Introduction

On 20 September 1920, two years before gaining power, Benito Mussolini gave a speech in Trieste celebrating half a century of Italian unity.[1] The city, conquered in the First World War and about to be formally incorporated into the Italian nation, was a fitting location.[2] After all, Italian nationalists hailed the Great War as the fourth war of unification, fought to "redeem" from Austrian rule territories they claimed as Italian. Among them, none was more precious than Trieste. Addressing his audience in a meandering, disjointed, and bombastic speech like so many he would give in his long career, Mussolini declared *Italianità* (Italianness) to be "the first fundamental pillar of Fascist action" and exhorted Italians everywhere to "shout loudly: We are Italians!"[3]

While the speech celebrated Italian unity, cohesion, and pride, it also acknowledged – as well it might, given the city's mixed population – that Italy now included also non-Italians.[4] Mussolini urged Italy to stand up to the newly conquered "tribes barking more or less incomprehensible languages" at the borders of the nation. He also spoke dismissively of other populations challenging Italian rule, including recently subjected colonial peoples in North Africa, whom he mocked as "a handful of Arabs rebelling in Libya."[5] As he envisaged the Italy of the future, Mussolini left no doubt

[1] The official fiftieth anniversary of Italian unification was celebrated in 1911. In his speech, Mussolini celebrated the anniversary of the conquest of the city of Rome on 20 September 1870.

[2] In accordance with the provisions of the 1915 Treaty of London, Italy annexed the city of Trieste at the end of the war, but the annexation was formalized only on 12 November 1920 with the Italian-Yugoslav Treaty of Rapallo.

[3] Benito Mussolini, "Discorso di Trieste," in *Opera Omnia XV*, ed. Edoardo Susmel and Duilio Susmel, 36 vols. (Florence: La Fenice, 1951–1963), 217.

[4] The Austrian census of 1910 which registered the *Umgangssprache* (language of everyday use) eventually recorded the city of Trieste as containing 118,959 Italian speakers, 56,916 Slovene speakers, 11,865 German speakers, and 2,403 Croat speakers. On the controversy over the original census and the 1911 revision see Lavo Čermelj, *The Census in Trieste in 1910* (Belgrade: Yugoslav Institut for International Affairs, 1946).

[5] Mussolini, "Discorso di Trieste," 218 and 220.

of the exemplar to be followed: "Rome, which paves the way, draws the borders, and gives the world its eternal laws."[6] Despite his use of the present tense, Mussolini was of course referring to Ancient Rome, which had ruled over diverse peoples and established a far-flung empire.

With its emphasis on unity and its acknowledgment of the presence of "others," Mussolini's speech implicitly revealed a central conundrum facing all radical nationalists wishing to enlarge state territory while reinforcing national cohesion, namely, how to square that national cohesion with rule over non-Italian lands and peoples. Though Mussolini's invocation of the glory and power of Ancient Rome was predictable, the reality of the expansionist city-state, which had relied as much on accommodation and syncretism toward other traditions as on the might of its legionaries, was an unlikely model for a radical nationalist movement.

This central conundrum posed itself all the more acutely in the aftermath of the First World War as a new global order was taking shape.[7] While its celebration of the uniform and ordered nation-state dovetailed with the Fascist ideal of national homogeneity and unity, its promotion of minority rights did not. The new world order after the First World War not only rewrote the playbook of nation but also that of empire. Colonial rule was now presented as a form of trusteeship promising eventual emancipation. No doubt the fine rhetoric belied the reality that the British and French empires were larger than ever, but the idea of emancipation did mobilize subject populations and could not be ignored by the great powers. In this new world, how could the Fascists establish and legitimize Italian rule over lands and people that were not self-evidently Italian – both inside the nation and in the empire?

The answer the Fascists eventually gave to this question might seem to be short and simple: with an iron fist. The ruthless conquest of Ethiopia dominates the popular image of Fascist rule over others. No doubt, Italy's 1935 invasion of a fellow League of Nations member and one of Africa's only independent countries remains the most radical moment of its quest

[6] Ibid., 217.

[7] On the ways in which the Paris Peace Conference changed the terms of the international system, creating new expectations and responsibilities, see Susan Pederson, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002). Specifically on the development of a new international order in the aftermath of the war, see Eric D. Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008): 1313–1343.

for empire. It was in assaulting Ethiopia that Mussolini most blatantly defied the post-Versailles international order, blithely disregarding the new norms of national sovereignty.[8] Though claiming to act in the name of civilization to end slavery, the regime recklessly countered postwar norms of colonial tutelage with a form of colonial domination that looked like a return to the most brutal and uncompromising imperialism.[9]

While Ethiopia provides eloquent testimony to the Fascist capacity for violent conquest, it gives us little sense of what Fascist governance of acquired territory actually looked like. As they were committing war crimes and instituting an apartheid regime, the Fascists announced that they would be creating a new kind of empire: one whose legitimacy was grounded in the labor of the common Italian people. In the past, so the regime argued, Italy's prolific and hardworking people had needed to emigrate to make a living; now they would find fertile land within Italy's own expanded domain.[10] Two million Italian settlers were projected to live on Ethiopian soil.[11] Partly by dint of such grandiose settlement fantasies, Ethiopia raises intriguing questions about the nature of Fascist rule over acquired territory. Yet what we gain through looking at "Italian East Africa" (Africa Orientale Italiana, AOI), as the Fascists rather ambitiously dubbed the new territory combining the existing colonies of Eritrea and Somalia and newly conquered Ethiopia, is really only a glimpse (see Map 1). For all its juxtaposition of shocking

[8] On the reshuffling of diplomatic alliances surrounding the invasion, see G. Bruce Strang, ed., *Collision of Empires: Italy's Invasion of Ethiopia and Its International Impact* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013). For an interpretation of the Ethiopian war as a prelude to the Second World War, see Aram Mattioli, *Experimentierfeld der Gewalt. Der Abessinienkrieg und seine internationale Bedeutung 1935–1941* (Zurich: Orell Füssli Verlag, 2005).

[9] Specifically on Italian military conduct during the war and the occupation, see Giulia Brogini Künzi, *Italien und der Abessinienkrieg 1935/36. Kolonialkrieg oder Totaler Krieg?* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2006); and Angelo Del Boca, *La guerra di Abissinia 1935–1941* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1966). On Italy's colonial rule over Ethiopia see Matteo Dominioni, *Lo sfascio dell'impero. Gli italiani in Etiopia (1936–1941)* (Rome: Laterza, 2008); Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience* (London: Zed, 1985); and Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa orientale*, 4 vols. (Rome: Laterza, 1976–1984).

[10] In his speech to the Italian people announcing the war against Ethiopia on 2 October 1935, Mussolini claimed the right of the 44 million Italian "souls" to "a place in the sun." In his speech on 9 May 1936 announcing victory and proclaiming empire, he asserted that the empire had been "created by the people" and that the people would enrich it through their labor. The "Discorso della mobilitazione" is on pp. 158–160 and the "Proclamazione dell'impero" on pp. 268–269 in *Opera Omnia XXVII*, ed. Susmel and Susmel.

[11] In his landmark overview of the history Italian colonialism, Nicola Labanca notes that estimates of the Italian masses to be relocated in Ethiopia ranged between one and six million. Nicola Labanca, *Oltremare. Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), 325. Examples of much more skeptical assessments of Ethiopia's potential for settlement are in Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa Orientale. Vol. 3. La caduta dell'impero* (Rome: Laterza, 1986), 196–199; and Ilaria Brancatisano, "*La colonizzazione demografica in Etiopia*," *Clio* 30, no. 3 (1990): 455–495.

Map 1. The Italian empire, 1936. Image courtesy of Theresa Quill, Indiana University Libraries. Made with Natural Earth.

violence and grand visions, Italian rule in the Horn of Africa proved largely a failure. Italy never securely held the territory, losing it entirely only five years later, during the Second World War. The millions of Italians slated for settlement never arrived; only two militarized settlements were ever built.[12]

[12] Labanca puts the number of Italians in Ethiopia in 1939 at 54,000, excluding military personnel, and the number of farmsteads operated by various agencies at around 300. Labanca, *Oltremare*, 325.

Given how short-lived the Fascist empire was, be it in Africa or in the Balkans during the Second World War, we might well wonder if questions about the nature of Fascist rule over others are rather moot.[13] Looking back to Mussolini's 1920 speech reminds us, however, that there *were* non-Italian territories that remained in Fascist hands from the moment Mussolini acceded to power in 1922 until he was deposed in 1943. There, Fascist Italy could articulate its aspirations and hone its self-definition. There, as it sought to assert sovereignty over lands and people that were not self-evidently Italian, it could explore the limits of what was Italy and *Italianità*. There, the Fascists were able to pursue the territorial consolidation and societal transformation that elsewhere they could barely initiate. And it was in these territories, and not in Ethiopia, that the signature Fascist policy of extending Italianness through mass population settlement was developed and put into practice. This book is about Fascist approaches to rule, sovereignty, and Italianness in Italy's newly annexed border provinces and its North African colonies. It pays special attention to population settlement, which emerged as a central plank for consolidating and extending Italian sovereignty.

"Paternalism at Its Best" in Libya

Nowhere were Fascist efforts at transforming new territory more enduring and elaborate than in Libya, and it is there that policies which remained unfulfilled in Ethiopia were actually implemented. Like Eritrea and Somalia, subject to Italian oversight since the 1880s, the colonies Tripolitania and Cyrenaica on the North African coast (which the Fascists later unified under the name of Libya) were rather unproductive compared to the colonial holdings of other European powers (see Map 1). Yet even before the 1911 invasion, some Italians had great hopes for Libya as a homeland for Italian emigrants. Italy wrested Tripolitania and Cyrenaica from Ottoman control in 1912, but failed to win over the autochthonous

Based on official Italian figures, Carl Ipsen reports that in 1940 the settler population amounted to 854 families. Carl Ipsen, *Dictating Demography:The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 133. There is still little research on the actual settlements, with the exception of Haile M. Larebo, *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1935–1941* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[13] On Italy's 1939 invasion and subsequent rule of Albania, see Besnik Pula, "Becoming Citizens of Empire: Albanian Nationalism and Fascist Empire, 1939–1943," *Theory and Society* 37, no. 6 (2008), 567–596; Giovanni Villari, "A Failed Experiment: The Exportation of Fascism to Albania," *Modern Italy* 12, no. 2 (2007), 157–171; and Alessandro Roselli, *Italy and Albania: Financial Relations in the Fascist Period* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006). On Italian expansion during the Second World War, see Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

population, who continued to fight against the new colonial overlord. The Italian authorities struggled to hold the colonies during the First World War and were unwilling to prolong military engagement in Libya in its aftermath. In 1919, they signed agreements with local leaders in Tripolitania and in Cyrenaica, which guaranteed the latter local parliaments, freedom from taxation and military service, and the right to bear arms. Moreover, the accords granted Italian citizenship rights to the people living in the two colonies – Muslims, Jews, and other minorities such as Greek and Maltese.[14] On the one hand, these concessions, to the extent that they were implemented at all, fit the new international norms of colonial trusteeship, which were supposed to lead to eventual emancipation. On the other hand, the Italian promises of citizenship seemed to signal the territories' incorporation into the Italian nation.

Neither prospect, however, succeeded in inducing loyalty among the indigenous populations who, disparaged by Mussolini as "a handful of Arabs rebelling in Libya," continued to fight Italy's claim to sovereignty over their homeland. In order to quash the resistance, the Fascist regime went so far as to intern 100,000 civilians in concentration camps in the desert in the late 1920s.[15] In this context of violent native resistance and steadfast Italian determination to hold the territory by any means necessary, Fascist administrators and colonial experts came to see population settlement as an ideal solution to the indigenous challenge to Italian sovereignty. After unifying the two colonies in 1934, they quickly and determinedly moved toward a state-supported program that aimed to bring 100,000 settlers to Libya over a very short period of time.[16]

[14] When referring to the inhabitants of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania I generally denote them as "Libyans" even though the designation would not necessarily have been most obvious to them. However, the geographical descriptor offers a convenient shorthand for the North African populations under Italian rule.

[15] On the use of concentration camps to defeat the Libyan resistance, see Eric Salerno, *Genocidio in Libia. Le atrocità nascoste dell'avventura coloniale italiana (1911–1931)* (Milan: SugarCo, 1979); and Gustavo Ottolenghi, *Gli italiani e il colonialismo. I campi di detenzione italiani in Africa* (Milan: SugarCo, 1997). On the repression more generally, see Nicola Labanca, ed., *Un nodo. Immagini e documenti sulla repressione coloniale italiana in Libia* (Rome: Piero Lacaita Editore, 2002). For a Libyan viewpoint, see Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *Forgotten Voices: Power and Agency in Colonial and Postcolonial Libya* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

[16] For an overview of Italian rule in Libya, see Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Libia.* Vol 1. *Tripoli bel suol d'amore, 1860–1922* (Rome: Laterza, 1986); and Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Libia.* Vol 2. *Dal fascismo a Gheddafi* (Rome: Laterza, 1988). On the settlement program specifically, see Federico Cresti, *Non desiderare la terra d'altri. La colonizzazione italiana in Libia* (Rome: Carocci, 2011); and Cresti *Oasi di Italianità. La Libia della colonizzazione agraria tra fascismo, guerra e indipendenza (1935–1956)* (Turin: Società editrice internazionale, 1996); as well as Claudio Segrè, *Fourth Shore: The Italian Colonization of Libya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

Ultimately, the regime hoped to settle half a million Italians along the Libyan coastline in order to outnumber the native, non-Italian population.

It is true that even in Libya the regime's gargantuan plans were never fully implemented. Yet because the Fascists devoted so much thought and energy to the task, with close to 30,000 Italians being settled, here we really can see Fascist plans for transforming contested territory in action. The most striking moment came in 1938, when the largest contingent of settlers was sent in a minutely organized and widely broadcast trek. State and party officials had recruited families from across Italy and selected the most deserving and promising. Men, women, and children were sent off with great fanfare from the ports of Genoa, Naples, and Syracuse to colonize the most fertile areas along the North African coast. The hailed *ventimila* (twenty thousand) were to be the first wave in a great tidal flow of Italians, with a further 20,000 slated to set sail for North Africa every year for the next four years.

Libya, then, is an important place to observe Fascist population settlement. But how distinctive was the regime's approach and how did it compare with other forms of colonial rule and demographic policy? This was certainly a question exercising contemporaries, on whom the spectacle of the *ventimila* trek in 1938 left a powerful impression. From the *Times* to *Pravda*, newspapers the world over reported on Italy's settlement program.[17] But they were divided on how to characterize it. For some, it was an outsized expression of European colonial domination. Claiming that "no single operation so gigantic has been attempted in the history of colonial development," the *Times* saw in the Libyan program the creation of "another Algeria" and even likened the Libyan settlement agencies to the Jewish Colonization Association in Palestine.[18] Perhaps most striking to British eyes was not what the Fascists were doing but the fact that they were doing it in an age when classical imperialism was no longer à la mode. Not only had the great imperial nations, Great Britain and France, ceased to engage in large-scale acquisition, they also faced demands for greater autonomy and even independence from both the colonized and their own settlers.[19] Yet here was Italy, seemingly indifferent to the Zeitgeist,

[17] Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (ASDMAE), Archivio Storico Ministero Africa Italiana (ASMAI), Affari Politici (AP) 1934–55, elenco (el.) 3, cartone (cart.) 99, fascicolo (f.) 367. The folder contains a collection of foreign articles translated into Italian.

[18] "An Exodus from Italy: From our Rome Correspondent," *The Times* (London, England), Friday, 21 October 1938; pg. 15; Issue 48131.

[19] Both Great Britain and France reached their apex after the First World War, but their growth was due to mandates, which, though augmenting the power and reach of each empire, provide evidence that it was no longer possible to acquire territory without special legitimization. See Pedersen,

plowing full steam ahead with brutal conquest in Ethiopia and an elaborate settlement program in Libya.

For other observers, however, Italy's actions represented something genuinely new. What caught their eye were in part elements that seemed characteristically Fascist, namely, the operation's scale and the remarkable degree of state intervention and control – or, as the *New York Herald Tribune* dubbed it, "paternalism at its best."[20] Indeed, the involvement of the state was such that settlers felt "that they have gone to another part of Italy."[21] The promise of an Italian homeland along the North African coast was indeed palpable to everyone, as was the echo of a promise the Fascists had made in recently conquered Ethiopia: the creation of an empire that would benefit the Italian people rather than the elites. With their trademark demographic program of finding land for prolific Italians, the Fascists seemed to be using newly acquired territories to give land to Italy's unemployed and landless masses.[22] The regime itself sought to highlight this demographic aspect as it differentiated its empire from what it dubbed the exploitative colonialism of the capitalist powers.

Many commentators, in fact, saw the settlement program in Libya, and the prospects for Ethiopia, as a continuation of the Fascist search for workable land on the peninsula.[23] As the Libyan mass settlement was underway, Italy was winding down its highly celebrated settlement program in the reclaimed swamplands south of Rome, the Pontine Marshes. Between 1932 and 1939, the regime built 5 towns, 18 villages, and 3,000 farmsteads, settling them with families mostly from northern Italy.[24] Over

Guardians. On the imperial crisis after the First World War as experienced by Great Britain, see John Darwin, "Chapter 9: Making Imperial Peace, 1919–1926," in *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830–1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 359–417. For a broader analysis including other European empires, see Martin Thomas, Bob Moore, and L.J. Butler, eds., *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918–1975* (London: Hodder Education, 2008); and Raymond F. Betts, *Uncertain Dimensions: Western Overseas Empires in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

[20] See for instance the communiqué from the General Italian Consulate in Vienna on 26 October 1938 about an article in the *Neues Wiener Journal*, translated as "Italiani in Africa – Ventimila contadini partono per la Libia" or the article in *Pravda* on 6 November 1938. Both in: ASDMAE, ASMAI, AP 1934–55, el. 3, cart. 99, f. 367. The quote is from "Italians Transplanted to Libya Feel Right at Home," *New York Herald Tribune*, November 13, 1938, p. A1.

[21] "Italians Transplanted to Libya Feel Right at Home," *New York Herald Tribune*, November 13, 1938, p. A1.

[22] ASDMAE, ASMAI, Gabinetto archivio segreto (GAB), busta (b.) 47, f. Corrispondenza stampa: Dr. Paul Rohrbach "Marschall Balbos libysches Programm," *Kölnische Zeitung*, 23 April 1939.

[23] Martin Moore, *Fourth Shore: Italy's Mass Colonization of Libya* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1940).

[24] Daniela Spiegel, "I contadini del Duce – Die Kolonisierung der pontinischen Sümpfe 1932–39," *Architectura* 40 (2010): 71–98. For the Pontine Marshes project, see also Mauro Stampacchia,

the years, this program too enjoyed a great deal of international resonance, and many observers applauded Fascist Italy's seeming technological mastery over nature and the program's goals of giving land to the landless, solving unemployment, and facilitating a return to the land.

Some scholars too have identified expansion into Africa as an extension of the Pontine Marshes, viewing the settlement program in Libya essentially as a domestic bio-political experiment now migrating overseas.[25] Other historians, while not necessarily foregrounding the Pontine Marshes, similarly take the regime's demographic rhetoric seriously and see the quest to provide land for Italy's growing population as the rationale behind both Liberal and Fascist Italian colonialism.[26] Others, however, see demographic talk as mere rhetoric, a fig leaf of alleged social need designed the render Italian imperialism more acceptable to the masses at home and to international powers.[27] In light of the regime's meager results, it is not surprising that almost all historians have dismissed the Fascists' actual settlement policy in the colonies as unrealistic and inconsequential.

This book takes a different view of both the origins and substance of Fascist policy. First, it argues that settlement in Libya was not primarily a solution to the domestic problem of overpopulation. Secondly, it argues that its legitimizing function was indeed key, but it was not to sell the naked truth of Fascist imperialism. Rather, building farmsteads and settling families on the ground responded to a major territorial challenge possessing both an internal and an international dimension, namely, how best to secure and legitimize rule over contested lands. Looking at settlement closely shows us that we need to attend more seriously than we have to Fascist understandings of sovereignty and legitimacy, understandings which played a crucial role in shaping the Fascists' approach to governing nation and empire and the relationships they established between colony and motherland. But this comes into clearer relief when we treat Libya not

Ruralizzare l'Italia!. Agricoltura e bonifiche tra Mussolini e Serpieri, 1928–1943 (Milan: F. Angeli, 2000); and Annibale Folchi, *I contadini del Duce. Agro Pontino, 1932–1941* (Rome: Pieraldo, 2000). For a study of both internal and colonial demographic projects, see Maria Rosa Protasi and Eugenio Sonnino, "Politiche di popolamento. Colonizzazione interna e colonizzazione demografica nell'Italia liberale e fascista," *Popolazione e storia* 1 (2003): 91–138.

[25] See G. Bruce Strang, "'Places in the African Sun': Social Darwinism, Demographics, and the Italian Invasion of Ethiopia," in *Collision of Empires*, 11–31; and Federico Caprotti, *Mussolini's Cities: Internal Colonialism in Italy, 1930–1939* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2007).

[26] See Federico Cresti, *Non desiderare*; Cresti *Oasi di Italianità*; and Cresti, "Land Settlements" in *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures – Continental Europe and Its Empires*, ed. Prem Poddar, Rajeev S. Patke, and Lars Jensen (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 298–299.

[27] Labanca, *Oltremare;* and Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller, "Introduction," in *Italian Colonialism*, ed. Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1–12.

on its own but in conjunction with Italian aspirations and actions in a very different place.

A "Providential" Pairing

In 1938 Italian Senator Ettore Tolomei published a short article in his nationalist newsletter, *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*.[28] Though of no great import in itself, the article makes two claims on our interest. First, Tolomei offers a reading of the Libyan settlement project that anticipates the argument of this book. Moreover, he juxtaposes Libya with a different kind of newly acquired and contested space where the Fascists were again experimenting with population settlement and societal transformation. As he invited the *Archivio*'s readers to join him in celebrating the "splendid exodus to Libya of twenty thousand settlers," Tolomei was neither hailing settlement as an exemplar of colonial rule in distant territory, nor was he seeing it as a social policy that would solve unemployment, reclaim unproductive land, or even engineer a new society.[29] Rather, in welcoming the *ventimila* in Libya, Tolomei called for similar action in the Alto Adige, Italy's northernmost province. There "too," he argued, a state initiative, "placing at least a few dozen families in every municipality," would be "an act of providence."[30] Tolomei here was referring to the region where most of his readers were located, and which is known today as South Tyrol.[31]

This was no colony but rather a province inside state borders that Italy had acquired following the First World War. Nor was it a wasteland to be

[28] On Ettore Tolomei, see Sergio Benvenuti and Christoph von Hartungen, eds., *Ettore Tolomei (1865–1952). Un nazionalista di confine = die Grenzen des Nationalismus* (Trento: Museo Storico Trento, 1998); Gisela Framke, *Im Kampf um Südtirol. Ettore Tolomei (1865–1952) und das "Archivio per l'Alto Adige"* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1987); and Maurizio Ferrandi, *Ettore Tolomei. L'uomo che inventò l'Alto Adige* (Trento: Publilux, 1986).

[29] Ettore Tolomei, "Notiziario – Vita e problemi," *Archivio per l'Alto Adige* 33, no. 2 (1938): 23.

[30] Ibid.

[31] In this book, I use the present-day English name for the area, South Tyrol, except in direct quotations and when referring to contemporary Italian documents where the designation "South Tyrol" would utterly misrepresent the Italian claim inherent in naming the region "Alto Adige." Alto Adige means "Upper Adige" in reference to the river Adige which originates on the southern face of the Alpine divide and flows through South Tyrol and into the Adriatic Sea. While the name Alto Adige ties the region to Italy, the German name *Südtirol* ties it to North Tyrol and East Tyrol across the border in Austria. For an explanation of the name *Südtirol* and its historical emergence and significance, see Hans Heiss, "'Man pflegt Südtirol zu sagen und meint, damit wäre alles gesagt.' (C. Gatterer)" *Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* 9 (2000); Beiträge zur einer Geschichte des Begriffes "Südtirol": 85–109. For the name Alto Adige, see Carlo Romeo, "Il fiume all'ombra del castello. Il concetto di 'Alto Adige'" in the same journal issue, 135–170. The area is also often referred to as the province of Bolzano, after the provincial capital city that is called Bolzano in Italian and Bozen in German.