

**Labour Migration and Regicide in early Twentieth Century Vicenza
Province: The political peregrinations of Sante Barbieri
July-October 1905**

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ABSTRACT

The paper canvasses the little-known episode of the 1905 Sante Barbieri security scare, concerning a feared attempt on the life of the young Italian King Vittorio Emanuele III. This attempt did not eventuate, but the prospect was very real to the Directorate General of Public Security given the 1900 regicide of Umberto I. In monitoring Barbieri, the authorities traced strands of anarchist political culture extending across labour migration pathways, centred on Schio in the upper Vicenza Province, and by this time attached to the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. In the wake of the Great War and the rise of Fascism, Australia was to be integrated into these networks by politicised proletarian pioneers of mass migration via mechanisms of industrial deportation, effectively decapitating labour dissent in the Vicenza Province generally and in the Schio district in particular. This paper is therefore an exercise in the pre-history of the political culture and migration process initially involving Europe and the Americas which eventually involved Australia in the early 20th century.

In the winter of 1905, the political policing apparatus of the Kingdom of Italy scrambled to prevent the repetition of its failure to prevent the regicide at Monza of Umberto I on 29 July 1900. The scare originated in an informer's 'trustworthy' report, arising from the routine consular monitoring by the royal authorities of the Italian diaspora in the United States. It was from here that the regicide textile worker and onetime political prisoner Gaetano Bresci had repatriated on his fatal mission to avenge the monarchical repression of the nationwide civil disturbances of 1898.¹ The 'trustworthy' and probably not disinterested report (which was most likely paid for), attaching to a subject of like socioeconomic profile and political character repatriating from the same diaspora, could have been discounted as hardly imaginative, a warning reheated in 1905 and too clearly reissued after the horse of 1900 had bolted. But, at first at least, the report was treated uncritically with automatic seriousness. This time the

Directorate General of Public Security (hereafter DGPS) considered it could not afford to be so complacent. Might not subversive circles, angered by the suiciding in custody of the regicide in May 1901,² be attempting to avenge him in the same way as he had avenged the victims of 1898? Accordingly, provincial prefects throughout much of the realm were placed on alert, to monitor the movements of the Vicentine expatriate Sante Barbieri as he traversed the Atlantic and criss-crossed his native haunts and the well-established transalpine migration pathways bordering the Veneto.

This popular and working class itinerary of mobility and exile was, as we shall see, one trodden by other Vicentines of modest means and radical proletarian politics in his day. In due course, the inherent dynamics of Vicentine capitalism, particularly in the textile producing Schio district, which had long seen labour shedding and expulsion from the locality at times of economic downturn to continental Europe and across the Atlantic, were to integrate a new migration destination after the Great War and the rise of Fascism as access to the United States was choked off: to wit, Australia. In the Schio district, at any rate, it was proletarian political emigrants who pioneered mass chain migration to the ‘new country’. This essay explores the relationship between labour migration and the politics of proletarian dissent in the late Liberal era in Italy, athwart the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The first Italian census of 1871 already revealed that expatriates from the peninsula’s alpine and pre-alpine zones stretching from Liguria to Friuli, were prominent in the new nation’s then modest diaspora, destined to burgeon to around 9 million by the end of the Liberal era.³ This emigration was typically transitory and seasonal rather than permanent.⁴ At that early stage, nearly 95% of expatriates from the Veneto region were resident in more or less industrialised continental Europe.⁵ However, commencing circa 1876, began an unprecedented half century of transoceanic emigration from the rural Veneto plains to Brazil and Argentina, integrating the region in an emerging transatlantic economy as a reservoir of ‘unskilled’ labour.⁶ This broad panorama was offset by industrial development and its attendant crises in the rising textile manufacturing localities of the upper Vicenza Province and elsewhere in the Veneto.

In the Schio district, in particular, the forging of migration routes to industrial centres, like Paterson and West Hoboken in the United States, was an expression of socioeconomic oppression, working class mobility and antagonism towards capital, Church and State. There, the 19th century saw the industrialisation of secular traditions of textile manufacturing at the hands of the Rossi dynasty. After Unification, in particular, economic and political power in the district was increasingly concentrated in the hands of the devoutly Catholic patriarch Senator Alessandro Rossi.⁷ Rossi ideologically managed his semi-rural workforce to restrain the growth of Socialism, which he saw as the besetting sin of urbanisation. He deliberately sought to sustain traditional rural religiosity in the conservative defence of property.⁸ Together, however, with pressures associated with the low wage regime practised by the firm, the Lanerossi, and reinforced by savage strike-breaking during economic downturns in 1873, 1890 and 1891,⁹ the processes of Rossi’s local imperium had an opposing reaction in the form of anarchism. It is easy to see how an oppositional minority, which identified ecclesiastical, economic and state power as a negative unity, flourished under such a hegemony. Moreover, such was the Rossi monopoly of employment and housing at Schio, these industrial cataclysms saw veritable exoduses from the district.¹⁰ Ultimately the clash of district bourgeoisie and proletariat, each with its own contrasting but inter-related economy and political culture, was to forge links with Australia in a context of national and international crisis as locally experienced after the defeat of the national textile strike of 1921.

These interwoven themes of migration and official versus ‘subversive’ political culture, are reflected in the security scare which surrounded the travels of the Vicentine Anarchist Sante

Barbieri in July to October 1905. Barbieri was born on 25 June 1880 at Rozzampia near Thiene on the railway spur between Vicenza and Schio. In 1882, his family moved to adjacent Dueville. In 1888, they moved again to Cavazzale, where young Sante began working at the Roi textile mill, a local competitor of the Rossi combine. In 1894, the teenage Barbieri moved alone to Piovene and began working at the Rossi establishment there. It is likely that during his service there he came under the influence of the anarchist chemist Ettore Molinari, who was on the staff of the nearby Rossi works at Piovene Rocchette. At the age of seventeen, he made the most of his precocious experience of labour and emigrated to Austria. By 1900, he had gravitated to Männedorf in the Canton of Zurich, Switzerland, where he married Maria Zanzotto, a native from Treviso, by whom he was to have three children there, two of whom died in infancy. Barbieri brought his surviving child home to his mother at Dueville in 1901. The following year, Sante and Maria crossed the Atlantic and arrived in Hoboken, New Jersey, that magnet for textile workers and Italian and other anarchist émigrés. In due course, Maria found work as a weaver at the Home Silk Mill in Haverstraw, New York.¹¹

In 1905, Sante again temporarily repatriated, leaving his wife working at her place of employment. On 5 July, the Italian Consul General at New York wrote to the Ministry of the Interior at Rome, following up with a telegram the next day, alerting the Italian government that Barbieri had taken ship on 29 June aboard the *USS La Lorraine* for Le Havre, supposedly, according to an anonymous but trustworthy source, with a mandate to kill the King.¹² The Ministry of the Interior immediately informed the Embassy at Paris, in the hope of having Barbieri monitored in transit. The Inspector General of Public Security attached to the Royal Household at Racconigi in the Piedmontese Province of Cuneo, and police at several points of entry into Italy and numerous internal communication hubs, were wired his description. These efforts were crowned with success on the 8th when Barbieri was arrested at Turin and taken to the *Questura* or provincial police headquarters for questioning.

The guarded voice which emerges from the Turin *Questura* of a century ago is that of a politicised proletarian, beset by the conditions of life of his class and expressing social views in keeping with that experience. Barbieri implicitly denied any tendency to extremism. He told a tale of the private misfortunes and ill health of a struggling worker, visiting his native province to take the waters at Recoaro Springs and see his sister and his child raised by his aging mother. Queried as to his military status, which might have authorised his detention, Barbieri replied that he had performed no military service, being the son of a widow. As to his politics, he declared:

I have professed anarchist principles for many years, and am convinced that a better society must arise when the working class gains a sufficient level of intellectual development necessary to unite its forces in common cause against the present form of society. I have never engaged in violent acts.¹³

This account was to be confirmed at the end of the month, care of the Italian Ambassador to France, who reported prior knowledge of Barbieri as ‘the most innocuous person in the world, and not even an anarchist, but rather with some tendency towards socialism’.¹⁴ Given that these creeds are philosophical first cousins, any contradiction between the two declarations is probably more apparent than real.

The same day, Barbieri was released to continue his journey to Dueville under escort. At Vicenza, he was taken off the train for identification at the Prefecture and for arrangements to be made for his surveillance at his small town destination, where no Carabinieri, the Italian royal military police charged with public security surveillance, were stationed.¹⁵ No sooner had

he arrived at Dueville, however, than the original rumour began to circulate that he had been delegated by lot by his New World comrades to kill the King. Barbieri responded to these reports by resorting to the local wineshops to deny them.¹⁶ He went so far, indeed, as to complain to the Provincial Office of Public Security that its unwonted attentions were lending substance to rumours he intended to discredit publicly. Indeed, Barbieri was only dissuaded from ventilating his concerns at a previously convened Socialist gathering at Thiene on the 12th by the eminent socialist organiser, Engineer Domenico Piccoli.¹⁷ By this time, notice of Barbieri's supposed mission had been leaked to the regional press, despite the best official efforts to keep the matter confidential, and a leak inquiry instigated.¹⁸ All the while, Barbieri sought the company of young workers and 'the most excited members of the socialist party', regaling them with tales of adventure in exile in Switzerland and the United States.¹⁹ When the insubstantiality of the original informer's denunciation is taken into account, it is probable indeed that networking of this order and private business brought Barbieri back to his ancestral haunts, rather than any regicide intent. At any rate, Barbieri had informed the Prefect at Vicenza that he had many commissions to fulfil towards friends and comrades back in America,²⁰ as any traveller might, particularly a politicised one. How might such a more modest mission have been structured and carried out?

Firstly, it could have been carried out in part with Barbieri's own resources in view of personal or professional prospects, with or without political dimensions. This seems to have been the case in his dealings with 32-year-old Anna Menapace née Boschetti of Rovereto, whom he met at Recoaro on 23 July. She was the allegedly abandoned wife of one Menapace, resident eight years in the United States; they were originally from Tajo in the Tyrol. It was thought by the police that Barbieri may have conveyed some communication from the husband to this 'woman of good reputation and regular political and moral conduct'. She was a skilled artisan who designed carpets.²¹ Barbieri had intentions, according to the police, of upgrading his own skills and taking a diploma as a master weaver, with a view, amongst other things, to commercialising her designs in the United States.²² The following day, he accompanied her by train to Valdagno, she proceeding via Verona to Rovereto, he retracing his tracks to Recoaro and Dueville.²³

A few days later, Barbieri was seen lunching at the Collo tavern at Magrè di Schio, and discussing 'labour agitation at Vicenza' with some associates, who shared with him local origins and the experience of migration. These were Antonio Pasini and Domenico and Anna Sartori. Pasini was a native of Magrè, and had been employed like Barbieri by the Lanerossi. At one point he was described by the police as 'a capable and assiduous worker of good moral and political conduct.'²⁴ This was an atypical compliment, given the association in the official mind of political dissent with immorality and fecklessness. Nonetheless, Pasini was sacked by the Lanerossi as a labour agitator in 1897. He immediately emigrated to West Hoboken New Jersey, repatriating in the earliest years of the 20th century.²⁵ His association with Barbieri suggests at least a minimum of coordination and cooperation, drawing upon the traditions and international networks of the Schio proletarian left.

Regarding Anna and Domenico Sartori, the Prefect of Vicenza reported to the DGPS at the end of August 1905 that:

On the 16th instant Sartori Domenico ... born 27 January 1872 textile worker together with wife Anna left Schio for Zurich ... They emigrated to Zurich in 1900 and returned on the 10th of last July to visit their parents. Due to the constant watch kept on Barbieri ... it was noted that on the 28th July last the said couple were in company with Barbieri at Recoaro. On the evening of the 29th they returned to Schio in his

company ... They affirm that in the past they knew Barbieri at Zurich
...²⁶

Evidently they, like Barbieri, had been at least tactically forthcoming when interviewed by the police. Like him, their migration and employment histories and their itinerary in their native haunts had personal, familial and political dimensions, which were far from mutually exclusive. This could have been read reassuringly by the authorities, as a sign of the modesty of the aims of Barbieri and his associates, were it not for official alarmism towards all dissent.

This tendency was further excited on 3 August, when the Veronese Socialist Deputy Mario Todeschini encountered Barbieri at Vicenza railway station. There he made a point of loudly disparaging the surveillance upon Barbieri, and recommended stratagems to subtract him from it.²⁷ Evidently Todeschini recognised Barbieri as a comrade of a united front against the Liberal state apparatus. The Prefect of Vicenza, satisfied that until this time, despite Barbieri's protests, that he had effectively 'suffered without notable exception the vigilance of the public security police', became concerned that Barbieri was following Todeschini's advice.²⁸ Barbieri's subsequent movements were thus interpreted as possibly so many feints to cross the border or otherwise lose the agents tailing him. This was the reading given to his taking the train from Dueville to Schio on 9 August, from where he might have crossed the border at Pian della Fugazza to the north-west, only to retrace his steps to Vicenza, thence proceeding across the border to Trento via Ala.²⁹ The following day, he travelled to Bolzano to meet Signora Menapace at her native town of Tajo. His movements in Habsburg territory were confirmed to the DGPS by Signora Menapace herself. Considering herself persecuted by the Austrian authorities, she had presented at the Prefecture of Verona.³⁰ Her frankness regarding her dealings with Barbieri, emulating his own stance towards the Italian authorities, belied their suspicions as to the intent of the movements of 'the fugitive'. Still they were unwilling to be reassured, concerned that he might repatriate at any moment, whilst the Austrian police were concerned that he might remain in the vicinity of Bolzano where the Habsburg Emperor was expected to visit on 27 August.³¹ They too had long institutional memories of Italian anarchist assassins, the Empress Elizabeth having died at the hand of Luigi Lucchini in 1898 on the shores of Lake Geneva, occasioning much anti-Italian feeling in the Empire and its press.³² But the Italian police considered that Barbieri, who had requested a passport for Zurich in late July, might join Menapace, whom the Austrians assumed was his lover, when she returned to Switzerland.³³ The previous year she had been employed at Thalwil, Switzerland, from where the next indirect notice of Barbieri came in September via the Venice Prefecture. A foreman in a woollen works there, one Emilio Pozzan, had related to a friend resident at Mestre what Barbieri had told him about evading surveillance. This friend had retailed the information to the Prefecture. While the chain of information was a little tenuous, circumstances bore it out. More interesting was the fact that Barbieri, in the opinion of the Prefect, appeared to be toying with the informant, giving it out that he might emigrate to Germany 'the better to elude surveillance'.³⁴ Later in the month the Italian Legation at Berne assured the DGPS that they were taking the question of Barbieri's exact whereabouts seriously.³⁵ However, in early October, they had to advise that their partners:

The Federal Public Ministry cannot always enjoy a free hand in its vigilance over the anarchist element, especially in the Canton of Zurich, whose government is constituted by advanced elements. In addition to these indirect allies, Barbieri can count, without doubt ... on the moral and material support of the Zurich sectarians, who are, as is well known, strongly organised.³⁶

Soon however the Italian Consulate at Zurich was able to advise that Barbieri's stay was only temporary. His thoughts were turning to his wife and four-year-old son Sante in the United States. It is also likely that his funds were running out. The question then became: by what route would Barbieri return? Would he travel on directly to Le Havre? Or would he repatriate, constituting a continuing risk?³⁷ In the event, he was arrested in Naples on 8 October. Evidently, he was released to make the Atlantic crossing shortly thereafter, although the DGPS was not duly informed of developments by the Caserta Prefecture until 27 January 1906, leaving Rome anxiously seeking confirmation of reports that Barbieri was back with his family at Haverstraw.

What was the point of this odyssey, which cost the Italian state the not inconsiderable sum of some £250 to monitor? Was Barbieri a thwarted regicide, put off by prompt political surveillance from attempting violence? Even Commandant Ceola, in charge of shadowing Barbieri, conceded that 'the preventive measures taken against him may not be completely well founded'.³⁸ However, the Bresci precedent, and the fact that Barbieri had issued forth from circles where the aspiration to avenge the suiciding of the regicide was known to be current, counselled officialdom 'while he is here in Europe to keep Barbieri under (...) strict surveillance', given his supposed 'brooding character' and 'fanatical anarchism'.³⁹ Not surprisingly, a contemporary pamphlet was placed in his file justifying these concerns, although without any note identifying it as amongst Barbieri's effects. Entitled *July 29: Who lives by the sword dies by the sword* and written by one 'O.R.', it disparaged 'the prostitute press, subservient to Church and State' for 'vomiting mud on the anarchists and their ideas.' It overturned the official interpretation of the regicide of Umberto I, condemning the dead king and praising Bresci, whom it was proclaimed had been murdered by the henchmen of Vittorio Emanuele III, the son and heir of 'the crowned monster', comparable to Sulla, Caligula and Nero, whose reign had been one of internal repression and chauvinist expansionism. By contrast the regicide was hailed as 'the brave weaver, humble soldier of the revolutionary army, heroic avenger of the oppressed and impoverished people.' Indeed:

Gaetano Bresci did not kill one of his fellows. He killed a rogue (...) He did not kill in cowardly fashion, because in taking life from another, he offered up his own for the cause of the oppressed. He did not suppress a tyrant to succeed him, but in the hope of liberating the people from his domination, to excite in them sentiments of hope and rebellion against every form of exploitation and despotism.⁴⁰

Clearly Barbieri was associated not unreasonably with anti-monarchical sentiment in the official mind. But if the concerns of the Italian authorities, and indeed their Habsburg and Swiss counterparts, were understandable, this hardly proves his murderous intent, as the failure of the Italian police to long detain him tends to show. It is true that Barbieri may have been economical with the truth when interviewed in the Turin Prefecture. Likewise, he certainly came to find strict surveillance irksome. Close surveillance would have interfered with the work of a propagandist and not just a regicide manqué. The rumours started in New York could easily have arisen in the circumstances around a group effort to partly fund an exercise in networking, extending Barbieri's private means and purposes. What the Barbieri scare does demonstrate is that the socioeconomic conditions of industrialisation and political oppression in the upper Vicenza Province in the late 19th century had by the early 20th century bred trans-Atlantic political migration.

To conclude, by referring to the theses advanced in the introduction, these processes were extended to embrace Australia in the wake of the Great War, as may be briefly

demonstrated. On 8 August 1921, Lanerossi management, in keeping with its traditional hard-line industrial relations policy, fell in with the national peak sectoral employers' body, the Federation of Industrial Woolleners, ordaining a 30% wage cut. This unsurprisingly provoked a strike at the Schio establishments of the firm, which broke out on the 11th. The company resorted to the authorities to protect its energy and labour supply from paramilitary challenges by the strikers. With this official support, the Lanerossi starved the strikers into submission by late November.⁴¹ As can be deduced from the internal company document entitled *Workers leaving Schio subsidised by the mill*, the firm then followed up by victimising the defeated workers. Dozens were paid off to emigrate. Internal migration to other parts of Italy was in evidence, but so was outright expatriation. The most common destination was Belgium, with its textile mills and mines. Also listed were other traditional destinations such as France and the Americas. But a new long-haul destination also emerged: the antipodes. A dozen former Lanerossi employees, the cream of the Schio labour movement, accepted 2500 Lire each, about half their former annual salary, to emigrate to Australia.⁴² Moreover, they were followed by an unprecedented wave of dozens of migrants to 'the new country' between September 1921 and December 1922.⁴³ Thus it can be seen that the traditional 'Rossi handshake' mechanism of socioeconomic deportation from the district of industrial 'undesirables', which went hand in glove with the quelling of proletarian political culture there, was well in evidence and initiated chain migration to Australia. Only further research in other districts and provinces can bear out the extent to which the Schio case was typical across the war devastated Veneto in these years of socioeconomic and political crisis, prior to the stabilisation of the Fascist police state in 1927. At any rate, this authoritarian resolution of the problem of dissent by decapitation of labour protest during the upheavals attending the rise and fall of Fascism ultimately delivered the district to a neo-guelphic ascendancy from the criminalisation of the Resistance to the collapse of Christian Democracy under the hammer blows of the 'clean hands' investigations, which preceded the regionalism now current. Such are the contemporary reverberations of the industrial and police suppression of anarchism, and indeed socialism, in the Province of Vicenza in the early 20th century. In other words, the post-war and latter-day phenomena of conservative and reactionary political involution in a 'White Province' cannot be understood, as Franzina has seminally argued, without reference to the prior historic defeat of its working-class opposition movement prior to the advent of the Cold War. The case of the Barbieri security scare of 1905 is evidence of the one-time vitality of that leftist proletarian political culture.⁴⁴ The building of a democratic future in the Province is thus linked to the securing of a comprehensive, holistic, historical memory embracing the 'losers' who resisted conformity in the past.

The purpose of this study has been to retrace politically and socioeconomically primeval processes, constituting the background from which an anarchist exponent like Francesco Giovanni Fantin (1901-42) emerged. The death in custody of Fantin in a Loveday internment camp was identified as long ago as 1979 by Gianfranco Cresciani as an event of historical significance.⁴⁵ If his death was significant, so was his life, for he was killed for who he was politically, for what he had lived his life to be. And if this is the case, the origins of his politics together with the socioeconomic dynamics of his emigration which carried that philosophy across the world as cultural identity are also significant. It is instructive to note that the woollen industry of the Schio district of upper Vicenza Province was not the sole migration homeland in which these political, cultural and socioeconomic dynamics operated. The silk industry of the Biella district in Piedmont had similar close ties with the same industry in New Jersey.⁴⁶ Further research would probably document similar localities as cradles of political culture and migration homelands across the regions of northern Italy at least. These dynamics began with European destinations, incorporating thereafter America, and, with the post-war

socioeconomic crisis following the Great War, the far-flung antipodes. Such are the historical bases of the Italian community in Australia. Mass migration was pioneered by political émigrés, who were qualitatively significant above and beyond their numbers. The case of Sante Barbieri led on to that of Francesco Fantin, and then after WWII to the mass migration of predominantly apolitical trans-oceanic ‘economic’ migrants.

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- ¹ See Mack Smith, D. (1959): 196-197 and Mack Smith, D. (1989): 139.
- ² Duggan, C. (2008): 349. Duggan records the suspicious circumstance that the files are missing which might have verified the unlikely official account that Bresci had hung himself like Judas out of shame; a rationalisation, which might have been easily and conveniently lifted wholesale from the New Testament. Outrage on the Left at this death in custody will have been the greater in that capital punishment was alien to the Beccarian liberal tradition of jurisprudence and consequently to the Kingdom's legal code.
- ³ Franzina, E. (1984). Dopo il '76. Una regione all'estero. In S. Lanaro (ed.) *Il Veneto*. Torino: Einaudi: 471-472.
- ⁴ Ibid. 474.
- ⁵ Ibid. 472.
- ⁶ Ibid. 473-476.
- ⁷ Simini, E.M. (1982). Vol. I: 147-154. Gli anarchici vicentini tra otto e novecento. In E. Franzina (ed.) *La classe, gli uomini ed i partiti*. Vicenza: Odeonlibri.
- ⁸ Ibid. Vol. I: 163-164.
- ⁹ Ibid. Vol. I: 171,174,199-208.
- ¹⁰ Ibid. Vol. I: 171, 209.
- ¹¹ Ibid. Vol. II: 1250.
- ¹² Archivio Centrale dello Stato Roma Ministero Interni Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza Casellario, Politico Centrale, Busta 329 Barbieri Sante: Royal Italian Consul General New York – MI DGPS 5 and 6 July 1905.
- ¹³ Ibid. Sante Barbieri-Francesco Scalise Regio Commissario PS Torino 8 July 1905.
- ¹⁴ Ibid. Ambasciatore d'Italia Parigi No.15859 31 July 1905.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. MI-Prefettura Vicenza 8 July 1905 & Prefettura Torino-Vicenza 9 July 1905.
- ¹⁶ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 12 August 1905.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 15 July 1905. Engineer Piccoli (1854-1921), who resided in Melbourne and Perth during the 1890s, was elected Deputy for the Veneto in 1919, and fell from a train in suspicious circumstances during the rise of Fascism.
- ¹⁷ Simini, E.M. (1982). Gli anarchici vicentini tra otto e novecento. In E. Franzina (ed.) *La classe, gli uomini ed i partiti*. Vicenza: Odeonlibri, Vol.I: 359, for brief notice of the result of the investigation, which identified a telephonist in the Venice *Questura* as the likely source of the leak. The suspect kept company with journalists and otherwise behaved suspiciously, but in the absence of proof he was transferred and placed under surveillance for the rest of his life. My examination of the Barbieri dossier confirms that the journalists concerned claimed professional privilege.
- ¹⁹ Archivio Centrale dello Stato Roma Ministero Interni Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza Casellario Politico Centrale busta 329 Barbieri Sante: Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 12 August 1905.
- ²⁰ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza 17 August 1905.
- ²¹ Ibid. Prefettura Verona-DGPS 15 August 1905; Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 17 August 1905.
- ²² Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 31 July 1905.
- ²³ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 8 & 12 August 1905.
- ²⁴ Simini, E.M. (1982). Gli anarchici vicentini tra otto e novecento. In E. Franzina (ed.) *La classe, gli uomini ed i partiti*. Vicenza: Odeonlibri, Vol. I: 360.
- ²⁵ Ibid. Vol. I: 356.
- ²⁶ Archivio Centrale dello Stato Roma Ministero Interni Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza Casellario Politico Centrale busta 329 Barbieri Sante: Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 31 August 1905.
- ²⁷ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 12 August 1905.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid. Prefettura Verona-DGPS 18 August 1905 & Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 19 August 1905.
- ³¹ Ibid. Consolato d'Italia Innsbruck-DGPS 15 August 1905.
- ³² Woodcock, G. (1962). *L'anarchia*. Milano: Feltrinelli: 304.
- ³³ Archivio Centrale dello Stato Roma Ministero Interni Direzione Generale Pubblica Sicurezza Casellario Politico Centrale busta 329 Barbieri Sante: Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 12 August 1905.
- ³⁴ Ibid. Prefettura Verona-DGPS 12 September 1905.
- ³⁵ Ibid. Legazione d'Italia Berna-DGPS 27 September 1905.
- ³⁶ Ibid. Legazione d'Italia Berna-DGPS 6 October 1905.
- ³⁷ Ibid. Prefettura Vicenza-DGPS 23 September 1905 & Consolato d'Italia Zurigo 5 October 1905.
- ³⁸ Ibid. Undated file note.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ ACS Roma MI DPPS CPC busta 329 Barbieri Sante 29 Luglio: *Chi di spada vive di spada morire*.
- ⁴¹ Simini, E.M. (1980). *Il nostro signor capo* Vicenza: Odeonlibri: 219f.

⁴² Archivio Storico Lanerossi, Raccogliatore 15 Interno No. 8: *Operai che si allontanarono da Schio con sussidio dalla Fabbrica*. For a listing of these comrades industrially deported to Australia, see doctoral thesis Faber, D. (2008). *FG Fantin: Life & Times of an Italo-Australian Anarchist 1901-42*: 128-129.

⁴³ Municipio di Schio, Registro Nulla Osta June 1921-December 1922. For individual entries see my doctoral thesis (2008). *FG Fantin: Life & Times of an Italo-Australian Anarchist 1901-42*: 131-133.

⁴⁴ Not for nothing is Franzina's classic 1982 study *La classe, gli uomini e i partiti* cit. subtitled *Storia del movimento operaio e socialista in una provincia bianca: il Vicentino 1873-1948*.

⁴⁵ See Cresciani, G. (1979): 156f.

⁴⁶ See Chapter 2 I 'senza patria' in Zimmer, K. (2015). *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish & Italian Anarchists in America*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

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