

A HISTORY of ITALIAN SETTLEMENT in New South Wales

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Office

The NSW Heritage Office commissioned in 1998 a thematic history of the Italian community in NSW as part of its Ethnic Communities Consultation Program. This program aimed to develop awareness of the contribution of ethnic communities to NSW history and culture and seek nominations to the State Heritage Register.

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Preface

Italian immigrants have contributed in many ways to the Australian cultural landscape. The Heritage Office of New South Wales is interested in official recognition of this contribution. What follows is a thematic history, intended to provide a contextual narrative accompaniment to field work and surveys carried out by the Heritage office for the identification of sites of particular significance to Italian communities in New South Wales. By identifying sites as valuable and valued now, the New South Wales Government can ensure their preservation for the future. This document casts an historical focus on events, populations and activities surrounding potential heritage items in order to foster a sense of identity and a sense of past lived experience for today's Italian community. These associations may take the form of an ancestral link, a connection to previous Italian settlement, or links to personal lived experience.

Migration: an introduction

The history of immigration could be described as the history of rupture and adaptation. The preservation of significant buildings, places and moveable objects provides us with evidence of the ways in which various forms of alienation in a new country have been positively negotiated. One of the chief processes of coming to terms with a lack of a sense of belonging in a new country has been the construction of community, a group that shares experiences and supports its members, in which members mutually extend a sense that they are not estranged. This history is primarily concerned with centres of community that have been developed by Italians in New South Wales, as well as the physical and material legacies of community activity, such as work, political involvement or religious practice, a shared appreciation of music or a meal.

The major centres of Italian settlement in New South Wales are Sydney, Griffith, Newcastle, Wollongong, Queanbeyan and Lismore. Currently Sydney is home to the second largest Italian-born community in Australia. Within New South Wales, Sydney has by far the highest population of Italian-born (53 421) followed by the Illawarra (4 995) then the Murrumbidgee (2 287), the Hunter region (1 815) and the Richmond-Tweed region (714). People came to these areas by choice, by chance, and by force of circumstance. Most came as part of migration chains, in the footsteps of their husbands, parents or *paesani*. Others had heard of work, or been recruited by an Australian company either in Italy or in a transient camp much closer to their ultimate destination. This section will focus on the processes involved in the early stages of the experience of immigration from Italy to New South Wales and the conditions imposed on these processes, and will examine the ways in which a sense of community was initially sought and constructed. In short, it will focus on the various reasons for arrival and the very early efforts directed towards settlement which are inherent in any move from the old country to the new.

Sydney

It is difficult to locate the beginnings of an Italian presence in New South Wales. Claims have been made that some of Australia's first settlers were of Italian origin but these have proved difficult to substantiate. According to Tito Cecilia, the first Italians to arrive in the colony, except for some religious clergy invited by Bishop Bede Polding, were seventy stonemasons from the Northern Italian region of Lombardy. They were recruited by a Frenchman, Jules Joubert who, in partnership with his brother Dodier, was planning to build a village near Sydney. This was to become the suburb **Hunters Hill**. We already know that in the 1840s Lombardian stonemasons were working here because they completed the home of Dodier Numas Joubert in 1847.ⁱ In the mid nineteenth century Hunters Hill peninsular, flanked by the Parramatta and Lane Cove Rivers, was isolated from the city of Sydney and was to become one of the first areas to be built as an outlying suburb. Among the early stonemasons was John Cuneo whose descendants were still living in the house he built at **15 Medeline Street** a century after its erection.ⁱⁱ **The Villa Floridiana**, in **Sea Avenue**, was built in the late nineteenth century for the D'Apice family. They lived there until 1920. Above the entrance, Carlo

D'Apice had the stonemasons construct a plaque inscribed with the word '*Benvenuto*'.ⁱⁱⁱ In 1861 Antonio Bondiotti built '**Milano House**' at **31 Madeline Street** which has been home to a number of Italian families.^{iv} Bondiotti is also remembered for the construction of the **Congregational Church** on Alexandra Street in 1875.^v When the work at Hunters Hill was complete, the Italian stonemasons continued to work with Joubert in other parts of Sydney but many remained living in the Hunters Hill area and were gradually joined by other Italian arrivals.^{vi}

Richmond-Tweed In the late 1870s a different kind of recruitment took place in a number of northern Italian localities, including Udine, Pordenone, Treviso and Vicenza. This attracted entire families away from Italy. A French aristocrat, Charles De Bruel, known as the Marquis de Rays, devised a colonising scheme which was to have disastrous effects on the lives of those who invested in his plan. On the 9th of July 1880, 246 people from the Veneto sold everything they owned and set off as the third shipment of immigrants to New Ireland, Port Breton.^{vii} This island, a part of the New Guinea group that was not occupied by the Dutch, was to be rechristened New France after the Marquis's country of origin.^{viii} The ship's passengers believed they were on their way to a fertile land where there were the beginnings of a new settlement, suitable for the raising of families and the transference of Italian farming techniques. *En route* supplies thinned quickly, disease began to spread and passengers young and old died. On arrival they found an untamed wilderness and, according to a number of accounts, an indigenous people intent on cannibalising some of the new inhabitants. Dysentery and starvation were rife and eventually the survivors and captain of the ship set off to Australia for provisions. Sooner than they had hoped they were forced to anchor off the coast of Noumea with their ship in a state of disrepair. When the then premier of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, heard of their plight, he sent a ship across to bring them to New South Wales for recovery and eventual settlement. In an anxious effort to prevent 'ghettoisation', the New South Wales government forced the survivors to take work that dispersed the group, separating members of some of the families. By 1882, however, seven families that had survived the expedition were reunited on a plot of land near Woodburn in the mid North Coast region. Within a year, the number had grown to 19 families and by 1887 a school, post office, *taverna* and church had been established to service this cooperative, primarily farming, community.^{ix} This group produced the closest Australia has seen to a reconstructed Italian village. It became known as **New Italy**. The community prospered for about forty years and survived in some form into the 1920s when many of the remaining inhabitants moved to Lismore to form the genesis of what was to become a thriving community. Giacomo Piccoli, New Italy's longest surviving resident, died there in 1955.

Hunter A few families, who had come to Australia via Port Breton but were not to become a part of the New Italy settlement, moved to other parts of New South Wales and other colonies. The two Scala families settled at Nine Mile, about ten miles from Raymond Terrace in the Newcastle district. These families, unlike many of the New Ireland survivors, were from Milan. When they arrived in Sydney, they were employed by a brickyard in Mosman. By 1882 they had selected 80 acres at Nine Mile, on the road to Stroud, where they built wooden slab cottages, and planted grapevines and fruit trees. The ancestors of the two Scala families remained in the area at least until the mid

twentieth century and today the original Scala homestead is marked by the **William Hind rest Area** beside the Pacific Highway at the Nine Mile.^x

Chain migration is probably the form of immigration that has brought the greatest number of Italians to Australia since the mid nineteenth century, and perhaps is responsible, in part, for the strong sense of solidarity that pervades sections of the Italian community in New South Wales. Family members would come out and establish themselves to some degree before sponsoring the passage of other members of the family or village community. It was then the responsibility of the newly arrived to sponsor the emigration passage of the next family member or *paesano*.

Illawarra The fishing communities on the South Coast of New South Wales developed mainly as a result of chain migration. In 1920, Joe Puglisi was the first member of his family to leave Sicily for Australia. The gradual migration of the Puglisi was followed by a move to Ulladulla in 1937 where they were some of the early members of what became a thriving fishing community. A similar pattern of chain migration to Griffith and Leeton has resulted in the number of people living in Griffith and Leeton from Cavaso (in Treviso) and Plati (in Calabria) being higher than the current populations of Cavaso and Plati.

Hunter The settling of the Lettesi in Newcastle is another example of the importance of family and regional ties in the building of many Italian communities in New South Wales. This settler group is made up of nearly 150 families from the village of Lettopalena in the Abruzzi. Their process of immigration began in the 1920s when a number of Lettesi travelled from the cane fields of Proserpine, Queensland to work the off season at BHP in Newcastle. During the second world war the village of Lettopalena suffered major destruction at the hands of Nazi troops and so Proserpine, and ultimately Newcastle, became a major focus for a chain migration exodus. 1947 saw the first permanent Lettesi settlement in Newcastle and by 1957, 92 per cent of the Lettesi in Australia were living in the area.^{xi} Initially Lettesi settlement was concentrated in Islington, very close to the steel works. Movement then began in the direction of the nearby suburbs Hamilton and Mayfield. Before long **Hamilton** was to become a strong community and commercial centre for Newcastle's Italians.^{xii}

Richmond-Tweed In 1923 Guisepppe Nardi, one of the immigrants from the ill-fated expedition of the Marquis de Rays, took his family on a return trip to Italy where he shared his experiences of life in Australia with villagers in Albina and Conegliano. In so doing he managed to entice numerous men to Lismore where the boarding house he ran with his wife Caterina became their first port of call.^{xiii} He helped the new arrivals to find employment and together Guisepppe and Caterina provided a centre of Italian community in the area. If and when these men brought out their wives, they relied on Caterina's hospitality which extended to her accompanying women to see the doctor, other tasks involving translation and even the occasional delivery of an infant on the premises.^{xiv}

During the second world war, Italian men living in Australia were interned and almost two thousand Italians were relocated to Australia as prisoners of war. Thirty **POW**

camps were spread across the nation. In New South Wales they were at **Orange, Cowra, Hay and Liverpool**. Approximately two hundred of these men, most of them from the POW camp in Cowra, spent long periods residing on farms in the Lismore area, undertaking the work normally done by those men who had enlisted. Despite their unhappy reason for becoming acquainted with Australia, a number of the POWs returned to the region as free settlers, some with assistance from the farmers they had worked for during the war.^{xv}

During the post-war mass migration era, Italian men were systematically recruited by Australian employers. In the fifties, companies such as BHP, Transfield and Multicon Engineering would bring workers directly to positions of employment in the Illawarra. Some Italian men applied in writing for employment in Australia. Many of those who worked on the hydro-electric scheme in the Snowy Mountains, came to know of jobs by word of mouth and wrote letters to the authorities requesting work. Others were recruited while they were in transient camps such as Bonegilla, in Victoria. Agents were sent to these camps on behalf of sugarcane farmers, the steelworks and other potential employers. When selected for work in the Illawarra region employees were moved from Bonegilla to Fairy Meadow Resettlement Centre, Balgownie, Cringilla or Unanderra and later to a hostel, until opportunity arose for an alternative living situation.^{xvi} **The Fairy Meadow Centre** was the first 'home' for many migrants moving into the Illawarra district. It is now owned by the University of Wollongong as an outer campus.

In an era of mass emigration by young, single men, women in Italian villages were often left with the problem of finding a suitable partner. One solution, involving considerable upheaval, was to marry a *paesano* already living in another country. It was often not just the prospect of marriage but hope for a better quality of life which attracted women to this arrangement^{xvii}. It was unfeasible for many grooms to make the trip back to Italy for the wedding. It was also seen as unacceptable, in most cases, for young unmarried women to emigrate alone. This situation resulted in proxy marriages for Italian couples, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. One Scalabrinian priest recalled that in the early 1950s, his order arranged 150 proxy marriages per year in Sydney alone. The peak period for proxy marriages was 1955-1961.^{xviii} Frequently couples married by proxy were engaged before the husband-to-be emigrated to Australia. For others, matchmaking was undertaken by a friend or relative and letters and photos were exchanged. It was common for women to know their fiancée's relatives, even to know him by sight. When all concerned parties had agreed to the marriage, an exchange of documents took place between the Italian and Australian churches. In Italy women would be married in the presence of a representative for her husband (often a brother or friend) and a *fiesta* would follow.^{xix} On arrival in Australia, another celebration often took place. Many Italian women came to live in Australia this way.

Emigration in these various forms has been one answer to the problems of poverty and unemployment in modern Italy. Anarchism, Socialism and Fascism have been others. Despite the very pragmatic reasons many had for leaving Italy there has always been a political dimension to emigration in that it has meant the withdrawal of individuals' economic and military contributions. The exodus from Italy has been condemned by Italian politicians of all political persuasions, but for many Italians it has seemed like the

best, if not the only, option available in hard times.^{xx} The anarchists Francesco Sceusa and Francesco Carmagnolo were among a number of Italians compelled to emigrate to Australia for political reasons. They arrived in 1877 and 1922 respectively. The majority of Italian immigrants however, came in search of opportunities for prosperity or to join family or *paesani* who had begun that search before them.

Each of the immigration stories above has been shaped by the socio-economic and political climate of Australia at a specific point in time. During the nineteenth century emigration from Italy to Australia could be undertaken without restriction but also without any kind of financial assistance or services on arrival. British free-settler migrants were favoured, encouraged even, by the colonial governments but policy enforcing this sentiment to the point of restriction of other potential immigrants was not nationally instituted until 1901, the year of Federation and the Immigration Restriction Act (a main element in the White Australia Policy). Non-Europeans were barred entry and quota systems were placed on the acceptance of non-British Europeans as a result of the Act. The legislation entailed a dictation test which could be used to exclude 'undesirable' immigrants, simply by forcing them to undergo dictation in a European language with which they were not familiar. While Italians were considered more appropriate settlers than Asian nationals or Pacific Islanders, the 'loose racist assumptions' of the White Australia policy provided tools for classifying people in terms of race, and a justification for unequal relations in the workplace and at other sites of interaction.^{xxi} The Queensland government's stipulation that Italians immigrating to the cane fields come from regions north of Leghorn (Livorno) demonstrates that these categories, adopted to marginalise or exclude certain people, were not essentially about nationality but rather loose ideas about race often based on degrees of physical likeness to British Australians.^{xxii}

In the years immediately after World War I there was a drive to attract as many British immigrants as possible as a way of quelling fears that the Australian population would be too small to adequately defend itself against invasion. When this proved less successful than was hoped, the government established a far more 'open door' policy with regard to other Europeans. In 1921, when the United States placed very heavy restrictions on their intake of Italian migrants, the result for Australia was a much greater influx of Italian immigrants. This influx combined with the rise of Fascism in Italy to promote political discussion of Italian immigration. By 1924 Australian parliamentary debate saw the states blaming each other for levels of Italian immigration. The international issue of restrictions was examined and loose connections were made between the arrival of Italians and patches of unemployment.^{xxiii} During the 1930s the Labour government responded to severe economic depression by halting all immigration except for family reunions and immigrants with considerable resources. The latter became specified as a sum of five hundred pounds during the period in which the Lyons government was in power. World War II saw the cessation of immigration and the internment of Italian men in prisoner of war camps. Hostilities raged on the street and the government restricted Italian commercial enterprise and community organisations on many levels.

At the end of the war, Australian politicians of all persuasions were convinced of the necessity of rapidly increasing Australia's population. When it became clear that the United Kingdom could not supply the desired numbers, the Australian Government undertook to attract immigrants from many European countries, including Italy. In 1951 the Italian and Australian governments signed a migration agreement in which Australia promised to guarantee employment to Italian migrants for two years. Italians no longer needed a sponsor or an agreed sum of money to settle in Australia. While immigration still involved profound difficulties exacerbated by such situations as the lack of recognition of certain overseas qualifications, the poor conditions in transient camps, and xenophobic currents running through a popular British-Australian mentality, Italians continued to migrate in large numbers for three decades without the conditions and restrictions placed on those who had come before them in the twentieth century.

Changes in conditions for Italian immigration during the course of two centuries have made a significant impact on the make up of Italian communities and on the development of regions in New South Wales. This is an important context for any understanding of Italian settlement in New South Wales, the construction of centres of community and the identification of material legacies of the Italian immigrant experience.

Organisations: welfare, sport and community

On arrival in Australia, Italian immigrants often had little English, only a small amount of money and few contacts. It was important for many to utilise the organisations that had been set up by Italian migrants. Welfare organisations helped to alleviate some of the financial burden and trauma that could be associated with immigration. Sporting clubs brought together specific sections of the community and fostered a sense of solidarity among team members which extended to their families and friends, and community organisations gave people a place to gather together, share Italian culture in a public space and create a strong physical and public presence.

Sydney In 1881, Francesco Sceusa established Sydney's earliest Italian welfare organisations. Sceusa was a Sicilian intellectual who was forced to emigrate to Australia in 1877 after exposing corrupt administration within the ranks of Italy's conservative authorities.^{xxiv} Interested in responding to the needs of Italian immigrants in difficulty and in the promotion of socialist ideals, he set up an **Italian Benevolent Society** in 1881 and soon after an **Italian Working Man's Benefit Society**, of which he was president. In 1883 he launched an appeal for the earthquake victims in the Italian region of Ischia, which managed to raise over 6,500 lire.^{xxv}

Sydney After the Fascist regime was established in Italy, relations between Italian migrants and Australians became increasingly strained. Fascist branches were opened in main cities such as Sydney and in country towns where there was a sizeable Italian community. Many established Italian organisations took a pro-Fascist stance or were at least Fascist-controlled, but there were also a number that sprang up in open opposition to Fascism. One of the older Italian clubs- the **Circolo Isole Eolie** founded in 1903 and based at Circular Quay, was one of the most popular Fascist-controlled clubs during the period.^{xxvi} Another was **Club Italia** which established itself at 174 King Street in the City in 1915. Reference is made to both in the 1936 Australian Federal Police Report of Fascist Activities in Australia.^{xxvii} When the war began, all organisations were forced to cease operations. These were politically tumultuous times which fragmented the Italian community beyond regional and generational differences as well as making tenuous relations with other Australians.

Sydney **Comitato Assistenza Italiani (CO.AS.IT)**, or the Italian Welfare Committee, was set up in 1968 under the auspices of the Italian Consular-General in Sydney after an Italian law was passed giving Italian Consuls overseas the right to establish welfare and educational committees for Italian immigrants. Originally CO.AS.IT was housed in Casa D'Italia on Mary Street, Surry Hills. It later moved to Holden Street, Ashfield and now stands at 67 Norton Street Leichhardt. This organisation has been integral to the provision of services related to education, health, child care and the care of ageing Italian-Australians.

Another organisation which became important to the Italian community, is the **Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Emigrati e Famiglie (FILEF)**. This was a branch of

the PCI backed communist organisation which originated in Italy. It opened as a cultural centre in Parramatta Rd, Leichhardt in 1975. Its express purpose was to encourage Italians to participate in cultural development. One of its successful activities was the publication of *Nuovo Paese*, a fortnightly journal distributed in Melbourne and Sydney which began publication on May 1, 1974.

Illawarra In Wollongong the **International (formerly Italian) Club** was founded by the Scalabrini Fathers and has been a very active and well organised institution. The Scalabrini have made an important contribution to Italian welfare in Australia since their arrival in 1952. In the Illawarra they also founded the Italian Catholic Federation which began its work in 1960. Initially, this work was centred around providing moral and material aid to the community. These responsibilities are now undertaken by CO.AS.IT, the Italian Welfare Committee. **The Fraternity Bowling and Recreation Club** has been another focus for Italian community activity in the Illawarra. It was established as the South Coast Social and Fraternity Club, Fairy Meadow in 1952. A restaurant, tennis courts and other sporting facilities are located at the club which remains in its original building and has been called a 'sanctuary of memories and a recognised centre for

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Murrumbidgee In the period between the wars, in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, a group of northern Italians began to erect their own venue for social activities such as dances and *bocce*. In 1936 a group of musicians who played regularly for Italian weddings and Christmas functions formed the 'Yoogali Amusement Company' and had a local, Antonio Ceccato, build them the Coronation Hall (so called because it was erected in the year of the coronation of King George VI in 1937). Having no venue where they could drink within the law, they built two rooms on the adjoining block of land, installed 300 lockers, formed a committee and charged five shillings per year for membership. This became the **Italo-Australian Club**.^{xxix}

Murrumbidgee This club enjoyed success until after the war when in 1946 a group with the support of the archbishop of Wagga tried to buy out the Italo-Australian Club in order to establish the Catholic Club. They were unsuccessful in this bid but managed to establish themselves in new premises behind the Yoogali Catholic Church. The Catholic Club was closed to non-Catholics and to Calabresi. In the same year, in the home of Bob Vardanega, the Yagooli Club was born. Capital was provided by Vardanega and Angelo Salvestro and a lease taken on the former Italo-Australian Club. From its very beginnings 'the policy of the Yagooli Club was non-sectarian, non-racial

^{xxx} It was also possibly the first club in New South Wales to admit women. Both the Yagooli and the Catholic Clubs finished building new premises in 1954. The Coronation Hall and clubrooms remained empty for about a year until the Coronation Club opened its doors in 1955. The following year the Hanwood Catholic Club was established as a spin-off from debates around the running of the Yagooli Club. Working out of a couple of rooms for almost eight years, it moved to premises erected by Tiziano Forlico on the 14 November 1964. While the Hanwood Catholic Club is open to all, the committee is predominantly made up of Italian-Australians. According to Griffith historian B.M. Kelly, it sees itself as 'a true 'family' club, where

Calabrese and Veneti mix regularly,^{xxx1} and the Anglo-Australian membership (10%) are made welcome.

Murrumbidgee The towns of Griffith and Leeton, as well as showing the fruits of co operative activity within Italian migrant communities, can also illustrate the positive effect of organising within a broader and fractured community made of up Australians and Italians. Between the wars the area was predominantly populated by Italian immigrants and soldier settlers for whom much of the land had been put aside by the government. These two groups rarely mixed socially, had separate churches and a history of unease in economic relations. In the 1950s, these tensions were compounded by the strong ex-servicemen's league and the rising number of Italians immigrating to the area.^{xxxii} In addition, relations were not always good between the northerners and southerners within the Italian population.

Murrumbidgee Employees of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area Agricultural Service worked both as official advisers and regulators for the area and at a grass roots level. They helped to transform in positive ways previously fraught relationships within the community. An integration policy was gradually implemented. In this climate the **Continental Music Club** was established as an avenue of communication between the Italian community and other organisations. This club bought time on the local radio station where programmes included a range of Italian music, birthday calls and announcements of meetings and the Agricultural Service. The Club also held monthly dances and worked as a training ground for community leadership. Through the Continental Music Club the Italians in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area worked on joint projects to improve the life of the whole community. This new phase of cordiality broke down some of the hostility previously leveled at the immigrant population and boosted Italian morale.^{xxxiii}

Sydney Also during the 1950s, a number of sporting clubs were established in Leichhardt. Clubs such as **Giulia Sporting and Social Club**, the **Club Marimare** and **Circolo Trieste** catered to those from specific Italian regions. By contrast, the **Associazione Polisportiva Italo Australiana (APIA)** was intended to cater for members of the Italian community regardless of specific regional origins. It was founded in 1954 by workers at the Kurnell Oil Refinery, with Jim Bayutti as its driving founding force. APIA claimed that its aim was to represent and guide Italian youth, 'according to the greater ideals of the wider Italian community'.^{xxxiv} Initially the club was based on Norton Street (where the Villa Rosa lounge now stands) in a rented room but it moved to new premises at Fraser Street Leichhardt in 1962. Its avant-garde premises at this address were completed over a two year period. The early sixties were peak years for Italian soccer and in this period the APIA club matches attracted crowds of 30 000 at semi-finals.

Regardless of its claims, some felt that the APIA club only catered to select members of the Italian community. In the late sixties one Leichhardt local commented:

People think the APIA is a typical Italian club, but it is just for snobs and businessmen. We wouldn't feel comfortable there. Lots of single men go there, but married couples like

us don't. The Marconi Club is more of a family place, but it's a long way out, especially if you haven't got a car.^{xxxv}

Despite the perception of some that it was as elitist organisation, it was viewed by Sydney politicians as an authentic voice of Italian interests and became an important channel for the expression of Italian-Australian values.^{xxxvi}

Sydney The **Marconi Club** was established in 1958 in the Sydney suburb of Bossley Park, near Fairfield. Its name was chosen to commemorate the work of the Italian scientist, Guglielmo Marconi, who first connected Australia to the world via radio in 1930.^{xxxvii} It continues to be a centre for the Italian community in Sydney and is situated right in the heart of a Calabrian concentration. Marconi is home to the Marconi Soccer Club, much like APIA in Leichhardt. The heyday of the Marconi and APIA clubs saw them attract memberships of over a thousand and, in the fashion of RSL Clubs and other Leagues Clubs expanding their membership, Marconi and APIA were eventually opened to persons of non-Italian origin.^{xxxviii}

Richmond-Tweed Until the post-war period, the Italian-Australian community in Lismore met regularly in boarding houses, shops and other informal locations. In 1953 however, it was decided there existed a need for a more permanent public meeting space, as 'a focal point for cultural recognition'.^{xxxix} This led to the building, with voluntary labour, of the **Continental Club** on land leased from the council. The aim of the club was to organise sport as well as social events which emphasised music. One of the major achievements of the enterprise was to start the broadcasting of 'continental music' programs on the local radio station, which were presented in English and Italian. The club's premises were not licensed however, and after some years there was a perceived need for a more commercial enterprise and a place where people could enjoy a drink as well as the other advantages of a community club.

Richmond-Tweed On November 20, 1960, a meeting was held at the church hall in Lismore to discuss the establishment of what was to become the **Italo-Australian Club- Sports and Recreation**, in Barrow Lane, North Lismore. More than seventy people attended, including Mr Fiorelli who was president of the Marconi Club in Sydney and had business interests in the area. He was to provide guidance and energy for the project, the meetings for which were held at the back of **Tom Pagotto's shop** until construction was complete. The community was responsible for building and the club officially opened on April 27 1963. The auditorium was added three years later. The club boomed until well into the seventies and created some interest among the non-Italian locals as well.^{xl}

Hunter Newcastle's **Highfields Azzuri Club** is another important community centre. It is situated on George Street in Highfields, about five kilometres from Hamilton. Originally it was the Highfields Bowling Club but in the late sixties it encountered financial trouble and management decided to combine with the Azzuri Soccer Club. The establishment then became known as the Highfields Azzuri Club. A member of the Lettesi community was significant in this merging and the proportion of Lettesi members is large enough that the club is identified by many as Lettesi. Galvin points out that such community clubs

not only provide an important symbol of identity but also facilitate the existence of community.^{xli}

Sydney In January 1885 Francesco Sceusa launched the first Italian language newspaper in Australia, the *Italo-Australiano*. Although only six issues were ever produced, it was the first in a long tradition of Italian news publications in New South Wales which have been crucial to a sense of community. A number of these, most notably *La Fiamma*, continue to have wide circulation today. Not only can newspapers give credence to a sense of community by conveying the simultaneity of lives that share a common heritage and day to day experience, but they can provide ways for people to inscribe themselves in, and communicate with, a community by announcing the birth of a child or the death of a relative, by publicly congratulating friends and family or advertising a community event with which they are involved.

Sydney *La Fiamma* was founded in April 1947. One year earlier, a young Italian priest, Giuseppe La Rosa, was granted permission to found such a publication by the Minister for External Affairs. La Rosa was seeking to establish an Italian newspaper that would promote Catholic values and counteract left wing influences in other Italian newspapers, particularly *Il Risveglio*.^{xlii} At that time La Rosa was operating out of an office at **Cusa House**, central Sydney where other social activities and English lessons were held for Italian immigrants. By the time the first issue of *La Fiamma* was printed however, La Rosa had relinquished his project and new authority had been granted to the Capuchin Fathers to establish the paper. In 1957 it was taken over by an independent editor and has since changed hands numerous times. It is now printed three times a week from its Norton Street office in Leichhardt for a readership of around 30 000 people. It covers local and international events relating their significance to the lives of Italians living in Sydney.^{xliii} The office that has been home to *La Fiamma* for much of its life so far is located on **Parramatta Road, Leichhardt**.

Sydney In the 1950s, working in a cafe and writing for *La Fiamma*, Lena Gustin was struck by the extent of isolation and loneliness experienced by Italian women in Australia. Through her radio program *Arrivederci Roma*, she reached out to the Italian community and became very popular in a time when female radio announcers were often not taken seriously. Through her program, Lena Gustin, who became affectionately known as Mamma Lena, began seeking from parliamentarians and local government leaders assistance for a range of problems faced by the Italian community. The program also opened up advertising opportunities for Italian businesses and, with the help of her husband Dino, became one of very few media channels through which news from Italy was regularly reported.^{xliv}

La Fiamma, Co.As.It and the Catholic clubs in Griffith have, or have had, strong affiliations with the Catholic church. Many other Italian community and welfare organisations have shared this affiliation, most notably those established by the Scalabrini and Capuchin orders. A discussion of the welfare work of these orders will be included in the following section on religion.

Religion

The role of religion has been crucial to a sense of community for Italian immigrants in New South Wales. For many Italians, to be Catholic means to share in a geographically determined cultural inheritance. Indigenous Italian culture for centuries has been almost exclusively Catholic, a definition which has embraced a multitude of variations on a theme, some of which have not found favour with the Australian Catholic Church. Instead of being something they could recognise in an alien environment, Australian Catholic practice seemed to many Italians to be remote and strange, lacking in the social life that meshed with religious practice in their home country. The celebration of Saints' days, street festivals and other aspects of what has been termed 'folk religion', have seemed displaced in an Australian setting. In Italy these events often encapsulated an ancient social crisis or incident specific to a village or town^{xlv} and coincided with seasonal cycles of rural labour. Here they are robbed of these rich contextual meanings and the involvement of the majority of *paesani*. Rituals however, can provide 'an anchor for people's values and emotions'^{xlvi} and are to some degree moveable entities which have provided a significant sense of continuity for many Italian immigrants.

Some of the earliest Italian settlers in Australia were Passionist priests who arrived in response to an invitation made by Bishop Polding which he extended during his trip to Rome in 1842. There were also others who responded to Polding's need for pastoral assistance. One of the first of these was the Sicilian Benedictine, Father Emmanuele Ruggero. He worked firstly in Campbelltown and then Camden before moving to St Mary's where he stayed until his return to Europe.^{xlvii} Father Peter Magagnotto arrived in 1847 and in 1850 became the Dean of Sydney, and Father Ottavio Bassanti spent 1865 in Sydney as the secretary to the Archbishop.^{xlviii} The work of these men marks the beginning of a relationship between the Catholic church in Australia and the Italian clergy which would be made concrete by the Scalabrini and Capuchin orders in the twentieth century context of mass migration.

Illawarra The Scalabrini order was set up by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Scalabrini (1839-1905) with the specific purpose of assisting Italian emigrants, wherever they might be. The Scalabrini arrived in Australia in early 1952 and went immediately to the Illawarra. In 1954, with the help of the Scalabrini fathers, the Italian community in the Illawarra established the **Church of Maria Immacolata** near the steel works in Unanderra, where many Italian families were living.^{xlix} It was the first Scalabrini construction in Australia. The Italian parish was subsequently transferred to the **Wollongong International Centre** in Stewart Street. The latter building was designed by the Italian architect, Volpato. He also sculpted the Twelve Stations of the Cross and the statue of the Madonna within. Another local artist, Gino Sanguineti was responsible for making the crucifix over the altar, from which the sculpted face of Jesus has overseen regular Italian language masses.^l Mediterranean-style Catholic celebrations, most notably the blessing of the fishing fleets at **Belmore Basin** in Wollongong, have become part of the local folklore in the Illawarra region.

Illawarra The Saint John the Baptist Association was established in this same part of New South Wales with the primary aim of organising a yearly celebration honouring its members' patron saint. The focus of the Association is the Scalabrini Italian Centre in Wollongong. An honouring procession and *feste* involves mainly people of Calabrian descent. Anxiety about divisions within the Italian and broader community has meant that these celebrations have been viewed with some intolerance at various times. In addition, the ostentation of display has led to further suspicion of the Italian Catholic community. Some Australian Catholics have considered vulgar the ornateness of the statue of St John the Baptist as well as such practices as pinning money to it.ⁱⁱ However in recent decades, celebrations have been seen as less problematic, perhaps due to the influence of Vatican II which has encouraged an understanding and acceptance of different manifestations of the Catholic faith.

Hunter Beaumont Street, Hamilton is home to Newcastle's **Scalabrini Italian Centre or Bishop Scalabrini Centre**, as it was originally called. This was established in 1956 to serve the social and welfare needs of the Italian community in the area. Largely due to the initiative of the Scalabrini fathers, this community was soon furnished with a school of English and Italian, a bilingual radio programme and an Italo-Australian Association. Through the Italian and English language school, friendships were formed between native English speakers and Italian immigrants. This meant practical assistance for Italian immigrants who were then accompanied to the bank, lawyer or doctor by a friend able to bridge communications gaps.ⁱⁱⁱ

Sydney The Sicilian and Calabrian communities in Fivedock, Sydney have created their own version of the *feste* of Saint Anthony and Saint Bartholomew. A representative group collects the required funds from the community and invites the bishop to attend. The celebrations begin with mass and a procession around the suburb's largest park, on Park Road. This is followed by dancing and singing and the sharing of food. These celebrations have become important not only for their contemporary community significance but for the nostalgia they evoke. In their metamorphic form they provide the moments in an Australian Catholic landscape which most resemble the jubilation of religious festival shared in a pre-migration past.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ

Murrumbidgee In Griffith, two churches were built between the wars to cater for all Catholics in the district, but the Italians were reluctant and irregular participants in their parishes. Some time later, in 1939, under the leadership of an Aeolian priest, Father Bongiorno, the Italian community built their own **church at Yagooli**. Antonio Ceccato was builder in charge of construction and Santo Salvestro, a local brick layer, not only worked on site but also donated building materials to the project. A second **Italian church at Hanwood** followed after the war. There were a number of morning services on a Sunday, and announcements and sermons were given in Italian and English. The Calabresi traditionally attended these churches infrequently in comparison to the Veneti and Italians from other regions. This changed with the importation of a **plaster copy of a Madonna** from one of their home villages. The statue was carried into the church ceremoniously by members of the Calabresi community and placed on the altar. It is alleged that one of the men then rushed from the congregation and shouted "*Viva La*

Madonna! to which the congregation responded enthusiastically with *“Viva! Viva!”*. Priests reported a significant improvement in attendance among the Calabresi in response to this event.^{liv} In more radical fashion, the Calabresi in Newcastle have established a non-Catholic church in Islington. The *Chiesa Evangelica Italiana* (Italian Evangelical Church) is an independent branch of the Assembly of God. Religious activities centred on this church are central to a specific Calabresi network.^{lv}

Sydney The **Scalabrini** Fathers assumed the care of a populous **parish of St Francis of Sales** in Albion Street Surry Hills in 1957. Their presbytery and welfare centre continue to function on the same site today. For many Italians arriving in Sydney, this was one of their first ports of call, a place to go in order to gain orientation and advice for a new life in a new country. A little further west the Capuchin Fathers took over the Leichhardt parish of **St Fiacre’s** in 1945.^{lvi} Within the parish a Missionary Centre was also established.^{lvii} St Fiacre’s was to become ‘a unifying influence and a focus for Italian life’^{lviii} The Capuchins and their parish provided guidance, moral and material support and a context in which village saints unrecognised by Australian parishes could be venerated and celebrated. Italians in the outer suburbs would make a special trip to St Fiacre’s to enjoy the familiar atmosphere at Christmas and Easter services.^{lix} Today, there is a **small memorial** on the side of the outside of the church, dedicated to Italian lives lost in war.

Sydney As part of their work for the Italian community, the Capuchin order adopted the group of lay volunteers which had been set up by Father Guiseppe La Rosa between 1943 and 1945. This group was modelled on the St Vincent de Paul Society and their main work involved visiting camps and prisons with parcels for the Italian detainees and prisoners of war. In 1946, the group became formally attached to the Capuchin order and took on the title of the Circola San Francesco.^{lx} In the parish and in the city at either **Cusa House** or **Australia Hall**, they facilitated spiritual, social and sporting activities. In the early fifties, with the arrival of large numbers of Italians, Circolo San Francesco divided into three distinct groups. The Associazione Cattolica San Francesco dedicated its activities to the spiritual assistance of Italians, especially the new arrivals. The Associazione Calcio San Francesco joined a club in Sutherland and became the APIA club. The third group were occupied with assisting the new arrivals socially and worked under the name of the Italo-Australian Welfare Association. This group raised funds and bought the premises at **2 Mary Street in Surry Hills** which was to become **Casa D’Italia**. In 1968 when Co.As.It. was established by the Italian government the Italo-Australian Welfare Association decided to pass all its activities and property to Co.As.It. The Capuchins continue to be involved in organised welfare through their parishes and through their ongoing association with Co.As.It.

Richmond-Tweed The Scalabrini arrived in Lismore in 1958. They travelled in a rickety old car from their **presbytery in Goolmangar** to the outlying areas to say mass in packing sheds, in homes, in a hall or wherever it was possible.^{lxi} Father Miazzi was the first Scalabrini priest to minister to the flock and he was accompanied by Father Silvano Molon. Miazzi died tragically in a plane crash in 1962 on a return trip to Italy. He was remembered by the community as lively and dedicated and in 1968 a **monument** was

built on the church grounds in North Lismore to commemorate his death. It has since been moved to the **New Italy Peace Park**, south of Woodburn. The Scalabrini continued to work in the area until 1974. By this stage local services had become more accessible to the Italian speaking community and Mr and Mrs Lisetto had donated land for a church at Larnock near Rock Valley.^{lxii}

In addition to running parishes and various welfare and community centres, the Scalabrini fathers have also built numerous homes for the aged. There are now six homes scattered throughout New South Wales where the needs of aged Italians are specifically catered for. An organising committee for the building of a The Scalabrini Village for the Aged, was established in 1968. The first result of their work was the Village at **Ostral**, near Liverpool. Since then, similar establishments have been built in Chipping Norton, Allambie Heights, Griffith, Bexley and, most recently, Drummoyne.

Commerce

Italian success in the Australian business world has been witnessed in a number of different commercial arenas. Italian retailing and hospitality businesses have provided centres for community and have catered for Italian immigrant tastes in ways for which Australian businesses have not been equipped. Other types of business such as Pioneer Concrete and the engineering companies in the Illawarra, were important to the securing of jobs for newly arrived Italians. In time, commercial enterprises often began by serving an Italian 'enclave' but came to expand their clientele to include the broader community. A specific discussion of fruit and vegetable vending could constitute a part of this essay but will instead be included in the section on agriculture.

For many Italian villages commercial venues for community gatherings such as the bar or cinema, were the exclusive domain of men. Women, constructed as the primary transmitters and practitioners of the Catholic faith, gathered publicly in the pews and on the steps of the village church. The distinctions of gendered public space have become blurred over time and in the changing context of more recent immigration to Australia. Traditional gender segregation however, pervades social organisation on many levels making public Italian spaces- both commercial places and those set aside primarily for community gatherings- open only to a select (and gendered) section of the Italian migrant population.

Sydney In Hunters Hill, Giovanni Cuneo was the builder not only of his own home in the late nineteenth century, which remained in the family for over a century, but also the **Garibaldi Hotel**, the first of its kind in the area. The hotel was situated on Alexandra Street, a site handy to those on their way to or from the port. It became a favourite place for Italian men to meet and share a drink. Cuneo carved a small **statue of Garibaldi** which he placed above the entrance and which remains intact today. Still standing next door to the Garibaldi Hotel on Alexandra Street is another Cuneo construction. What was originally a butcher shop and home built for John's son Tommasi, is now a restaurant bearing the family name, **Cuneo's**.

Sydney From the mid-nineteenth century, Italian businesses were established in New South Wales. They ranged from frame-makers, commercial artists and engravers to hotels. The sculptor Achille Simonetti, born in Rome in 1838, became one of the first Italian commercial artists in Australia. He was brought out to Australia by Bishop Quinn of Brisbane who had come to know him during a trip to Rome. He and his co-traveller Giulio Anivitti stayed in Brisbane for three years before moving south to Sydney. In 1871 they gave the first classes organised by the Academy of Art in Sydney. Simonetti's marble bust of the Governor Sir Hercules Robinson won the academy's first silver medal for "sculpture of modelling". He won other medals and prizes and in 1875 he became the instructor of sculpture and modelling at the new School of Art at the Academy. By 1880 Simonetti was a very fashionable commercial sculptor in Sydney. He modelled busts for numerous members of the social elite, including that of **Sir John Challis** which is displayed in the Great Hall of the University of Sydney. In 1891 the

Governor commissioned six allegoric statues to make up the facade of the official residence of the Secretary of the colony. In the same year he completed a statue of his friend bishop Quinn, considered his best work. The last of his great works was a **monument to the colony's first governor, Governor Phillip**, which was erected in Sydney's botanical gardens. The statues at its base represented agriculture, commerce, Neptune (navigation) and Cyclops (mining industry). Simonetti died of a cardiac collapse in 1900, he was 62.^{lxiii}

Sydney

Peter Melocco, a terazzo worker from the Friulian hamlet of Toppo commenced business, in anticipation of his brothers' arrival, under the name of Melocco Brothers in 1908. The firm was initially established in a small rented shop in Regent Street, Redfern. The year after his brother Peter arrived in 1910, Melocco Brothers took on a larger premises near Ross Street on Parramatta Road. From here they moved to Booth Street Annandale and eventually to Euston Street Alexandria. The third brother arrived in 1920 and was to become a mechanical engineer and partner in the business in this capacity. Over the years, management of the business was handed down to various members of the Melocco family but is today a part of the public company Borral.^{lxiv} Among their best known works are the **crypt at St Mary's Cathedral**, the marble **floor at the Mitchell Library** and the **frieze in the interstate booking office of Central Railway Station**.^{lxv} Among lesser known achievements are the marble and scagliola work at the Sydney offices of the Water Board, the mosaic in the bubbling fountain of the King George V and VI Memorial in Hyde Park and the facade of the Sydney Morning Herald offices on Broadway.^{lxvi} There is also a strong possibility that the Melocco Brothers were responsible, in the early 1930s, for the mosaic floor at what was the **Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer building**, and is now the State Health Services building in Surry Hills.^{lxvii}

There are a number of reasons why so many Italians in Australia chose to become independent business proprietors. Small business, in particular food outlets, required reasonably low initial outlay and could be made more economically feasible with the adaptation of the peasant tradition of family labour. In addition, people could live on the premises and little English was required except by the person in charge. The reality of relations between Italian workers and Australians often meant that owning and running one's own business could be a refuge from hostilities meted out by bosses or those feeling threatened by the presence of immigrant workers in the job market. In a country where one was often limited to labouring jobs or jobs involving dirty and often dangerous work, regard-less of skills or qualifications, the prospect of creating one's own work environment through self employment was an attractive one.^{lxviii}

Sydney

At the turn of the century, the number of immigrants in **Stanley Street, East Sydney** rose with the increasing number of boarding houses on the block. The *Sands' Directory* shows numerous names from Italy, Malta and Greece which refer both to residents and business proprietors.^{lxix} It appears that Greek and Italian food outlets were the first of their kind in the street and so rather than displacing existing shops, these 'new Australians' took advantage of a growing population in a rapidly developing city. While the *Sands' Directory* ceased publication in 1933, it demonstrates that the predominantly Italian character of culinary and retail businesses, obvious on any visit to Stanley Street

today, was established well before the post-war immigration boom. While these businesses were owned and run by Italians, it was not until the 1940s that the British stronghold on real-estate was broken, and Italians began to purchase the premises on which they worked. It is interesting to note that the Council records show a number of development applications which propose 'tea rooms' rather than coffee shops. It has been suggested that using this more British and genteel-sounding name was part of an effort to have applications approved quickly and smoothly.^{lxx}

Sydney Luciano Rizzo established the **Sydney Macaroni Manufactory** on Stanley Street in 1914. He and his wife Maria ran this business for twenty years^{lxxi}. In 1928 George Famosa opened an Italian restaurant close by which he ran until 1959 when the building was bought by another Italian restaurateur and eventually became home to the well known '**No Names**'.^{lxxii} In 1952 the Lorenzis bought number 73 Stanley Street for 1500 pounds. They received permission from the City Council to open a restaurant on the ground floor, which they called **La Veneziana**. In 1954, in spite of police anxieties about the establishment of inner city clubs, the Lorenzis were granted permission to use the upstairs section of number 73 as a social club. Although the restaurant now in its place is called the Liago Restaurant, a brass and terrazzo plaque which reads *La Veneziana* is still displayed on the doorstep of the premises.^{lxxiii} By 1961, over 6000 Italians resided in the City of Sydney local government area. Most were men probably working in inner city factories. This post war expansion of the inner city migrant population was a windfall for many of the Italian businesses in the area.^{lxxiv}

Sydney In the pre-war period almost 50% of the Italian born in Sydney were employed in catering trades. The 1947 census shows nearly 25 per cent of Italian born men were self-employed in the retail of fruit and vegetables or fish or as proprietors of cafes and saloons.^{lxxv} Much of this activity was taking place in the suburbs of the inner west. The *Sands' Directory* shows that in the early part of this century, in correspondence to the residential demographic, the suburb of Leichhardt accommodated fewer Italian shops than did Darling Street, Balmain or Glebe Point Road, Glebe. By the 1930s, things Italian began shifting towards **Leichhardt**, and in the post-war era, Leichhardt quickly surpassed Balmain and Glebe in Italian character and became the Little Italy it is still known as today.^{lxxvi} In the broader **Leichhardt municipality** Italian business changed from being dominated by specialist trades such as mosaic layers and stonemasons in the late nineteenth century, to predominantly food-related retail, especially fish shops and green grocers in the early decades of the twentieth century. The post-war period has seen the suburb of Leichhardt particularly, as well as the broader domain of Leichhardt Council, become an established Italian business area, encompassing real estate and travel agents, law firms, clothing shops, restaurants and cafes. In 1976, there were 176 Italian businesses operating in Leichhardt.^{lxxvii}

Sydney It is difficult to name any one commercial venue that has been crucial to a sense of community in this part of Sydney, there are many. Further out from the city centre however, Italian agriculturalists had fewer choices. In the 1940s, those living in the North Ryde area would congregate at the **House of David** on the corner of Waterloo and Lane Cove Roads. This venue provided a regular open air picture show and the

occasional talent quest. In the same area, commodities such as cheese and pasta, were available from **Zanco's general store**.^{lxxviii}

Richmond-Tweed Guiseppe Nardi arrived in New South Wales as a child survivor of the Marquis de Ray's scandalous expedition. In the 1920s he moved from New Italy to Lismore where he and Caterina Nardi, his wife, established a Boarding House on Pitt St. This served many purposes for the developing Italian community and thrived in the decades prior to World War II. When this premises proved too small for their needs, the Nardis purchased a produce store at 19 Bridge St North Lismore and called it **Venezzia House**. They built on another storey and opened a grocery store and second hand furniture shop at the front.^{lxxix} Venezia House became a place for dancing and music, for celebrating marriages and a resting place where women went before being hospitalised for childbirth.^{lxxx} **Basegios** and **Sartories**, two other boarding houses both in Union St, did not cater to as many in as many ways, but they were nevertheless important points of reference for the Italian community in Lismore.

Richmond-Tweed Florian's was established as a cafe and grocery store in Keen Street in the early 1950s. Florian Volpato and his wife ran the business as such for some time before expanding activities on the site to accommodate the catering of weddings and other functions and the holding of weekly Italian film nights during which films specially sent from Sydney would be screened. It was a spacious place which extended from Keen St to Carrington Lane and for a couple of years it was also used as a nightclub known as La Gondola. The old Florian's is now known as the Embassy Building or the Embassy Arcade.^{lxxxi} **Gasparini's**, also in Lismore, operated as an Italian goods shop from 1946-1979. In the 1950s and 1960s it became a regular place for people to gather in the afternoons to talk and play cards.

Hunter One of the businesses which was important to the Italian community in Islington Newcastle in the first and critical stages of settlement was **Mr Small's delicatessen**. He was not only the first to provide spaghetti but he also lent money for a family to come out from Italy.^{lxxxii} **Beaumont Street** in Hamilton is an important site for the Italian, particularly Lettesi, community in Newcastle. **The Exchange Hotel** is on the corner of Beaumont and Denison Streets. In the late fifties the local Italian community began patronising this Australian owned Hotel and it continues to be a regular meeting place for Italian men.^{lxxxiii}

Illawarra Alessandro **Braidotti** arrived in Australia with his sisters and mother at the age of sixteen in 1955. He immediately began working in the mines and factories around Wollongong, frequently changing jobs in search of higher salaries and opportunities to work overtime. After a number of years of saving, he bought a small **grocery shop** in Fairy Meadow from which he sold produce at very competitive prices. By the late eighties the business had expanded to nine grocery stores in the Illawarra. They were being run by Braidotti's extended family, including his mother and six sons.^{lxxxiv}

Illawarra After working numerous labouring jobs around Australia, Natale Guala arrived in Wollongong in the 1950s with a desire to set up shop on his own. He began by opening **Fedora's**, a restaurant at 242 Cowper Street Warrawang which was immediately

popular among Italian expatriats who were often 'fussy, homesick, purist clients'.^{lxxxv} They provided a challenge Guala was eager to take up. From the kitchen of the restaurant Natale and his wife Fedora began producing fresh pasta to be sold to other restaurants and supermarkets. When this proved successful they sold the restaurant, bought a delicatessen not far away and continued manufacturing pasta. In 1976, when the new shop became too small to accommodate business, the Gualas bought premises at 10 Daisy Street Fairy Meadow which they devoted solely to the production of fresh pasta and named **Fedora Products**. With the help of their son and daughter, Natale and Fedora Guala were the first in the region to produce fresh pasta and possibly the first in Australia to put it on the supermarket shelves. Multinational companies have since made it difficult for Fedora Products to sell at competitive prices. The company has changed hands but remains in the Italian community and continues to run under its original name.^{lxxxvi} Other food outlets in the Illawarra region have reflected the success of the fishing industry along the southern coast of New South Wales.

Illawarra **Transfield, Multicon Engineering Pty Ltd and Electrical Power Trans-missions** are three Illawarran companies that have been highly successful both in Australia and overseas. All three are mechanical engineering groups that set up their first workshops near the steel works from where they could draw raw materials. These companies employed a large number of Italians and during the 1950s they opened recruiting centres in Italy from which they would select workers and send them straight to positions of employment in Australia. Transfield was begun by two Italians, Franco Belgiorno-Nettis and Carlo Salteri. They had initially been employees of EPT but after forty years in Australia decided to break away and develop Transfield. Multicon was a product of Transfield and shares a similar history. During the post war migration wave, EPT and Transfield provided much support for Italian workers, favouring their employment and lobbying to have their qualifications recognised in Australia.

Sydney It was also in the post-war period, that **Pioneer Concrete** was set up by Tristan Antico in 1950. Born in Vicenza, he arrived in Australia in 1930 aged seven. Antico and his business partner established what was to become Australia's biggest concrete company.^{lxxxvii} The first Pioneer concrete plant was at the brickworks just off the Princes Highway in St Peters, and the first office and board room were in Grove Street St Peters. As with the Illawarran engineering companies, Pioneer Concrete moved beyond the migrant world in time but always maintained some contact with the Italian community.^{lxxxviii}

A high concentration of Italian men in the building industry (three times that of the general population in 1981) reflects the impact of chain migration on employment, as many established Italians gave work to their newly arrived compatriats. It also demonstrates the appreciation by many Italians in Australia of the opportunities for self-employment within the building industry.^{lxxxix} More broadly, this work pattern reflects traditions of migrants; for centuries the peasants of the Veneto had moved north as seasonal workers on building sites.

Agriculture

The Murrumbidgee Irrigation area and land near the town of Lismore have been major sites of Italian agricultural activity in New South. In addition, market gardeners have always operated in the outer suburbs of Sydney and Italian vineyards have prospered in New South Wales, notably in the Hunter region and in Griffith and Leeton. Many Italian immigrants came from farming communities and were able to adapt to and take advantage of the Australian soil with reasonable ease.

Richmond-Tweed Probably the first Italian farming community in Australia was **New Italy**. After the bitter disappointment of New Ireland where they had been led to believe they would be able to employ their knowledge of farming techniques, these settlers determinedly sought to salvage a community of Italians, mostly farmers, by establishing New Italy. They had moved to the mouth of the Richmond River, near Woodburn, after hearing from another Italian, Rocco Caminiti, that the soil and water supply were favourable. As soon as they arrived, they set to work building cabins from the logs, bark and foliage around them. They then began clearing, ploughing and sowing the land. During the course of a six year period, in the place of dense bushland there rose up orchards, vineyards and well-tilled paddocks. This was land that had been dismissed by British colonists as barren and unproductive. The presence of the New Italy inhabitants was barely noticed until they arrived in nearby towns laden with fresh fruit and vegetables and barrels of good wine. People were astonished that so much had been gleaned from the tract of land that had become New Italy.^{xc} On the site of New Italy today, there are small physical legacies of the school that was established in 1885. Although the main building no longer survives, there remains a tiny part of the **original fence** and children's engravings of world **maps on rocks**, in what would have been the school playground. In addition, an **original well**, built by Luigi Antonioli, as well as the distinctly structured **wooden fence** he built to surround his vineyard, still stand.

Richmond-Tweed In the post- New Italy era, members of the Italian community of Lismore and its surrounding areas followed in the footsteps of their forebears by leasing land considered unproductive by Australian farmers. **Fernside** (previously called Inglevale) was in the hilly area which meant it was both difficult to cultivate and unsuitable for stock. Enough Italians leased the area however, that it resulted in the formation of a community of migrant families. The steepest parts of this frost-free country were used for banana growing while the plateaus accommodated market gardens. The area had to be cleared before any of this could take place. Initially the scrub was cut, burnt and then thoroughly dried before the soil was tilled with a mattock. Horses and ploughs replaced such methods before long. The community at Fernside disbanded in the late 1950s for a number of reasons, not least of which was the frequent raising of rents. Fernside had been a continuous Italian settlement for twenty eight years.^{xci}

Murrumbidgee The **Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area** is a specialised farming zone where large-scale irrigation has made possible the intensive production of fruit and vegetables, cereal crops and vines. The irrigation scheme began in the early 1900s in

an attempt to increase agricultural output. Firstly British immigrants and then soldier-settlers were given plots of land, many of them coming to rural life with little, if any, experience. This inexperience was compounded by the lack of expertise on the part of the New South Wales Department of Agriculture, and by the 1930s many farmers were returning to the cities disheartened. Italians continued to settle in the area between the wars, a few coming via Broken Hill or the Queensland cane fields. Despite opposition from government bodies such as the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission, the post-World War II period saw Italians arriving in large numbers, chain-migration style, as they had done since the first Italian settler arrived in 1913. Between 1947 and 1950, about 2000 new Italian immigrants arrived. They were mainly experienced farmers and many of them had had their education disrupted by the war, so tended not to be schooled for other occupations. They worked as family groups and employed proven farming techniques with which they had been long familiar. They did not outlay extravagantly from the start and were prepared to perform long hours of physical labour. These were some of the reasons for their initial success but soon enough they were to shift their approach from a peasant style farming economy, primarily concerned with self sufficiency, to commercial farming that involved specialising, in order to contribute to a wider economy.^{xcii} They began by leasing small plots of land but by 1952 Italians owned about a third of horticultural farms in some areas, and by 1954 nearly half of all horticultural farms in the Riverina.^{xciii} Today Italians, who make up 60% of the area's population, own most of the horticultural farms and a number of the large sheep, wheat and rice farms.^{xciv} Griffith and Leeton are the town centres of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area. Industry in both is mainly related to primary production, namely wineries, canneries and rice mills and Italians are involved in all levels of these industries.

Murrumbidgee During the early 1940s Australia supplied food to the Allied forces in the Pacific. Vegetable growing, which had always been a minor industry in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area boomed. People grew vegetables on leased land or on their own farms, frequently in between fruit trees. Soon after the war Australian farmers abandoned this industry and it became an exclusively Italian occupation. Vegetable growing did not require much capital and needed intensive labour which was suited to family units.^{xcv} Italians were willing to work hard in co operation with each other if work offered the prospect of financial security.

Sydney In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Italians in the inner suburbs of Sydney earned a living selling fruit and vegetables. Balmain, Glebe, Annandale and Leichhardt, Kings Cross and Darlinghurst were the main city centres for Italians, where many were involved in the retailing end of the agricultural industry. While this continued to be the case into the post-war period, in recent decades Italian fruit and vegetable retailing in the inner city has declined. A study of the north **Ryde** and **Marsfield** area has demonstrated that this section of outer Sydney contained numerous Italian owned orchards, poultry farms and market gardens from the pre-war period into the 1960s. By the end of this period, the site where Macquarie University now stands accommodated 109 farms, 59 of which belonged to Italians. The first settlement in the area probably took place in the 1920s. We know that Domenico Conciatore move to North Ryde in 1927 to work for an Italian family on their seven acre orchard and strawberry farm.

During the decade before World War II, between twenty five and thirty families lived in the area. This number skyrocketed in the post-war period.^{xcvi}

Sydney Other suburban settlements were in localities such as **Cabramatta**, **Canley Vale**, **Liverpool** and **Sutherland**. Here Italians established market gardens and vineyards. There were eight hundred Italians living in these areas by 1940. Calabrians settled in **Fairfield** and **Eastwood**. In the 1920s Friulians settled in **Mona Vale** to cultivate tomatoes.^{xcvii} These areas expanded after the war and accommodated those who worked in manufacturing as well. By the late sixties for example, this was the most common occupation among Italian immigrants in Liverpool.^{xcviii}

Labour

Italians have contributed their labour to the building of infrastructure crucial for the expansion of settlement in rural and urban areas of New South Wales. Such projects as the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Scheme and the Hydro-Electric Scheme in the Snowy Mountain region have all relied heavily on immigrant labour. In addition, the operation of factories and industrial plants in the city, have been dependent on Italian migrant labour. The field where Italians have perhaps contributed their labour most is that of civil engineering. They have helped to build railways, roads, buildings and bridges. A lack of high levels of formal education and language skills and little chance of entering training schemes to redress this situation has combined with experiences of poverty to render Italian immigrants keen to take advantage of opportunities to work and save.

North Western Early this century, Italians were employed by the government in the construction of the irrigation canals for the Murrumbidgee Irrigation project. These were the first Italians to settle in the area which subsequently accommodated a large Italian population. Studies suggest that also in the pre-war period Italians relied to some degree on mines as a source of employment. Miners were mainly Lombards, Veneti and Sicilians. Compared to Western Australia and Victoria, New South Wales only had minor pockets of Italian miners, most of whom worked in either **Broken Hill**, the **Illawarra** or **Cobar**.^{xcix} There is still physical evidence of an Italian presence near Cobar around the turn of the century. A study by Harold Boughen indicates that unusual stone walled buildings on Fort Bourke Hill, just outside Cobar, are an early example of traditional Italian building methods used in Australia. For decades the site has been known as '**Towser's Huts**' and local tradition would have it that Towser was probably a Cornishman who built the huts in the 1890s and rented them out to employees of the local mining industry. Boughen's research, however, has produced evidence that the builder and owner of the miner's huts was in fact an Italian called Antonio Tozzi. It is highly likely that some of the huts existed in 1902 but a number were built after that date. The demolition of some of the buildings probably took place as a result of pressure from the gold mining business. It seems that when Tozzi constructed the buildings, an accidental crossing of the boundary of his designated plot, into the outer area of a gold mining lease, was to ultimately jeopardise the longevity of his huts.^c

South Eastern The **Snowy Mountain River Scheme** was a massive post-war project that employed immigrants from twenty six countries as well as Australian-born workers. Over a 25 year period, 16 large dams and 90 miles of tunnel were constructed in the development of a hydro-electric system that would eventually provide vast quantities of power. Italians worked as tunnel diggers, in the construction of retaining walls and other types of labour. Wage levels were higher than in the cities, there were opportunities for over-time and the isolation of on-site camps meant that men could save money relatively quickly. This allowed some to bring their wives and children out from Italy, others to make a return trip to marry, or in some cases to take proxy brides, while others used the funds for passages of family members or *paesani*. Italian company EPT was responsible for constructing pylons and laying electricity lines on the Snowy River.

Another company, one that had built up its pool of workers as a result of chain migration, was the construction firm **Legnami Pasotti**. This firm was employed in the building of accommodation for the workers at the Snowy. Some of the work was dangerous and a total of 27 Italians were killed on site. This does not take into account those who contracted long term diseases while working in hazardous conditions.^{ci}

Hunter Galvin's study of the Lettesi in Newcastle identifies a strong pattern of settlement that has been dictated by the need for workers in the Queensland sugarcane fields and at the Newcastle **BHP** steel works. According to Galvin, for the Lettesi 'Newcastle was synonymous with BHP and BHP meant opportunity for work- an intervening opportunity between Proserpine and Sydney and the expanding industrial complex of the Wollongong region.'^{cii} Initial residential concentration of Lettesi was in **Islington**, near the steel works. The rental market there was reasonably cheap, the houses being basic weather board dwellings in poor condition. Some workers lived in rented rooms in houses owned by Polish immigrants who had come before them. For the BHP workers, this suburb has remained a focal point for sentiment, for shared memories of deprivation and alienation and the negotiation of this through community belonging.^{ciii} As an alternative to unskilled labour in heavy industry, concreting has become an occupation dominated by the Italians in Newcastle. The percentage of concreters among those living in the traditionally Italian suburbs is lower than among those who have become more dispersed. This occupation tended to be taken up by men who were quite young on arrival in Australia. Galvin's study shows that those fifteen or younger on arrival were far more likely to choose concreting as an occupation than their elder compatriots.^{civ}

In the pre-World War II period, Italian women were distinguished by exceptionally low employment, but from the 1950s to the mid 1970s their work force participation increased dramatically.^{cv} In the early years of post-war settlement, most Italian women worked in the manufacturing sector where wages were generally lower for women than men. Their roles as mothers and a lack of adequate child-care facilities meant that increasingly, employed women moved from the factory floor to their own homes where they could do outwork and care for their children in the same place. Some could choose to stop work after the birth of their first child and those without machining skills occasionally took care of their compatriot factory workers' children. The 1986 census showed that 42% of women working in manufacturing industries were immigrant women. Although in the 1980s the number of Italian women employed in this type of work had been falling due to the decline in immigration and the ageing of the Italian community, it was still double that for the entire female population.^{cvi} For many women employment in factory work was their first experience in the Australian work force. Later some were employed by hospitals or offices, or in family businesses. In rural areas such as the MIA and Fernside, and in the market gardening suburbs on the edges of Sydney, women made significant contributions to agricultural enterprises.

It is important to note that when many Italian women arrived in Australia they were accustomed to lending their labour to their own sustenance and that of their extended families. When men were around, every available hand was often utilised in the fields, in factories and in family enterprises. At other times, military service, war, seasonal work

and more permanent emigration stripped many regions of their male workers, at which point women were forced to step into a range of roles. In both instances, women's work varied from region to region. They could be found engaged in all types of agricultural work, in buying and leasing land and in entrepreneurial activity.^{c.vii} In Australia, when the World War II broke out, many women were forced to extend their labour as sole income earners and parents while their husbands were interned. Studies of Italo-Australian women's experiences testify to their resourcefulness and resilience and to the indispensable nature of women's work for the prospering of an Italian immigrant community.

Fishing

Illawarra The South Coast fishing communities are an important part of the pre-war history of the Illawarra. A small number of fishermen settled in the region before the turn of the century. In the early days fishing was a primitive affair. Row boats would be taken out not long after dawn and a series of lines, carrying between 100 and 200 baited hooks would be cast. These were difficult both to put out and to pull in. In later periods, new arrivals to the area would bring more efficient techniques based on the use of trawling nets. Fishermen would take their fish in boxes on the train to Sydney.^{cviii} In 1933, less than two hundred Italians were living in the Illawarra region, almost all of them employed in the mining and fishing industries. These families generally came from Sicily and from the islands of Salina and Lipari off the northern coast. Some also came from Calabria, in particular the town of Bagnara. These *paesani* established lively fishing communities in **Kiama, Wollongong, Ulladulla and Bateman's Bay**.^{cix}

Illawarra So important were they to the economy that during World War II most Italian fishermen in the area escaped internment and many of these were able to continue to work. Their movements however, were watched and controlled closely and some fishermen were granted less freedom than others. Zampaglione examined the life of Tory, an Italian fisherman who was not interned during the war but

.... could neither reach the seashore, nor Sydney without a special permit. Fishing was impossible because he was not authorised to go to sea and his trawler had been confiscated by the American navy, taken to New Guinea and used for military transport between the islands until it was sunk.^{cx}

Tory's family started a chain migration when his older brother Joe, the family's first settler, arrived in the Illawarra in 1920. After the war, Italian fishermen were joined by those from Greece and Vietnam and together these fishermen developed what has become a very important sector of the food economy in New South Wales. There are still a significant number of first and second generation Italians on the trawlers of the New South Wales coastline. The blessing of the boats in Sydney during the September multicultural festival *carnivale*, has become an institution that testifies to the strong presence of Italians in the New South Wales fishing industry.^{cxii}

Sydney Official reports and enquiries written at the beginning of this century, make reference to the presence of Italians delivering and selling produce at the **Woolloomooloo fish markets**.^{cxii} Sicilians, Calabrians and Lipari Islanders made up a significant proportion of the fishing community in the inner city prior to World War II. In the post war period a process of chain migration increased numbers of Italians in this area. While much of the community remained involved directly with the catching, buying and selling of fish, others worked as stevedores, painters and dockers. The fishing boats at Woolloomooloo were tied in deep water moorings at **Brown's wharf**, next to the Finger Wharf. The boats were small compared with most commercial fishing vessels today

and they tended to work inside, or just outside the Sydney heads. In bad weather fishermen could be seen mending their nets or playing cards at the wharf.^{cxiii}

Sydney The Woolloomooloo markets seem to have been the focus of the fishing industry in New South Wales at the end of the nineteenth and at least the beginning of the twentieth century.^{cxiv} Italians also contributed to smaller hubs of the industry in Pyrmont, Balmain, Leichhardt and Botany Bay. In **Pyrmont** new **markets** eventually superseded the function of those at Woolloomooloo. The industry began to die out in Woolloomooloo when crucial areas were demolished for the construction of the eastern suburbs railway. The decline of travel by ocean liner also had its effect on the industry as ports were replaced for the purposes of freight, by airports and container terminals in other parts of Sydney.^{cxv} With this change, most of the Woolloomooloo fishing fleet moved west to join compatriots in **Pyrmont, Balmain and Leichhardt**.

Sydney The Blessing of the fishing fleet which had been celebrated as the feast of St Rocco for many years, was also moved to Pyrmont and Leichhardt. Traditionally, celebrations would involve a mass, followed by a procession through the streets of Woolloomooloo to Brown's Wharf where a sermon in English and Italian would be given and the fleet would be blessed with incense and holy water. The boats would then be filled with as many passengers as possible and sailed around the bay decorated with streamers and balloons.^{cxvi} In Woolloomooloo in the 1980s there were still some elderly Italian men who had worked the trawlers in the heyday of the Bay's fishing industry. They were living in boarding houses and patronising the **Atlanta and Garibaldi Clubs**.^{cxvii}

The War Years

During World War I, many Italians living in Australia served in the Italian or Australian armies, a number with distinction.^{cxviii} Dr Tommaso Fiaschi, for example, earned official recognition for his service at the Australian field hospital during the Boar War and then went on to fight with both the Italian and Australian armies during World War I. These international conflicts did not impact on the status of Italians in Australia.^{cxix} The Second World War however, did this dramatically. The influx of Italians in the 1920s combined with the rise of Fascism in Italy provoked discussion of Italian immigration in the various Australian parliaments. Italian immigration was construed in a negative light and unemployment figures were drawn on to bemoan the rising number of Italians in Australia.^{cxx}

In the same period Mussolini was clear in his insistence that Italian emigrants, naturalised Australians or not, were to remain Italians. Shortly after his rise to power, the Italian Department of Emigration was supplanted by a new service within the Foreign Office. Consuls were told to ensure that Mussolini's policy was achieved and Vice-Consuls were put in place to disseminate knowledge of Fascism among Italian immigrants in Australia. Italians in Australia were to become an asset to Mussolini's political ventures. Social clubs and celebrations reifying Fascist ideals were strongly supported by Italian authorities in Australia. Some of the centres of Fascist activity in Sydney have already been discussed. Only those immigrants stationed far from towns and city centres managed to miss the effect of developing Fascism, and only those without dependents and family in Italy could afford to be openly anti-fascist, though many others took this risk.^{cxxi}

When news of the declaration of war reached Australia on June 11 1940, most Italians had been forewarned that Italy would enter on the side of Germany, which meant that their status in Australia was liable to be jeopardised in new ways. Many were not surprised when Australian police and security officers came to arrest Italian men. The methods of identification, arrest and internment had been formulated in August 1939 just prior to the passing of the corresponding legislation. Internment was carried out on a large scale. In most areas Italian blood was considered reason enough for arrest, regardless of one's political persuasion. Even naturalised British subjects were arrested. In 1942 the number of Italians interned in Australia reached a wartime high of 3,651. But thereafter as the danger of Japanese invasion subsided, they were gradually released, and by September 1944, only 135 hard core fascists remained in the internment camps.^{cxxii}

Political alliances and conflict among internees became a prominent part of camp life. Between 1940 and 1943, increasing manifestations of Fascist and Nazi sympathies were reported by security officers at the camps. The Australian Minister for Information carried out an inquiry which alleged that 'the influence exercised by camp leaders and their supporters over other internees operat(ed) to cause many internees of no firm political belief to continue their adherence to our enemies.'^{cxxiii} And that 'the camp

leaders had not shrunk even from the use of physical violence if that be necessary to maintain their dominance.^{cxxiv} At the **internment camp at Hay**, evidence of threats and intimidation meted out to anti-Fascists by Fascist internees lead to the separation of the two political factions by the building of a barbed wire fence across the camp. In 1942 Jewish internees were also separated from the openly Fascist prisoners.^{cxxv}

Secondary reports repeatedly suggest that the treatment of internees was reasonable and that life in the interment camps was not physically gruelling. In his autobiography, Claudio Alcorso remembers the shock not only of being arrested at his textile factory, in spite of his expressions of support for the Australian forces and his offer to serve in the airforce. He also recalls the physical conditions at Long Bay Gaol and then at the Orange Showground where he spent a couple of very cold months before being transported to the more favourable environs of the Hay camp.^{cxxvi} He describes the latter's physical character in the following way:

The camp had just been built and was completely bare; whatever grasses or shrubs might have been present were destroyed during construction. There was only beige clay, light-coloured timber huts with silvery corrugated-iron roofs, a wide ring of grey barbed wire and a blue immense sky. It was adequate and functional. It was designed to house 2000 people; the huts were arranged in concentric circles, 30 people to a hut sleeping in tiered bunks.^{cxxvii}

At camps across Australia there was generally an infirmary and a canteen, a school hut and workshop, a devotional hut and a library. Menus had been fixed by common agreement between the authorities and the Italians and relations between the prisoners and Australian troops in charge were cordial. At the Hay camp a healthy water supply from the Murrumbidgee meant that internees were able to establish their own vegetable gardens in the spaces between the huts. Much of Alcorso's time at Hay was spent strolling in discussion with other interned men, playing cards and tending his garden. There is no mention of work until he was transferred to the Loveday camp in South Australia.

From the **Liverpool interment and POW camp** prisoners were transported daily by military trucks to and from the prison to perform agricultural work in the outlying areas. At Hay occupations included shaping bricks in the brickworks, building bridges and tending vegetable gardens. In the **Cowra internment and POW camp** there was a vineyard, olive groves and orchards, the tending of which constituted much of the work done by prisoners.^{cxxviii}

Many of those interned were forced to leave their wives and families to fend for themselves in a hostile Australia at war with their homeland. Maria Paoloni was compelled to abandon the family business in Balmain when her husband Gino was interned and vandalism and abuse from locals compounded the difficulties of combining motherhood and breadwinning as a single parent. Business had dropped off significantly and amidst violent racism Maria feared for her children. She was forced to

travel in search of work and a place to stay, eventually finding both on a farm at the edge of the city. Maria worked hard for very little and only by soliciting the help of Catholic authorities was she able to speed up the release of her husband which brought economic and emotional relief.^{cxxix} There are many families who had to negotiate the difficulties of wartime Australia outside of the prison camp whose stories are yet to be documented.

The second largest group of Italians to be held in captivity during the Second World War were prisoners of war captured in North and East Africa. While residing in the camps they were occupied with the kinds of tasks described above for those interned. June 1944 saw the beginning of employment of the POW volunteers, unguarded, on individual farms and in rural industry.^{cxxx} An ABC radio interview with former POWs and former POW employers reveals that friendships often developed between the employing families and the POWs. Some of the workers were included in family holidays and many shared with them their daily evening meal. One of the former employers interviewed recounted putting together packages of dress material to send to the wives and daughters of the POWs on her property. A strong fear of the bush and reasonably comfortable living situations meant that the chances of attempted escape were minimal.^{cxxxi} On return to Italy, many POWs who had been stationed on farms and in rural industry applied to return to Australia. One such POW was Michele Laricchia who was captured by the allied forces in Egypt in December 1940. He was held in India until the Italians surrendered in 1943 and Laricchia and his fellow prisoners went to the POW camp in Cowra. He spent three months at this camp before being sent to North Queensland to work on farms. Here he began to learn English and develop a friendship of sorts with at least one of the men he worked for. At the war's end Laricchia, reluctantly repatriated, found himself in a war ravaged Italy where he knew virtually no one. In time he was able to borrow the money to return to Australia and establish himself in Griffith.^{cxxxii}

Comment on available literature

This work is based primarily on published and unpublished secondary material and to some extent forms a literature survey of available work on Italian settlement in New South Wales. There are a number of very important theses, the publication of which would fill current gaps in published research in this area. In particular work by Mark Seymour on Sydney's 'Little Italies' and Judith Galvin's doctoral thesis on the Lettesi in Newcastle. In fact there is a considerable lack of published material on the Italian communities of Newcastle, apart from an article on the Scala family by Cynthia Hunter, one by Judith Galvin on the Lettesi and brief mention of Italians in *Riverchange, Six New Histories of the Hunter*. Also in need of development is any work that has been done on Sydney's outer suburbs, the Italian fishing community in Woolloomooloo and mining communities in the Illawarra, Broken Hill and Cobar. In addition, new perspectives on Italians in the Illawarra would enhance the major work done by G. Zampaglione in this area. While first and second generation Italians, as well as other scholars of Italian experience and migration more generally, have provided a rich pool of resources both anecdotal and demographic, including a number of extremely useful broad studies of Italians in Australia, there are still some potential areas for research into Italian settlement. This document by no means claims to do justice to a full collection of those histories already written but rather draws on them to convey a sense of place and to flag those spaces and establishments which are testament to a rich history of Italian settlement and community in New South Wales.

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- ^{cxixxx} *ibid*, p181.
- ^{cxixxxi} ABC sound recording, *Prisoners of War: Australians in Italy, Prisoners of War, Italians in Australia*, Sydney, 198?.
- ^{cxixxxii} B.M Kelly, op cit, p179.