

THE TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE “RED WEEK” UPRISING IN ITALY (1911-1914)

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In recent years transnational studies of radicalism and syndicalism have known a significant growth, particularly in the history of the anarchist movement. Several scholars have investigated the international network that anarchist refugees established across continents in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ Many facets of this phenomenon have been scrutinized: the constitution of cosmopolitan communities of anarchist refugees, the mutual influences between anarchists of different nationalities, the relations with the labour movement of the host countries and with the communities of economic migrants, the international system of intelligence and surveillance, refugees' sociability and the production of a counterculture that was paramount in keeping together these transnational communities by fostering a shared identity through the production of songs, theatrical plays, novels, poems, and the 'cult' of martyrs.

This new focus has challenged the view of anarchism as a millenarian movement characterized by cyclical outbreaks of sudden revolts followed by periods of quiescence; an interpretation that has been highly influential in the history of Italian anarchism. As Davide Turcato has underlined, a transnational approach reveals a clear continuity both in term of organization, ideological debate, and political activities in the history of the Italian anarchist movements.²

¹ Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914 : Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: LUP, 2013); Steven Hirsch and Lucien Van der Walt, *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010); Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press ; Chesham, 2007); Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

² Davide Turcato, 'Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1895-1915', *International Review of Social History*, 52, 2007, pp. 407-444.

This surge of studies on syndicalism and anarchism in a transnational context has prompted a number of methodological reflections on the relationship between the transnational, national and the local scale of analysis outlining the necessity of combining all these perspectives. Indeed, ‘considering anarchist transnationalism in complete isolation from the history of the national state and the various forms of transnationalization affecting it therefore means discounting a prime determinant in the history of anarchist transnationalism’.³ The relevance of ‘nation’ in the history of anarchist exile is of particular significance for the complex and sometimes contradictory relationship between the ‘internationalism’ or ‘cosmopolitanism’ claimed by the anarchists and the strong relations that they maintained with their native countries. For example, the Italian anarchists in London published almost all their publications - pamphlets and newspapers - in Italian language; the predominant use of the mother tongue ‘reveals therefore that the main political horizon remained Italy, the Italian movement and the community of Italian migrants.’⁴

Undoubtedly, exile was extremely significant in the history of the Italian anarchist movement; it allowed it to survive in time of harsh repression and guaranteed the construction of a diasporic network based organization. Therefore, the study of the dynamics of exile is an essential part of the history of the Italian – and not only the Italian – anarchist movement. However, a number of key questions still need to be addressed. If the political horizon of the anarchist expatriates remained the motherland, as this was the case for the anarchist refugees in London, it is essential not only to investigate the nodes of this transnational network, but also to evaluate the influence that exiles had on the movement back home. To fully understand the relevance and impact of the anarchist exile there is the additional challenge of considering this experience from the “motherland” point of view. How did “exile” and “homeland” relate to one another? What input did they give to the movement in Italy in term of theoretical debate and political organization? If the mingling with anarchists of other nationalities and the contact with the radical movements abroad influenced and enriched

³ Constance Bantam, Bert Altena (eds.), ‘Introduction’ in *Reassessing the Transnational Turn. Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies* (New York, London: Routledge, 2015).

⁴ For a more extensive discussion of this point see: Pietro Di Paola, ‘The Game of the Goose. Italian Anarchism: Transnational, National, or Local Perspective?’ in Bantman, Altena (eds.), *Reassessing*, op. cit., pp. 118-135.

the theoretical thought and the political practice of the anarchist exiles, how were these ideas disseminated in the homeland and how were they received? In this sense, a significant question that needs to be investigated is the return of exiles, in order to understand to what extent their political activity was driven by their experiences abroad and with what results.⁵ To perform this investigation it is therefore necessary to move back from a “transnational” perspective to a national one; or even to a trans-local dimension. Although the number of collective biographies of the Italian anarchists has increased in recent years, there is not yet a quantitative evaluation of the number of anarchists who returned permanently to Italy from exile. A possible path of research would be an evaluation of the relationships and the impact of the anarchist movement’s transnational dimension to a specific anarchist stronghold (Turin, Ancona, or Massa Carrara) over a long chronological period. This would make it possible to conduct both quantitative and qualitative investigations. A transnational lens in the investigation of local events can reveal new aspects of the relations between the anarchist movement in Italy and the network of exiles.⁶

This paper, based on the initial findings of a research started only recently, intends to address some of these issues by reverting the focus point from the colonies abroad back to the homeland by the examination of the contribution that the communities of anarchist exiles gave to the development of the antimilitarist campaign that started with the invasion of Libya in 1911, became extremely intense with the movement to free the soldiers Augusto Masetti and Antonio Moroni and against disciplinary battalions in 1913-1914, and reached its peak with the outbreak of the uprising that from Ancona spread to all central Italy between 8 and 15 June 1914: the so called ‘Red week’. More than 100.000 troops were employed to crash this rebellion.

On the 27 September 1911, the Italian Government presented an ultimatum to the Ottoman Empire to turn over the Libyan coastal region, Cyrenaica and Tripoli. The following day an expeditionary force of 45,000 men departed to Tripoli; the Turco-Italian war had begun. Opposition to the colonial expedition to Libya united the rank and file of the Left: republicans, socialists, anarchists, and *Camere del Lavoro*. The

⁵ Stefano Luconi, “Emigration and Italians’ Transnational Radical Politicization,” *Forum Italicum* 47, no. 1 (2013).

⁶ Pietro Di Paola, “The Game of the Goose. Italian Anarchism: Transnational, National, or Local Perspective?” in Bantman, Altena (eds.), *Reassessing*, op. cit., p 135.

pressure exercised from the militants forced the leaders of the Italian Socialist Party to call a general strike on 26 and 27 September. However, the limited success of the strike highlighted some of the weaknesses of the following campaign against the war: the lack of a clear and unitarian direction, the divisions within the Italian Socialist Party, the repressive measures by the police.⁷

Antimilitarism, to which the Italian anarchists intended to infuse a revolutionary character, had become a privileged areas of their action, as in France and other European countries, since the turn of the century.⁸ Therefore, the anarchists joined the protests against the colonial adventure from the very beginning both in Italy and in the communities abroad.

In London the Italian anarchists organized several meetings against the war. In October 1911, when Errico Malatesta spoke at the Communist Club, the police surrounded the building and reinforced the protection of the Italian Embassy. In April 1912, when the war was at its most intense, the Italian anarchist exiles in London contributed to the debate against the war with the publication of the one-off *La Guerra Tripolina*, printed in 5,000 copies.⁹ This single issue was the outcome of the several meetings and debates that the anarchists had organized in London. Errico Malatesta wrote the leading article, 'La Guerra e gli anarchici', in which he attacked the idea of 'patriotism'. He took on the moral arguments that had been presented to justify the invasion. Against the idea that the support of the invasion was as genuine expression of patriotism, Malatesta argued that the true patriotism was a mixture of positive feelings: attachment to the native village, preference for one's own language, moral ties, memories and affections to the country. These were the positive aspects of patriotism that reinforced solidarity in human groups. As internationalists, the anarchists called for a fight against the dominant classes, but in case of a war the anarchists supported those who were fighting for their independence. Therefore, concluded Malatesta, 'for the honor of Italy we hope that the Italian people come to their sense and force a withdraw from Africa on the government, if not, we hope the Arabs will be able to drive the

⁷ Maurizio Degl'Innocenti, *Il Socialismo Italiano e la Guerra di Libia* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1976).

⁸ Gino Cerrito, *L'Antimilitarismo anarchico in Italian nel primo ventennio del secolo* (Pistoia: Edizioni RL, 1977), p. 10-11.

⁹ *La Guerra Tripolina*, London, April 1912. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Italians away'.¹⁰ Malatesta's article was republished in other anarchist publications both in Italy and abroad. Only a month later, the article was reprinted in the influential anarchist newspaper edited by Luigi Galleani in Patterson: *La Cronaca Sovversiva*.¹¹ Also *La Cronaca Sovversiva*, that was widely distributed in Italy, took a strong stance against the occupation of Libya. In the repression of any opposition to the military expedition and in the control of the antimilitarist propaganda by Giolitti's government, 'particular attention was played to eliminate the contribution of subversive press from abroad by seizing at the post offices on the borders to avoid the entry into the kingdom of newspaper such as *Il Risveglio* published in Geneva or *L'Avvenire del Lavoratore* published in Lugano'.¹² Particular attention was paid also on anarchists returning to Italy from abroad. In Rome the police searched third-rate hotels and inns in the hunt of suspicious individuals.

While touring the USA to spread his antiwar propaganda, Galleani contributed to the Italian anarchists newspapers *Il Libertario* and *Volontà* but his articles were often censored. The weekly *Volontà* was a leading organ of the Italian anarchist movement from 1913 to 1915. It started its publications in June 1913. However, the organizational planning and the theoretical discussions on the political line of the newspaper were undertaken by Errico Malatesta and other refugees in London.¹³ Great part of the funds that guaranteed a financially sound start to the publication came from the communities of the anarchists abroad. Some from London (most likely with the help of Emidio Recchioni, owner of an Italian delicatessen in Soho who financed a number of anarchist enterprises) and a more substantial part, about 3000 lire, from the comrades in the USA.¹⁴

An unexpected incident acted as catalyst on the protests against the war in Libya and the antimilitarist campaign. In October 1911, while shouting 'Long live anarchy!' the conscript Augusto Masetti shot his commanding colonel who was addressing troops

¹⁰ Errico Malatesta, 'La Guerra e gli anarchici', *La Guerra Tripolina*, London 1912. Over the years this article has been widely republished in the anarchist press both in Italy and abroad; see Luigi Fabbri, 'Nota biografica', in L. Fabbri, *Malatesta L'uomo e il pensiero*, (Naples: Edition RL), 1951, p. 280.

¹¹ *La Cronaca Sovversiva*, 11 May 1912, p. 1.

¹² ACS, Ministero Interno, DGPS 1911-1915, b. 44, f. 11.

¹³ Inspector Frosali's report to Ministry of Interior. 9 May 1913. ACS, CPC, b. 2950, f. (Malatesta Errico).

¹⁴ ACS, DGPS, F1, 1890-1945, f. Volontà

awaiting shipment to Libya. According to military code Masetti should have been brought in front a court martial and shot. In order to avoid the creation of an anti-war martyr in the midst of the invasion of Libya, a commission of inquest placed him in a criminal lunatic asylum.¹⁵ After two months of examinations, the psychiatrists' report diagnosed Masetti as suffering from 'psychic degeneration'. The military inquest therefore hold him not responsible for his action, because when he shot the colonel Masetti was mentally incompetent to commit the offense. In this way any political character of his action was denied. Legally Masetti was supposed to be handed to civil authorities, instead he was kept in a criminal asylum although his detention there was technically unlawful.

Masetti's action had great resonance on all the press, both nationalist and radical. The anarchists started a campaign pro Masetti almost immediately and the Italian anarchists living abroad were not less prompt in giving their support. Only ten days after Masetti's deed, the consul in Berne reported that the anarchists in Zurich had opened a subscription in Masetti's favor. In few weeks the non negligible sum of 200 lire had been collected (the monthly wage of a high skilled worker at that time in Italy amounted roughly to 120 lire). Meetings were organized in all industrial centers in Switzerland and on the 23 November a demonstration in front of the Italian consulate in Geneva was dispersed by the police. Also the anarchists in Paterson and other locations of the United States raised funds to be sent to Masetti's parents. However, the support to Masetti faced the harsh reaction against any form of dissent against the war.¹⁶ The anarchists who published a special issue to praise Masetti's action in Bologna were sentenced to several years imprisonment. After the initial impetus, the campaign pro Masetti's declined also as a consequence of the arrests of some of the most active promoters such as Maria Rygier or the expatriation of Amedeo Borghi and the widespread reaction and control against dissidence on the War by Giolitti's government. The campaign pro Masetti was kept alive by the newspaper *Rompete le File!* edited by Antonino Felicani who in 1914 to avoid imprisonment escaped to the USA where in the 1920s became a leading figure of the Sacco and Vanzetti defense committee.

¹⁵ Laura De Marco, *Il soldato che disse no alla guerra*, (S. Maria Capua Vetere: Edizioni Spartaco, 2003).

¹⁶ Fiorenza Fiorentino, *Ordine Pubblico Nell'italia Giolittiana* (Roma: Carecas, 1978).

Mobilization in favor of Masetti regained impetus after his transfer to the infamous criminal asylum of Monte Lupo Fiorentino. The initial input for the relaunch the mobilization came from the United States. The libertarian group of Plainsville and the editorial committee of *La Cronaca Sovversiva* published a circular urging to bolster up the campaign to obtain Masetti's freedom. In the circular the anarchists declared to have already obtained the collaboration of a very experienced and open-minded lawyer. A month later Malatesta published a similar appeal on the front page of *Volontà*, exhorting to the creation of a mass popular movement.¹⁷ Several groups and organizations responded to the appeal; one of the first was *Il Risveglio*, published in Geneva by Luigi Bertoni.¹⁸ At the beginning of September an article on Masetti was published on *The Syndicalist* edited by Guy Bowman in London. Masetti's case was reported by the French newspapers *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, *Le Libertaire*, *Les Temps Nouveaux*, and *La Voix du Peuple*.¹⁹ The protest spread in Switzerland and England also thanks to the propaganda tour that Maria Rygier had undertaken in those countries in July and August 1913. The Prefect of Bologna reported that the 'pro Masetti protest had taken root not only in Paris, but also in Berne, Geneva and, thank to *Il Risveglio*, in all the Helvetic territory.²⁰ The consul in Berne reported that protests pro Masetti were mounting: 'In Berne, Geneva, Lucern, Basile San Gallo, Rorschach, Arbon e Kreulingen social events are organized and proceeds will be pay in to a fund to establish a *Comitato di Agitazione*.²¹ Indeed, a 'Pro Augusto Masetti' committee, dependent upon the one in Bologna, was established in Berne at the end of the year.²² The movement took roots quickly also in France with the large involvement of the French labour movement. More than five hundred people attended a meeting organized in Paris where Charles Malato was the key speaker. The audience was composed of

¹⁷ Errico Malatesta, 'Per una vittima della Monarchia. Augusto Masetti', *Volontà* 20 July 1913. Another appeal was published by the *Gioventù Socialista* in Parma. A 'Pro Augusto Masetti' national committee to coordinate the movement was established in Bologna on 8 November.

¹⁸ 'Auguste Masetti', *Le Reveil*, 20 September 1913.

¹⁹ 'Pour Augusto Masetti' *La Voix du Peuple*, 30 November 1913; 'L'opinion et l'Affaire Masetti', *Le Libertaire*, 22 November 1913, 'Pour August Masetti', *La Bataille Syndicaliste* 18 November 1913, 'Pour Augusto Masetti', *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 16 November 1913.

²⁰ Prefect of Bologna to Ministry of Interior, 27 October 1913. ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Bologna.

²¹ Consul in Berne to Ministry of Interior. 24 November 1913, ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Berna.

²² Consul in Berne to Ministry of Interior, 9 January 1914, ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Berna.

French, Spanish, Russian and Italian revolutionaries.²³ A boost to the campaign in France was given by the fact that in November 1913 the *Comité de Défense Sociale* took on Masetti's affair.²⁴ In the previous two years the *CDS* had been at the forefront of the national and campaign to free the soldier Émile Rousset; 'if the antimilitarists had their Dreyfus Affair, then the Aernoult-Rousset case was definitely it'.²⁵ Carlo Frigerio was in charge of keeping the contact between the two groups. At the meetings organized by the *Gruppo Rivoluzionario Italiano* and the *CDS* Masetti's case was linked with those of other victims of French military repression, the soldier Francois Rousset and Jacob Law.²⁶ To advertise a propaganda meeting at the beginning of January 1914 the members of the *Gruppo rivoluzionario italiano* distributed 2000 bilingual leaflets entitled 'Liberté entière pour Masetti!' in Paris and the banlieues. Several hundred people attended. Speakers were Mme Oustry, lawyer à la Court d'appel, George Yvetot and Léon Jouhaux of the *Confédération générale du travail*, Jean-Louis Thuillier secretary of the *CDS*, Pierre Martin editor of *Le Libertaire*, Maria Vérone lawyer, Ingweiller of the Comité de Defense Sociale, Sicard de Plauzolles representative of the *Ligue des Droits des Hommes*, A. Minot of the *Union des Syndicats* and an Italian comrade.²⁷ Also in Marseille the mobilization saw collaboration between different national groups: French, Spanish and Italians. The Italian anarchists in Marseille collaborated in particular with the Spanish refugees; their campaigned focused on Masetti and on political prisoners in Spain and Catalonia.²⁸ As in Italy, also in the communities abroad the antimilitarist campaign attracted the support and the active involvement of Socialists, Republicans and other associations. As noted by the consul in Geneva, Masetti's campaign had united groups that until the previous day were arguing with each other in meetings and in their newspapers. At rallies each political group was represented by a speaker.

Fundraising was one of the most common activities that were organized by the anarchists abroad. The money was either sent to Masetti's family or to the defense

²³ Italian Embassy to Ministry of Interior, 3 November 1914. ACS, DGPS, b. 22, f. Paris.

²⁴ P.S. delegate 9 December 1913 to Ministry of Interior, ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Paris

²⁵ Paul Miller, *From Revolutionaries to Citizens* (Durham, London: Duke University, 2002), p. 165. After his release from an Algerian Prison, Rousset was cheered as a hero by thousands of workers in Paris.

²⁶ 'Pour Péan, Masetti, Law', *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, 16 January 1914.

²⁷ *Liberté entier pour Massetti*, leaflet, January 1914.

²⁸ 'Lavoratori Italiani, Trabajadores Espanoles' leaflet, 23 January 1914.

committee established in Bologna. Fundraising was done during meetings and demonstrations, social events, theatrical representation of antimilitarist plays like Pietro Gori's *Senza Patria*. Plays were written also specifically for the occasion. In one of these play, *Sangue Fecondo*, the protagonist was killed (suicided) in prison, a clear reference to Gaetano Bresci, the anarchist who killed Umberto I, the King of Italy in July 1900 who was found dead in his cell. Another system for raising funds was by selling Masetti's portrait in form of postcards. The 'itinerary' of these postcards is in some way interesting: they went from Switzerland to France, and then from France to Italy. During a meeting in Paris Felice Vezzani, a leading Italian anarchist exile, announced to have received 300 of such postcards from Geneva. The postcards were to be sold in forthcoming antimilitarist rallies in the French capital. The following week, in a different meeting, it was also decided to send the postcards to a number of anarchist newspapers in Italy.

One of the most widespread propaganda publication in this campaign was the single issue *Liberiamo Masetti*. This publication is of particular interest for looking at the international connections of the protests. The single issue was planned and realized by the *Gruppo Rivoluzionario Italiano* in Paris in order to 'take part with the comrades in Italy and abroad to the campaign to free August Masetti'.²⁹ The project started in the summer 1913, and pre-orders for the copies were asked from comrades and organizations³⁰. The Funds for the printing of this one-off publication were collected around the communities abroad. The Embassy in Paris reported that 293 francs had been collected from a social event in Paris, 65 francs from London, and 75 from Italy. Another report informed the Italian Ministry of Interior that collections in Berne, Zurigo, Geneva, Basel amounted to 300 lire, but the anarchists hoped to quickly double it. Requests appeared also in *La Cronaca Sovversiva* in the United States. The anarchists Carlo Frigerio and Felice Vezzani were the main executers of the project. Through their network of personal relations (and with the help of the Defense Committee) they made a number of leading figures of the anarchist movement collaborating to the single issue or gave their solidarity to the campaign: the Italians Errico Malatesta, Luigi Bertoni, Luigi Galleani, Giuseppe De Falco, Felice Vezzani,

²⁹ 'Il Nostro Scopo', *Liberiamo Masetti*, Paris November 1913. ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Paris.

³⁰ Orders were sent to M.me Thérèse Tangourdeau in Paris. 'Per Augusto Masetti', *Volontà* 30 August 1913.

Saverio Merlino, the French Pierre Martin, Charles Malato, Jean Grave, Paul Reclus, Yves Bidamant, Augustin Hamon, George Yvetot, Sebastian Faure, Thuilier the secretary of the Comitato di Difesa Sociale. the Dutch Domela Nieuwenhuis and Christian Cornelissen, The issue appeared at the end of November 1913. Because of the high number of requests received, 6,000 additional copies were printed in addition to the original 4,000. From Paris 500 copies were dispatched to Lugano in order to be introduced clandestinely into Italy by train. Another pack was sent to De Falco in ? However, as there was not confirmation of the delivery being received, copies were shipped directly to militants around Italy and to all chambers of Labour.³¹ A large number of copies were also sent to the United States and England. (There are reports of militants in Marseille who received the newspaper from Paris and then shipped them to other militants in Italian towns). *Liberiamo Masetti* made great impression among the anarchists in Italy. Another widely widespread pamphlet in the antimilitarist campaign was Galleani's pamphlet *Alle Madri!* It was published by *La Cronaca Sovversiva* in Patterson and widely distributed in Italy.

The Pro Masetti committee in Bologna launched also a petition. The consul in New York received the petitions from Saint Louis in Missouri and a petition with 120 signatures from Hamilton, Ontario, in Canada. Beside the campaign to free Masetti, from the beginning of 1914 the antimilitarist campaign targeted disciplinary companies where soldiers were kept in dreadful physical and moral conditions.³² The soldier Antonio Moroni, who had been sent to a disciplinary company for denouncing in the press the inhuman treatment to which he was subjected for his radical ideas, became another symbol of the antimilitarist campaign. *The Comité de defense social*, the *Gruppo rivoluzionario italiano* and the Chamber of Labour in Paris took interest in him as well. Support and financial help was given from England, from the Italian communities in the USA, and in particular from the newspaper *Il Proletario* edited in New York by Giovannetti and Rossoni, and by the libertarian group in Zurich.³³ In occasion of first of May celebrations, a number of Italians went to the consulate to protest against Masetti's detention shouting slogans against the Royal House. While

³¹ Police Inspector, Paris, 1 dicembre 1914 ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Paris.

³² 'Contro il domicilio coatto militare', *Volontà* 17 gennaio 1914.

³³ Prefect of Bologna to Minister of Interior, 12 April 1914, ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Bologna.

they were passing in front of the building, an arson started on the stairs that from a secondary entrance led to the military recruitment office.³⁴

In May 1914, a day of national mobilization against militarism was launched for the 7th June, the day of celebration of the Statuto. All demonstrations had been prohibited by the government and the killing of three demonstrators in Ancona led to the proclamation of a general strike and the start of the riots that spread across Italy for a week until the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* called the strike off and a wave of harsh repression hit the labour movement.

Protests against the killings in Ancona and the repression of the Red Week movement extended to the communities abroad, often with a temporary gap of few days. In Buenos Aires, according to the Consul, around 1,500 people attended a meeting of protest. At the conclusion of the rally, mounted police charged and dispersed the demonstrators who were attempting to reach the Italian consulate. The Consul reported also that many bombs and petards had exploded in the following evenings.

In Geneva a demonstration in front of the consulate by few hundred demonstrators was charged by the police who made a number of arrests. The following days six anarchists were expelled and deported to Italy. In Lausanne a mass meeting was organized for the 12 June and a strike called for the following day. Around 1,500 people marched through the streets of the town. In Marseille manifestos against the monarchy were put on the wall of the Consulate and the Savoy coat of arms was vandalized. The consul urged local authorities to extend police surveillance during the night. In Berne a number of nationalist associations had organized a patriotic commemoration for the Festa dello Statute in the village of MuttENZ. Anarchists, socialists and republicans assaulted the groups outside the rail station, tearing off their banners and forcing the music band to return to Berne. On the 14 of June a bomb with the fuse partially burned was found inside the Italian consulate in New York. Two weeks later 300 anarchists disrupted and forced to cancel a patriotic commemoration at the Garibaldi Museum in Staten Island to which the Italian consul was supposed to speak.

At the end of July 1914, in a conference in Marseille, Maria Rygier spoke to 300 people. She argued that another insurrectional movement was about to explode but that

³⁴ Italian Consul to Minister of Interior, 5 May 1914 ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. New York.

‘its ‘organisation and preparation had to be done by the Italian revolutionaries abroad because it was not prepare it in Italy’.³⁵

From this preliminary research it seems that the extension and the intensity of the antimilitarist campaign against the colonial expedition in Libya, the transnational character of the campaign in favor of Masetti and Moroni between 1911 and 1914 and the reaction to the events of the red week and the support that refugees received after the repression of the movement can represent a valuable case study for understanding and reconstructing the radical network that political refugees build across continents, and also to provide a closer evaluation of the contributions that the exiles gave to the movement in the homeland. Moreover, by extending the research on single individuals and their personal relationships with militants of other nationalities it may also possible to understand how the presence of political refugees abroad facilitated the transnational connections of the labour movement in Italy with the movements of other countries.

Two further questions may need to be considered. The first is if the extent of the antimilitarist mobilization in Italy and abroad played any role in delaying Italy’s entering the First World War; the second is why this transnational network collapsed so quickly without being able to offer any organized resistance to the outbreak of the war.

³⁵ Consul in Marseille to Ministry of Interior, 23 July 1914. ACS, DGPS, 1914, b. 22, f. Marseille.