The Case Against Mrs. Matteotti," *Manchester Guardian*, 29 October 1932; "Women Unite to Aid Matteotti Family," *New York Times*, 24 August 1932.

⁷⁵Gerd-Rainer Horn, *European Socialists Respond to Fascism: Ideology, Activism and Contingency in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 117–134.
