

Part VI: Iconographic Appendix

For the historian photographs are not decorative but rather visual information as significant as written documents. Since the development of this technology in the nineteenth century the working class has used photography to record its rights of passage, customs and institutions. What follows is a selection of images which are material evidence for the biography of Francesco Giovanni Fantin.

A more comprehensive selection of images will shortly be available at the 'FaberFantin' website in advance stage of construction.

Francesco Giovanni Fantin 1924



This is the best known photograph of FG Fantin. It has been published by Cresciani in **Fascism, Antifascism & the Italians in Australia**, where he also appears wearing a foulard in a Matteotti Club group photo [being one of the founders of the Club], by Andrighetti for the State Library of NSW in the catalogue **Italians in NSW**, and by Menghetti in her **The Red North**, an excellent study of the context of North Queensland radicalism in which Fantin operated. It is one of the images circulated during the fight for justice after Fantin's assassination. It was taken in 1924 before his emigration as a defiant assertion of his anarchism after he had been spat upon for wearing this costume in the public square of San Vito.

The red foulard was a political fashion statement, and underlines the degree to which post Great War anarchism in Italy was a youth movement which expressed itself also through personal sartorial style. The novelist Carlo Cassola has a mother tell her son in **A Man Alone** `Once upon a time certain things were customary...There were those that did not go to church, those who wore top hats, and those who wore bow ties. Then the fascists came along and pulled everyone into line. They couldn't bear the sight of top hats and bow ties. The masons and the anarchists were easily identified.

Giovanni-Battista & Catterina Manea Fantin



The parents of FG Fantin, pictured here in their maturity, bequeathed popular values which FG Fantin re-elaborated into an anarchist politics. Note the modest sobriety of their dress and the crucifix worn by Signora Fantin nee` Manea. The crucifix was the emblem of a shared communal morality so all pervading that the Italian language then referred, and still to this day refers to some extent, to people as 'cristiani'. Note also the gentlemanlike deference which Giovanni Battista accords his wife as mother of the family, standing a little to the side and the rear of her.

Photo courtesy of the Bortoloso family, SVL.

Birthplace

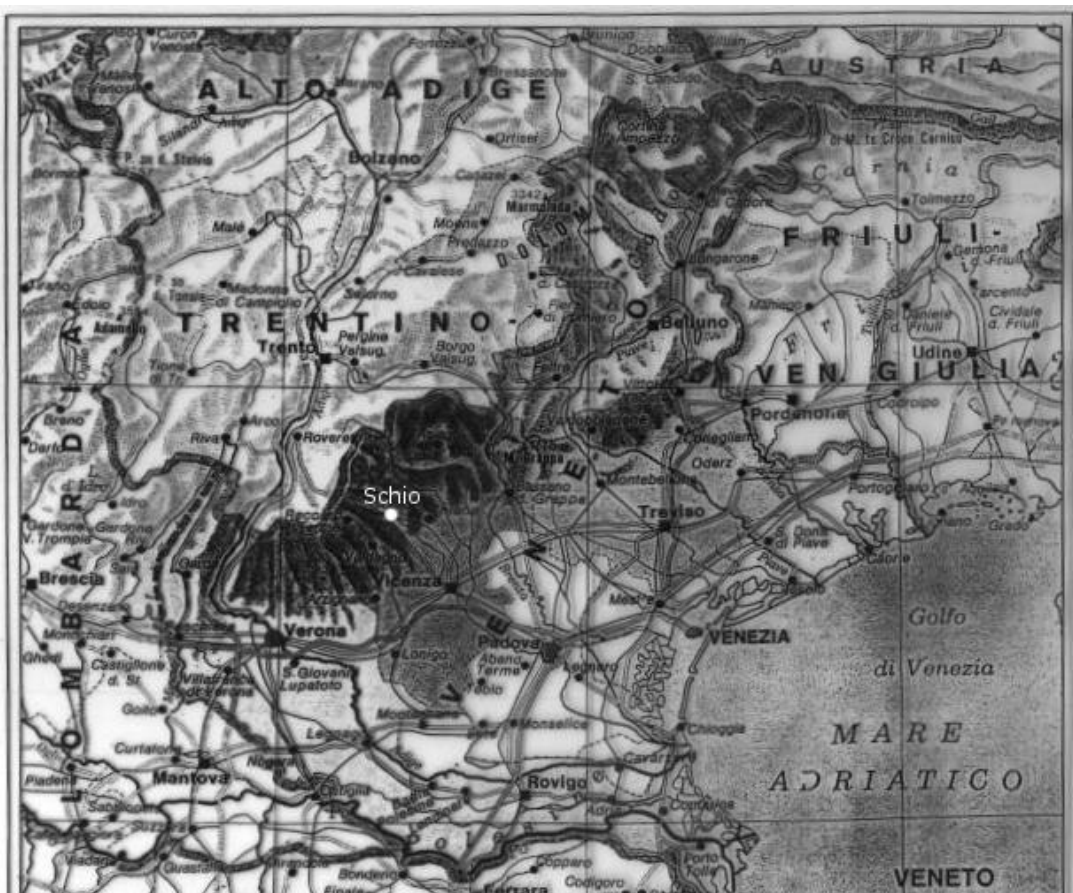


This modest but substantial residence has been inhabited throughout the twentieth century by the related Fantin and Bortoloso families. FG Fantin was born in the upstairs room adjacent to the courtyard entrance. The keystone above that entrance bears the incision 149X, which would suggest that there has been a continuous succession of dwellings on the site since the dawn of the modern era in Italy. Thus the very stones of his birthplace evoke the history of the mass Italian migration to the new world which began with the voyage of the Genoese Columbus.

The Veneto

Una Regione di antica bellezza e di antica storia, che procede sulla strada di uno sviluppo economico non rapidissimo ma forte e, nel complesso, equilibrato; uno sviluppo che avviene nell'interno di un mondo civile e delicatissimo, patrimonio unico da proteggere. E questo, forse, è il fondamentale problema della Regione.

La posizione del Veneto nel territorio nazionale.



Map showing Schio in the foothills of the Prealpi Vicentini, and the Veneto in the context of the Italian peninsula. Fantin's home town of San Vito de Leguzzano was and is a hamlet in the Schio district. In 1916 the district was the objective of the Hapsburg 'Strafexpedition' or 'Punitive Expedition', the codename of the Austrian spring offensive which only narrowly failed to knock Italy out of the Great War.

The High Factory & Dolomites



In the foreground The Lanerossi High Factory in geographical context, with Schio nestling in the foothills of the Lesser Dolomite mountains in the distance to the northwest. It was the flagship establishment of the Rossi woollen conglomerate in the Schio district, and it appears that Fantin met his wife when they were working there for the firm.

Photo 'Il LeggiCitta': Schio'

General Guglielmo Pecori Giraldi, Commandant I Army

NOTE: This photo is included on page 328 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

General Pecori Giraldi, a Florentine aristocrat, pictured here after the war in his uniform as a Field Marshal of Italy, supervised the trial of 29 soldiers of the mutinous 8th Infantry Regiment, which rebelled at Fantin's home town of San Vito de Leguzzano early in August 1917, discharging their weapons in the air and demanding peace. Seven soldier's were executed. Pecori Giraldi callously told his cook to make the meal to be cooked for him after the trial a good one, otherwise the cook would be the eighth man shot.

On the eve of the fascist March on Rome in October 1922, General Pecori Giraldi waited upon King Vittorio Emmanuele III together with Field Marshal Diaz, Cadorna's successor. Asked by the King 'What will the Army do?' Diaz replied 'Majesty, the army will do its duty, however it would be well not to put it to the test'. Pecori Giraldi supported his remarks. The King followed their advice, refusing to declare a State of Emergency and appointing Mussolini to form a ministry.

Photo from [Guglielmo Pecori Giraldi: L'Archivio](#)

La comitiva



This group photograph shows FG Fantin in profile wearing a bow tie and carrying the swordstick he kept about him for protection. The fact that the party are grouped around a priest suggests how pervasive was the influence of the Church in the social life of a small village like San Vito.

Photograph from the Bortoloso family collection.

Magre` House of the People



The Magre` House of the People, where meeting rooms and bar facilities were available to the parties, unions, associations and individual activists of the local working class. Gaetano Panizzon, a mentor of the young Fantin, was a resident of Magre` who frequented this centre. Note the nationalist touch of the tricolour flying from the balcony. It was closed by fascist violence in September 1922.

From Casciola & Sermasi **Vita di Blasco**

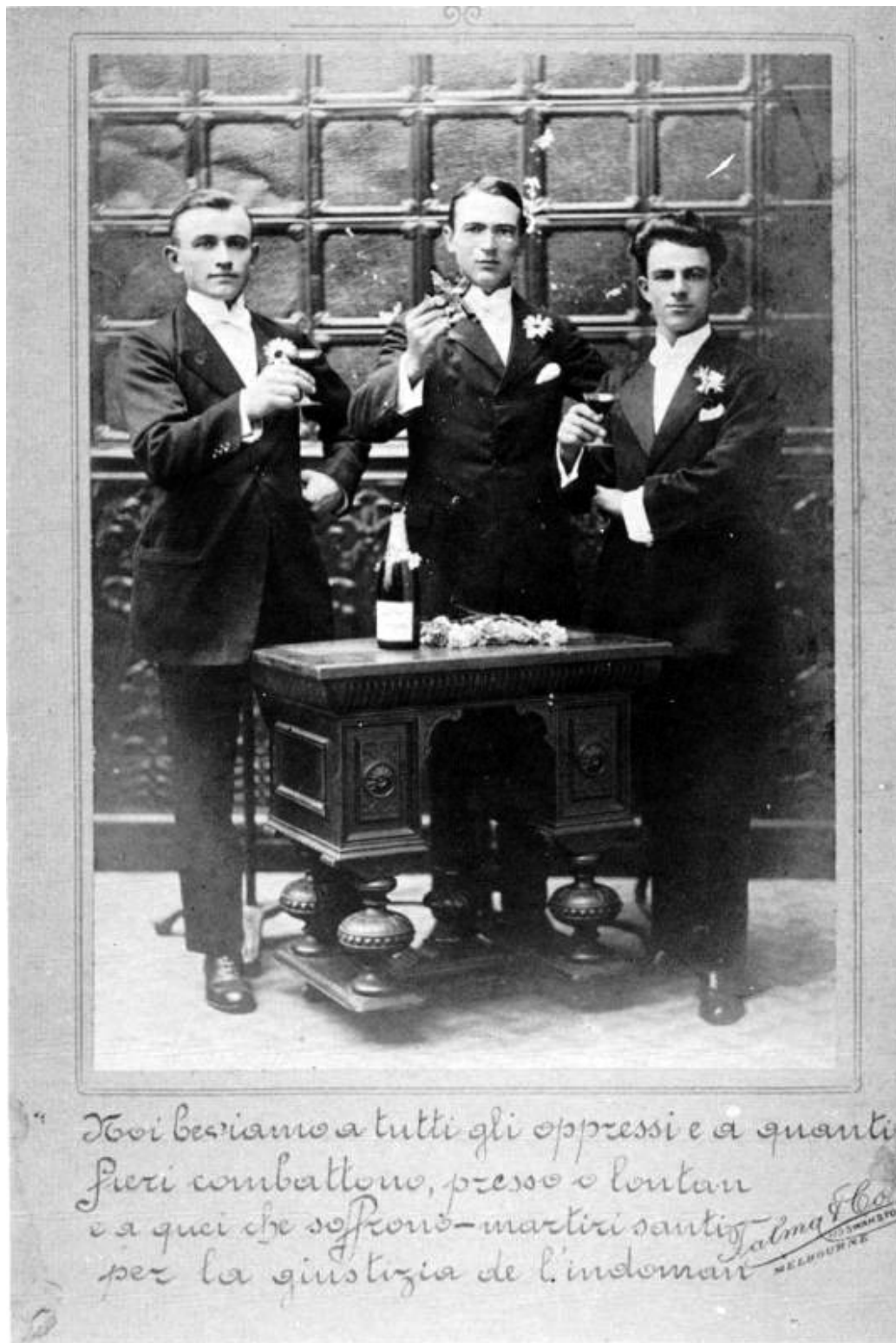
La disperata



The Schio fascist death squad 'La Disperata'. Groups like this terrorised and intimidated Italy from 1919.

Photo from Simini [Il nostro signor capo](#)

Carmagnola, Fantin & Marta Toast Resistance



'We drink to the oppressed and those who proudly fight, near or far, and those who suffer, sacred martyrs for the justice of tomorrow' This group portrait of three subversives from San Vito was taken in the late 1920s and sent home to encourage friends, relatives & comrades.

From the Bortoloso family collection.

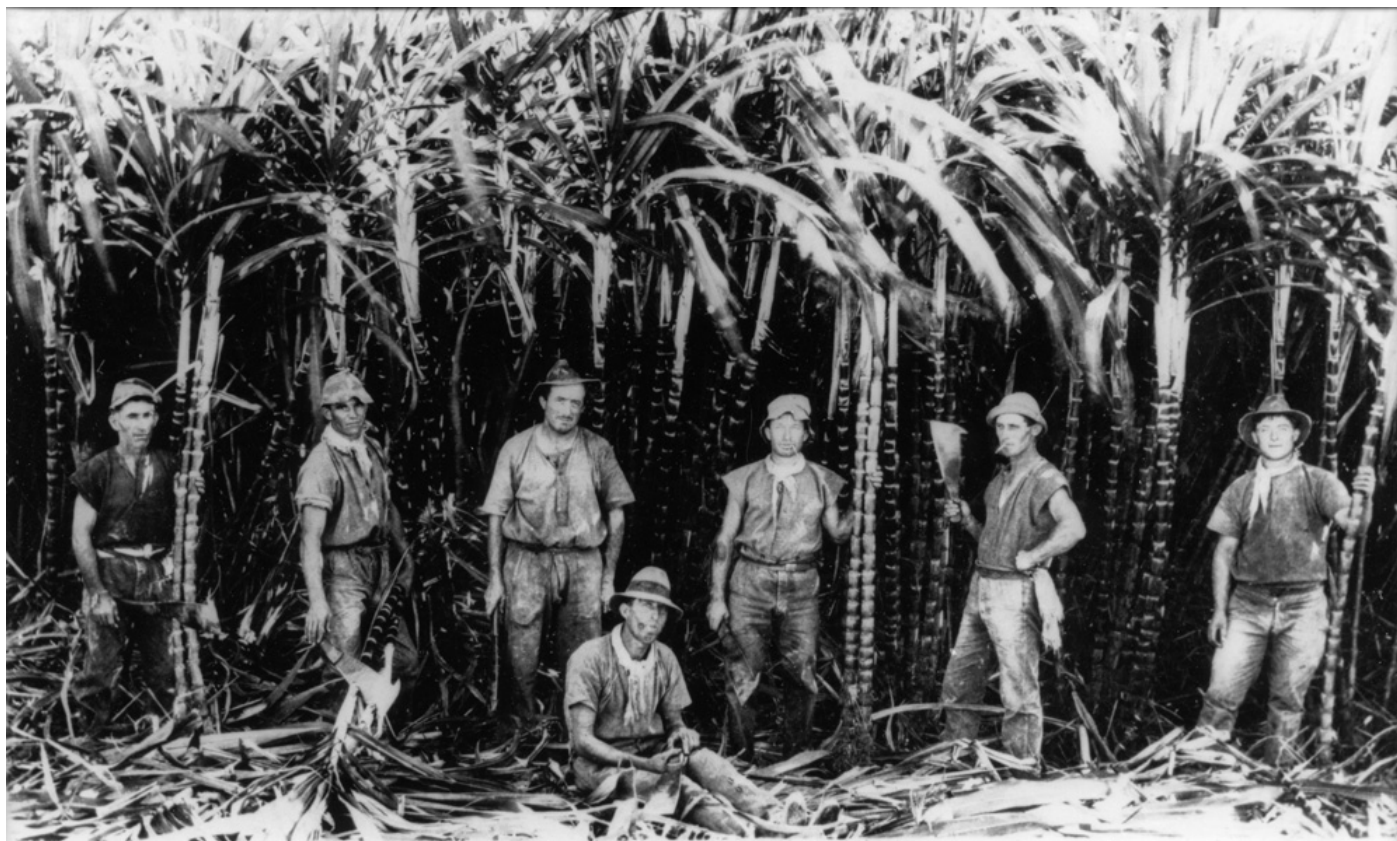
Cane Train



This photograph has enjoyed some prominence as an emblem of the canefields, appearing in the volume of the Bicentennial History dedicated to the sesquicentenary year of 1938, & in Murphy ed `The Big Strikes: Queensland 1889-1965' [where the editor misattributed it to the time of the historic Weill's Disease Dispute, which introduced the practice of burning standing cane as a health and safety measure.] This copy is from the Bortoloso family collection, and FG Fantin wearing his trade mark hat is clearly marked with an arrow. This is the first time that Fantin's presence in this photograph has been noted. All the Fantin sugar industry photographs express pride in workmanship, embodied here in the imposing mass of cane cut.

From the Bortoloso family collection

The Ghenga



`Ghenga' was the transliteration current amongst Italians on the canefields for the English term `gang', meaning `squad' or `team'.

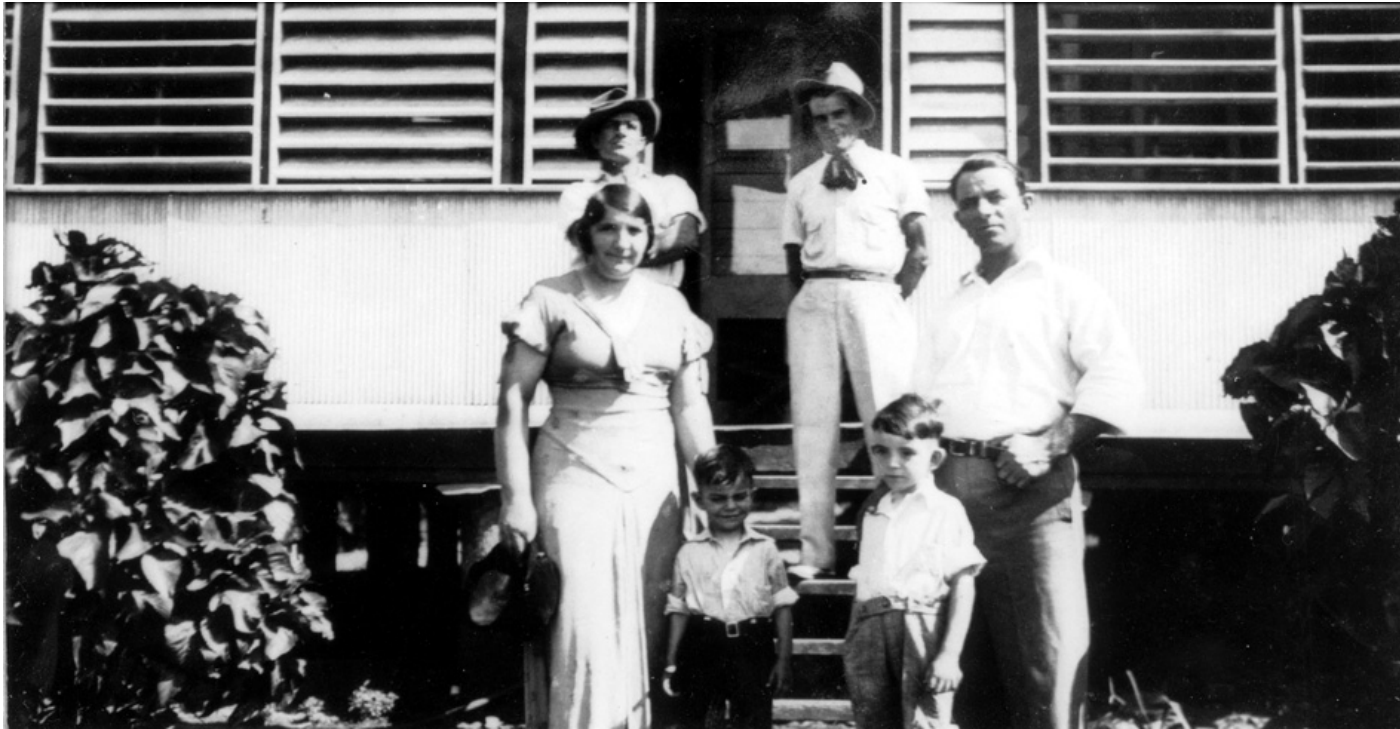
This cane gang includes from the viewer's left to right the Schio anarchist Gaetano Panizzon & FG Fantin. Panizzon was the supplier, witting or unwitting, of the explosives used in the 1921 Diana Theatre outrage in Milan, the worst anarchist terrorist attempt in Italian history. Fantin was a known associate of Panizzon in his youth.

Note Fantin's battered work hat, an identifying element in this and other photographs. Both Panizzon & Fantin spent much of the interwar period commuting between the canefields and the Geelong textile mills, Fantin residing with the Panizzon household.

It was reported to Australian intelligence that Fantin would talk anarchism to his colleagues at the drop of a hat and after his death his comrades recorded that he was known throughout the canefields for his antifascism. The ghenga's will have been the venue of much of his propagandising by word of mouth & distribution of literature.

From the Bortoloso family collection

Casa Fantin, North Queensland



The Fantin household in tropical Queensland; Francesco Fantin sports an anarchist foulard, his brother Alfonso beside him, whilst Luigi Fantin stands with his wife Giuseppina Saccardo and their two sons.

From the Bortoloso family collection

Fantin In Later Years



The rather fatigued appearance of FG Fantin in this photograph seems linked to the downcast sentiments expressed in a letter to a friend, Nino, intercepted by military intelligence in December 1941, not long before Fantin was interned. It was translated somewhat literally by EM Jones for the Security Service in June 1942, but Fantin's tendency to fall into a poetic cadence emerges clearly. It contrasts the hopes of his revolutionary youth back in subtemperate Northern Italy with the realities of life in the tropics, which he was beginning to find tiresome. Indeed Fantin here looks and sounds as if he were depressed. It needs also to be remembered that this was the lowest point of the war for the Allies.

Dear Ones, No good wishes for the time when the good memories of times past were wont to be recalled at our houses among good friends with the snow driving outside. No good wishes for the time when the new year was beginning with the promise of being better than the old. Today from these lands silent under the lashing rays of the tropical sun, with the monotony of a night that is too long, there is only a curse for the evil times. This life is sad. It is too long for a sojourn in these lands. The times are too dark for good wishes...

From the Panizzon family collection.

Francesco Ianello

NOTE: This photo is included on page 337 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Francesco Ianello, Western Australian Italian internee, suspected with good reason by the Australian authorities of involvement in the assassination of Francesco Fantin.

Photo National Archives of Australia PP302/1 WA18106

Detective Sergeant 'Bill' 'Tracker' Gill



Detective Sergeant Gill was in charge of the police investigation into the death of FG Fantin. He found that Fantin had been assassinated, but that a charge of murder could not be proven because of fascist intimidation of witnesses & spiring away of material evidence, namely the blunt instrument used to kill him & the cap Fantin had been wearing, which would have accounted for the lack of traumata to the scalp which Dr LE Verco maintained suggested accidental injury. The two extensive searches made in Compound 14A for the cap show how determined Gill was to demonstrate in spite of medical opinion that Fantin had been deliberately injured.

Photograph circa 1950 Courtesy of SAPOL.

Lieutenant Charles Riscbieth Jury



Classical humanist scholar, poet & soldier, the discretely homosexual Charles Jury matriculated from St Peter's College to Oxford, volunteering for service with the Oxford & Bucks Light Infantry and was wounded on the Western Front. He is pictured here as a young officer. As a middle aged Intelligence Officer at Loveday he was quick to apprehend that Fantin had been assassinated and to communicate his observations to his superiors and the police.

Photo courtesy of Mr Ian Purcell

Martyrdom



This memorial token of Fantin was circulated by his comrades on the anniversary of his death. The headline reads `Christ was not vanquished on the cross, but he who dies for liberty defeats death. The legend attributes his death to `fascist assassins', a clear allusion to the belief that Fantin's killer acted for conspirators.

From the collection of Professor Toni Comin.

Justice Richards

NOTE: This photo is included on page 341 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

Puisne Justice Richards was a highly legally educated judge who heard the case against Fantin's killer Giovanni Casotti. At the hearing he accepted the submission of the defense, unopposed by the prosecution which was embarrassed by lack of proof, that the death of Fantin had been caused accidentally. This alarmed Fred Paterson, the communist lawyer from North Queensland where Fantin had been politically active, who began collecting evidence. At trial Richards was nevertheless obliged to hand down a light sentence of two years hard labour.

From Coventry **Centenary Celebrities**

Part VIII: Bibliography

Of books: I idolise them for their unparalleled value as an agency helping mankind to higher destinies. They are the helping channels through which the influence flows that makes the difference between the wise and, well – the otherwise.

Cole⁹

The prime function of this bibliography is to give full bibliographic particulars of references given in the endnotes. For ease and accuracy of consultation the publication dates given below are those of the editions consulted. It needs to be remembered that many of these works were first published previously, and therefore made their debut in critical discussion earlier.

The Italian abbreviation `acd' stands for `a cura di', literally `in the care of' and translates the English abbreviation `ed', edited.

⁹ Cited Dictionary of Australian Quotations p58

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ACS Vicenza Matricola Militare Carmignola Francesco Giuseppe classe 1900

ACS Vicenza Matricola Militare Fantin Francesco Giovanni

ACSVL Schede anagrafici e scholastici

ALBCS Documenti vari

ALS Raccoglitore 1 a/b, 15, 22 & 29 Documenti vari

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ENDNOTES

¹ Essays LIII

² Q 25.2

³ See my misevaluation of some of the evidence in 'Prigionieri di Guerra e internati civili in Australia fra Guerra e dopoguerra: le fonti australiane, italiane britanniche e svizzere' in AAVV Una storia di tutti p323-4

⁴ The above synthesises the essence of the methodological reflections of Gramsci on what he termed 'the history of the subaltern classes.' See particularly Q 25: 'At the margins of history', Notes 2, 4 & 5 in particular.

⁵ Hirshfield 'New Worlds from Old' Social Studies Vol.82 1991

⁶ The History Wars p33

⁷ Paradise of Dissent p.v

⁸ See Bibliography

⁹ The History of the Paris Commune p5

¹⁰ 'Has History Made Progress?' On History p61

¹¹ See Come si scrive una tesi [How to Write a Thesis]

¹² Cited by Franzina 'Gli smarrimenti di Clio' Belfagor 1980 fascicolo 3 p349

¹³ Parish Register SVL 22 January 1901 records that Francesco Giovanni Fantin was born on the 20th.

¹⁴ Lanaro Il Veneto p74

¹⁵ Ibid p75

¹⁶ Ibid p170

¹⁷ Italia Nostro Schio: Schio; archeologia industriale no date or impagination.

¹⁸ AL Raccoglitore1 a/b, b10, Manuscript address to Council 16 October 1878

¹⁹ Simini in Franzina acd La Classe gli Uomini ed i Partiti Vol.I p171-4. The newspapers cited are Il Corriere di Vicenza & Il Panaro

²⁰ These points are made by Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p200, although the explanation of the hold of the myth of the good master led astray by evil counsellors as a relic of preindustrial times is a development of my own. Simini's source in this regard is 'Sciopero minacciato a Torrelvicino e il solito ciabattino' in Il Fascio Operaio 27 April 1890

²¹ ASRV Copia lettere particolare A.Rossi to Beppe 8/7/1890 cited by Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p201-2

²² Simini after Canaglia in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p160

²³ `Sciopero di donne' in Giornale Visentin 30 July 1893 & `Il partito a Schio' in La lotta di classe 19-20 August 1893 cited by Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p204

²⁴ Simini suggests p204 that over a thousand workers struck on the first day.

²⁵ Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p205

²⁶ `Sciopero di donne' in Giornale Visentin 30 July 1893 cited by Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p204

²⁷ Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p158 & 207

²⁸ Adriatico 13 April 1891 cited by Simini in Franzina acd CUP Vol.I p204

²⁹ ALBCS Atti Societari Documento 85

³⁰ ALBCS Atti Societari Documento 86

³¹ From The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. Cited by McLellan The Thought of Karl Marx p63

³² Dictionary of Australian Quotations entry B310, from the poem `Land of No Fathers'

³³ AL Laneficio Rossi Pieve 12/1930 Statistica Operai 110 & 113

³⁴ Rowse The Early Churchills p418

³⁵ The idiom was provincial or perhaps regional. The *friulan* mother of Luigi Meneghello who reports it was disconcerted, thinking that she was being told that there was something wrong with her baby's eyes: See Libera nos a Malo` p33. The `poor thing' who was commiserated for a cold at San Vito in the winter of 1986/7 was myself.

³⁶ Parish Register SVL 22 January 1901.

³⁷ Meneghello Libera nos a Malo` p3 - 7.

³⁸ Bortoloso Family Interview SVL 1987 & Meneghello cit p147

³⁹ Maria Fantin Abrams-DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987

⁴⁰ See below `Industrial Mobilisation...'

⁴¹ Fantin `Thoughts & Memories' in NAA: BP242/1 Q30084. Where the translator appears to me to have been too literal I have assumed the responsibility of a more idiomatic phrasing and punctuation, to prevent the false impression arising that Fantin was dull witted. The

Italian original of this document seems to have been returned to his brothers and lost in a canefield fire on their property along with other personal papers.

⁴² This was the symbolic visual metaphor employed by Doppio Teatro / Paralello in their worthy evocation of the Fantin affair Rosso come il diavolo/ Red Like the Devil, first produced in the late 1980s.

⁴³ As late as the mid 1980s this usage was still employed by Signora Salvina Porta, my wife's grandmother, a woman of peasant extraction originating from the Province of Bergamo and resident at Cernusco Sul Naviglio in the outskirts of metropolitan Milan. This usage is reminiscent of that of some traditional peoples, whose names for themselves not uncommonly translate as a simple description of the community as 'the people'.

⁴⁴ On popular belief in the district see Meneghello cit., Ch. 25; for the concept of 'bare bones' religiosity see p219. Signora Salvina Porta, mentioned above, in her old age never questioned the existence of God but never went to church or confessed, protesting that she had always worked too hard to have had time to commit sin and had much too much housework to do.

⁴⁵ Gaeta La crisi di fine secolo e l'eta` Giolittiana p39-40 & Nesti Gesu` socialista`

⁴⁶ On the characteristic anticlericalism of anarchism see Carocci Giolitti e l'eta` Giolittiana p104-5

⁴⁷ Marx *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* cited by McLellan in The Thought of Karl Marx 2nd ed. p63.

⁴⁸ I owe my familiarity with this idiom to Anna Maria Fabrizio.

⁴⁹ See Meneghello Libera nos a Malo` p132. The sexual division of spiritual labour was operative in the Fabrizio household where I was a son in law in the periphery of Milan in the mid 1980s, and was mentioned by Mr Andrea Cunial when interviewed at Ashton in the Adelaide Hills, 4/7/2002.

⁵⁰ Meneghello *ibid* p112.

⁵¹ Signora Amelia Bettanin-DF SVL (VI) 22 December 1987.

⁵² Meneghello Libera nos a Malo` p110ff.

⁵³ *Ibid* p112 & 132.

⁵⁴ Valentino Bortoloso – DF SVL 14 December 1987

⁵⁵ Professor Alan Watson, ABC Radio National 30 July 2002.

⁵⁶ Watson *ibid*. The literacy threshold he cites at the dawn of the century is derived from UNESCO statistics. The century closed with global literacy at 77% (website). I have given his view of the revolutionary implications of mass literacy a political accent.

⁵⁷ Zimmern & Agresti New Italy p80

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- ⁵⁸ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Mensuale e Annuale Scuola Maschile 1902-3
- ⁵⁹ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Generale Scuola Maschile Classe I 1913-14.
- ⁶⁰ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Maschile degli scrutini e degli esami 1913-14.
- ⁶¹ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Generale Scuola Maschile 1913-14
- ⁶² ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Mensuale e Annuale Scuola Elementare Classe I Mista 1902-3 & Registro Generale Scuola Femminile Classe I 1915-16.
- ⁶³ Zimmern & Agresti New Italy p79 re education; passim re the theme of the work.
- ⁶⁴ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Mensuale ed Annuale della Scuola Elementare Classe I Mista 1902-3: 19 Fantin Luigi.
- ⁶⁵ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro degli esami e degli scutini Scuola Elementare Maschile 1913-14: 14 Fantin Alfonso.
- ⁶⁶ APSVL Libro Chronistorico p17.
- ⁶⁷ The source of this information is Paolo Snichelotto, municipal archivist.
- ⁶⁸ Giovanni Maria Grotto – DF Coburg Victoria 29 March 1992
- ⁶⁹ Meneghello Libera nos a Malo p15.
- ⁷⁰ ACSVL b.D/16 Spechietto degli Scrutini Finali Classe I 1915-16, Registro Scuola Maschile Classe I 1915-16 & Registro Generale della Scuola Femminile Classe I 1915-16.
- ⁷¹ In working class Liverpool after 1945, pre-school education was considered an unnecessary and onerous expense by the family of the young Tom Sheridan, later the supervisor of this thesis. A quarter of a century further on in provincial Tasmania, the adoptive mother of the author, the working class wife of a lower middle class shopkeeper, chose not to avail herself of free public pre-schooling for her son because she feared the precocious separation and schooling it signified to her.
- ⁷² B Saccardo 'Gli Ottant'anni di vita dell'asilo' La Giara July 1987, published with a crowded photo of the 'maternal school' or 'sanctuary nest' dated 1924
- ⁷³ ACSVL b.D/16. The teachers were Geremia Roncan, Elena Sterle, Maria Pizzardin Pietro Grison & Angelina Masscasola. All but the last specified on school registers that they were unmarried, Masscasola not filling in the appropriate entry.
- ⁷⁴ Davis Conflict & Control: Law & Order in 19th Century Italy p266.
- ⁷⁵ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Elementare Classe I Mista 1902-3. One hundred children enrolled under the tutelage of Signorina Sterle, who ended up teaching about half that number.

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- ⁷⁶ Gaeta La crisi di fine secolo e l'eta Giolittiana p137
- ⁷⁷ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Maschile Classe II/III 1902-3
- ⁷⁸ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Maschile Classe I 1913-14, Registro Scuola Maschile Classe I 1915-16, & Registro Scuola Femmine Classe I 1915-16
- ⁷⁹ Davis Conflict & control: Law & order in 19th century Italy p267
- ⁸⁰ Bertoni Jovine Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia p141
- ⁸¹ Hentze Pre-Fascist Italy p56-7 & 71-2
- ⁸² `S. Vito di Leguzzano – Megalomania o Inconscienza? – In Provincia' La Provincia di Vicenza 12 March 1921 p2
- ⁸³ S Vito di Leguzzano – Ne` Megalomania Ne` Incoscienza – in Provincia La Provincia di Vicenza 19 March 1921 p2
- ⁸⁴ This `ancient tradition' was cited on 26 October 1920 by the catholic Corriere Vicentino in commenting the administrative elections: now in Furegon `I socialisti vicentini tra riformismo e rivoluzione 1919-24' in Franzina acd CUP p746
- ⁸⁵ Ibid p265
- ⁸⁶ Bertoni Jovine Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia p141 & Mack Smith Italy p55 & 57
- ⁸⁷ Giolitti Memoirs p170
- ⁸⁸ Zimmern & Agresti New Italy p82
- ⁸⁹ Mack Smith Italy p55
- ⁹⁰ Davis Conflict & Control p266
- ⁹¹ Zimmern & Agresti New Italy p82
- ⁹² ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Maschile 1915-16 & Registro Scuola Femmine 1915-16
- ⁹³ Frank Carmagnola – Angela Diana 1981 VT 273 – 4 SLNSW
- ⁹⁴ ACSVL b.D/16. Different registers printed at different times by the Commune referred to its `Elementary School' or `Elementary Schools'. The singular is employed with reference to a senior primary class in 1913-14, so it would appear that its reference to Elena Sterle's beginners class of 1902-3 is not a reference to the kindergarten mentioned below. Rather the oscillation between a generic collective noun and a plural noun expressed uncertainty as to whether the Commune's educational establishment was best thought of as an entity or entities.

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- ⁹⁵ ACSVL b.D/16 Registro Scuola Femminile 1915-16
- ⁹⁶ Zimmern & Agresti New Italy p83
- ⁹⁷ Ibid p96
- ⁹⁸ Davis Conflict & control: p265
- ⁹⁹ Mariano 'Il nemico a Verona' in *Il giornale del mattino* cited in Lanaro 'Genealogia di un modello' in Il Veneto p53.
- ¹⁰⁰ Davis Conflict & control: p266
- ¹⁰¹ ACSVL b.D/16 Scuola Elementare Anno Scolastico 1913-14 Registro degli scrutini e degli esami di Compimento.
- ¹⁰² Bertoni Jovine Storia dell'educazione popolare in Italia p145-6, citing La Civiltà Cattolica 19 September 1856 p84
- ¹⁰³ This account of Italian pedagogical practices owes much to the insight of Anna Fabrizio, who obtained her primary schooling at Cernusco sul Naviglio in the periphery of Milan in the 1960s, and her secondary schooling at the metropolitan Classical Lyceum of Milan.
- ¹⁰⁴ DF – Valentino Bortoloso San Vito de Leguzzano 14 December 1987 & DF- Signor Franzina 30 April 1987
- ¹⁰⁵ Mack Smith Italy p55.
- ¹⁰⁶ DF - Giovanni Maria Grotto Coburg Victoria 29/3/1992
- ¹⁰⁷ Carmagnola Frank – Angela Diana 1981 SLNSW VT 273 – 4
- ¹⁰⁸ Simini in Franzina ed CUP p181 & 197. It is not impertinent to mention here that a similar destiny was reserved for my wife's grandmother Signora Salvina Porta, who was not able to pursue her love of mathematics for want of funds.
- ¹⁰⁹ The Communist Manifesto A Modern Edition, Verso London 1998 p33
- ¹¹⁰ The concept is borrowed from Del Caria Proletari Senza Rivoluzione: Storia delle Classi Subalterne Italiane dal 1860 al 1950
- ¹¹¹ See the Italian text of this song in Canzoniere della protesta p9-10 & 87.
- ¹¹² See CUP per index Gori Pietro
- ¹¹³ For a concise reference to the exile of Dante the civic patriot from high medieval Florence see Waley The Italian City Republics p7. For a more detailed brief reference emphasising the

urban bourgeoisie factionalism and cosmopolitan power politics involved see Holmes Dante p22-9

¹¹⁴ Franzina in Franzina acd CUP p7

¹¹⁵ Simini in ibid p346

¹¹⁶ Cited Simini in ibid p347

¹¹⁷ The date of the death of the regicide is recorded by Simini in Franzina ed CUP p353.

¹¹⁸ See ACS CPC b329 Barbieri This text may have been a self contained pamphlet or a section of a longer argument.

¹¹⁹ The phrase quoted is Camus'. See the chapter 'The Fastidious Assassins' in his The Rebel p133-142

¹²⁰ Simini in Franzina ed CUP p355-6

¹²¹ Ambasciatore d'Italia Parigi No. 15859 31 July 1905 - MI DGPS in ACS DGPS CPC Barbieri Sante b329

¹²² See Carocci Giolitti e l'eta` Giolittiana p66 on this distinction, fundamental to the statesman's attempted rapprochement with the socialists.

¹²³ Sante Barbieri – Francesco Scalise Regio Commissario PS Torino 8 July 1905 in ACS DGPS CPC Barbieri Sante b329

¹²⁴ See the implicit reference in Quaderni 2.75, in the context of a discussion of Michels, Weber, Sorel et al & fascism.

¹²⁵ See Mind in Society 1978 p69, cited by Watson, ABC Radio National 30 July 2002.

¹²⁶ This basic methodological point is made by Simini in his pioneering study on vicentine anarchism in Franzina acd CUP p345

¹²⁷ The movements of the Basso family prior to its establishment at San Vito were retrospectively established in mid 1908 and reported to Rome. See Prefectura Vicenza – DGPS Roma 26 May 1908 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe

¹²⁸ Provincia di Vicenza, Comune di San Vito di Leguzzano, Ufficio di Stato Civile 15 October 1898.

¹²⁹ See the brief biographical profile by Simini in Franzina ed CUP p1251

¹³⁰ In the mid 1980s a Freiburg hotelieress requested documentary proof of marriage to the author and his wife before granting overnight accommodation. Petty moralism of this kind must have been more common when the Barbieri's travelled into exile.

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- ¹³¹ Ministero Public Federal Berne – MI DGPS 15 November 1900 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe
- ¹³² Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS Roma 14 April 1901 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe
- ¹³³ Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS Roma 15 April 1901 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe
- ¹³⁴ DGPS – Prefettura Vicenza 12 May 1908 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe
- ¹³⁵ DGPS – R Legazione Berna 3 July 1908 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe
- ¹³⁶ Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS 18 June 1928 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f23258 Basso Francesco Giuseppe in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b395 f598
- ¹³⁷ See No 21670 del 9 August 1927 in ACS MI AGR J-5 1939 b.69
- ¹³⁸ Signor Bortoloso Valentino – DF SVL 14 Dec. 1987 Signora Bettanin Amelia – DF SVL 16 Feb. 1988
- ¹³⁹ Libera nos a Malo p164-5
- ¹⁴⁰ Prefect Vicenza – DGPS 4 January 1921 ACS Roma MI DGPS 1921 K1 b115
- ¹⁴¹ Simini Il nostro signor capo p9
- ¹⁴² Contemporary concern about 'the immorality of the factory' is considered by Peli to have inhibited female employment notwithstanding its wartime growth. See Isnenghi cit p241
- ¹⁴³ Peli in Isnenghi cit p241-2
- ¹⁴⁴ Ufficio Storico Esercito [hereinafter USE] La mobilitazione industriale italiana nella grande guerra p142-3
- ¹⁴⁵ AL Personnel Lists Pievebelvicino 4/1921 & 5/1920
- ¹⁴⁶ Roverato in Isnenghi cit p213.
- ¹⁴⁷ Il nostro signor capo p9
- ¹⁴⁸ Rovereto in Isnenghi cit p213-14
- ¹⁴⁹ Romeo Breve storia della grande industria in Italia p121 & 116

¹⁵⁰ Ibid p217-18 Snichelotto records that San Vito and adjacent villages were affected by traffic restrictions: La Giara 1985. It should be noted that these were years in which Gavazzi and Castellini, respectively Managing Director and Chair of the Board, began to corporatise the Rossi conglomerate, after Gaetano Rossi had relinquished management of the works at Dueville, Marano Vicentino and Piovene Rocchette in 1912, followed by a like abdication of authority over the Schio and Torrebelticino works in 1919 by Giovanni Rossi: See Zaccaria Il Lanificio Rossi dal Dopoguerra all'Autarchia

¹⁵¹ Clough cit p191

¹⁵² USE cit p13

¹⁵³ Ibid p9-10

¹⁵⁴ Bezza Salario e cannoni p16 & 126

¹⁵⁵ USE cit p144

¹⁵⁶ Quaderni 1.116; Peli in Isnenghi p243

¹⁵⁷ Ibid p132 & 168. Also Gramsci Quaderni 1.116, 8.83 & 15.51

¹⁵⁸ Bezza Salario e cannoni p20

¹⁵⁹ Camarda in Isnenghi p271 citing Berri & Revelli 'Salari' in AAVV Storia d'Italia III: Il mondo contemporaneo

¹⁶⁰ Camarda in Isnenghi p264

¹⁶¹ The USE cit p130-31 for example reports 'a *small* contraction in real salaries between 1913-17. According to this view wages at first depreciated and then partially recovered in the critical biennium of 1916-17. This was in great part due to the wisdom of Dallolio, who provided that wage control should not be too rigid: See ibid p134-5. The same source records p91 that 'the greater part of low paid workers were women.'

¹⁶² Ibid p132. The USE notes p132-3 that these data have been queried, but retain the confidence of most scholars.

¹⁶³ Camarda in Isnenghi p264-5

¹⁶⁴ USE cit p133 & 144-7

¹⁶⁵ See Magre` 1916 Schio 1917 p15-22

¹⁶⁶ Bezza Salario e cannoni p16 & 23

¹⁶⁷ USE cit p19

¹⁶⁸ Ibid p226

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- ¹⁶⁹ Ibid p125-6
- ¹⁷⁰ Roverato in Isnenghi cit p227
- ¹⁷¹ Note however the criticism of Melograni by Peli in Isnenghi p251-7 for taking this partisan divide and rule Interventionist propaganda too literally.
- ¹⁷² Simini Il nostro signor capo p47
- ¹⁷³ USE cit p91, 129, 135 & 138
- ¹⁷⁴ Ibid p114 & 116, & Clough p188-9
- ¹⁷⁵ Gramsci Quaderni 2.66
- ¹⁷⁶ Zaccaria cit p7-8 & Appendix p66 & 76.
- ¹⁷⁷ Simini Il nostro signor capo p37 – 41
- ¹⁷⁸ See Franzina acd CUP p69 & 499. Sorel's Reflections on Violence was first published in Italy, contemporary with its circulation France, in the labour journal Il divenire social / Future Society, & subsequently circulated under the title Lo sciopero generale e la violenza with an introduction by the labour radical Enrico Leone. See Introduction to Colliers NY 1950 English translation p27-8.
- ¹⁷⁹ Peli in Isnenghi cit p233-6
- ¹⁸⁰ Cerrito Dall'insurrezionalismo alla settimana rossa p79 & 87
- ¹⁸¹ For a brief description of this historical episode as a psychopolitical aberration reactive to the socio-economic exclusion of the Edwardian British working class, see Dangerfield, The Strange Death of Liberal England, II.4 'The workers rebellion.'
- ¹⁸² Maria 'Gina' Fantin in Abrams - DF Schio Vicenza 15 December 1987
- ¹⁸³ Cerrito cit p83
- ¹⁸⁴ Romano & Galla in CUP p499-508 & 1145 & Simini Il nostro signor capo p165
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid p80. For details on Spanish anarcho-syndicalism see Chapter 7 of Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth. Brenan comments on the rural atavism of this movement at p181 & 199
- ¹⁸⁶ National Security Aliens Control Regulations, Application for Leave to Submit Objections Against Detention Order Frank Fantin 21 February 1942 in NAA BP 242/1 Q30084
- ¹⁸⁷ Romano in Franzina acd Operai e sindacato a Vicenza p149
- ¹⁸⁸ See note 195

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- ¹⁸⁹ Cerrito cit p83
- ¹⁹⁰ Bezza Salario e cannoni p57
- ¹⁹¹ USE cit p172 & 175
- ¹⁹² Procacci cited in Bezza Salario e cannoni p22 Peli endorses the view of the wartime generational transformation of the Italian working class in 'La classe operaia nella grande guerra' in Isnenghi cit.
- ¹⁹³ NAA BP242/1 Q30084
- ¹⁹⁴ Signora Martini Rosa – DF SVL 16 December 1987
- ¹⁹⁵ On a visit to Mantova in the mid 1980's I saw a postcard for sale with a note in English in pencil stating that the sender was fine. On the front was a detailed and poetically realistic monochrome depiction of the Piovene Rocchette establishment prior to its destruction against the background of the mouth of the Val d'Astico. Four patriotic Italian poems at the corners completed the design.
- ¹⁹⁶ Clough cit p191. Snichelotto mentions English, French & American troops at San Vito: See 'San Vito nella Grande Guerra' La Giara Dicembre 1985 p8
- ¹⁹⁷ Raumer Malo Durante la Grande Guerra p70-71
- ¹⁹⁸ N.1114 Registro Generale Pretura di Schio Sentence 146 1917 Zuccato Giovanni Battista
- ¹⁹⁹ N.33 Registro Generale Pretura di Schio Sentenza 173 1917 Bariola Pietro Ernesto
- ²⁰⁰ Snichelotto cit p1
- ²⁰¹ Giovanni Maria Grotto – DF Coburg Victoria 29/3/1992
- ²⁰² Signora Martini Carmine – DF SVL 23 December 1987
- ²⁰³ Simini Il nostro signor capo p9n
- ²⁰⁴ Snichelotto cit p1 & 8
- ²⁰⁵ Raumer cit p70
- ²⁰⁶ For a panoramic examination of the involvement of the Church in war work see Franzina 'Il tempo libero nella Guerra. Le Case del Soldato e postriboli militari' in Leoni & Zandra acd La Grande Guerra: esperienza, memorie & immagini.
- ²⁰⁷ Signora Giovannina Companaro - DF SVL 23 February 1988
- ²⁰⁸ Libro cronistorico p18-19

²⁰⁹ Monticone in Forcella & Moniticone cit p445 & 449. Later in the war, on the Isonzo front and in the retreat from Caporetto, Graziani, having passed to the command of the 33rd Division, XII Army Corp III Army was to be involved in further bizarre cases of summary execution for petty insubordination. See Silvestri cit p169-70 for a case involving a soldier of the Brigata Mantova. On one occasion officers of the Brigade lost their commander, who had gone hunting his troops with a rifle after a deployment gone wrong. The execution of Private Ruffini at Noventa Padovano on 3 November 1917 for having saluted Graziani during the retreat from Caporetto with a pipe in his mouth took, Graziani later recollected, all of 'four or five minutes'. See Appendix, Simini Magre 1916 Schio 1917 p28-9. Like Patton in a later war, Graziani's severity gave rise to controversy during and after the war. Graziani like many senior officers became a fascist sympathiser after the war, feeling that the blackshirts were the only sector of opinion to have appreciated his war effort.

²¹⁰ Simini Magre` 1916... p8-10

²¹¹ See Ferro cit Chapter 15

²¹² Plotone d'Esecuzione

²¹³ Pieropan Ortigara 1917

²¹⁴ The idealist novelist was a pacifist refugee in Switzerland during the Great War, and published polemical short fictions and essays against the war which were resurrected by the counter culture during the protests against the Vietnam War. Hesse favoured the moderation of war aims lest the conflict prove interminable. After WWII Hesse was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

²¹⁵ On 3 May 1917 Don Tarcisio Raumer noticing stricter military police controls in the town of Malo` foresaw 'important events on our front' p69. On 7 June he noted 'persistent rumours of imminent action on our Trentino front' p74

²¹⁶ The echo of artillery bombardment was noted at Malo on 20 June 1917, Raumer p76

²¹⁷ Details of the collocation of this unit abstracted from Raumer, cit Chapter 1917. The other two regiments of the Brigade, stationed at Malo, seem to have been the 7th & the 79th Foot: Raumer cit p78

²¹⁸ Libro Chronistorico Parocchia SVL p29

²¹⁹ Signora Bettanin Amelia - DF SVL 22 December 1988

²²⁰ Simini Magre 1916... p6n

²²¹ Passarin acd Guglielmo Pecori Giraldi: L'Archivio p70

²²² Raumer cit p67

²²³ Signor Clementi Girolamo – DF Schio 23 February 1988

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- ²²⁴ Signora Bettanin Amelia – DF SVL 16 February 1988
- ²²⁵ See the profiles of Barelli Dr Giovan Battista & Casoni Eugenio, in I protagonisti della grande guerra p127 & 133. This obscure publication by a minor Milanese publishing house, contains brief profiles of a random sample of Italian Great War veterans. It was perhaps published on a vanity basis.
- ²²⁶ See Franzina, Introduction to Simini Il nostro signor capo p.x citing Melograni Storia politica della grande guerra p474 – 5 Piva Lotte contadine e origini del fascismo: Padova – Venezia 1919 – 22 p39 – 40
- ²²⁷ Pieri cit p147 & Raumer p82
- ²²⁸ Sentenza 198 / 1920 Pretore del Mandamento di Schio
- ²²⁹ No112 Registro generale 1922 Prettura Schio Sentenza 3408 1926
- ²³⁰ L' Anarchismo in Italia p57
- ²³¹ Simini Il nostro signor capo p175
- ²³¹ Piva – Simini Schio September 1978 in Il nostro signor capo p175
- ²³² Piva – Simini Schio Sept 1978 in Il nostro signor capo p85 – 6
- ²³³ Simini Il nostro signor capo p178
- ²³⁴ Santarelli cit p99 – 100 That the Veneto was a frontier region is obvious. It needs to be remembered that because of its vulnerability, the same applied to the Romagna to its immediate south, and that accordingly a biregional Committee of Industrial Mobilisation governed these regions from Bologna. The socialist institutions of both regions were, partly as a consequence, devastated by the rise of fascism.
- ²³⁵ Under this heading The Province of Vicenza reported two incidents from Correggio & Campogalliano in the Province of Modena and a `violent demonstration at terranova Pausinia in Sardinia on 4 January 1921
- ²³⁶ Simini Il nostro signor capo p143
- ²³⁷ Williams Proletarian Order p175f & Davidson Antonio Gramsci per index Bordiga Amadeo & Gramsci Antonio
- ²³⁸ Riccardo Salvador – DF Schio November 1986
- ²³⁹ Davidson Antonio Gramsci per index Croce Benedetto
- ²⁴⁰ Casciola & Sermasi Vita di Blasco p29

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- ²⁴¹ Williams Proletarian Order p155f, 184f & 283f
- ²⁴² Simini Il nostro signor capo p114
- ²⁴³ Ibid p113 -15
- ²⁴⁴ Vivarelli in Fascismo lotta di liberazione dopoguerra p47
- ²⁴⁵ Simini Il nostro signor capo p115 – 18
- ²⁴⁶ Ibid p134
- ²⁴⁷ Ibid p167
- ²⁴⁸ Simini Il nostro signor capo p179
- ²⁴⁹ Ibid p170, based on the testimony of Igino Piva who was present and Prefetto Sabbadini – MI DGPS AGR 1920 b110 fC2
- ²⁵⁰ Prefetto Sabbadini – MI DGPS 21 August 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR 1920 C2
- ²⁵¹ La Provincia di Vicenza 18 August 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p186 - 7 & 321 1921 Registro Generale Pretura di Schio No247 Libro Sentenze 1921 Sperotto Luigi
- ²⁵² Document in the hands of the Bortoloso family, San Vito di Leguzzano
- ²⁵³ G Pegoraro – DF Schio 15 December 1987. The call up of the class of 1901 was reported on in La Provincia di Vicenza on 16 October 1920, but by this time Fantin was already in the ranks. It appears that those born in January 1901 or alphabetically prior were called up first.
- ²⁵⁴ In September 1920 Giolitti updated the 1908 legislation against the carriage of white arms to cover the revolver, noting that the postwar diffusion of side arms threatened to exacerbate the national reputation for violence. [For an example thereof see Forster, A Room with a View, which opens with a passionate Italian stabbing in the central piazza of Florence.] `Senato del Regno / Dal coltello alla rivoltella, Il Corriere Vicentino 30 September 1920. Bonomi made specific mention of the provision against the carriage of sword sticks in a wire to the Civil Commissioners General for Trento, Trieste & Zara 17 October 1921, which had been banned by Royal Decree 3 October 1921. Both these generic provisions were implemented with a retractive bias towards the usual subversive suspects and with latitude towards fascist friends of order.
- ²⁵⁵ Simini Magre` 1916... p27
- ²⁵⁶ Tasca cit p185
- ²⁵⁷ For reference to the prior correspondence of De Stefani complaining of official obstruction of the Schio fascio see Simini Il nostro signor capo p91
- ²⁵⁸ See `Fascism e conservatorismo' 4 January 1921

²⁵⁹ Ibid p91

²⁶⁰ Simini Il nostro signor capo p144. & for an evocative account of the impact of the war on the Schio district and the Veneto, p35. For a profile of Galeno, a leading figure in early socialist proselytism in the Veneto, who had degrees in both law and natural science, see Franzina CUP Vol II p1262 – 3.

²⁶¹ `PER I NOSTRI BOSCHI distrutti dalla guerra' La provincia di Vicenza date ? March 1921, publishing a report of the Vicenza Forest Protectorate 3 March 1921

²⁶² Min Guerra/DGA – Comandi Corpo d'Armata 1 August 1919 ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C2 1920 b113

²⁶³ Albricci – Nitti 12 Settembre 1919 ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C2 1920 b113

²⁶⁴ Albricci – Nitti 29 August 1919 ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C2 1920 b113

²⁶⁵ `Promemoria Angelo Vicari 27 August 1919: Materiale di guerra abbandonato nelle provincie venete' & Prefect Vicenza Min Interno 2 Octobre 1919 in ACS Roma DGPS AGR 1920 C1 b74 f32

²⁶⁶ Colosimo pro Premier – Prefetti Regno 3 April 1919 in ACS Roma DGPS AGR C2 1920 b113

²⁶⁷ Prefect Gutierrez - DGPS 17 October. Gutierrez had indeed been diligent in reporting this risk to the DGPS on 24 September & 11 October 1921 On 15 October 1921 he was backed up by Cavaliere Mandoj, the Schio Commissioner for Public Security. All documents in ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

²⁶⁸ Director General PS – Premier 9 May 1920 in ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C1 1920

²⁶⁹ Prefetto Guttierrez 24 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

²⁷⁰ MI DGPS G1 1921

²⁷¹ Prefetto Grignolo – Min Interno 10 June 1919 in ACS Roma DGPS AGR 1920 C2 b113 f19 `Raccolta Armi'

²⁷² Prefetto Milano – Min Interno 3 May 1919 in ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR C2 1920 b113

²⁷³ For an imaginative reconstruction see the film L'ultima mazurka

²⁷⁴ Il nostro signor capo p179

²⁷⁵ Ibid p153 – 4

²⁷⁶ See Williams' discussion cit p197 regarding Gramsci's 'Address to the Anarchists' published in L'Ordine Nuovo, & also 'Il taglio della storia' [The Trend of History] in Year 1, No5 7 June 1919

²⁷⁷ El Visentin 15 November 1919 p3

²⁷⁸ Simini Il nostro signor capo p153

²⁷⁹ Ibid p154

²⁸⁰ Simini Il nostro signor capo p154

²⁸¹ Mariani Memorie di un ex-terrorista p35

²⁸² Ibid p35-6. The comrade who knew the whereabouts of the munitions is characterised as old on p38.

²⁸³ Ibid p36

²⁸⁴ Ibid p39

²⁸⁵ Ibid

²⁸⁶ Mazurka Blu: La Strage del Diana p279

²⁸⁷ Dada` L'Anarchismo in Italia p79

²⁸⁸ Tasca cit p202

²⁸⁹ The further trips are mentioned by Mantovani cit p548 – 9

²⁹⁰ Mantovani cit p401–3 Mariani himself notes that his associates were not dissuaded by their early misadventure.

²⁹¹ The term arises from the strategy of Italian terrorists of the right involved with rogue elements of the security services in the late 1970s. For reference to context see Chiaromonte Le scelte della solidarieta` democratica Chapter IV

²⁹² Mariani cit p34

²⁹³ Simini Il nostro signor capo p190

²⁹⁴ Mantovani cit p401 & Dada` cit p78

²⁹⁵ Panizzon Gaetano fu Pietro MI DGPS CPC in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b3699

²⁹⁶ #444 RG 1921 Pretore Schio #214 S1921 Fantin Luigi 31 October 1921

²⁹⁷ `Schio: Giu le armi! Bombe e arresti' 18 August 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p186

²⁹⁸ Spriano Storia del PCI p130-31

²⁹⁹ Prefect Gutierrez – MI 19 July 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁰⁰ Signora Maria `Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987

³⁰¹ Prefect Gutierrez – MI 12 August 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁰² Davidson Antonio Gramsci p247

³⁰³ Spriano Storia del PCI p127

³⁰⁴ Prefect Gutierrez 16 August 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁰⁵ `Schio: Giu` le armi! Bombe e arresti' La Provincia di Vicenza 18 August 1921 now in Il nostro signor capo p186 – 7 & #321GR contro Sperotto Luigi per direttissima #247S 1921

³⁰⁶ `Bombe contro un'automobile' & `Bombe e fucili' in La Provincia di Vicenza, respectively 17 & 18 August 1921, now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p186 – 7

³⁰⁷ Simini Il nostro signor capo p234

³⁰⁸ Simini Il nostro signor capo p224

³⁰⁹ Prefect Gutierrez – MI 1 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³¹⁰ See the commentary of 3 September 1921 cited in Simini Il nostro signore capo p226

³¹¹ The excerpts from Il Popolo of 3 & 11 September are cited along with news of the accord of 6 September in Simini Il nostro signor capo p227

³¹² Prefect Gutierrez – MI 12 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³¹³ Prefect Gutierrez – MI 15 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³¹⁴ Ibid

³¹⁵ `L'agitazione dei lanieri in Provincia...' La Provincia di Vicenza 16 August 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p187 – 8

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- ³¹⁶ Confindustria – MI DGPS 17 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³¹⁷ Panebianco – Premier 18 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³¹⁸ Simini Il nostro signor capo p228
- ³¹⁹ Prefect Guttierrez – DGPS 21 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²⁰ Deputato Domenico Marchioro – Morgari Gruppo Parlamentare Socialista 21 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²¹ MI – Prefetto Vicenza 21 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²² DGPS – Prefect Vicenza 15 November 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²³ Prefect Gutteriez [- MI?] Attachment B 15 November 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²³ Simini Il nostro signor capo p190
- ³²⁴ Commissioner Mandoj – Prefect Guttierrez 15 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p231 – 2
- ³²⁵ Simini Il nostro signor capo p190
- ³²⁶ MI – M War 10 November 1921 copying the Prefect's original telegram & Prefetto Gutteriez – MI DGPS 26 November 1921 both in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²⁷ Commissioner Mandoj – Prefect Guttierrez 15 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²⁸ Prefect Guttierrez – DGPS 17 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³²⁹ Chief of Bureau Castelli – Undersecretary PS 6 December 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili
- ³³⁰ Signora Maria `Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987
- ³³¹ Simini Il nostro signor capo p97 & 229
- ³³² Prefetto Guttierrez – DGPS 23 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³³³ As a member of the Red Bicyclists, a propaganda group of young socialists who toured the Schio district, Tresso was responsible for instructing his comrades and their audiences in sociology and oratory. In rural towns it was not unusual for the priest to ring the alarm and for the women to stone them out of town to cries of `devils!' See the testimony of Riccardo Walter in Simini Il nostro signor capo p50 – 54

³³⁴ Prefect Guttierrez – MI DGPS 24 September 1912 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³³⁵ `Lo sciopero di Schio. Vandalismi e bombe' La Provincia di Vicenza 24 September 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p188

³³⁶ `Lo sciopero tessili – Continuano gli attentati dinamitardi' La Provincia di Vicenza 30 September 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p188

³³⁷ Prefect Guttierrez – DGPS 27 September 1921. The organisers' charged are identified as Isidoro Marchioro and Pietro Tresso in Questore Poli – DGPS 27 September 1921. The number arrested is specified as 37 in Prefetto Guttierrez DGPS 8 October 1921, all in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili.

³³⁸ MI – PPI 3 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³³⁹ Prefetto Guttierrez – DGPS 8 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁴⁰ Deputy Marchioro – Socialist Party 26 September 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁴¹ Quaderni 23.58

³⁴² Simini Il nostro signor capo p230 – 1

³⁴³ Ibid p231 – 2

³⁴⁴ Ibid p234

³⁴⁵ See Prefetto Guterriez – MI 9 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁴⁶ Prefetto Gutteriez – MI 11 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili. Attacks against the houses of De Marchi Orazio & Maria Cattelan , both of Poleo and mentioned by the Prefect, were subsequently reported on 13 October in La Provincia di Vicenza as having occurred the previous evening. If these reports are accurate, they were repeated attacks. Also mentioned as having been the target at this time of a domiciliary attack was one Antonio Dal Santo. See Simini Il nostro signor capo p189

³⁴⁷ Prefetto Gutteriez – MI 12 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili. Cavaliere Mandoj, the Commissioner for Public Security sent to Schio at

the height of the strike to stiffen repression emphasised in his report to the Prefect press complaints that strikers alleged to have been involved in improprieties not be released until the end of the dispute to prevent their participation. See Mandoj – Gutteriez 15 October 1921 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁴⁸ Now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p189

³⁴⁹ MI – Prefect Vicenza 14 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵⁰ Prefect Gutteriez – DGPS 17 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵¹ Premier Bonomi – Prefects Vicenza – Novara 24 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵² Prefect Gutteriez – Premier Bonomi 24 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵³ Prefect Gutteriez – Premier Bonomi 25 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵⁴ See Simini Il nostro signor capo p234 – 5, citing Prefect Gutierrez – MI 31 October 1921 regarding interception of 300 strikers from the Valdagno directed to Schio at Magre` with a view to constituting teams of marshals for a joint demonstration with the Valdagno strikers.

³⁵⁵ Prefect Gutierrez - MI DGPS 7 November 1921 No 862 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵⁶ Prefect Gutierrez – MI DGPS 7 November 1921 No 1385 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵⁷ MI – M War 10 November 1921 copying the Prefect's original telegram 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁵⁸ La Provincia di Vicenza 11 November 1921

³⁵⁹ Simini Il nostro signor capo p234 – 5

³⁶⁰ See the letter dated 14 November 1921 published by the Federazione Comunista Vicentina, now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p236 – 8

³⁶¹ Ibid p239

³⁶² See the 1921 Lanerossi annual report, now in Simini Il nostro signor capo p241 – 2

³⁶³ Prefect Gutierrez – Premier Bonomi 25 October 1921 in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili

³⁶⁴ Bureau Chief Castelli – Bureau Undersecretary MI 7 December 1921. Prefect Gutierrez had anticipated these unemployment figures as early as 27 November in his routine reports to the Ministry of the Interior. Both documents in ACS Roma MI DGPS C1 1921 Vicenza Agitazione Tessili.

³⁶⁵ As previously mentioned references to the career of Sperotto may be traced in Simini Il nostro signor capo p86, 170, 179, 186, 187, 256 & 257, & Sacchi `Italiani del Queensland. Uomini della “ghenga” Italo – Australian 17 October 1925 now in Il Veltro 17 No23 1973 p374. The judicial misfortunes of Sperotto are documented in Libro Sentenze Pretura Schio No210RG 1920 11S 1922

³⁶⁶ Simini Il nostro signor capo p51 Williams mentions that similar exercises were attempted by the Tasca & the Torinese Federazione Giovanile Socialista with like misfortune at the hands of the unenlightened provincial peasantry. See Proletarian Order p47-8

³⁶⁷ Valentino Bortoloso – DF SVL 16 February 1988 & Spartaco Panizzon Geelong May 1989. See also the Iconography below for the Fantin anniversary obituary card of 1943.

³⁶⁸ La Lotta Comunist 11 March 1922

³⁶⁹ Ibid 20 May 1922

³⁷⁰ Simini Il nostro signor capo p187

³⁷¹ La Lotta Comunista 1 April 1922

³⁷² Satanic Verses p1

³⁷³ Simini Il nostro signor capo p257

³⁷⁴ ? – DF Schio 28 April 1987

³⁷⁵ Simini Il nostro signor capo p46. For a full account of the proceedings of the XIV Army Corp against two networks of socialpacifist activists, predominantly from Schio, see Forcella & Monticone, Plotone d’Esecuzione.

³⁷⁶ Lotta Comunista 28 January 1922

³⁷⁷ Signora Maria `Gina’ Fantin in Abram – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987

³⁷⁸ AL Racc15 Interno 8 `Operai disoccupati per l’eliminazione dalle Officine: Schio’ Santacatterina Giuseppe was aged 34 and had 13 years service with the firm.

³⁷⁹ AL Racc29 Interno 3 `Operai rimasti disoccupati per l’eliminazione dalle Officine: Pieve Raimondo Quartese was 39 years old and had 15 years service with the firm.

³⁸⁰ La Provincia di Vicenza 18 August 1921 now in Simini Il nostro signor capo 187

³⁸¹ Cavadini – DF Adelaide 19 February 1985

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- ³⁸² See Spriano Storia del PCI chapter XIII
- ³⁸³ Simini Il nostro signore capo p244
- ³⁸⁴ Ibid p103
- ³⁸⁵ Spriano Storia del PCI p210
- ³⁸⁶ Simini Il nostro signor capo p248 – 9
- ³⁸⁷ See the telephonic transcript of the discussion between Turati and Storti of the Milan Chamber of Labour of 31 July 1922 in Spriano Storia del PCI p209
- ³⁸⁸ Spriano Storia del PCI p211
- ³⁸⁹ `Socialisti e fascisti' L'Ordine Nuovo 11 June 1921 cited in Spriano Storia del PCI Vol.I p135
- ³⁹⁰ Tasca cit Vol.II p563
- ³⁹¹ Cited in Spriano Storia del PCI Vol.I p203
- ³⁹² Fabio Cavadini – DF Adelaide 28 February 1985 confirmed by 26170 9 August 1927 in ACS Roma MI DGPS J5 1940 b119
- ³⁹³ 444 RG 1921 Pretura Schio 214 S 1921 Fantin Luigi 31 October 1921
- ³⁹⁴ See `Application for Leave to Submit Objections Against Detention Order' 14 October 1942 now in NAA:
- ³⁹⁵ `Magre`: Persecuzioni poliziesche' La Lotta Comunista 28 January 1922 & Simini Il nostro signor capo p98 – 9 & 190 – 91
- ³⁹⁶ `L'emigrazione schedata: Lavoratori sovversivi all'estero e meccanismi di controllo poliziesco tra fine secolo e fascismo' in Bezza acd Gli italiani fuori d'Italia p775-6, 817, 824
- ³⁹⁷ Franzina citing & commenting on Sacerdote et al in ibid p778-9 & notes 12-13
- ³⁹⁸ See for example Luciana Bagnino Ramella `I rapporti tra emigrazione economica ed emigrazione politica in Francia tra le due guerre. Tre esempi' in Mezzosecolo p357-8
- ³⁹⁹ Franzina in idem e CUP Vol.I p16
- ⁴⁰⁰ Prefetto Vicenza – DGPS 28 July 1920 ACS Roma MI DGPS AGR 1920 b110
- ⁴⁰¹ Cooper cit p.v921
- ⁴⁰² Ibid p43

⁴⁰³ Ibid p53

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid p53

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid p.vii-viii

⁴⁰⁶ Spriano Storia del PCI p415

⁴⁰⁷ .Rosario Romeo Breve storia della grande industria p101.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid p324-5. & Spriano Storia del PCI p395

⁴⁰⁹ Spriano Storia del PCI p416

⁴¹⁰ Ibid p414 – 15

⁴¹¹ Ibid p395.

⁴¹² Ibid p339

⁴¹³ Ibid p325

⁴¹⁴ Ibid p326

⁴¹⁵ Ibid p326

⁴¹⁶ Ibid p328-9

⁴¹⁷ Ibid p337-9

⁴¹⁸ Time Capsule 1923 p102 – 3

⁴¹⁹ Sforza L'Italia 1914 - 44 p128

⁴²⁰ Spriano Storia del PCI p340

⁴²¹ Ibid p339

⁴²² Ibid p339

⁴²³ Ibid p391

⁴²⁴ Ibid p390.

⁴²⁵ Ibid p387

⁴²⁶ Ibid p386.

⁴²⁷ Ibid cited p385

⁴²⁸ Ibid p339 & 395 for estimates of the circulation of the antifascist commercial and party press during the Matteotti crisis, which easily outsold fascist propaganda ten fold. See also Sforza L'Italia 1914 – 44 p130 for mention of the principal opposition personalities and mastheads.

⁴²⁹ Ibid p431

⁴³⁰ Ibid p387 – 8 & 390 – 91

⁴³¹ Sforza L'Italia 1914 – 44 p129

⁴³² Spriano Storia del PCI p381

⁴³³ Ibid p403

⁴³⁴ Ibid p395, 416 & 422

⁴³⁵ Nuovo Paese May 1984

⁴³⁶ ACS Roma MI DGPS J – 5 1940 b119 Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS 20 Marzo 1928

⁴³⁷ V Bortoloso – DF San Vito Leguzzano 14 December 1987

⁴³⁸ La Provincia di Vicenza 30 January 1921

⁴³⁹ Regarding Ercole and his escape from Milan to exile in Australia via Switzerland see infra Chapter 8

⁴⁴⁰ Bosi [?] `La stampa italo-australiana al bivio: rinnovarsi o morire' in Australia: Ieri, oggi o domani Vol.1 f.7 Novembre 1984; CUP p45, 1262 & 1270 & Dewhurst `Symbolic Italian Identity through an Italian Family Heritage' Convivio Vol.3 No.2 October 1997, p157. Originally noble Calvinist refugees from Cambresis in Spanish Flanders to Verona where they re-established their fortunes in the silk trade, subsequent generations prospered professionally amongst the ranks of the provincial notability and in due course brought the courtesy title of `Count' to Australia.

⁴⁴¹ For biographical information on Piccoli and his first wife see the profile in the Dizionario Biografico CUP Vol.II

⁴⁴² Piccoli [Yarloop Western Australia Ottobre 1898] `Dove Sono gli Osiozi' in Il Giornale Visentin I Maggio 1899

⁴⁴³ Throssell My Father's Son p15-18

⁴⁴⁴ Cavadini – DF Adelaide 19 February 1985

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- ⁴⁴⁵ Dondi 'Coloni per caso, emigranti per forza: I Veneti di New Italy fra Otto e Novecento' Gentili 'Italian d'Australia Ieri e Oggi' in *Il Veltro* 2 – 3, 17 1973 & Cresciani 'Il calvario della Nuova Irlanda' *Nuovo Paese* July 1993
- ⁴⁴⁶ Lupi 'Partono pure, ma senza imprecare': Le guide per gli emigranti fra ideologia e consigli pratici' in *Franzina* acd *Un altro Veneto* p169 – 170 & 174
- ⁴⁴⁷ Signora Maria 'Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987
- ⁴⁴⁸ AL Laneficio Rossi Pieve 4/21
- ⁴⁴⁹ Signora Maria 'Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987
- ⁴⁵⁰ Signor Valentino Bortoloso 14 December 1987
- ⁴⁵¹ Signora Maria 'Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987
- ⁴⁵² AC Schio Registro Atti di Matrimonio 1923 no.116
- ⁴⁵³ AC Schio, scheda anagrafica Maria Zambon
- ⁴⁵⁴ 'Sfacciate provocazione poliziesche' La Lotta Comunista 3 September 1921
- ⁴⁵⁵ Signora Maria 'Gina' Fantin Abrams – DF Magre` di Schio 15 December 1987
- ⁴⁵⁶ Dada` L'Anarchismo in Italia p80
- ⁴⁵⁷ Spriano Storia del PCI p394. & Hibbert Benito Mussolini p71
- ⁴⁵⁸ See 'The revolutionist' in The Snows of Kilimanjaro
- ⁴⁵⁹ On History p10
- ⁴⁶⁰ Cited in Douglass From Italy to Ingham p158
- ⁴⁶¹ The City in History p510-11
- ⁴⁶² NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 AMF Report on Internee 23 February 1942
- ⁴⁶³ Douglass From Italy to Ingham p127
- ⁴⁶⁴ Menghetti 'Italians in North Queensland' The Australian People p600
- ⁴⁶⁵ Ibid p156
- ⁴⁶⁶ Douglass From Italy to Ingham p330 re Lyng 1927 Non-Britishers in Australia & generally for an extensive discussion of racial theories and migration regulation as they affected early Italian mass migration to Australia, see Chapter VI 'The Turbulent Twenties'.

For official description of Fantin as of Alpine race see NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 `Application for Leave to Submit Objections Against Detention 14 October 1942`.

⁴⁶⁷ For the history of the Bruce administration's industrial relations policy see Radi `1920-29' in Crowley A New History of Australia p398-401

⁴⁶⁸ Radi `1920-29' in Crowley A New History of Australia p398-9 & Watson Brian Fitzpatrick p60-62

⁴⁶⁹ Blackburn Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates 15 June 1939 Aliens Registration Bill

⁴⁷⁰ Yarwood `Introduction' Kisch Australian Landfall p x.

⁴⁷¹ Macintyre The Succeeding Age 1901 - 1942 p200, 203, & 227 - 8

⁴⁷² Moran was received by Mussolini in 1932 & 1935. Others to be so `honoured' included Duhig & EG Waterhouse, the Professor of German Literature at the University of Sydney in 1934. Eric Campbell the New Guard leader was received in the Duce's absence from Rome by the Fascist National Party Secretary Starace in 1933: [re this apparatchik see Spinoza Starace.] See Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 p136 & Pesman Cooper `An Australian in Mussolini's Italy: Herbert Michael Moran' Overland No115 1989

⁴⁷³ Cathcart Defending the National Tuckshop: Australia's secret army intrigue of 1931 p33

⁴⁷⁴ James Churchill: a Study in Failure 1900-39 p329

⁴⁷⁵ Spinoas Starace p52

⁴⁷⁶ Report by Gardiner cited in Rhodes James Churchill: A study in failure 1900-39 p237

⁴⁷⁷ For a recent panoramic sketch of the love affair of Australian conservatism and big business with fascism and the Italian model thereof in particular during the Depression see Venturini Never Give In Chapters 28 - 9

⁴⁷⁸ Radi `1920 - 29' in Crowley A New History of Australia p389 & 405

⁴⁷⁹ `Blackburn, Maurice McCrae' in ADB

⁴⁸⁰ Venturini Never Give In p497 Note also Pesman Cooper ``We want a Mussolini' - Views of Fascist Italy in Australia' AJPH Vol 39 No3 1993

⁴⁸¹ Menghetti citing Cresciani, The Red North p80

⁴⁸² NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 AMF Report on Internee 23 February 1942. Thus Venturini is not quite right in describing him as a labourer, Never Give In passim

⁴⁸³ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p59

⁴⁸⁴ Douglass 'Images & Adages: Anglo-Australian Perceptions of Italians in Queensland' War, Internment & Mass Migration p35f ; also Dignan 'Chiaffredo Venerano Fraire 1852-1931' in The Queensland Experience, especially p57, & Graves Cane & Labour p38

⁴⁸⁵ Douglass From Italy to Ingham p168

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid p168 & Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p60

⁴⁸⁷ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Application for Leave to Submit Objection Against Detention & AMF Internee Report 23 February 1942. The first document gives Fantin as resident at Innisfail from 1924-8, the second as resident for four years at Mourilyan. This is the only period of residence of four years documented for Fantin in Australia, so the two citations corroborate. Photographic evidence moreover places Fantin at Mourilyan sometime between 1925-7: see Martinuzzi O'Brien Australia's Italians p80. Multiple documents for the period 1929-30 in ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 cite Fantin as resident at Mourilyan & employed in the Australia Sugar Mill there, but this probably reflects a lag in Consular awareness of his move to Edmonton with his brothers. For one such document see Prefect Vicenza – CPC 20 February 1930

⁴⁸⁸ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p60 & Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p357

⁴⁸⁹ Lowenstein Weevils in the Flour p409

⁴⁹⁰ How Labour Governs p3-4

⁴⁹¹ Macintyre The Succeeding Age 1901-45 p105

⁴⁹² See Venturini Never Give In p477

⁴⁹³ On this tropical agricultural labour force see Burrows & Morton The Canecutters, Menghetti 'Canecutters' in Australia: an Historical Library Vol IV:1938 p273-81 & Devanny By Tropic Sea & Jungle Chapters III & XI

⁴⁹⁴ ACS Roma MI DGPS J – 5 1940 b119 DGPS – Prefetto Vicenza 9 June 1929 & 19 July 1929

⁴⁹⁵ Cresciani 'Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p8 & Cresciani – Carmagnola 18 September 1971

⁴⁹⁶ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 p92 citing the Italo-Australian 14 March 1925 & Cresciani - Carmagnola 18 September 1971 in Cresciani typescript 'The Italian Resistance to Fascism in Australia: 1922-40' p4, subsequently published in Teaching History Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973. Regarding the Halifax incident Cresciani reports that Marchetti and his fellow victims had been involved in beatings of antifascists. On the employment of the anarchist press to promote coercion of fascists in Australia see 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' in Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 p18 endnote 32

⁴⁹⁷ Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p344

⁴⁹⁸ Douglass From Italy to Ingham p154

⁴⁹⁹ For a thumbnail sketch of Hudson & ` the farmer's takeover of the South Johnstone Mill' and its prior history of industrial unrest see Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p344-5

⁵⁰⁰ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Application for Leave to Submit Objections Against Detention Order, Aliens Tribunal SA points 5 & 16

⁵⁰¹ Kennedy `The 1927 South Johnstone Strike' in Murphy The Big Strikes 1889- 1965 p177.

⁵⁰² For suggestive details of the disarming of the probably poorly armed strikers by armed police and farmers and the unpunished killing of Hynes see Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p346. It must be admitted that syndicalism did countenance sabotage and industrial violence as an imposed response, but it seems likely that a `southern [read Brisbane!] newspaper' beat up the workers' firepower for the usual purposes of bourgeois class hatred.

⁵⁰³ Douglass From Italy to Ingham p154-5

⁵⁰⁴ Cited in Venturini Never Give In p497

⁵⁰⁵ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p84

⁵⁰⁶ Courier 26 July 1927 cited in Higgins `Trade Unions versus Premiers' in Labour History Vol 9 1959-61. A substantially similar account is given by Kennedy `The 1927 South Johnstone Strike' in Murphy The Big Strikes: Queensland 1889 – 1965. On McCormak's `impressive defeat of the militants' & its contribution to the routing of Labor at the polls see also his account in Murphy & Joyce Queensland Political Portraits p362-9 See also the comments of Costar `Was Queensland different?' in Macinoly The Wasted Years? p173-4

⁵⁰⁷ The Haymarket hangings were one of the episodes which inspired the socialist hymn `The Red Flag': Rebel Voices p16. On the figure of Joe Hill see p127 - 156

⁵⁰⁸ This was the view handed down to me by my adoptive father, CW `Bill' Clements, to whom this study is dedicated, as late as the 1960s. It doubtless reflected the view of his father, Cyril Baden Clements, contemporary to the Sacco Vanzetti agitation.

⁵⁰⁹ Bettini Bibliografia dell'anarchismo Vol I Tomo 2 p29 - 30

⁵¹⁰ ACS Roma MI DGPS 1930-31 I-4/1Affari Esteri – MI DGPS 30 June 1930

⁵¹¹ Carucci `L'organizzazione del servizio di polizia dopo l'approvazione del Testo Unico delle Leggi di Pubblica Sicurezza nel 1926' Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato XXXVI gennaio – aprile 1976 n1 p82-114; Val `Le CPC source pour l'histoire de l'emigration politique' Les Italiens in France 1914 – 1940; Franzina `L'emigrazione schedata' Gli Italiani Fuori d'Italia

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- ⁵¹² ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 Fantin Francesco, Consulate Brisbane - DGPS 19 January 1927
- ⁵¹³ Ibid per Bocchini – Prefect Vicenza April 1927. Regarding the career of Bocchini see Carucci `Arturo Bocchini' in Cordova Uomini e volti del fascismo
- ⁵¹⁴ Ibid 12 May 1927
- ⁵¹⁵ Ibid, annotation on Prefecture Vicenza – DGPS 29 May 1927
- ⁵¹⁶ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1939 b69 Carmagnola Francesco, Prefecture Vicenza - DGPS 5 July 1927
- ⁵¹⁷ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 10 October 1927 & 26 January 1928
- ⁵¹⁸ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1940 b119 Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS 20 Marzo 1928 & 6 Giugno 1930
- ⁵¹⁹ Ibid, Prefecture Vicenza – Townsville Consulate 6 June 1930
- ⁵²⁰ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 Fantin Francesco, 5 May 1928 & 18 June 1928
- ⁵²¹ Ibid DGPS – Prefettura Vicenza 2 Agosto 1928 & Prefettura Vicenza – DGPS 25 Agosto 1928
- ⁵²² Cresciani `The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p11. For a thumbnail portrait of the international career of Bertazzon see Cresciani `The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p5-6. His massive DGPS file has yet to be exhaustively treated, and indeed Bertazzon awaits a biographer.
- ⁵²³ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1940 b119 Fantin Luigi, Bocchini - Prefetti Regno 20 December 1929
- ⁵²⁴ NAA A1 1928/6944 Fantin L Naturalisation
- ⁵²⁵ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1940 b119 Fantin Luigi, Bocchini – Prefect Vicenza 9 June 1929
- ⁵²⁶ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1940 b119 Fantin Luigi
- ⁵²⁷ Ibid 6 June 1930
- ⁵²⁸ Ibid 30 December 1930
- ⁵²⁹ Ibid 14 December 1942 & MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 Fantin Francesco 21 December 1932
- ⁵³⁰ Ibid Townsville Consulate – DGPS 8 June 1931

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- ⁵³¹ NAA A367/1 C48062 Naturalization Fantin Alfonso, Precis of Application for Naturalization
- ⁵³² Ibid Prefect Treviso - DGPS 29 December 1929 & Bocchini – Consul Anversa 4 January 1930
- ⁵³³ Ibid, Prefect Imperia – DGPS 11 February 1930
- ⁵³⁴ Ibid Prefect Lucca – DGPS 20 February 1930
- ⁵³⁵ Galbraith The Great Crash 1929
- ⁵³⁶ Macintyre The Succeeding Age 1901-42 p275
- ⁵³⁷ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli italiani in Australia 1922-45 p99
- ⁵³⁸ Fry cit p93. On Fry himself see 'In Retrospect: The Dept of History & Economics to 1948' in Questioning the Past: A Selection of Papers in History & Government UQP 1972, p3
- ⁵³⁹ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p73
- ⁵⁴⁰ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli italiani in Australia 1922-45 p99-100 & 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 p9, 13 - 14 & notes re La Riscossa & for a taste of Quinn's cross examination, Carmagnola's political defiance in the dock & His Honour's chagrin. Also 'The Italian Resistance of Fascism in Australia 1922-40' typescript p12 subsequently published in Teaching History Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973 regarding the compromising evidence of the facts, the constitution of the jury & its verdict. Fitzgerald cites valuable details of Paterson's line of defence & the political cooperation between the Italian community & the CPA: Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p61-2. Unfortunately Fitzgerald in this generally excellent study conflates the two incidents, confusing San Marzano with Melano, misspelling the latter's name & describing him as a co-defendant with Carmagnola & Tardiani.
- ⁵⁴¹ Re the political preparation and military execution of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia see Hudson Australia & the League of Nations p73-87 & Mack Smith Italy: A Modern History p448-53. See also Andrews A History of Australian Foreign Policy p73-4 Leonard Woolf recalled in January 1936 that 'between July 1934 and January 1935 evidence began to accumulate even in the Press that Signor Mussolini was...preparing...for the conquest of Abyssinia' with the dispute between the two states becoming acute 'towards the end of 1934.' See Robson ed The Political Quarterly in the Thirties p162, 166 & 174
- ⁵⁴² Cresciani 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism and Italian Anarchists in Australia' in Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979
- ⁵⁴³ For a contemporary account of the road from Abyssinia to Spain see Garratt Mussolini's Roman Empire

⁵⁴⁴ See generally Oliva Esercito, paese e movimento operaio & specifically Menghetti 'Italians in North Queensland' in The Australian People p601. For Paterson's remarks see Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p99

⁵⁴⁵ The People Stand Up p143-51

⁵⁴⁶ Rhodes James Churchill: A Study in Failure p330 Another British exponent of this view was the journalist JL Garvin. See Leonard Woolf 'Meditation on Abyssinia' now in Robson ed The Political Quarterly in the Thirties p172-3

⁵⁴⁷ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p93

⁵⁴⁸ Nursey-Bray 'Antifascism and Internment: the case of Francesco Fantin' in Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia Vol.17 1989 p88

⁵⁴⁹ This characterisation of their rapport reported by Cresciani 'Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' in Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p15, probably on the basis of Cresciani – Carmagnola 18 September 1971

⁵⁵⁰ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Security Brisbane – Section Officer Subversive Activities 14 July 1942 FANTIN BROS., Edmonton

⁵⁵¹ Ibid DGS Canberra – DDS Qld 18 November 1942

⁵⁵² Copy of photo in possession of author & the Bortoloso family of San Vito de Leguzzano. For the date of Fantin's arrival in Melbourne see NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Report on Internee 23 February 1942

⁵⁵³ Cresciani 'Italian Anti-fascism in Australia 1922-45' in Wheelwright & Buckley Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism Vol 3 p89

⁵⁵⁴ Cresciani 'The Italian Resistance to Fascism in Australia 1922-40' typescript p7 subsequently published in Teaching History Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973

⁵⁵⁵ Martinuzzi O'Brien Australia's Italians 1788-1988 p80. Martinuzzi O'Brien dates the photo in 1927. Re the Danesi brothers see Douglass 'Images & Adages: Anglo-Australian Perceptions of Italians in Queensland' in Bosworth & Ugolini War, Internment & Mass Migration 1940-90 p54-5 & From Italy to Ingham p173-5. Also Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p356-7. Jones dates the foundation of the Mourilyan Italian Progressive Club, which she claims was at some time known as the Alessandro Volta Club, as 1923. She gives no source for this assertion, but it may be supposed to be local knowledge.

⁵⁵⁶ Douglass From Italy to Ingham: p128-9

⁵⁵⁷ Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: A History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p56

⁵⁵⁸ 'Italian Anti-fascism in Australia 1922-45' in Wheelwright & Buckley Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism p95

⁵⁵⁹ Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol I p329n & Ramella 'Biografia di un operaio antifascista: ipotesi per una storia sociale dell'emigrazione politica' in Milza Les Italiens en France 1914-40 p386

⁵⁶⁰ Cresciani 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p6. See also ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1939 Antico Giovanni Terribile.

⁵⁶¹ Cresciani too has observed this tendency 'The Italian Resistance to Fascism in Australia: 1922-40' typescript p2, subsequently published in Teaching History Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973

⁵⁶² ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1939 Antico Giovanni Terribile, 22 August 1931

⁵⁶³ The Reds p127 & ACS Roma J-5 1939 Antico Giovanni Terribile MI-Foreign Office 18 November 1927

⁵⁶⁴ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1939 b69 Carmagnola Francesco 1937

⁵⁶⁵ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 Fantin Francesco 19 May 1938

⁵⁶⁶ Cresciani 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p10 & note.

⁵⁶⁷ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 29 November 1932 & 25 January 1933. For the gazetting for arrest in event of repatriation of Carmagnola & Bertazzon see Cresciani 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p11 & note.

⁵⁶⁸ Cresciani 'Italian Anti-fascism in Australia 1922-45' in Wheelwright & Buckley Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism Vol 3 p91

⁵⁶⁹ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Chiara – F Fantin 12 November 1941, written on the side of a longer letter from Angela Bertazzon dated the following day from the same Balwyn Victoria address. On the fatal crisis of the Matteotti Club see Cresciani 'The Italian Resistance to Fascism in Australia' typescript p11, subsequently published in 'Teaching History' Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973

⁵⁷⁰ See L'Avanguardia Libertaria Year II No 5 1 April 1931, editor Isidoro Bertazzon. Fantin is listed on multiple occasions as a donor of substantial sums to this publication. The characterisation of Fantin as a 'correspondent' and distributor of La Riscossa, [The Counterattack] was made by its editor Carmagnola in his September 1942 application for the release of Fantin [copy now in NAA BP 242/1 Q30084] Press dissemination was one of the prime forms of 'propaganda for the Idea.' See Bettini Bibliografia dell'anarchismo generally, and re Australia p29-32 Publisher of La Riscossa was Valentino Ciotti, colleague of Carmagnola and Fantin in the foundation of the Matteotti Club, who retained the good opinion of Chiara Bertazzon after the split of 1930: see note above.

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- ⁵⁷¹ See generally Cathcart Defending the National Tuckshop. On Blamey's role as secret commander of the White Army see p56-9. On the suborning of Lyons see p156-63. On the attempt to suborn Monash p40-43
- ⁵⁷² Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p59 & 93. For extended comment on the role of the sugar industry in the agricultural cushioning of unemployment in Queensland see Costar 'Was Queensland different?' in Macinolty The Wasted Years? p161-2
- ⁵⁷³ Macintyre Winners & Losers p72. For a general survey of the Queensland political & economic situation in the Depression see Costar 'Was Queensland different?' in Mackinolty The Wasted Years?
- ⁵⁷⁴ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p60 citing Douglass From Italy to Ingham
- ⁵⁷⁵ Cannon The Human Face of the Great Depression p20
- ⁵⁷⁶ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p61
- ⁵⁷⁷ Douglass From Italy to Ingham on British Preference & its foes p168-187 for a sustained exploration of this issue with multiple references to the Danesi brothers. See also Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p357
- ⁵⁷⁸ Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p357
- ⁵⁷⁹ Millar Australia in Peace & War p483, Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p72-3 & 84 & Douglass From Italy to Ingham p203. Also Lowenstein Weevils in the Flour p409
- ⁵⁸⁰ Menghetti 'Italians in North Queensland' The Australian People p600-2
- ⁵⁸¹ Douglass 'Images & Adages: Anglo-Australian Perceptions of Italians in Queensland' in Bosworth & Ugolini War, Internment & Mass Migration 1940-90 p53-4 & more extensively in his From Italy to Ingham: p147f.
- ⁵⁸² ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b1948 f20852 Fantin Francesco, Consul general Sydney DGPS 1 January 1929
- ⁵⁸³ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Property of Fantin Francesco 22 April 1946
- ⁵⁸⁴ Ibid F Fantin – Adunata dei Refrattari NY undated. The letter was written just prior to his translocation to Geelong in late 1939 to notify his new address.
- ⁵⁸⁵ Menghetti 'The 1935 Weil's Disease Strike' in Murphy The Big Strikes Queensland 1889-1965 p204. The strikers were willing to accept substantial reductions in the award rate for cutting to reduce the risk of contracting Weil's Disease. Also The Red North Chapters II-III
- ⁵⁸⁶ Ibid p202-4 & note 3

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- ⁵⁸⁷ Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p348
- ⁵⁸⁸ Menghetti `North Queensland Anti-Fascism & the Spanish Civil War in Labour History No42 May 1982 p69-70 & Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p347-52. Also Douglass From Italy to Ingham p187-193
- ⁵⁸⁹ DF-Fabio Cavadini 19 February 1985
- ⁵⁹⁰ Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p347
- ⁵⁹¹ For constructive criticism in context of Sugar Heaven see Ferrier `Jean Devanny, Katherine Susannah Prichard & the `Really Proletarian Novel`' in Gender, Politics & Fiction. The title of the article quotes Devanny's 1942 description of her novel, p106
- ⁵⁹² Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas: a History of Johnstone Shire to 1973 p350 & Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p97
- ⁵⁹³ Devanny Sugar Heaven p156, 115, 149 & 152
- ⁵⁹⁴ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Report on Internee 23 February 1942 & Application for Leave to Submit Objections Against Detention 14 October 1942
- ⁵⁹⁵ DF – Cavadini 19 February 1985
- ⁵⁹⁶ Menghetti `The 1935 Weil's Disease Strike' in Murphy The Big Strikes Queensland 1889-1965 p205
- ⁵⁹⁷ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p93 & 95. For the history of the MMM struggle against trade union bureaucracy at national level consult per index Farrell International Socialism & Australian Labour
- ⁵⁹⁸ Menghetti `Canecutters' Australia, an Historical Library: 1938 p273-81. Note that this article contains an undated probably pre-strike photograph of a cane gang which includes Francesco Fantin, also in the collection of the Bortoloso family of San Vito: see Iconography within. The pun on the acronym AWU is reported by Kisch Australian Landfall p197
- ⁵⁹⁹ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p84 & Farrell International Socialism & Australian Labour p186-8
- ⁶⁰⁰ Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p69
- ⁶⁰¹ Farrell International Socialism & Australian Labour p215
- ⁶⁰² See Menghetti The Red North & Fitzgerald Fred Paterson, the People's Champion p63 , 72 & 73
- ⁶⁰³ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084

⁶⁰⁴ NAA MP 742/1 255/12/12 transcript of letter dated Loveday 14A 13 November 1942 signed Frank Fantin. James McCarthy – Aliens registration bureau Brisbane 13 June 1940

⁶⁰⁵ Nursey-Bray `Antifascism & Internment: the case of Francesco Fantin' in Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia p91

⁶⁰⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 James McCarthy – Aliens Registration Bureau Brisbane 13 June 1940. The book McCarthy discussed with an unimpressed fascist was probably the political testament Bolshevism, fascism & democracy published in translation in London in 1927

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid Aliens Registration Bureau 14 June 1940.

⁶⁰⁸ AJP Taylor cited in Rhodes James Churchill: A Study in Failure p406

⁶⁰⁹ `North Queensland Anti-Fascism and the Spanish Civil War' Labour History No 42 1982 p63. For an Italian view of the war in relation to the evolution of the regime see Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol III Chapter XII

⁶¹⁰ Andrews Isolationism & Appeasement in Australia: Reactions to the European Crises 1935-9 Preface p viii

⁶¹¹ See `Lateran Agreements' in Howat & Taylor Dictionary of World History & Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol II Chapter VIII

⁶¹² Cresciani `The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p18 endnote 32

⁶¹³ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 23 February 1942 Report on Internee Fantin F & Property Fantin F 22 April 1946

⁶¹⁴ DF-Fabio Cavadini 19 February 1985

⁶¹⁵ For a revelatory apologia see Hughes The Popes' New Order 1942 Chapter VIII. For a survey of the stance of the Catholic Church in Australia on the Spanish conflict see Andrews Isolationism & Appeasement in Australia p78-82

⁶¹⁶ On the doctrinal rationalisation of fascist practice see Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol II p254f, 7 Lyttleton Italian Fascisms. Fascism was essentially a political movement expressing an instrumental authoritarian ideology rather than a reasoned philosophy, and as such its ideas need to be seen in an essentially historical context. See therefore Santarelli cit Vol III & more briefly Carocci Italian Fascism

⁶¹⁷ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 p25 & 49. See also Dignan `Archbishop James Duhig & Italians & Italy' in Grossart & Trambaiolo Altro Polo 1988

⁶¹⁸ For an Australian communist critique of anarchist excesses see Gibson The People Stand Up Chapter 16 `The Spanish Far Left'. For a more sophisticated perspective see Brennan The

Spanish Labyrinth Chapter VII 'The Anarchists' & p133, 165 & 189 with special reference to anarchist anticlericalism and atrocities.

⁶¹⁹ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 p148

⁶²⁰ Andrews Isolationism & Appeasement p84

⁶²¹ Ibid p78

⁶²² Andrews A History of Australian Foreign Policy p85-6

⁶²³ Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol III p38

⁶²⁴ Rhodes James Churchill: a Study in Failure 1900-39 p407 & 330. Churchill's monomania about German rearmament determined his non-interventionist stance over the Manchurian, Abyssinian and Spanish crises to the point of political isolation. See Rhodes James p329, 333 & 409

⁶²⁵ See Hudson Australia & the League of Nations p88

⁶²⁶ Andrews A History of Australian Foreign Policy p69, 78, 80 & 84; Hudson Australia & the League of Nations p88; Casey in Duncan Australia's Foreign Policy p67 & Menghetti The Red North p63

⁶²⁷ Documents on Australian Foreign Policy 1937-9 Vol I: 1937-8 p97

⁶²⁸ Rasmussen My Journey Through the Twentieth Century p119

⁶²⁹ Andrews A History of Australian Foreign Policy p87

⁶³⁰ Robertson '1930-39' in Crowley A New History of Australia p457

⁶³¹ Jaensch Australian Politics & Foreign Policy p213

⁶³² Andrews A History of Australian Foreign Policy p83

⁶³³ Menghetti The Red North Chapter IV & remarks on the Spanish & Italian communities of Innisfail in Jones Hurricane Lamps & Blue Umbrellas p353

⁶³⁴ For an account of anarchist socioeconomic experiments in Spain see Thomas 'Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Civil War' in Gilbert A Century of Conflict & diffusely in Brennan The Spanish Labyrinth

⁶³⁵ NAA BP 242/1 Q25027 Interpreters Section – ISGS Northern Command 4 December 1941

⁶³⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Property of Francesco Fantin 22 April 1946. One of these scarves, owned by Gaetano Panizzon, remains in the possession of his son, Mr Spartaco Panizzon.

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- ⁶³⁷ Ibid FANTIN BROS., Edmonton 14 July 1942
- ⁶³⁸ Ibid Interpreters Section – ISGS Northern Command 4 December 1941
- ⁶³⁹ Ibid DDS Queensland – DGS Canberra 24 July 1942
- ⁶⁴⁰ NAA MP 742/1 255/12/12 transcript letter F Fantin Loveday 14A 13 November 1942
- ⁶⁴¹ For the history of the highly successful wartime Russian Medical Aid campaign see Radi Jessie Street: Documents & Essays p228-9, her autobiography Truth or Repose p239-45 & her biography Sekules Jessie Street p53-69
- ⁶⁴² NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Property of Francesco Fantin 22 April 1946
- ⁶⁴³ Mentioned by Nursey-Bray 'Antifascism & Internment...' J Historical Society of SA No 17 1989 p92. He cites an inventory of effects seized from Fantin conducted at a second search of his Edmonton premises on 28 February 1942 mentioned in a Queensland Police Dept memo of 20 March 1942, supposedly contained in NAA BP 242/1 Q30084. I have not been able to find it there, but suppose the document to be real & the citation faulty. How he finds that Fantin's effects tell us more about the authorities than Fantin is not explained.
- ⁶⁴⁴ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 IO Cairns – ISGS Northern Command 21 October 1940
- ⁶⁴⁵ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b313 f33340 DGPS – CPC 29 January 1937.
- ⁶⁴⁶ Menghetti 'North Queensland Anti-Fascism & the Spanish Civil War' Labour History No 42 May 1982 p67 & in The Red North: p90
- ⁶⁴⁷ Undated memorial card, probably issued around the first anniversary of Fantin's death. Original in possession of Professor Antonio Comin.
- ⁶⁴⁸ ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC b313 f33340 DGPS – CPC Carmagnola & Danesi 13 December 1933
- ⁶⁴⁹ Cresciani 'The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p15
- ⁶⁵⁰ See 'Montecuccoli Raimondo' in Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico UTET
- ⁶⁵¹ Giorgerini Gli Incrociatori Italiani p562
- ⁶⁵² Venturini Never Give In p590
- ⁶⁵³ On this topic see Harris Naval Disarmament 1930 & on the Italian view De Risio Tempesta sul ponte di volo p5, 27 & 41
- ⁶⁵⁴ Hudson Australia & the League of Nations p73-87 & Mack Smith Italy: A Modern History p445-6. Also Coverdale Italian Intervention in the Spanish Civil War p8-9

⁶⁵⁵ Gibson My Years in the Communist Party p65 MacIntyre perpetuates the myth that the Montecuccoli shelled Barcellona in The Reds, a fortunate error since otherwise the myth might have gone unreported. His mistaking the cruiser for the Remo is less fortunate. Venturini also erroneously recycles Gibson in this regard Never Give In p590 He reports (p591-2) that the Adelaide Trades & Labour Council actually charged the Montecuccoli with having sunk *two* British merchantmen, which seems most unlikely given her lack of opportunity and the fact that such surface action would have caused an international incident. For notice of the Italian *aerial* bombardment of Barcelona in early 1928 see Thomas The Spanish Civil War p794

⁶⁵⁶ Giorgerini Gli Incrociatori Italiani p562

⁶⁵⁷ For a contemporary account of Spanish fascist atrocities in Spain see the Duchess of Athol MP Searchlight on Spain 1938, Chapter IX, and with reference to Guernica, p153f.

⁶⁵⁸ Coverdale Italian Intervention in the Spanish Civil War p306-16

⁶⁵⁹ See Gibson My Years in the Communist Party p65 `Laidler, Thomas Percival' in ADB Vol 9

⁶⁶⁰ Gibson My Years in the Communist Party p65; Andrews Isolationism & Appeasement in Australia p109-10; Macintyre The Reds p348 & Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia p101-2. Also `The Proletarian Migrants: Fascism & Italian Anarchists in Australia' Australian Quarterly Vol 51 No 1 1979 p15 & `The Italian Resistance to Fascism in Australia: 1922-40' typescript p14, subsequently published in Teaching History Vol 7 Part 2 July 1973 & Venturini Never Give In p590-92

⁶⁶¹ Giorgerini Gli Incrociatori p565-6

⁶⁶² Farrell International Socialism & Australian Labour p220. For contemporary Spanish Relief literature see Palmer Australians in Spain & Various Authors From the Battlefields of Spain: Vivid Pen Pictures from Australian Nurses. For a brief historical account of the experience of these women see Inglis `Nursing in Spain' Australians: an historical Library Vol IV p419-21. For a resume of the statistical literature on the Australian contribution to the Republican cause see Menghetti The Red North p65-6 & p67-8 re the North Queensland contribution of men and funds.

⁶⁶³ The phrase belongs to Little Malevolent Neutrality: the US, UK & the Origins of the Spanish Civil War p221

⁶⁶⁴ Duncan Australia's Foreign Policy p1 & 210

⁶⁶⁵ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p4. Venturini gives an unsourced estimate that 1,200 were present, which would surely make it one of the high points of the history of `the Red North'.

⁶⁶⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Constable Kelly Cairns – CIB Brisbane Re Francesco FANTIN 15 December 1939

⁶⁶⁷ Cited by the Gillmans in Collar the Lot p217. For a codicil regarding RTE Latham 1909-43 see Macintyre 'Latham, Sir John Greig' in ADB

⁶⁶⁸ Cited in Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p1

⁶⁶⁹ The term originally denoted the species of 'prison psychosis' generated by British Great War internment conditions. See Vischer Barbed Wire Disease

⁶⁷⁰ See his history of the home front, The Government & the People 1939-41 Appendix 4: 'The Wartime Treatment of Aliens'

⁶⁷¹ Holmes 'British Justice at Work': Internment in the Second World War' in Minorities in Wartime p150

⁶⁷² Saunders & Taylor 'The Enemy Within...' AJPH Vol 34 No 1 1988 p16

⁶⁷³ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p8 & Hasluck The Government & the People p593

⁶⁷⁴ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p7

⁶⁷⁵ Hasluck The Government & the People p594

⁶⁷⁶ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p110-17

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid* p5

⁶⁷⁸ Ponting 1940: Myth & Reality p91-2 & 151. On the administrative chronology and scale of internment in Britain during World War II see Holmes 'British Justice at Work'...' in Minorities in Wartime... p150-52

⁶⁷⁹ The Gillmans Collar the Lot... p153

⁶⁸⁰ Holmes 'British Justice at Work'...' in Minorities in Wartime... p151

⁶⁸¹ 'The Bogey of the Italian Fifth Column:...' in War, Internment & Mass Migration p12-13

⁶⁸² Anderson was the civil servant responsible for administering internment. 'Scipio's title referred to the policy of favourable treatment for refugees with a view to encouraging antifascist subversion around the world.

⁶⁸³ The Gillmans Collar the Lot... p233 & 235

⁶⁸⁴ Holmes 'British Justice at Work'...' in Minorities in Wartime... p152

⁶⁸⁵ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p20 & Hasluck The Government & the People p593-4

⁶⁸⁶ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p235

⁶⁸⁷ Saunders & Taylor 'The Enemy Within?...' in AJPH Vol 34 No1 1988 p17

⁶⁸⁸ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Constable Kelly Cairns – CIB Brisbane Re Francesco FANTIN 15 December 1939

⁶⁸⁹ NAA BP242/1 Q30084 IO Cairns AMF Northern Command – ISGS 4 November 1940

⁶⁹⁰ Coulthard-Clark `Australia's Wartime Security Service' Defence Force Journal No 16 1979 p24-26. See also Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p9-13

⁶⁹¹ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 p151

⁶⁹² Lucioli Palazzo Chigi: Anni Roventi p83

⁶⁹³ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-1945 p152

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid p153

⁶⁹⁵ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 manuscript note dated late 1940 makes it clear that a recommendation was made at that time to intern Fantin, but was not proceeded with due to these doubts. On 19 September 1941 a Corporal Westwood noted for the benefit of a Captain Stevens, referring to a clarificatory police report of mid November 1940, that `Confusion exists as to whether this man is a fascist or a communist...Suggest position be clarified before case is prepared.' Clearly someone in military intelligence had the intelligence to realise when it was drawn to his attention that `fascist' and `communist' were usually mutually exclusive terms.

⁶⁹⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid Francesco FANTIN 25 November 1940 & notes of 19 & 25 September 1941, together with Precis of File dated April 1942. See also Deputy Director Security Queensland - Director General 8 December 1942

⁶⁹⁸ Saunders `Inspired By Patriotic Hysteria? Internment Policy towards Enemy Aliens in Australia during WWII' Panayi Minorities in Wartime p300 citing Queensland State Archives Premier's Dept A6481

⁶⁹⁹ Dignan notes both the `narrow primary education' typical of the Queensland police of the day and the greater intelligence of CIB officers. See `The Internment of Italians in Queensland' in Bosworth & Ugolini War, Internment & Mass Migration p62-3

⁷⁰⁰ ACS Roma MI DGPS J-5 1939 Antico Giovanni Terribile MI-Foreign Office 18 November 1927

⁷⁰¹ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 ASGS - AMF Northern Command Cairns 18 November 1940

⁷⁰² Ibid Frank FANTIN Edmonton 29 November 1939

⁷⁰³ Ibid Re Francesco FANTIN 15 December 1939

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- ⁷⁰⁴ Menghetti 'The Internment of Italians in North Queensland' in Australia, the Australians & the Italian Migration p98
- ⁷⁰⁵ NAA A373/1 10913 DGS Simpson – Mareeba Zone Committee CPA 15 March 1943
- ⁷⁰⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Anarchism in Australia 24 July 1942
- ⁷⁰⁷ Ibid Zampieri – Fantin undated. The Security Service comment is from the report entitled FANTIN BROS., Edmonton 14 July 1942 Section 6.A
- ⁷⁰⁸ Nursey – Bray 'Anti-Fascism & Internment: The Case of Francesco Fantin' Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia p105
- ⁷⁰⁹ NAA BP 242/1 Q25027
- ⁷¹⁰ See NAA: Q25027 Anarchism in Australia
- ⁷¹¹ Saunders & Taylor 'The Impact of War on Policing: the Queensland Experience' in Finnane Policing in Australia p150
- ⁷¹² Dignan 'The Internment of Italians in Queensland' in Bosworth & Ugolini War, Internment & Mass Migration: p63
- ⁷¹³ See Saunders & Taylor 'The Enemy Within? The Process of Internment of Enemy Aliens in Queensland 1939-45' AJPH Vol 34 (1) 1988 p16, 19-21 & 23 plus Menghetti The Red North: Chapter V
- ⁷¹⁴ Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-1945 p153
- ⁷¹⁵ Saunders & Taylor 'The Impact of War on Policing: the Queensland Experience' in Finnane Policing in Australia p151
- ⁷¹⁶ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Security Service Queensland – Northern Command Intelligence Corp 26 January 1942
- ⁷¹⁷ Menghetti 'The Internment of Italians in North Queensland' in Australia, the Australians & the Italian Migration p92
- ⁷¹⁸ Ibid p96
- ⁷¹⁹ The existence of these local advisory committees is asserted by Douglass From Italy to Ingham p236 and implied by Menghetti 'The Internment of Italians in North Queensland' in Australia, the Australians & the Italian Migration p100. Official concern about 'troublesome elements' is cited from an August 1941 report of the Director of Military Intelligence by Saunders & Taylor 'The Impact of War on Policing: the Queensland Experience' in Finnane Policing in Australia p150
- ⁷²⁰ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 AMF Southern Command – Military Intelligence Northern Command 25 November 1940

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- ⁷²¹ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Military Board – ISGS Northern Command 28 May 1940
- ⁷²² Spartaco Panizzon Geelong May 1989
- ⁷²³ Santarelli Storia del fascismo Vol III p28-9 & 93. Venturini gives the date of this Radio Barcellona broadcast as 13 November 1936, Never Give In p689 For fictional accounts of the murder of the Roselli brothers see Moravia The Conformist & the film of the same name by Bertolucci.
- ⁷²⁴ NAA MP 60/1 149/41 War Cabinet Agendum Enemy Aliens North East Queensland Coast Appendix A Representations by Mr CJ Carroll, Commissioner of Police Queensland. Carroll's proposal to deport 22,000 people away from the coast met with the disapproval of CG Roberts, Director of Military Intelligence, who preferred endowing Northern Command with sweeping powers against subversion in the event of invasion. It was feared that premature over reaction would be disruptive and lead to panic.
- ⁷²⁵ DF- F Cavadini 19 February 1985
- ⁷²⁶ Menghetti 'The Internment of Italians in North Queensland' in Australia, the Australians & the Italian Migration p93-4
- ⁷²⁷ Douglass Italy to Ingham p248
- ⁷²⁸ Degli Esposti – AMF Court of Inquiry Loveday 17 November 1942 SRO GRG 5/46/1942/14757
- ⁷²⁹ See History of Loveday 1940-46 in NAA: AP613/1, 90/1/193.
- ⁷³⁰ Jury - Martin 18 November 1942 in NAA: AP80/1, P2565 Paternoster Giuseppe.
- ⁷³¹ See Justice Richards Sentencing Remarks 19 March 1943, R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA, No.31 1942 December Sessions; & in NAA: 373/1, 10913.
- ⁷³² See Cresciani Fascism, Antifascism & the Italians in Australia pp.176-9; Martinuzzi O'Brien Australia's Italians 1788-1988 pp.58 & 60-61; Menghetti "Italians in North Queensland" in Jupp The Australian People pp.600-603; Faber "Prigionieri di Guerra e Internati..in Australia..:Le Fonti" in Una Storia di Tutti pp.323-4; Nursey-Bray "Antifascism & Internment: the Case of Francesco Fantin" in Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia No.17 1989; Bevege Behind Barbed Wire. Internment in Australia During WWII pp.179-80; Alcorso The Wind You Say pp.28-30; Douglass From Italy to Ingham p238; O'Connor No Need to be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War pp.187 & 189; Nagata "A little Colony of Our Own" Life in detention camps in Australia in World War II' in Alien Justice. Wartime internment in Australia & North America ; & Venturini Never Give In.
- ⁷³³ Cresciani Fascism, Anti-Fascism & the Italians in Australia... p.177.
- ⁷³⁴ Cresciani Fascism, Antifascism & the Italians in Australia ... p.176-9; Nursey-Bray "Anti-Fascism & Internment: The Case of Francesco Fantin" in J.Historical Society of SA No.17 1989 pp.98-100; Bevege Behind Barbed Wire... cit. p.179-80.

⁷³⁵ See What is History? p10-13. It should be noted, although Carr does not explicitly acknowledge his debt, that Carr's reasoning is essentially collingwoodian.

⁷³⁶ So far as I am concerned, I published in Italy in 1989 an article 'Sources for the history of the detention in Australia of Italian POWs & Internees during World War II' in Una Storia di Tutti. Therein I precipitately cited comments by Minister of the Army Forde on the Fantin incident as evidence of an official cover-up: see Faber cit p 324. See also below for my re-evaluation of Forde's letters in context.

⁷³⁷ The phrase in this sense derives from the title of Sheridan's Division of Labour, a study of Australian industrial relations under Chifley. It refers to the problems of unity, which haunted the labour movement nationally and internationally throughout the twentieth century.

⁷³⁸ Signora Gina Abram nee` Fantin, Magre` di Schio, December 15 1987.

⁷³⁹ The phrase is of course lifted from Gurdjieff, whose Meetings with Remarkable Men paraded a series of 'spiritual' acquaintances to insinuate that Gurdjieff himself was remarkable. My point here is that Fantin was a genuinely prominent individual in the minds of his peers.

⁷⁴⁰ An inquiry concerning 'political activism' at my local academic library revealed half a dozen biographies of Australian activists, such as BA Santamaria, and several references to activism in other countries, but not one general sociological or historical study of the political activist in Australia. Answering the void to some extent are entries such as those for Percy Laidler and Jim Healy in the ADB, the works of Watson and Crisp on Fitzpatrick and Chifley respectively, and such classic studies as Turner's Industrial Labour & Politics & Sydney's Burning regarding the IWW, not to mention Gollan Revolutionaries & Reformists & O'Brien's The Saviours, an intellectual history of the left.

⁷⁴¹ See the Quaderni del Carcere Notebook 25. The remarks quoted are the translated title & subtitle of this notebook.

⁷⁴² For a review of broader social history perspectives deriving from labour history, see Sharpe 'History from Below' in Burke New Perspectives on Historical Writing Blackwell Cambridge 1991, p24-41. Two names Sharpe conjures with are of course Hobsbawm & Thompson, both as historians and philosophers of history.

⁷⁴³ Gramsci Quaderni del Carcere Notebook 25 Note 2.

⁷⁴⁴ It may clarify this foreign concept somewhat if it is noted, for example, that in general, managers ought to be considered organic intellectuals of the bourgeoisie and trade union officials organic intellectuals of the proletariat. The prime source for this concept is the Quaderni del Carcere Notebook 12 Note 1; Note 3 is a much briefer supplementary elaboration of the notion. An accessible and reliable translation of this material may be found in Hoare & Nowell Smith's Selections from the Prison Notebooks Lawrence & Wishart, London 1971 p5ff.

⁷⁴⁵ Berneri, an anarchist intellectual held in some repute by Italian marxists and latterday anarchists like Chomsky, left fascist Italy in 1926 and began a difficult exile in France, the

Low Countries, Luxembourg & Germany. In 1937 he rallied to the cause of Iberian anarchism as a publicist, only to be mysteriously murdered in the confusion of the Barcelona May Days reported by Orwell in Homage to Catalonia. Anarchists have traditionally blamed 'stalinist agents' for his death, but Levy reports that recent investigations appear to inculpate Mussolini's secret service. See the introduction & cover notes to Camillo Berneri epistolario inedito Vols. II Famiglia Berneri Edizioni, Pistoia 1980-84, & Levy Gramsci & the Anarchists Oxford/NY 1999 p229, note referring to Bollothen The Spanish Civil War: Revolution & Counterrevolution London 1991 p875-7.

⁷⁴⁶ This point is made by Cresciani in 'The proletarian migrants: fascism & Italian anarchists in Australia' in Australian Quarterly Vol. 51 No. 1 March 1979. Montagna emphasises that the level of political culture of the antifascist diaspora in Australia was accordingly pretty basic in 'I refugiati ebrei italiani in Australia e il movimento antifascista Italia Libera 1942-6' published as an extract by the Notiziario dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Cuneo e Provincia p19-21.

⁷⁴⁷ This is how he is recollected in the family tradition of his Bortoloso relatives, still resident at San Vito where Signor & Signora Valentino Bortoloso were interviewed on 16 February 1988.

⁷⁴⁸ Nursey-Bray 'Antifascism & Internment: the Case of Francesco Fantin' in Journal of the Historical Society of SA No. 17 1989, p88. One reason why the prominence of Carmagnola was early recognised was that he lived to be interviewed by Cresciani and Diana, whereas Bertazzon & Fantin both died young. For details see Bibliography.

⁷⁴⁹ For the alternative, hagiographic view to this skeptical evaluation of Malatesta, celebrating him as a grand political theorist of global stature, see Nursey Bray 'Malatesta & the Anarchist Revolution' in Anarchist Studies 3 1995 p25-44, especially p29.

⁷⁵⁰ See undated intelligence report, based on Edmonton Police Report dated 15 December 1939 in NAA BP 241/1 Q30084

⁷⁵¹ It emerges indeed from the Fantin file that in 1938 the Italian political police discovered from amongst the Malatesta papers after his death that Fantin was a subscriber to the journal Pensiero e Volontà, edited by the old revolutionary. That he read Malatesta to pass on his views may be surmised from the numerous citations of Fantin as a propagandist on his file. See infra ACS Roma MI DGPS CPC busta 1948 fascicolo 20852 Fantin Francesco Giovanni.

⁷⁵² Pietro Tresso 1893-1944 was a near contemporary of Fantin and a 'subversive' luminary of the Schio district, a tailor by profession. At the age of 16 he founded the Socialist Youth Circle in his native hamlet of Magre', in 1911 he protested against Italian aggression in Libya, and he was known to the provincial police before he reached the age of majority. He rose rapidly in provincial socialist circles as a journalist and union activist, and became a functionary of the national leadership of the Communist Party of Italy (PCd'I) and subsequently of the Comintern. A critically minded comrade, he was attracted to trotskyism. It is believed that he was assassinated with other 'trotskyists' by PCF stalinists in the confusion following a mass breakout effected with the aid of allied bombing from the Wodli internment camp in the Haute Loire. See Casciola & Sermasi Vita di Blasco Odeonlibri Vicenza 1985.

753 `Chiff's' humility has now been represented on the stage in the production A Local Man.

754[^] Biografia di un operaio antifascista: ipotesi per una storia sociale dell'emigrazione politica' in Les Italiens in France 1914-40 , p385-406, with particular reference to p387, 404 & 405. These perspectives are likewise emphasised by Franca Benigno Ramella in `Rapporti tra emigrazione economica e emigrazione politica in Francia tra le due guerre' in Mezzosecolo Franco Angeli Milano 1986 p357-87.

755 Commentaries Book IV Chapter 14

756 See reference to Childe in EVATT, HERBET VERE ADB Vol 14

757. `FREE ANTI-FASCISTS FROM INTERNMENT Avenge the Murder of Francesco Fantin' in North Queensland Guardian 15 January 1943. Also in NAA: A373/1, 10913.

758. NAA: A373/1, 10913 Hughes - Campbell, Security Service, Sydney, 10 February 1943.

759. `IT HAPPENED IN AUSTRALIA! Fascist Terror Ends in Murder', & `FANTASTIC STATEMENTS IN THE FANTIN CASE' in North Queensland Guardian 19 February 1943. Also in NAA: A373/1, 10913

760. `FREE ANTI-FASCISTS FROM INTERNMENT Avenge the Murder of Francesco Fantin' in North Queensland Guardian 15 January 1943. Also in NAA: A373/1, 10913.

761. Ibid.

762 These two points were made by Lt Col Dean, Group Commandant Loveday to the conference of senior military officers held in Adelaide on 14 January 1943 in the presence of Crown Prosecutor Chamberlain. See McCahon 15 January 1943 point 5 in NAA: MP742/1 255/12/12

763 NAA: MP742/1 255/12/12 Curtin – Burgmann 24 February 1943

764. `FREE ANTI-FASCISTS FROM INTERNMENT Avenge the Murder of Francesco Fantin' in North Queensland Guardian 15 January 1943. Also in NAA: A373/1, 10913.

765. Ibid.

766. Ibid.

767. Ibid.

768. Ibid.

769. Ibid.

770. Ibid.

771 Nursey-Bray `Antifascism & internment: the case of Francesco Fantin' in J. of the Historical Society of SA No 17 1989 p103

⁷⁷² NAA: D1901 D555 DE LUCA Mario

⁷⁷³. NAA: A373/1, 10913 DDSNSW - DGS 11 February 1943

⁷⁷⁴. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Adjutant General 15 January 1943 & COPY OF INVESTIGATORS' REPORT undated.

⁷⁷⁵. NAA: A373/1, 10913 Hughes - Campell, Security, Sydney, 10 February 1943

⁷⁷⁶. NAA: A373/1, 10913 for DGS - DDSS.A. 17 February 1943. Venturini (Never Give In p436) is simply wrong in thinking that this `comunication' & the Hughes report & attachments are not to be found in the official files concerning the death of Fantin.

⁷⁷⁷. NAA: A373/1, 10913 Pattanaro - Hughes, Security NSW, 7 February 1943

⁷⁷⁸. Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹. Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰. NAA: A373/1, 10913 Ciotti - Hughes, Security Service NSW, 8 February 1943

⁷⁸¹. Ibid.

⁷⁸². NAA: A373/1, 10913 Colletti - Hughes, Security Service NSW, 7 February 1943

⁷⁸³. Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ `IT HAPPENED IN AUSTRALIA ! Fascist Terror Ends in Murder' North Queensland Guardian 19 February 1943. Now in NAA: A373/1, 10913.

⁷⁸⁵. Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ On Lady Jessie Street and her `Sheepskins for Russia Campaign' see Sekules Jessie Street p55 – 8; See also `Medical aid & sheepskins for Russia' Tribune 12 April 1989. On 9 November 2004 the ABC broadcast a program on the Streets as part of its `Dynasty's series, which the squatter heiress with a social conscience featured as a Street by marriage. An energetic soul, it is said that her husband Sir Kenneth Street used to pray `Please God make Jessie tired'.

On 7 April 1990 as part of its support for perestroika in Russia The Australian in conjunction with Pravda published a page of letters under the headline `Dear Australia: Letters from Russia', including one from World War II veteran G Filimonov who wrote `Full Heart': [From] One who during the severe war years wore coats made of Australian sheepskins [and]..still keeps his heart full of thanks to you, dear Australians.' It is good to know that he spoke for many. That Jessie Street had been born into the pastoral industry emphasises how dear this initiative would have been to her heart. Moreover there can have been no more economic way of making the charity dollar go further, given Australia's dominant position in the wool industry.

^{787.} 'IT HAPPENED IN AUSTRALIA ! Fascist Terror Ends in Murder' North Queensland Guardian 19 February 1943. Now in NAA: A373/1, 10913

^{788.} Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ NAA BP 242/1 Q30084 Extract from Intelligence Report week ending 20 November 1942 No. 14A Internment Camp

⁷⁹⁰ NAA MP 742/1 255/12/12 F Fantin Internment Camp 14A 13 November 1942

⁷⁹¹ Chiarera in NAA SA D1901 D555 DE LUCA Mario

⁷⁹² NAA SA D1901 D555 DE LUCA Mario

⁷⁹³ See his brief comments in Mannino 'Catena di arresti indiscriminati' in Nuovo Paese March 1987. This article was inspired by the ABC Radio broadcast This Australia: 'Put Away For the Duration.'

⁷⁹⁴ NAA D1915 SA 20850

^{795.} 'What Goes On In Internment Camps' in NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12, & Extract from Intelligence Report..Week Ending 20 November 1942 Internment Camp 14A in NAA: BP242/1, Q30084.

^{796.} NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 "What Goes On In Internment Camps'.

^{797.} Testimony of Augusto Pretti to Coronial Inquest in Transcript of Proceedings, Supreme Court of SA December Sessions 1942, pp.6 & 22. (See also Copy in NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12) Note the manuscript translation of a statement made by Pretti dated 26 November 1942, substantially to the above effect, in NAA: BP242/1, Q30084.

^{798.} NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 "What Goes On In Internment Camps'

^{799.} Prette's internment dossier was kept closed for a time by the National Archives on privacy grounds relative to his suicide attempt, in accordance with NAA policy. It has now been cleared for consultation on grounds of prior public knowledge and public interest.

^{800.} Pretti told the Coronial Inquest into Fantin's death "I got everything mixed up. I have been in hospital and my memory is practically gone": Transcript Coronial Proceedings, Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, p6. See also copy in NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12.

⁸⁰¹ Major DW Sheperd, Brief, Police v Giovanni Casotti & HQ 14A I/C – 33rd Grn. Bn. Barmera 30 December 1942 in NAA SA D1901/0 P53 PRETTI Augusto reporting diagnosis of manic depressive psychosis.

^{802.} Transcript Coronial Proceedings, R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA, December Sessions 1942, p22.

⁸⁰³ See the handwritten statement by Pretti in poor Italian, attached together with typescript translation as Exhibit F to the Coronial Transcript in R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942.

⁸⁰⁴ See Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 Bonacci Roma 1979 p157. I translate from the Italian. The English edition was published by ANU Press Canberra in 1980.

⁸⁰⁵ Jury - Martin 18 November 1942 in NAA: AP80/1, P2565 PATERNOSTER Giuseppe.

⁸⁰⁶ NAA: PP302/1 WA18106 Ianello Francesco

⁸⁰⁷ NAA: D1901 P489 Dr Piscitelli

⁸⁰⁸ On the Alcorso brothers see Montagnana 'I rifugiati ebrei italiani in Australia e il movimento antifascista "Italia Libera" (1942-6)' Notiziario dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Cuneo e Provincia No31 Giugno 1987 p104-8 & Gentili 'Italian Jewish Refugees in Australia' The Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal Vol X Part 5 p425-6

⁸⁰⁹ NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Milbase Adelaide - Landforces Melbourne 18 November 1942

⁸¹⁰ NAA: AP80/1, P2565 Jury - Martin 18 November 1942. See also Extract from Intelligence Report..Week Ending 20 November 1942 in NAA: BP242/1 Q30084, wherein it is stated that "Fantin's death was the culmination of the unequal struggle of anti-fascists against fascists in the Compound."

⁸¹¹ See the comment of Simpson after his retirement from the Security Service that the Fantin case was one of "plain, unadulterated murder" in Bevege Behind Barbed Wire... p.217.

⁸¹² Charles Riscbieth Jury: Poet of Adelaide South Australiana Sept 1966

⁸¹³ For particulars of the antecedents of the Riscbieth family in South Australia I am indebted to Kingsly Ireland.

⁸¹⁴ George Riscbieth Jury also served with a British unit, the London Regiment's 7th Battalion as a 2nd Lieutenant. Born at Glenelg 7/4/1895 – killed in action France 18/9/1916. Clearly the family considered themselves very British Australians. His memory is preserved in the George Jury Memorial Hall, now converted into offices whose original function is still recognisable to visitors of the upper story of the Magdelene Center in Moore St Adelaide, which was originally the city mission of his old school, St Peter's College. For this purpose his parents paid a thousand pounds to clear the mission of debt.

⁸¹⁵ Quaderni 12.1

⁸¹⁶ See original note handwritten by Pretti in poor Italian on a Red Cross lettergramme, Exhibit F Supreme Court of SA No.31 December Sessions 1942 and translation by Sergeant De Rosa countersigned by Jury.

⁸¹⁷ Venturini is so persuaded of the poetic qualities of Fantin's prose that he presents it as free verse. See Appendix to Part IV Never Give In. Nursey-Bray also publishes, if without comment, the Jury translation of Fantin's 'Thoughts & Memories' as an appendix to

`Antifascism & Internment: the case of Francesco Fantin' J. of the Historical Society of SA No.17 1989. For my commentary see below.

⁸¹⁸ For select primary documents see Part IX of Avrich The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution. The library of Gaetano Panizzon, to which Fantin had access, contained about about the Kronstadt anarchist rising against the Bolsheviks.

⁸¹⁹ Bettini Bibliografia dell'anarchismo vol. I tomo 2 p30

⁸²⁰ Homage to Catalonia Secker & Warburg London 1967 p85, Borkenau The Spanish Cockpit Pluto Press 1986 p298 & Brenan The Spanish Labyrinth CUP 1990 p188ff.

⁸²¹ This furphy was still being kept alive, doubtless in `good' faith, by three ex Loveday internees during the early 1990s, when it was retailed to Ms Rosemary Gower by Natale & Orlando Ieraci of Melbourne and Tommaso D'Orsogna, a confessed fascist sympathiser from Western Australia. See Brothers Ieraci & D'Orsogna – RG written up 27 October 2002 from contemporary notes.

⁸²² Principles of History p153

⁸²³. NAA: A373/1, 10913 Saffin - Saviani 7 February 1943. It is important to note that Saffin specifically mentioned the efforts of Fred Paterson.

⁸²⁴. Gill - Sheridan 23 November 1942 in State Records SA (hereafter SRSA) GRG5/46/1942/14757.

⁸²⁵. Ibid.

⁸²⁶ I owe this information to Mr Peter Alexander

⁸²⁷. Gill - Sheridan 23 November 1942 in State Records SA (hereafter SRSA) GRG5/46/1942/14757

⁸²⁸ The recollections of Inspector Gill concerning the jarrah weapon with which Fantin was murdered were reported by the Deputy Director Adelaide to the Director of the CIB on 16 August 1954. See NAA: AP308/1 SA15968 Casotti Giovanni 1949-54

⁸²⁹ See The Principles of History OUP p153.

⁸³⁰. SRSA GRG5/46/1942/14757 Gill - Sheridan 23 November 1942

⁸³¹. See handwritten statement of Augusto Pretti 26 November 1942, Exhibit F in R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, together with typescript translation.

⁸³². See Transcript Coronial Proceedings, Supreme Court of SA December Sessions 1942, p.22 where Pretti says "The statement which I signed last night is only what I heard around the Camp from the other internees." Note that Pretti, who proved to be a poor witness, had been recalled to the stand in an effort to turn his disposition to testify to account against Casotti. See also copy of Proceedings in NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12

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- ⁸³³ The best contemporary account (1961) is still Inglis' The Stuart Case, reissued with an updated supplement in 2002 at the time of the cinematic release of the film Black & White. In 1973 Chamberlain published The Stuart Affair, a rather counterproductive rebuttal of suspicion that his aggressive defense of the SA legal system sinned of bias.
- ⁸³⁴ State Reports SA 1939 Court of Criminal Appeal 7 R v Burch.
- ⁸³⁵ NAA A373/1 10913 McCahon – Simpson 3 April 1943 Semi-Official
- ⁸³⁶ See Bolton, EVATT, HERBERT VERE, ADB Vol 14 p110
- ⁸³⁷ The Idea of History p251-2
- ⁸³⁸ See Verco PW Masons, Millers & Medicine: James Crabb Verco & his Sons Adelaide 1976.
- ⁸³⁹ NAA: BP242/1, Q30084 Australian Military Forces Report of an Injury 16 November 1942, 14A Int/Camp; Report of Medical Officer.
- ⁸⁴⁰ NAA: BP242/1, Q30084 AMF Report of an Injury 16 November 1942, 14A Int/Camp; Opinion of Commanding Officer.
- ⁸⁴¹ Undated Brief, Police v. Giovanni Casotti, Statement of Major DW Shepherd & AW Whitehead Deposition of Witness before coroner Appleton, Loveday 26 November 1942.
- ⁸⁴² NAA: AP80/1, P2565 PATERNOSTER Giuseppe, Jury - Martin 18 November 1942; Verco point 8, p4
- ⁸⁴³ SRSA GRG5/46/1942/14757 Gill - Sheridan 23 November 1942.
- ⁸⁴⁴ Speaking in the SA Legislative Council on a bill to ammend the Coroners' Act, one Councillor opined that 'inasmuch as every justice is a coroner... a gentleman qualified to do the work is always available'. See Parliamentary Debates Session 2-4 28th Parliament, p1945.
- ⁸⁴⁵ R. v. Casotti, Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, Coronial Transcript p.10A
- ⁸⁴⁶ R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, Coronial Transcript p.10B.
- ⁸⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴⁸ Ibid p.10B-11.
- ⁸⁴⁹ Ibid p.10A.
- ⁸⁵⁰ R. v. Casotti Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, Finding of Appleton JP Coroner re death of Francesco Fantin, 27 November 1942
- ⁸⁵¹ R.v.Casotti, Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942, Warrant of Commitment of Giovanni Casotti

⁸⁵²Note the erroneous assurance given by Saffin to Saviane as late as early February 1943 that "the assassin..is accused by the authorities of murder and not manslaughter..", in NAA: A373/1, 10913.

⁸⁵³ Richards was affectionately caricatured by Coventry in his self published SA Centenary Celebrities, wherein he is identified as a former State parliamentary Draughtsman and Crown Solicitor. The Attorney General's encomium to him on his retirement was published in the SA State Reports 1946.

⁸⁵⁴.Allocutus 22 December 1942 in R. v. Casotti, Supreme Court SA December Sessions 1942.

⁸⁵⁵Collingwood The Principles of History OUP 1999 p151.

⁸⁵⁶ See PW Verco Millers, Masons & Medicine Adelaide 1976

⁸⁵⁷ Dr Verco seemed disconcerted that matters he thought closed and secret were on the public record. I took notes of our brief phone conversation, which occurred shortly before my departure for Italy for 3 years ending in August 1988, but they no longer seem to be in my possession. I stand by my recollection.

⁸⁵⁸Defence of the West cited in Jenkins Battle Surface! p85.

⁸⁵⁹ See the typed note of the phone call from Major Hunkin to the Legal Corp Major von Bertouch in the early afternoon of November 26 1942, the first day of sitting of the Coronial Inquest into the death of Fantin at Loveday. See NAA: MP742/1 255/12/12. Hunkin was concerned about the credentials of a representative of the Adelaide News, and requested that information be taken 'without the representative being made aware.' Confidence in internal channels was such that this transaction was documented. Such confidence would appear to have been general throughout the political, military and security administrations during the war.

⁸⁶⁰ See remarks *ibid*. Dr Shepherd's comment was relayed over the phone to me by his wife, as he was too ill to consent to an interview. Dr Shepherd is listed as the senior AAMC officer attached to Loveday in the official History of Loveday 1940-46 Appendix D in NAA: AP613/1 90/1/193.

⁸⁶¹ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire pxvii.

⁸⁶² DF – Mrs Brewer 1 July 2002

⁸⁶³ DF - Mrs Brewer 1 July 2002, likewise Mr Ray McInnes who owned 'Karinya' in the mid 80s on the reputation the family left behind it. Also ADB & Cockburn Pioneers of the Pastoral Industry in SA

⁸⁶⁴ That one Internee was 'undergoing civil detention' when internment in South Australia was closed down in February 1946 was mentioned in the 'Conclusion' to the History of Loveday 1940-46 p21. This was of course a discrete reference to Fantin's killer Casotti.

⁸⁶⁵ Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p180. Venturini also notes this omission, Never Give In p317

⁸⁶⁶ See the official History of Loveday p10, in NAA: AP613/1 90/1/193.

⁸⁶⁷ See Cresciani Fascismo, antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia 1922-45 Bonacci, Roma 1979 p156 and the English translation ANU 1980.

⁸⁶⁸ See The Principles of History p136, 152, 156 & 158. See also The Idea of History p236 regarding the critical evaluation of evidence and the 'constructive' phase of 'the historical imagination'.

⁸⁶⁹ News 16 March 1943

⁸⁷⁰ Cited in Waley The Italian City-Republics p182

⁸⁷¹ 'Il Secondo Anniversario della Morte di Fantin' Il Risveglio 30 November 1944 p1. 'The Awakening' was the official organ of the antifascist movement 'Italia libera' [Free Italy] which had excellent links with former internees.

⁸⁷² Ibid

⁸⁷³ Supreme Court SA No 31 December Sessions 1942 ZAMPATTI Stefano

⁸⁷⁴ AMF Court of Inquiry Proceedings Loveday 17/18 November 1942 PATERNOSTER Giuseppe

⁸⁷⁵ Jury – Martin 18 November 1942 p3

⁸⁷⁶ AMF Court of Inquiry Proceedings Loveday 17/18 November 1942 IANELLO Francesco

⁸⁷⁷ R Degli Esposti AMF Court of Inquiry Proceedings Loveday 17/18 November 1942

⁸⁷⁸ That the blunt instrument used to kill Fantin was 'a piece of jarrah' was stated by Inspector Gill in correspondence concerning Casotti dated 13 August 1954; see NAA AP308/1 SA15968. Its approximate dimensions were described by Paternoster's brother in law Augusto Pretti 26 November 1962 on the eve of the coronial inquest; see Supreme Court Adelaide No 31 December Sessions 1942 Exhibit F

⁸⁷⁹ Supreme Court SA No 31 December Sessions 1942 Statement FRANCHINI Domenico

⁸⁸⁰ Supreme Court SA No 31 December Sessions 1942 Statement POZZI Agostino

⁸⁸¹ Richards J, R. v. Giovanni Casotti 19 March 1943, Supreme Court of South Australia

⁸⁸² Brothers Ieraci & D'Orsogna – R Gower written up 27 October 2002 from contemporary notes.

⁸⁸³ See Laserson Bishop Charles Venn Pilcher & Gouttman 'The Pilcher Conundrum' J of the Australian Jewish Historical Society November 1990 Vol XI Part 1

⁸⁸⁴ NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 10 August 1942

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885. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 29 August 1942
886. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 9 December 1942.
887. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Curtin - Forde 14 December 1942.
888. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Burton - Forde 14 December 1942
889. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 18 December 1942
890. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Curtin 1 January 1943 & Pilcher - Forde 1 January 1943
891. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 1 January 1943.
892. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 F. Fantin – Anonymous 13 November 1942, attached to Venn Pilcher - Forde 9 December 1942
893. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 9 December 1942 & Fantin - Anonymous 13 November 1942 & WHAT GOES ON IN INTERNMENT CAMPS.
894. The back-translation into the original Italian would be 'Ho appena fatto fuori quel tisico veneto.' 'Tisico' or tuberculous was a term of abuse expressing deep disgust.
895. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 9 December 1942 & WHAT GOES ON IN INTERNMENT CAMPS
896. Ibid.
897. Ibid.
898. Ibid.
899. From Night Clinics to the Internet p10-13
900. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Finger - Evatt 23 December 1942.
901. Ibid.
902. Ibid.
903. The parties to the Stein letter are cited at the head of the Finger letter to Evatt. The Stein letter begins 'Dear Alf', but is signed L.L, which may signify a code name.
904. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 McCahon - Adjutant General 15 January 1943.
905. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Stein - Watt November 30 1942.
906. Ibid.
907. Ibid.

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908. Ibid.
- 909 NAA: D1901 S692 Ernst Stein, Camp Commandant 14D – HQ 25 Garrison Battalion Barmera 19 January 1943
910. Ibid.
- 911 See HEALY, JAMES ADB
912. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Healy - Evatt December 24 1942.
913. Dalziel - DGS December 31 1942 in NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12.
- 914 State Library of NSW ML MSS 5288 Simpson – Healy 1 January 1943
- 915 Ibid Healy – Simpson 11 February 1943
- 916 The collective term was attributed to Paternoster by a friend of Fantin in the columns The North Queensland Guardian 19 February 1943
- 917 See BURGMANN, ERNEST HENRY in ADB & Hemenstall 'The Bush Legend & the Red Bishop' Historical Studies October 1981 & 'This Turbulent Priest' AJPH Vol 27 No3 1981. Burgmann was an energetic pamphleteer on social themes, & his autobiographical Education of an Australian was published in 1944
918. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Saviane - Burgmann 26 December 1942.
919. Ibid.
920. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Burgmann - Curtin 30 December 1942.
921. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 6 January 1943.
922. Ibid.
923. See Tennant Evatt. Justice & Politics per index Forde
924. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Evatt 6 January 1943
925. Ibid.
926. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Director of Military Intelligence 5 January 1943.
927. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 SALC No.14 8 December 1942 Extract from Intelligence Report No. 183
928. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Director of Military Intelligence 5 January 1943
929. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Evatt 8 January 1943.
930. Ibid.

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931. Ibid.
932. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 7 January 1943
933. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Stanke - DGS 9 January 1943.
934. Ibid.
935. Ibid.
936. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Stantke - Forde 9 January 1943.
937. Ibid.
938. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 9 January 1943
939. Ibid.
940. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Pilcher - Forde 13 January 1943
941. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Adjutant General 15 January 1943
942. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 McCahon - Adjutant General 14 January 1943
943. Ibid.
944. Ibid.
945. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 McCahon - DGS 19 January 1943
946. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 SALC DEATH OF THE INTERNEE FANTIN 16 January 1943
947. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Stantke - DGS 21 January 1943
948. Ibid
949. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 DGS - Secretary, Attorney General's Dept. 20 January 1943
950. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Gapp - Evatt January 21 1943
951. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Evatt - Gapp 21 January 1943
952. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Gapp 3 February 1943
953. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Adjutant General's Office - Secretary Dept Army 21 January 1943
954. Ibid.
955. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Pilcher 30 January 1943
956. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Clovelly Branch State Labor Party - Curtin 25 January 1943

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957. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 COPY OF INVESTIGATORS' REPORT undated.
958. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 South Bulli Miners Lodge – Curtin 4 February 1943
959. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Curtin - South Bulli Miners Lodge 6 February 1943
960. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 ALP Lismore - Forde & Curtin 11 February 1943
961. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Lismore ALP 17 February 1943
962. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 INTERNEES AT 14D CAMP 11 February 1943
963. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Secretary Dept Army - Secretary PM's Dept 13 February 1943
964. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Riordan - Forde 24 February 1943
965. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Cairns District Committee Amalgamated Engineering Union - Riordan MHR 15 February 1943
966. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Riordan 1 March 1943
967. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 NSW Branch Transport Workers' Union - Curtin 16 February 1943
968. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Curtin 24 February 1943
969. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Curtin - Pilcher 24 February 1943
970. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Essendon ALP - Forde 27 February 1943
971. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Essendon ALP 10 March 1943
972. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Barrier District Assembly ALP - Forde 25 March 1943
973. NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 Forde - Barrier District Assembly ALP 30 March 1943
974. Cresciani Fascismo, l'antifascismo e gli italiani in Australia 1922-45 p159
975. "Anti-Fascism & Internment: The Case of Francesco Fantin" in J. of the Historical Society of South Australia No.17 1989 p102-4
976. Loh With Courage in their Cases p33
977. 'FREE ANTI-FASCISTS FROM INTERNMENT Avenge the Murder of Francesco Fantin' in North Queensland Guardian 15 January 1943. NAA: A373/1, 10913
978. 'FANTASTIC STATEMENTS IN THE FANTIN CASE' in North Queensland Guardian 19 February 1943 Marked Security copy in NAA: A373/1, 10913
979. Ibid. As noted above, the witness who attended Fantin was Pattanaro.

⁹⁸⁰ The relationship between judicial determination and historical demonstration is lucidly expounded in Collingwood The Idea of History p268.

⁹⁸¹ Nursey-Bray "Anti-Fascism & Internment: The Case of Francesco Fantin" in J. of the Historical Society of South Australia No.17 1989 p.101.

Bevege also takes the view that the charge of murder against Casotti "raised potentially embarrassing questions about the competence of the army's administration of camps, and of an internment policy that forced Fascists and anti-Fascists to be put in the same camp. The charge was reduced to manslaughter.." Behind Barbed Wire p.179-80. Venturini also adopts this line. See Never Give In p438

⁹⁸² Crown Prosecutor Chamberlain adhered to the conservative party line in disapproving of Evatt's resignation from the High Court to contest a parliamentary seat. Chamberlain thought Evatt's resignation politicised the bench. See Chamberlain The Stuart Affair pp.40-41.

⁹⁸³ Collingwood Essays in the Philosophy of History University of Texas Press, Austin 1965: see p.99 "Historical thinking means nothing else than interpreting all the available evidence with the maximum degree of critical skill." The pitfalls of uncritical handling of sources were discussed by Collingwood in The Idea of History p.257-61 under the subheading "Scissors & Paste".

⁹⁸⁴ Never Give In p371

⁹⁸⁵ Advertiser 17 March 1943

⁹⁸⁶ Nursey-Bray "Anti-Fascism & Internment: The Case of Francesco Fantin" in J. of the Historical Society of South Australia No.17 1989 p.101

⁹⁸⁷ NAA MP 742/1 255/12/12 J. Finger – Evatt 23 December 1942

⁹⁸⁸ NAA: A373/1 10913 DDSSA – DGS 6 February 1943

⁹⁸⁹ NAA : A373/1 10913 DGS – DDSSA 26 February 1943

⁹⁹⁰ Never Give In p436

⁹⁹¹ See Crown Prosecutor Chamberlain's remarks, reported in The Advertiser March 17 1943.

⁹⁹² NAA: MP742/1, 255/12/12 McCahon DPW & I - DAG (PS) 15 January 1943

⁹⁹³ McCahon DPW & I Minute January 18 1943 in NAA: MP742/1 255/12/12. The witnesses who gave evidence under these arrangements at trial against Casotti were Domenico Franchini and Agostino Pozzi. See Rex versus Giovanni Casotti, No.31 December Sessions 1942 Supreme Court of SA before Mr Justice Richards. They substantially confirmed the evidence given to Sergeant Gill and subsequently submitted before the Coroner by Ettore Emoli and Quirino Martin.

⁹⁹⁴ NAA: A373/1 10913 DDSSA – DGS 6 February 1943

⁹⁹⁵ NAA: A373/1 10913 DGS – DDSSA 26 February 1943

⁹⁹⁶ NAA: A373/1 10913 DDSSA – DGS 6 February 1943

⁹⁹⁷ The relevant archival series of the National Archives of Australia, cited herein throughout, are A373/1 10913, MP742/1 255/12/12 & BP242/1 Q30084. The material ranges from security sources respecting Fantin's internment to military and political responses to his death involving the Army, the Security Service, the Attorney General and Prime Minister. Sometimes as here the correspondence is incomplete, but such lacunae appear rare. It is possible that an assiduous search of the correspondence files of the Attorney General's Dept, for example, might turn up scattered items, or even a short documentary series. But it is likely that such an endeavour would end as a futile search for an imaginary needle in an ever expanding haystack. It should also be noted that the Evatt Collection at the Flinders University of SA contains nothing concerning the Fantin affair, although there is copious material concerning Evatt's interest in the United Nations role in the postwar Italian border settlement, the return of looted Italian art treasures and so on.

⁹⁹⁸ NAA: A373/1 10913 DGS – DDSSA 26 February 1943

⁹⁹⁹ For the timing of Simpson's visit to Adelaide see NAA: 373/1 10913 Security Service Canberra – Security Service Adelaide 17 February 1943 & 24 February 1943

¹⁰⁰⁰ See 'Antifascism & Internment: the Case of Francesco Fantin' in J. Historical Society SA No.17 1989 p101.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cited by Bevege Behind Barbed Wire p217.

¹⁰⁰² NAA A373/1 10913 Simpson – Kirkman 26 February 1943

¹⁰⁰³ NAA MP 742/1 255/12/12 McCahon – Simpson 3 April 1943

¹⁰⁰⁴ NAA A373/1 10913 Simpson – Kirkman 26 February 1943.

¹⁰⁰⁵ NAA: A373/1 10913 DDSSA – DGS March 2 1943

¹⁰⁰⁶ The characterisation of Col Dean's management of 'Karinya' is that of Mr Ray McInnes, a subsequent proprietor of the property. The citation of his DSO is reprised in his ADB entry.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cresciani Fascismo, l'antifascismo e gli Italiani in Australia p158 & Venturini Never Give In p407

¹⁰⁰⁸ NAA: A373/1 10913 DDSSA – DGS March 2 1943

¹⁰⁰⁹ See The Idea of History p266-82.

¹⁰¹⁰ Evatt's first biographer Tennant blamed the Army and Forde, whom she characterised as credulous where military officers were concerned, for Evatt's embarrassment over the Australia First affair. Her opinion appears to derive from the common consensus of Evatt's associates. See Evatt: Politics & Justice p147.

¹⁰¹¹ Evatt greeted the defeat of the referendum to attain suspected communists as a refusal by the Australian people 'to write into their Constitutions provisions which were utterly un-British and the very antithesis of the glorious traditions of our race.' See Elizabeth Evatt citing her uncle from the pages of The Sydney Morning Herald September 24 1951 in her 'Referendum 1951: A View From the Media' in Seeing Red: The Communist Party Dissolution Act & Referendum 1951... Evatt Foundation 1992.

¹⁰¹² See 'Antifascism & Internment: the Case of Francesco Fantin' in J. of the Historical Society of SA No. 17 1989 p104-5.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid p104 & appendix 'Thoughts & Memories'

¹⁰¹⁵ Photocopy of this card is amongst my papers. An enlarged framed copy of it is held by FILEF, the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Emigrati e Famiglie, Adelaide, amongst the surviving materials of the photographic exhibition entitled Francesco Fantin: Myth & Reality, held in May 1990. My recollection is that the card came into my hands from Professor Antonio Comin. Apart from the remarks made above, it has not hitherto been possible to establish the exact origins of this significant item.

¹⁰¹⁶ See 'Antifascism & Internment' J Historical Society of SA No 17 1989 p109 endnote 12

¹⁰¹⁷ See notice of the fascist commemoration at Novara 'of those fallen...in the cause of capitalism' Provincia di Vicenza 18 January 1921

¹⁰¹⁸ Saviane – Tardiani 19 June 1944 Saviani Papers ML Mss 528 Add-on 1980/2

¹⁰¹⁹ Consul General London – Elena Rubeo 24 February 1949 NAA: AP308/1 SA15968 Casotti Giovanni 1949-54

¹⁰²⁰ See Minute G Paternoster, SR Thompson 13 August 1954 NAA: AP308/1 SA15968 Casotti Giovanni 1949-54