

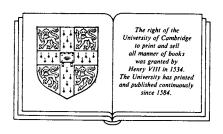
THE FASCIST REVOLUTION
IN TUSCANY
1919–1922



THE FASCIST REVOLUTION IN TUSCANY 1919–1922

FRANK M. SNOWDEN

Lecturer in History, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College University of London



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 1989

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1989 First paperback edition 2004

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Snowden, Frank M. (Frank Martin), 1946–
The fascist revolution in Tuscany, 1919–1922.
Bibliography.
Includes index.

1. Tuscany (Italy) – Politics and government.

2. Fascism – Italy – Tuscany – History – 20th century.
I. Title.
DG38.7.S64 1989 945'.5 88-35278

ISBN 0521361176 hardback ISBN 0521528666 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2004



FOR ELAINE AND FRANK



CONTENTS

Preface List of abbreviations and Italian terms Map of Tuscany	<i>page</i> ix x xii
Introduction	I
PART I THE COUNTRYSIDE	
1 Partnership and love	7
2 The appeal of the right	70
PART II THE CITIES	
3 Big business and Mussolini	121
4 The petty bourgeoisie and the Squads	157
PART III THE STATE	
5 Compromise and collusion	183
Conclusion	205
Notes	210
Bibliography	267
Index	281

vii



PREFACE

Like all historical research, this book was in many ways a collective enterprise, and I am indebted to many people for their advice and assistance. Most of all I would like to thank Adrian Lyttelton, who was my teacher and whose suggestions at every stage were invaluable. Giovanna Procacci was my first guide to the Italian state archives, and Giorgio Mori was both gracious and wise in his advice on the location of sources in Tuscany. To both of them I am grateful. Research is impossible without the support of the staff of archives and libraries; I am fortunate that the personnel at the institutions listed in the bibliography were generous with their time and assistance.

Academic work also has financial bases. I conducted the research for this book with grants from the Danforth Foundation, the Council on the Humanities at Yale University, and the Central Research Fund at London University. I thank these institutions for their support.

Finally, I have been aided enormously in the completion of the typescript. Donna Koontz typed the text with endless patience and skill, and my parents were helpful critics of my use of the language. The errors that remain are my own.



ABBREVIATIONS AND ITALIAN TERMS

ABBREVIATIONS

AAT Tuscan Agrarian Association
AIT Tuscan Industrial Association
ASLU Archivio di Stato di Lucca
CGL General Confederation of Labour
FIOM National Metalworkers' Union

PNF Fascist Party
PSI Socialist Party

SMI Società Metallurgica Italiana

ITALIAN TERMS

affittuario peasant leaseholder

agrari landlords

arditi shock troops in the Italian army

arditi del popolo non-party anti-fascist armed resistance

movement

bracciante day labourer

camporaiolosemi-proletarianized sharecroppercapocciahead of a sharecropping familycaposquadrahead of fascist action squads

carabiniere military policeman

collocamento di classe roster of union men for employment in agri-

culture

colono sharecropper

Confindustria Italian Confederation of Industry

consiglio di

fabbrica factory council

consiglio di

fattoria farm council

 \mathbf{x}



Glossary of Italian abbreviations and terms

direttorio executive committee famiglia colonica legal peasant family

fascio branch of the fascist movement

fattore bailiff fattoria estate

imponibile di

mano d'opera compulsory employment of agricultural labour

latifondo great estate

massaia wife of the head of a peasant family

mezzadria sharecropping system

mezzadro sharecropper

podere peasant family farm

popolari members of the Popular Party

questorelocal chief of policeraslocal fascist bosssottofattoreassistant bailiffsottoprefettodeputy prefect

stime estimates of debt between sharecropper and

landlord

terrazziere day labourer

ufficio del lavoro fascist employment office

хi





Tuscany at the period under study